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# [***How to Fix a Brake Light***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61V7-XTD1-DXY4-X065-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 24, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section MM; Column 0; Magazine Desk; Pg. 19; TIP

**Length:** 363 words

**Byline:** By Malia Wollan

**Body**

''I don't know much about cars, but I know a ton about changing brake lights,'' says Benjamin Hoffman, 30, a stand-up comic, food-service worker and co-chair of the New Orleans chapter of the Democratic Socialists of America. In 2017, the chapter organized its first free brake-light-fixing clinic after a member had a traumatic experience with police officers who pulled her over for having a broken one. Since then, the group has run dozens of clinics, replicated by other chapters in cities across the country. ''Any encounter with the cops in America is serious,'' Hoffman says. Avoid an expensive ticket by immediately replacing bulbs that are out, which is often easy for older cars.

''You'll want some screwdrivers and a socket set,'' Hoffman says. Needle-nose pliers can come in handy, too. Open your trunk or hatch and look for bolts, screws or clips holding the light fixture in place from the inside. Some cars make this tricky, and on occasion Hoffman and his colleagues have had to climb into people's trunks to access them. (Look under the trunk's upholstery. The fasteners are often hidden under plastic covers, which you can pop off with a flathead screwdriver.) Once you've unscrewed these, grab the light casing from the outside and tug until it comes off. Remove and replace the faulty bulb (bulbs are imprinted with their model numbers). If you can't figure out how to get the brake light cover off, search YouTube with the car's make and model. ''It's always the same archetypical old dudes walking you through how to do every car going back to the '80s,'' Hoffman says.

Over the years, brake-light volunteers have collected all the discarded bulbs in a giant sack; they joke about building a bulb sculpture and calling it Karl Sparks. Hoffman says it's mostly ***working-class*** people who come to the clinics, often driving rickety cars. Volunteers keep packing tape on hand, just in case, and try to engage drivers in conversation about issues like criminal justice and policing. They pass out fliers and bumper stickers that read, ''A socialist fixed my brake light.'' ''Sometimes rich people pull over,'' Hoffman says. ''We even had an off-duty cop one time.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/19/magazine/how-to-fix-a-brake-light.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/19/magazine/how-to-fix-a-brake-light.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by Radio FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***As Governor’s Race Tightens, a Frantic Call to Action Among Democrats***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66R0-MX91-JBG3-604V-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 27, 2022 Thursday 17:49 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1481 words

**Byline:** Luis Ferré-Sadurní and Nicholas Fandos

**Highlight:** Democrats and their allies are pouring millions of dollars into late-stage ads and get-out-the-vote efforts to help Gov. Kathy Hochul as she fends off her Republican challenger, Lee Zeldin.

**Body**

Democrats and their allies are pouring millions of dollars into late-stage ads and get-out-the-vote efforts to help Gov. Kathy Hochul as she fends off her Republican challenger, Lee Zeldin.

You don’t need to consult [*the most recent polls*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/18/nyregion/hochul-zeldin-poll-governor.html) to realize that the race for New York governor between Gov. Kathy Hochul and Representative Lee Zeldin appears to be tightening — just follow the string of Democrats’ calls to action this week.

With just 12 days until Election Day, Democrats and their allies are mounting a frenzied push to keep Ms. Hochul in office, pouring millions of dollars into last-minute ads and staging a whirlwind of campaign rallies to energize their base amid concerns that their typically reliable bedrock of Black and Latino voters [*might not turn out*](https://www.politico.com/news/2022/10/25/democrats-black-voter-turnout-00063254).

Labor unions have gone into overdrive, spending hundreds of thousands of dollars on television and radio ads to cajole those voters to turn up for Ms. Hochul. On the ground, Ms. Hochul is expected to campaign with Representative Hakeem Jeffries, a party power broker whose Brooklyn district provides crucial votes for the Democratic base, as well as in southeast Queens with Mayor Eric Adams over the weekend.

The Hochul campaign has even turned to its former adversaries for help, including progressive lawmakers who opposed her during the Democratic primary in June, and the left-leaning Working Families Party, which called for an “emergency all-hands-on-deck meeting” of its leadership earlier this week to mobilize in favor of Ms. Hochul.

Despite Democratic jitters, Ms. Hochul has [*continued to lead*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/18/nyregion/hochul-zeldin-poll-governor.html) in the most recent major polls, by as little as four points, and as much as 11 points. The governor also still has an overwhelming cash advantage over Mr. Zeldin, as well as an electoral one: Democratic voters outnumber Republicans two to one in New York.

Still, many Democrats have grown uneasy that they have not done enough to excite the party’s liberal base in New York, where Ms. Hochul’s victory was once presumed safe. And while some of the recent increase in campaign events is typical in a race’s final stretch, it is also a reflection of how the race’s dynamics have shifted.

Recent public polls show Mr. Zeldin, a Republican congressman from Long Island, drawing closer to Ms. Hochul, and during a [*head-to-head debate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/25/nyregion/takeaways-hochul-zeldin-debate.html) on Tuesday, Mr. Zeldin repeatedly sought to appeal to New Yorkers disenchanted with the economy or fearful of crime.

Much of the Democrats’ efforts have focused on New York City, the state’s voter-rich Democratic stronghold, which has accounted for [*about one-third of the total vote*](https://www.thecity.nyc/2022/10/18/23373431/lee-zeldin-kathy-hochul-governor-election) in the most recent elections for governor. Democratic strategists believe that if Ms. Hochul can secure enough votes in the city, she will more than offset any gains Mr. Zeldin makes in the suburbs and rural swaths of upstate, where he is more competitive.

“The more Hochul gets out the vote in New York City, the more wiggle room she has with swing voters in the Hudson Valley, in Long Island, and the Buffalo suburbs,” said Alyssa Cass, a Democratic political strategist who has worked in some of the state’s marquee congressional races this year.

Indeed, some political operatives have questioned whether Ms. Hochul, who hails from western New York, has done enough to excite minority voters in the city. [*Her selection*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/03/nyregion/antonio-delgado-new-york-lieutenant-governor-hochul.html) earlier this year of Antonio Delgado, a rising Black star who entered Congress in 2019, as her lieutenant governor was seen as an attempt to diversify her ticket.

Others have raised concerns that her campaign, run largely by out-of-state consultants, has [*lagged in traditional organizing tactics and mobilizing voters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/13/nyregion/hochul-campaign-strategy-governor.html), and may have relied too much on the prestige of the governor’s office and not enough on retail politics.

They point to anecdotal evidence, such as an apparent dearth of Hochul lawn signs compared to the Zeldin campaign. Some voters are still [*unable to pronounce her last name*](https://www.politico.com/news/2022/10/25/kathy-hochul-new-york-00063396) — it’s Hochul, rhymes with local, her campaign [*likes to say*](https://twitter.com/BryanLesswing/status/1422712688216625156). Others note that Ms. Hochul did not begin to consistently show up at Black churches, traditional campaign stops for Democratic politicians, until very recently.

“Mobilizing and activating African American voters, the backbone of the party in New York and nationally, is crucial these next 10 days,” said Neal Kwatra, a Democratic consultant. “These voters, especially downstate, must be engaged and motivated if you’re going to win statewide as a Democrat.”

The campaign’s efforts have included overtures to the Working Families Party, or W.F.P., a left-wing third party that endorsed one of Ms. Hochul’s rivals, Jumaane Williams, the New York City public advocate, during the June primary.

In an email on Monday calling for the emergency meeting of its leadership, the W.F.P. warned that “depressed progressive turnout could have disastrous consequences for W.F.P.-endorsed down-ballot candidates and the party’s ballot line and future.”

“I know that some of us have deep policy disagreements with Kathy Hochul — that’s why we endorsed Jumaane in the primary — but a Zeldin administration would be entirely destructive to our agenda,” Sochie Nnaemeka, the party’s director in New York, wrote in the email, which was obtained by The New York Times.

The concerns over voter engagement have also led a handful of labor unions to mount a last-minute drive to aid the governor, through expenditures on television and digital ad buys, with many targeting the party’s base of minority voters.

Two unions that represent teachers — the American Federation of Teachers and an affiliate, New York State United Teachers, which represents 600,000 teachers in the state — are each steering $500,000 into a super PAC, Progress NYS, to finance an ad campaign on television and online.

Another super PAC, Empire State Forward, is expected to receive at least $400,000 from about half a dozen labor unions to air ads on radio that target Black and Caribbean voters, with a focus on public safety and racial justice. (The Hochul campaign also reserved $150,000 worth of ads, which will begin airing Friday, on radio stations with large Black audiences).

Candis Tolliver, the political director for one of the unions, 32BJ SEIU, which represents building service workers, said the ads were meant to speak to many of the union’s members, whom she said were typically “super reliable for Democrats.”

“Making sure we turn out the base is going to be particularly important,” she said. “We’re realizing there is some apathy among voters and a fear that folks are staying home, and so we want to remind people not to stay home, and what’s at stake in this election.”

The Hotel and Gaming Trades Council, which represents hotel workers, is [*spending $250,000 over the next two weeks*](https://www.nydailynews.com/news/politics/new-york-elections-government/ny-election-2022-htc-pro-hochul-campaign-ad-hispanic-voters-20221026-vvz4a25tu5akhpzxev6ng5tlxe-story.html) on ads in Spanish-language broadcast channels in the downstate region, as well as on YouTube.

Rather than focus on crime or abortion, one 30-second spot homes in on the economy, touting Ms. Hochul’s upbringing in a union household and her commitment to helping ***working-class*** families. A voice-over in Spanish tells viewers that Ms. Hochul, who is white and of Irish descent, is “one of us.”

The focus on Latinos comes in the wake of national trends showing an increasing number of more moderate, Spanish-speaking voters [*flipping to the Republican Party*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/18/us/politics/latino-vote-polling.html), and concern among some Democrats that the same may happen in New York this cycle.

The Hochul campaign on Thursday pointed to early signs that Democratic enthusiasm appeared to be strong, citing data from the state party showing that about 60 percent of the more than 167,000 absentee ballots received by election officials so far were from Democrats, even though Republicans are more likely to vote in person.

As early voting begins this weekend, Ms. Hochul is expected to attend a union rally on Long Island, offer remarks at Black churches, and campaign in Buffalo and Rochester alongside Letitia James, the state attorney general. Her surrogates are also hitting the trail: Mr. Delgado is expected to attend a get-out-the-vote rally in the Bronx on Saturday, while Hillary Clinton is [*reportedly*](https://www.cityandstateny.com/politics/2022/10/hillary-clinton-be-special-guest-hochul-rally/379002/) showing up at a “Women’s Rally” for Ms. Hochul at Barnard College next week.

Next week, Ms. Hochul is expected to campaign in the Inwood neighborhood of Upper Manhattan with Representative Adriano Espaillat, and with Representative Grace Meng in Flushing, Queens. Meanwhile party volunteers will launch canvassing operations across the city, from Fort Greene in Brooklyn to Sunnyside, Queens.

Mr. Zeldin and his lieutenant governor running mate, Alison Esposito, are in the midst of a two-week “Get Out the Vote Bus Tour” that will include 25 rallies across the state, including a stop in Erie County on Thursday.

PHOTO: Gov. Kathy Hochul’s party is stepping up efforts to help as her race against the Republican Lee Zeldin tightens in New York. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KENNY HOLSTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A16.

**Load-Date:** October 28, 2022

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[***Austrian Political Scandal Leaves Europe’s Conservatives in Need of New Path***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63TH-VY31-DXY4-X04F-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 10, 2021 Sunday 10:31 EST

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**Byline:** Katrin Bennhold

**Highlight:** Chancellor Sebastian Kurz was young, adept at social media and unafraid to borrow from populists, but in his downfall, some see “the collapse of a new narrative” for European conservatives.

**Body**

Chancellor Sebastian Kurz was young, adept at social media and unafraid to borrow from populists, but in his downfall, some see “the collapse of a new narrative” for European conservatives.

BERLIN — When Sebastian Kurz first became chancellor of Austria the whole of Europe sat up. Only 31, he had turned around the fortunes of his ailing conservative party and almost overnight become a role model for struggling center-right leaders elsewhere on the Continent.

Four years later, Mr. Kurz has been forced to resign amid a criminal investigation into allegations that he used public money to manipulate opinion polls and that he paid off a tabloid newspaper for favorable coverage.

His downfall is unique to Austria but it could reverberate far across Europe.

It comes at a time when Europe’s political landscape looks ever more fragmented and the once-mighty traditional parties of the center-left and center-right have lost ground to a host of new political actors, not least on the extremes.

Youthful and media-savvy, Mr. Kurz styled himself as someone who had a formula for how to preserve a capacious center amid the disruption. He adopted the anti-immigrant language of an ascendant far right and refashioned his traditionally staid People’s Party into a political movement that attracted hundreds of thousands of new supporters.

“Why don’t we have someone like that?” lamented the German tabloid Bild in October 2017.

But the recent allegations against him and a trove of evidence that has already been released suggest that the very communication strategy that won him conservative votes at home and admiration in conservative circles abroad was at best “deeply immoral” and at worst illegal, said Thomas Hofer, a longtime observer of European politics and an independent political consultant in Vienna.

“What we’re seeing in Austria is the collapse of a new narrative for conservative parties in Europe,” said Mr. Hofer. “Internationally, the Kurz model was something others looked at very closely as a possible answer to far-right populists.”

All around Europe, ailing traditional center-right parties have struggled to reinvent themselves, at times flirting with the temptation to tack further to the right.

In neighboring Germany, the Christian Democrats of Chancellor Angela Merkel, who have governed the country 52 of the last 72 years — including the last 16 — lost spectacularly in last month’s election. It was their worst election result ever.

In France, where five of the eight presidents since the inception of the Fifth Republic in 1958 have been conservatives, the traditional center-right has not won any national elections since 2007.

And in Italy, Christian Democrats co-governed for nearly half a century after World War II, but over the past two decades the political right has increasingly radicalized and fragmented.

One of the few successful center-right leaders left in Western Europe is Prime Minister Boris Johnson in Britain — and he, much like Mr. Kurz, co-opted not just the nationalist anti-immigrant rhetoric of populists but also their aggressively symbiotic relationship with tabloids.

Some analysts say that recent events in Austria suggest that Mr. Kurz’s political strategy is not a viable long-term strategy to revive centrist conservatism.

“Kurz is someone who has taken a traditional center-right party, dragged it into populist mode and is now in big trouble,” said Timothy Garton Ash, professor of European history at Oxford University.

One lesson, Mr. Garton Ash said, is that the decline of traditional catchall parties on both the right and the left is structural — and probably irreversible.

“The big parties of the center-right and center-left which dominated in Western Europe after 1945 are not what they were and unlikely ever again to be what they were,” he said.

Across Europe, elections have revealed [*a more fragmented society*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/25/world/europe/germany-election-merkel.html?action=click&amp;module=RelatedLinks&amp;pgtype=Article), one that increasingly defies traditional political labeling.

For much of the postwar era, European countries tended to have a large center-left party and a large center-right party. The center-left parties championed a ***working-class*** organized in powerful labor unions, while the center-right gathered up a broad array of middle- and upper-class voters, from conservative churchgoers to free-market business owners. It was not unusual for one camp to get 40 percent of the vote.

Social Democratic parties lost that status a while ago. With union membership declining and parts of the traditional ***working-class*** constituency abandoning the center-left, its share of the vote has shrunk since the early 2000s.

If the crisis of social democracy has been a familiar theme over the past decade, the crisis of conservatism is now on full display. Still, even if the conservative parties of old have shrunk, many of their policies remain dominant in Europe, analysts point out.

“If you look at Germany, France or Italy, it’s not classic center-right conservatives that won elections or are in power, but the policies in place are traditionally center-right,” said Dominique Moïsi, a political scientist and senior adviser at the Paris-based Institut Montaigne.

In France, President Emmanuel Macron blew up the French party system by winning elections with his En Marche movement, but the pro-European market liberal once considered center-left has recently tacked sharply right.

Mario Draghi, Italy’s prime minister, has no party affiliation, but as a former president of the European Central Bank is seen as a centrist.

Even in Germany, where a Social Democrat narrowly won the recent election, the party’s candidate for chancellor, [*Olaf Scholz*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/27/world/europe/germany-election-results-olaf-scholz-spd.html), served as Ms. Merkel’s finance minister and is in some ways more associated with her outgoing government than with his own party.

“The clear-cut division of left and right that dominated European politics has been blurred and no longer truly applies,” Mr. Moïsi said. “The extreme right is far more extreme. The center-right is moving even more so to the center, and the classical left has either completely imploded like in France or is fighting for survival with the Greens. And so you have a political landscape that is much more fragmented than it used to be.”

That has not stopped some leading politicians from looking for ways to resurrect the past — and looking to Mr. Kurz as a model.

“You can see in Austria that Sebastian Kurz manages as a young conservative politician to be No. 1 with young people,” Tilman Kuban, leader of the youth wing of Germany’s conservatives, said days after his party’s devastating election defeat.

Christoph Ploss, head of the Christian Democrats in Hamburg, also pointed to Austria as a “good example” of how to revive conservatism. “Over there,” he said, “the partner party came back up with a clear direction.”

Both men declined to comment when asked last week whether the allegations against Mr. Kurz had changed their views.

What exactly Mr. Kurz’s resignation means is hard to say. He resigned as chancellor on Saturday after his coalition partners, the Greens, said they could not continue governing with him in light of the current allegations, and threatened a vote of no confidence. But he remains party leader and a lawmaker in Parliament.

Some predict that even after his anointed successor and loyal ally, Foreign Minister Alexander Schallenberg, is sworn in as chancellor on Monday, Mr. Kurz will still hold the reins and may even stage a comeback at some point.

It would not be the first time he reinvented himself.

Once a conservative youth leader, who distributed branded condoms as a campaign gag and eventually earned a reputation as a liberal integration minister, Mr. Kurz veered sharply to the right, winning elections and entering into a coalition with the far-right Freedom Party.

After his first government imploded two years ago, he won re-election and increased his party’s share of the vote even more. He then went into an unlikely coalition with the far smaller Green Party.

In many ways, Mr. Kurz is less representative of traditional conservatism and more typical of the political opportunism associated with a new strain of right-wing politics that has evolved in Europe in the space between the center-right of old and a crop of noisy far-right parties on the extreme.

“The new right-wing politics which is about immigration and identity — that right-wing politics you see right across Europe,” said Mr. Garton Ash.

The temptation to move right is unlikely to vanish entirely, even after the scandals engulfing Austria, he said.

“Arguably the most dangerous populists are the ones who look least like populists,” Mr. Garton Ash said. “That is true of Johnson, and that was true of Kurz.”

PHOTO: Sebastian Kurz

**Load-Date:** October 11, 2021

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[***Sunak's Tall Task: Unify Party and Fix Economy***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66PP-6TS1-DXY4-X0T8-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1465 words

**Byline:** By Mark Landler

**Body**

The Conservative Party is fractured and Britain's public finances are battered. That will test the political skills of a leader who has been involved in national politics for only seven years.

LONDON -- Rishi Sunak took over as Britain's prime minister on Tuesday, the third in seven weeks, hoping to slow the revolving door at 10 Downing Street and restore stability to a government in turmoil.

But as he assembled a cabinet and began to confront a grave economic crisis, Mr. Sunak faced formidable political challenges, for which analysts said his seven-year career in national politics had not fully prepared him. The swift, truncated nature of his election may further complicate his task.

Having been elected with the votes of some 200 Conservative Party lawmakers, but not the party's rank-and-file members, Mr. Sunak could have trouble claiming a mandate to lead a deeply fractured party, let alone the whole country. With his government forced into spending cuts and tax increases, he will have few resources with which to reward either his lawmakers or the public.

''He's inheriting a divided party with a large number of Conservative M.P.s and members who believe he has no legitimate mandate,'' said Matthew Goodwin, a professor of politics at the University of Kent. ''That's compounded by the fact that the party is in a free-fall and it's not clear it has a parachute.''

And yet, on a day of now-familiar rituals, as Mr. Sunak, the fifth prime minister in six years, traveled to Buckingham Palace to be anointed by King Charles III, there was also a calm in British politics -- something that had been missing since Boris Johnson's chaotic departure this past summer.

Much of that owed to the 42-year-old prime minister himself: His well-received address to the nation on Tuesday showed a degree of political awareness, conceding the mistakes of his predecessor, Liz Truss, and promising improvement, while also reaching out to her and Mr. Johnson.

''I will place economic stability and confidence at the heart of this government's agenda,'' a somber and solitary Mr. Sunak said on Downing Street, after returning from the palace. ''This will mean difficult decisions to come.''

His decision to appear there without his wife or daughters, and to dispense with the cheering staff members that greeted Ms. Truss last month, lent his arrival a brisk, businesslike tone. It also underlined the contrast between Mr. Sunak and his predecessor, which he said would extend beyond optics.

A former chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Sunak is expected to pull Britain back to more mainstream policies after Ms. Truss's experiment in trickle-down economics, which rattled financial markets and badly damaged Britain's fiscal reputation.

''Mistakes were made,'' Mr. Sunak said. ''Not borne of ill will or bad intentions. Quite the opposite, in fact. But mistakes, nonetheless. And I have been elected as leader of my party, and your prime minister, in part, to fix them.''

Mr. Sunak quickly set about selecting a cabinet remarkable for its familiar faces. He retained Jeremy Hunt, the chancellor whom Ms. Truss installed after ousting Kwasi Kwarteng, the architect of ill-fated tax cuts. Mr. Hunt, who has soothed the markets, is scheduled to present a more detailed fiscal plan on Oct. 31.

Mr. Sunak also kept on Ben Wallace as defense secretary and James Cleverly as foreign secretary, even though both had backed Mr. Johnson over him in the leadership race. And he retained Penny Mordaunt, who mounted a spirited challenge to him in that contest, as leader of the House of Commons.

It was a striking contrast to Ms. Truss, whose cabinet consisted almost entirely of people who had backed her for leader, and it seemed to signal a recognition by Mr. Sunak that he could not succeed by drawing dividing lines in the party.

Most conspicuously, Mr. Sunak reappointed Suella Braverman as home secretary, a job she had been forced out of only a week ago, ostensibly because she breached security rules. Her appointment was a gesture to the Conservative Party's right flank: Ms. Braverman is a hard-liner who wants to cut immigration numbers. She said her ''dream'' was to see flights deporting asylum seekers from Britain to Rwanda.

Mr. Sunak did reward some loyalists, naming Dominic Raab, who campaigned faithfully for him, as deputy prime minister and justice minister, posts he held under Mr. Johnson.

Ms. Truss made her own appearance at Downing Street in the morning with her family, after formally submitting her resignation to the king, just seven weeks after she had been anointed by his mother, Queen Elizabeth II, in one of her last official acts, two days before her death.

In defiant, unapologetic farewell remarks, Ms. Truss took credit for protecting people from rising energy bills. Reiterating her belief in lower taxes and a fast-growing economy, she said, ''I am more convinced than ever we need to be bold and confront the challenges that we face.''

Taking a page from Mr. Johnson, who likened himself to the retiring fifth-century Roman politician Cincinnatus, Ms. Truss quoted the Roman philosopher Seneca: ''It is not because things are difficult that we do not dare. It is because we do not dare that they are difficult.''

Ms. Truss's misfires have made Mr. Sunak's job even more difficult. Britain's straitened public finances and its higher borrowing costs -- a consequence, in part, of rising interest rates in reaction to her policies -- will require painful spending cuts. That will further test Mr. Sunak's political skills. Last summer, he struggled to sell his tough-love message to party members, who preferred Ms. Truss's supply-side remedies.

''The ideological riddle that Sunak has to try to solve is how the Conservative Party, amid a profound and prolonged economic crisis, can reconnect with the voters it attracted after Brexit,'' Professor Goodwin said.

Mr. Sunak did reappoint Michael Gove, a seasoned minister, to a post overseeing efforts to ''level up'' struggling cities in the Midlands and north of England with more prosperous London. That is important to retaining ***working-class*** voters who propelled the Conservatives to their landslide general election victory in 2019.

As chancellor, Mr. Sunak was lionized when he doled out billions of pounds to people who had lost their jobs because of the coronavirus pandemic. He sponsored another good-news program, ''Eat Out to Help Out,'' which subsidized meals at restaurants to revive the industry after lockdowns.

But when it came to withdrawing those benefits and raising taxes, Mr. Sunak's reputation unsurprisingly suffered. During his campaign against Ms. Truss, he struggled to stick to his message of fiscal conservatism. Under pressure from her promises of tax cuts, he said he would temporarily suspend the value-added tax, a sales tax, on energy bills -- something that he had earlier rejected.

''He doesn't have a lot of what I'd call trench-fighting experience,'' said Tim Bale, a professor of politics at Queen Mary University of London. ''His progress through the party has been so rapid that he hasn't spent years forging friendships with colleagues who've got his back come what may.''

Professor Bale said Mr. Sunak was also thin-skinned about criticism he faced last spring of his wife, Akshata Murty, the daughter of an Indian technology billionaire, for her privileged tax status. Her so-called non-domicile status allowed her to avoid paying taxes in Britain on millions of pounds of her global income (she eventually agreed to pay British taxes).

While Mr. Sunak's sensitive reaction to the attacks against his wife may have been understandable, he is likely to face many more of them in the coming months from an opposition Labour Party that will seize on his extreme wealth to paint him as out of touch with the anxieties of ordinary people.

''They don't care that he and his family are filthy rich,'' Professor Bale said. ''They do care they didn't seem to be paying their fair share. That -- and his heated outdoor swimming pool and his house in Santa Monica -- is going to make it difficult for him to argue, 'We're all in this together.'''

Political analysts said the sheer magnitude of Ms. Truss's failure was Mr. Sunak's biggest asset. The Conservatives are trailing Labour by more than 30 percentage points in some polls. Even those who ardently opposed Mr. Sunak recognize that he is likely their last hope of avoiding a general election rout that would sweep hundreds of Conservative lawmakers out of their seats.

''His M.P.s have looked over the edge of the precipice and know that, unless they get behind the guy, who is basically their last chance, they're heading for a huge fall,'' Professor Bale said. ''Basically, it's Rishi or bust.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/25/world/europe/rishi-sunak-uk-economy-politics.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/25/world/europe/rishi-sunak-uk-economy-politics.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Prime Minister Rishi Sunak reported to 10 Downing Street on Tuesday with a somber but well-received speech on Britain's challenges. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KIRSTY WIGGLESWORTH/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

Liz Truss, the former prime minister, was defiant in her farewell. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DAN KITWOOD/GETTY IMAGES)

Mr. Sunak met with King Charles III at Buckingham Palace. (PHOTOGRAPH BY AARON CHOWN/POOL, VIA GETTY IMAGES) (A6) This article appeared in print on page A1, A6.

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[***Jeffries's Rise in Power Would Mark a Generational Shift for Democrats***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66WT-JCH1-DXY4-X46V-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 12

**Length:** 1575 words

**Byline:** By Nicholas Fandos and Annie Karni

**Body**

The congressman, who has served in the House for a decade, would be a far different leader from Speaker Nancy Pelosi, whom he is running to succeed.

Standing on the Senate floor during President Donald J. Trump's 2020 impeachment trial, Representative Hakeem Jeffries, Democrat of New York, laid out the case for convicting and removing Mr. Trump, whose lawyer had just asked: ''Why are we here?''

''We are here, sir, because President Trump corruptly abused his power and then he tried to cover it up,'' Mr. Jeffries said in the staccato cadence of a prosecutor. ''And we are here, sir, to follow the facts, follow the law, be guided by the Constitution, and present the truth to the American people.''

Mr. Jeffries, 52, concluded his grave presentation with a lyric by the rapper and fellow Brooklynite Biggie Smalls: ''And if you don't know, now you know.''

Such a reference may have been lost on Speaker Nancy Pelosi, 82, who has ruled the fractious House Democratic Caucus for the past two decades and on Thursday announced her plans to step down from leadership. Two years later, the moment underscores the generational and stylistic change that is now underway in top echelons of the party's ranks in the House.

''Who else as an impeachment manager could quote Biggie Smalls?'' said Representative Ritchie Torres, Democrat of New York.

Mr. Jeffries on Friday formally announced his run for Democratic leader, a bid that, if successful, would make him the first Black man to hold the top party leadership role in either chamber of Congress. For now, he is unopposed for the post, and widely regarded by his colleagues as all but certain to secure it.

In many ways, he and Ms. Pelosi couldn't be more different.

She is the daughter of a congressman and former mayor, who was born into a Baltimore political dynasty and later became a wealthy San Francisco homemaker, embodying the progressive social politics of her adopted hometown. In Congress, she has been a master legislator who has led with an iron grip on her caucus and helped enact landmark Democratic policy initiatives for two decades -- usually while wearing stilettos.

Mr. Jeffries is the son of a ***working-class*** social worker and a substance abuse counselor, who became a high-powered litigator. He still lives in the heart of Black Brooklyn and often pairs his suits with sneakers. Outside of bipartisan federal sentencing reform, his own legislative record is relatively thin, pointing to a sharp learning curve ahead.

What the two lawmakers share is a pragmatic streak, and a keen sense of where political compromise is available.

''He is really deliberative; he's not the type to quickly react to a question or a concern,'' said Representative Grace Meng, a Queens Democrat who has served with Mr. Jeffries in Albany and Washington. ''He will listen, absorb it and usually come back with a solution that most people would not have thought of.''

Mr. Jeffries is known among his colleagues in Congress as a calm, self-disciplined operator who usually speaks with no notes. He sends cheesecakes from Junior's, the Brooklyn staple, each holiday season and hosts an annual ''Hip-Hop on the Hill'' event. A defender of bedrock liberal priorities like abortion rights and Medicare for All, he has also been at the forefront of efforts to fight racial injustice, including through overhauling the nation's criminal justice system and slowing gentrification.

But he also has an intensely pragmatic streak and is uncomfortable with the party's activist left wing, whose approach he has argued is unrealistic and self-defeating. Alongside Representative Josh Gottheimer, a moderate Democrat from New Jersey, he started Team Blue, a fund-raising initiative that has backed Democrats fielding primary challenges from the left.

Many progressives, in turn, regard him with intense distrust and even hostility, arguing that he is too solicitous of corporate interests and too cautious on addressing climate change. Should he become the leader, their skepticism may be one of Mr. Jeffries's first and thorniest challenges.

''He needs the left's support if he's going to do his job and hold the Democratic caucus together in this really, really narrow split Congress,'' said Liat Olenick, an activist who works with Brooklyn's Indivisible chapter and Climate Families NYC. ''And to do that, he needs to stop antagonizing progressive leaders and take a more collaborative approach.''

As Democrats rushed to endorse his candidacy this week even before Mr. Jeffries's announcement, Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York, a progressive, remained noncommittal, saying she was still ''processing'' Ms. Pelosi's decision to step aside and that there was ''healing that needs to be done in our caucus.''

If he prevails, Mr. Jeffries would present a far different model of Democratic political power than the nation is used to seeing. Born in Brooklyn's Crown Heights neighborhood, Mr. Jeffries represents some of the most storied urban Black communities in the country, including some once represented by the trailblazing congresswoman Shirley Chisholm.

He came to power two decades ago as a political insurgent with a sharp tongue, eschewing the Democratic Party power structure. Other than a brief flirtation with running for mayor, his preference has been to exercise power discreetly.

''He's what we call a code switcher,'' said Ruben Diaz Jr., a Bronx Democrat and one of the congressman's closest allies. ''He can hang out with hip-hop artists, he can be in the hood in Brooklyn or the Bronx, but he can also be inside the Oval Office and negotiate with POTUS.''

Born into a family descended from enslaved people and Cape Verdeans, Mr. Jeffries came of age in the 1980s and 1990s in a central Brooklyn that was a hotbed of Black activism and remarkable cultural output, but also crime and unrest as New York City struggled through the crack cocaine epidemic.

Mr. Jeffries attended New York City public schools and the State University at Binghamton, where he was the president of the historically Black Kappa Alpha Psi fraternity. He earned a law degree at N.Y.U., and was one of the few young Black lawyers in the litigation departments at the prestigious firm Paul, Weiss and then at CBS. In the latter role, he worked on a suit stemming from the 2004 Super Bowl halftime show, when Justin Timberlake briefly exposed Janet Jackson's breast on live television.

Starting in 2000, around age 30, he ran for office three times before he won a seat in the State Assembly. He got to Congress in 2012 by defeating Charles Barron, a former Black Panther and City Council member, in a primary.

''He was definitely of the generation of mostly men who were outsiders of the Democratic Party and worked to kick in the door,'' said Lupe Todd-Medina, a longtime political adviser. ''Once they got in, that was when you saw the shift of Black political power go from Harlem to Central Brooklyn.''

In office, Mr. Jeffries quickly made criminal justice reform his top legislative priority, and the issue would become a through line in an otherwise modest legislative portfolio.

In Albany, he teamed up with Eric Adams, the future mayor of New York City, to ban the Police Department from maintaining a database of men its officers had stopped and frisked. In Washington, he helped write what became the First Step Act, a bipartisan federal sentencing overhaul signed by Mr. Trump, and wrote a bill passed by the House that would ban the use of chokeholds by police.

The Rev. Al Sharpton, who has known Mr. Jeffries for three decades, recalled working with him in 1999 on the case of Amadou Diallo, an unarmed 23-year-old immigrant from West Africa who was killed in the Bronx by four police officers who fired 41 shots because they thought he was reaching for a gun.

''When we were fighting police brutality, he would say, 'I'll help, but I'm not the guy that will go to jail, I'm the guy who will help get the legislation through.'''

Mr. Sharpton added: ''He is an activist in his way. But all activists don't do the same thing. He is committed to the long-term goal of what we're trying to do.''

During the Trump administration, he worked closely with Jared Kushner, the former president's son-in-law, to pass the First Step Act, visiting the White House for meetings even while serving as one of the Democrats' most vocal critics of Mr. Trump.

Mr. Jeffries's wife, Kennisandra Arciniegas-Jeffries, works for the benefits fund of the Service Employees International Union Local 1199, one of the city's most powerful unions. They have two sons in college and live in Prospect Heights, a neighborhood that has rapidly gentrified in recent years, less than a mile away from Senator Chuck Schumer, the majority leader.

Mr. Jeffries has worked closely with Ms. Pelosi as part of her leadership team and remained deferential to her as she weighed whether to step down from leadership or seek another term leading her caucus. But the two have had a tense relationship at times, with Ms. Pelosi always aware that Mr. Jeffries's political ambitions would only be realized with the end of her own.

As for how he would fare as the person in charge of keeping the Democratic caucus together, even his closest allies in Congress said it's too soon to tell.

''It's very difficult to know that until you go through that,'' said Mr. Gottheimer, ''until you're the maestro yourself.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/18/us/politics/hakeem-jeffries-generational-shift.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/18/us/politics/hakeem-jeffries-generational-shift.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Representative Hakeem Jeffries, above with his House colleagues Adam Schiff, left, Jerrold Nadler, rear, and Jason Crow in 2020, and below with his sons, Joshua and Jeremiah, in 2012. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A12.

**Load-Date:** November 19, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The Great American Lie***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60YX-SHS1-JBG3-610G-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 334 words

**Byline:** By Teo Bugbee

**Body**

Scholars, activists, politicians and real people illustrate the national economic abyss.

The run-of-the-mill documentary ''The Great American Lie'' fires shots at the American Dream, criticizing a country that has failed its promise.

The movie uses a broad array of talking head interviews to argue that the rich are allowed to become richer as women and people of color toil in poorly compensated service jobs. The film's alignment with Democratic Party talking points is implied, but never directly stated. There are criticisms of Ronald Reagan and Republican tax plans, and the movie uses archival news footage to suggest parallels between Ku Klux Klan meetings and President Trump's political supporters.

Interviews are seamlessly strung together, which gives the movie a polished feel. But this practice does a disservice to the speakers. The economist Joseph Stiglitz might not advocate the same solutions to inequality as the critical race theorist Kimberlé Crenshaw, yet the movie makes no distinctions between their scholarship.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

The documentary's united and decidedly liberal front feels particularly disingenuous because the film is directed by Jennifer Siebel Newsom, who is married to Gavin Newsom, the governor of California. Governor Newsom, a Democrat, is allowed to make brief appearances as a neutral pundit, but his relationship with the filmmaker is never disclosed. .

The documentary fares better when it cuts the interviews and simply follows ***working class*** people in their daily lives. Sequences spent with a former steelworker in Ohio, or an overwhelmed middle school principal in Oakland build an organic sense of what needs to change in the United States. These scenes demonstrate meaningful sound and fury; it's unfortunate that the rest of the film offers little more than pomp and circumstance.

The Great American LieNot rated. Running time: 1 hour 39 minutes. Rent or buy on Amazon, Google Play and other streaming platforms and pay TV operators.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/01/movies/the-great-american-lie-review-another-interpretation-of-the-dream.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/01/movies/the-great-american-lie-review-another-interpretation-of-the-dream.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Students from the Frick Impact Academy in Oakland, Calif., in ''The Great American Lie,'' a documentary about inequality in America. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Vertical Entertainment FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 2, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Catch up on Election Day results from around the U.S.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:640K-2TX1-JBG3-618F-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Azi Paybarah

**Highlight:** The governor’s races in Virginia and New Jersey and the New York City mayoral election are among the highlights.

**Body**

The governor’s races in Virginia and New Jersey and the New York City mayoral election are among the highlights.

A year after voters elected President Biden and pushed Republicans fully out of power in Washington, the G.O.P. rebounded with a strong election night on Tuesday, highlighted by Glenn Youngkin’s victory in the Virginia governor’s race.

Here is a rundown of election results from around the country.

Virginia governor’s race

The businessman Glenn Youngkin, a [*Republican*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/03/us/politics/school-republican-campaign-issue.html), [*defeated former Gov. Terry McAuliffe*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/03/us/elections/mcauliffe-concede-virginia-governor.html), a Democrat who struggled to generate enthusiasm among liberals at a moment when conservatives are energized in opposition to Mr. Biden.

The victory by Mr. Youngkin, a first-time candidate in one of only two governor’s races before next year’s midterm elections, may give his party a formula for how to exploit Mr. Biden’s vulnerabilities and avoid the shadow of former President Donald J. Trump in Democratic-leaning states.

New Jersey governor’s race

Gov. Philip D. Murphy, a Democrat, [*won a second term*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/03/us/elections/new-jersey-governor-race-call.html) after an unexpectedly strong challenge from the former State Assemblyman Jack Ciattarelli, a moderate Republican.

Mr. Murphy was far ahead in most public polling before Tuesday’s contest, but he won narrowly instead. As of around 6:30 p.m. on Wednesday, when The Associated Press called the race in his favor, the partial vote count showed him ahead of Mr. Ciattarelli by less than one percentage point — though, because most of the ballots that remain to be counted are in heavily Democratic parts of the state, that margin is likely to increase somewhat.

New York City

In the city’s mayoral race, [*Eric Adams*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/02/nyregion/eric-adams-mayor.html), a former police captain and Brooklyn borough president, easily dispatched the long-shot Republican candidate, Curtis Sliwa, to become only the second Black person elected mayor in the city’s history.

And [*Alvin Bragg was elected Manhattan district attorney*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/02/nyregion/alvin-bragg-wins-manhattan-da.html). He will become the first Black person to lead the influential office, which handles tens of thousands of cases a year and is conducting a high-profile investigation into former President Donald J. Trump and his family business.

Boston mayor’s race

[*Michelle Wu*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/02/us/elections/michelle-wu-boston-mayor.html) easily defeated City Councilor Annissa Essaibi George to become the first woman, first person of color and first person of Asian descent to be elected mayor in Boston. The city has been led by an unbroken string of Irish American or Italian American men since the 1930s.

Minneapolis police ballot item

[*Minneapolis residents rejected an amendment*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/02/us/elections/minneapolis-reject-defund-police.html) that called for replacing the city’s long-troubled Police Department with a new Department of Public Safety, The Associated Press projected.

The ballot item emerged from anger after a Minneapolis police officer murdered George Floyd last year, galvanizing residents who saw the policing system as irredeemably broken.

Buffalo mayor’s race

Mayor Byron W. Brown of Buffalo, an incumbent four-term Democrat, declared victory on Tuesday night in his write-in campaign to defeat his own party’s official nominee, India Walton. [*On Wednesday afternoon*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/03/us/elections/byron-brown-buffalo-mayor.html), Ms. Walton, a democratic socialist, conceded.

San Antonio state seat

A Democratic stronghold in San Antonio flipped to a Republican in a runoff for a seat in the Texas House on Tuesday.

John Lujan, a 59-year-old retired firefighter who had briefly held the seat before, beat Frank Ramirez, a 27-year-old former legislative aide, by fewer than 300 votes, [*according to a tally released by the Bexar County Elections Department*](https://home.bexar.org/el45a.html). About 70 percent of the largely ***working-class*** families Mr. Lujan will represent, in the 118th District, identify as Hispanic.

“This speaks loudly that people are concerned about conservative values,” Mr. Lujan told his supporters. “You know, we want to secure our border, we want to grow our economy.”

PHOTO: Glenn Youngkin greeted supporters at a hotel in Chantilly, Va., on Tuesday. He will be the state’s first Republican governor in more than a decade. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Melissa Lyttle for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 4, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Edward Burns Is Home Again***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61V1-BTV1-JBG3-64BX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 23, 2021 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1359 words

**Byline:** By Stuart Miller

**Body**

Edward Burns has carved a distinctive path as an indie filmmaker in the quarter-century since he made a splash with his debut, ''The Brothers McMullen.'' He has consistently made movies for small ($250,000 for ''Looking for Kitty'') to minuscule ($9,000 -- yes, you read that right -- for ''Newlyweds'') budgets, and was experimenting with new distribution models even before the rise of streaming. In 2007, he made the first straight-to-iTunes movie, ''Purple Violets,'' and in 2010 he inaugurated Comcast's straight-to-VOD Indie Film Club with ''Nice Guy Johnny.''

Now, he sees a bright future for indie filmmakers -- ''I don't know if you can call us that anymore, but we're independent-minded storytellers'' -- in streaming and premium cable.

''These are the perfect platforms, and it's one of the most encouraging times for someone with a story to tell,'' Burns said.

While he previously ventured into broadcast and basic cable television for short-lived series like ''Public Morals,'' his new dramedy ''Bridge and Tunnel,'' premiering Sunday on Epix, marks his entry into premium cable.

Burns said the Epix was looking for ''a half-hour show full of promise and joy'' as a departure from the darker themes of many prestige TV series. His tonal model for ''Bridge and Tunnel'' were the early Beatles hits that ''put a smile on your face without being cornball-ish,'' he added. ''We do need that now.''

Set in 1980 in Valley Stream, N.Y., the Long Island town where Burns grew up, the show revolves around six recent college graduates as they try to figure out their futures. ''That period when you've been away for four years and you're back in your house with your parents -- for some people it's a week, for some it's a couple of years -- and you're not quite an adult, but no longer a kid, is really interesting to me,'' Burns said.

Burns, who also plays the father of Jimmy (Sam Vartholomeos), an aspiring photographer, includes plenty of period flourishes. A poster of the Mets fan favorite Rusty Staub can be glimpsed on the wall of Jimmy's childhood room, and Burns lent his own vintage 1960s Mets jersey to Brian Muller, who plays Pags. One character makes a commercial that's an homage to the pitchman Crazy Eddie, a New York TV fixture in the '80s; if there's a second season, Burns hopes to have another character appear in one of the Milford Plaza Hotel ''Lullaby of Broadway'' ads that ran endlessly back then.

Burns recently spoke by phone about ''Bridge and Tunnel'' and what he had to do to keep it alive during the pandemic. (The show was shot on Long Island last summer and fall.) These are edited excerpts from the conversation.

As a Mets fan, I loved the snippet of a game with Bob Murphy announcing, but why not make this 1984 so we see Dwight Gooden pitching, instead of a Met fouling out?

I settled on the summer of 1980 because it's the era in New York I'm most nostalgic about. People talk about Paris in the 1920s -- I always thought about New York in the early '80s. You have punk, new wave, hip-hop, the art and fashion scene. When I finally come into Manhattan in '90, '91, you look back and say, ''Oh man, it had to be so much cooler then.''

I'm 52, so in 1980 I'm in sixth grade and at my most impressionable. I romanticized the lives and escapades of the older guys and girls in my neighborhood -- I could only imagine what they were doing when they were walking down my street to the train station on a Friday or Saturday night, going into the city to do their thing.

I fell in love with the idea of these bridge and tunnel kids who make their journey into Manhattan to pursue their dreams. It's the Scott Fitzgerald line about the city and ''its wild promise.'' I gave each character a dream that for a ***working class*** kid really seems out of touch -- I didn't know anyone who was in the arts, in fashion or photography, so it felt like an impossible dream for my friends who had artistic ambitions. But you also felt if you could get into Manhattan, you could make your dreams happen.

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There's a vintage soundtrack, with bands ranging from Toto to Blondie, and music is a constant topic of conversation. But why no mention of Billy Joel, the ultimate Long Island star? ''Glass Houses'' was a number one album in 1980.

As a young guy, I once saw Billy Joel outside a pizza place and when he got into his car, my friends and I followed him. So I'm keeping Billy Joel and that scene in my back pocket for Season 2.

Pags, who loves Styx, gets belittled by his sister, a huge Clash fan. Did you worry you were stacking the deck too much in her favor?

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Your characters are ***working class*** but mostly went to college and have bigger ambitions. Class isn't an explicit issue, although Jill (Caitlin Stasey) is belittled for her accent by her snooty Manhattan bosses, but you underscore how things were different.

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You were set to make the series and then the pandemic happened, and Covid protocols like constant testing and deep cleaning cost $2 million, a big chunk of your budget. Did your background as an indie filmmaker help prepare you for this?

I've made so many no-budget and low-budget movies -- you have to be able to think on your feet, to rewrite a scene on a moment's notice, tear up your plans for the day when you lose an actor or when the cops show up and say, ''Hey you don't have a permit.''

If I do have a strength as a filmmaker, it's my ability to pivot. They said with the $2 million they didn't think we could do the series. I said, ''I can reimagine this show.'' We were originally doing eight episodes and half the show took place in Manhattan -- we'd see characters coming out of an interview or meeting in a bar there.

I said I'd cut it to six episodes and rewrite everything to take place on the block where they grew up. I moved as many interior scenes as possible to exterior locations for safety, which is why they're always in the park or hanging in the backyard.

Early in your career you cast rising stars like Connie Britton, Leslie Mann, Cameron Diaz and Amanda Peet. Was it fun looking for new faces again?

Definitely. We didn't need name recognition so I said ''Let's find the best actors, but look for the kids who keep losing out to the more well-known actors.'' Like a ballplayer in Triple A who's ready and just needs someone to take a chance on him.

Sam Vartholomeos is from Astoria and still lives in Queens. When he came in, he said in auditions it always came down to him and another guy and he'd lose out. But I knew he was the real deal.

He went to LaGuardia High School and he'd had a teacher saying, ''You've got to get rid of that Queens accent.'' He was really concerned and was working on it until another teacher said, ''Don't worry so much -- plenty of actors work with an accent. One day, hopefully, you'll get to play Ed Burns's son.''

At his first wardrobe fitting he asks whose playing his parents. When he was told I'm playing his dad, he says, ''Get de [expletive] outta here. Are you kiddin' me?''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/22/arts/television/edward-burns-bridge-and-tunnel.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/22/arts/television/edward-burns-bridge-and-tunnel.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Edward Burns in East Hampton, N.Y. The independent filmmaker's new Epix series captures the post-college period when ''you're not quite an adult but no longer a kid.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY TIMOTHY O'CONNELL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C1)

From left, Rebecca Gibel, Edward Burns and Sam Vartholomeos in a scene from ''Bridge and Tunnel,'' Burns's new series for Epix about recent college graduates figuring out what's next.

To add a period flourish to ''Bridge and Tunnel,'' Burns lent his own vintage 1960s Mets jersey to Brian Muller, who plays Pags. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MYLES ARONOWITZ/EPIX) (C4)

**Load-Date:** January 23, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Edward Burns Returns to Long Island with ‘Bridge and Tunnel’***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61TV-7RD1-DXY4-X33X-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 22, 2021 Friday 05:57 EST

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**Section:** ARTS; television

**Length:** 1438 words

**Byline:** Stuart Miller

**Highlight:** Set in a 1980s version of his hometown, the filmmaker’s new Epix series captures the post-college period when “you’re not quite an adult but no longer a kid,” he said.

**Body**

Edward Burns has carved a distinctive path as an indie filmmaker in the quarter-century since he made a splash with his debut, [*“The Brothers McMullen.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/1995/08/09/movies/film-review-of-youth-heart-and-a-bit-of-the-blarney.html) He has consistently made movies for small ($250,000 for [*“Looking for Kitty”*](https://www.nytimes.com/1995/08/09/movies/film-review-of-youth-heart-and-a-bit-of-the-blarney.html)) to minuscule ($9,000 — yes, you read that right — for “Newlyweds”) budgets, and was experimenting with new distribution models even before the rise of streaming. In 2007, he made the first straight-to-iTunes movie, “Purple Violets,” and in 2010 he inaugurated Comcast’s straight-to-VOD Indie Film Club with “Nice Guy Johnny.”

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PHOTOS: Edward Burns in East Hampton, N.Y. The independent filmmaker’s new Epix series captures the post-college period when “you’re not quite an adult but no longer a kid.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY TIMOTHY O’CONNELL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C1); From left, Rebecca Gibel, Edward Burns and Sam Vartholomeos in a scene from “Bridge and Tunnel,” Burns’s new series for Epix about recent college graduates figuring out what’s next.; To add a period flourish to “Bridge and Tunnel,” Burns lent his own vintage 1960s Mets jersey to Brian Muller, who plays Pags. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MYLES ARONOWITZ/EPIX) (C4)

**Load-Date:** January 24, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Hakeem Jeffries, Pressing to Lead Democrats, Marks a Generational Shift***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66WP-34K1-DXY4-X3D7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 18, 2022 Friday 13:15 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1610 words

**Byline:** Nicholas Fandos and Annie Karni

**Highlight:** The congressman, who has served in the House for a decade, would be a far different leader from Speaker Nancy Pelosi, whom he is running to succeed.

**Body**

The congressman, who has served in the House for a decade, would be a far different leader from Speaker Nancy Pelosi, whom he is running to succeed.

Standing on the Senate floor during President Donald J. Trump’s 2020 impeachment trial, Representative Hakeem Jeffries, Democrat of New York, laid out the case for convicting and removing Mr. Trump, whose lawyer had just asked: “Why are we here?”

“We are here, sir, because President Trump corruptly abused his power and then he tried to cover it up,” Mr. Jeffries said in the staccato cadence of a prosecutor. “And we are here, sir, to follow the facts, follow the law, be guided by the Constitution, and present the truth to the American people.”

Mr. Jeffries, 52, concluded his grave presentation with a lyric by the rapper and fellow Brooklynite Biggie Smalls: “And if you don’t know, now you know.”

Such a reference may have been lost on Speaker Nancy Pelosi, 82, who has ruled the fractious House Democratic Caucus for the past two decades and on Thursday announced her plans to step down from leadership. Two years later, the moment underscores the generational and stylistic change that is now underway in top echelons of the party’s ranks in the House.

“Who else as an impeachment manager could quote Biggie Smalls?” said Representative Ritchie Torres, Democrat of New York.

Mr. Jeffries on Friday formally announced his run for Democratic leader, a bid that, if successful, would make him the first Black man to hold the top party leadership role in either chamber of Congress. For now, he is unopposed for the post, and widely regarded by his colleagues as all but certain to secure it.

In many ways, he and Ms. Pelosi couldn’t be more different.

She is the daughter of a congressman and former mayor, who was born into a Baltimore political dynasty and later became a wealthy San Francisco homemaker, embodying the progressive social politics of her adopted hometown. In Congress, she has been a master legislator who has led with an iron grip on her caucus and helped enact landmark Democratic policy initiatives for two decades — usually while wearing stilettos.

Mr. Jeffries is the son of a ***working-class*** social worker and a substance abuse counselor, who became a high-powered litigator. He still lives in the heart of Black Brooklyn and often pairs his suits with sneakers. Outside of bipartisan federal sentencing reform, his own legislative record is relatively thin, pointing to a sharp learning curve ahead.

What the two lawmakers share is a pragmatic streak, and a keen sense of where political compromise is available.

“He is really deliberative; he’s not the type to quickly react to a question or a concern,” said Representative Grace Meng, a Queens Democrat who has served with Mr. Jeffries in Albany and Washington. “He will listen, absorb it and usually come back with a solution that most people would not have thought of.”

Mr. Jeffries is known among his colleagues in Congress as a calm, self-disciplined operator who usually speaks with no notes. He sends cheesecakes from Junior’s, the Brooklyn staple, each holiday season and hosts an annual “Hip-Hop on the Hill” event. A defender of bedrock liberal priorities like abortion rights and Medicare for All, he has also been at the forefront of efforts to fight racial injustice, including through overhauling the nation’s criminal justice system and slowing gentrification.

But he also has an intensely pragmatic streak and is uncomfortable with the party’s activist left wing, whose approach he has argued is unrealistic and self-defeating. Alongside Representative Josh Gottheimer, a moderate Democrat from New Jersey, he started Team Blue, a fund-raising initiative that has backed Democrats fielding primary challenges from the left.

Many progressives, in turn, regard him with intense distrust and even hostility, arguing that he is too solicitous of corporate interests and too cautious on addressing climate change. Should he become the leader, their skepticism may be one of Mr. Jeffries’s first and thorniest challenges.

“He needs the left’s support if he’s going to do his job and hold the Democratic caucus together in this really, really narrow split Congress,” said Liat Olenick, an activist who works with Brooklyn’s Indivisible chapter and Climate Families NYC. “And to do that, he needs to stop antagonizing progressive leaders and take a more collaborative approach.”

As Democrats rushed to endorse his candidacy this week even before Mr. Jeffries’s announcement, Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York, a progressive, remained noncommittal, saying she was still “processing” Ms. Pelosi’s decision to step aside and that there was “healing that needs to be done in our caucus.”

If he prevails, Mr. Jeffries would present a far different model of Democratic political power than the nation is used to seeing. Born in Brooklyn’s Crown Heights neighborhood, Mr. Jeffries represents some of the most storied urban Black communities in the country, including some once represented by the trailblazing congresswoman Shirley Chisholm.

He came to power two decades ago as a political insurgent with a sharp tongue, eschewing the Democratic Party power structure. Other than a brief flirtation with running for mayor, his preference has been to exercise power discreetly.

“He’s what we call a code switcher,” said Ruben Diaz Jr., a Bronx Democrat and one of the congressman’s closest allies. “He can hang out with hip-hop artists, he can be in the hood in Brooklyn or the Bronx, but he can also be inside the Oval Office and negotiate with POTUS.”

Born into a family descended from enslaved people and Cape Verdeans, Mr. Jeffries came of age in the 1980s and 1990s in a central Brooklyn that was a hotbed of Black activism and remarkable cultural output, but also crime and unrest as New York City struggled through the crack cocaine epidemic.

Mr. Jeffries attended New York City public schools and the State University at Binghamton, where he was the president of the historically Black [*Kappa Alpha Psi*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kappa_Alpha_Psi) fraternity. He earned a law degree at N.Y.U., and was one of the few young Black lawyers in the litigation departments at the prestigious firm Paul, Weiss and then at CBS. In the latter role, he worked on a suit stemming from the 2004 Super Bowl halftime show, when Justin Timberlake briefly exposed Janet Jackson’s breast on live television.

Starting in 2000, around age 30, he ran for office three times before he won a seat in the State Assembly. He got to Congress in 2012 by defeating Charles Barron, a former Black Panther and City Council member, in a primary.

“He was definitely of the generation of mostly men who were outsiders of the Democratic Party and worked to kick in the door,” said Lupe Todd-Medina, a longtime political adviser. “Once they got in, that was when you saw the shift of Black political power go from Harlem to Central Brooklyn.”

In office, Mr. Jeffries quickly made criminal justice reform his top legislative priority, and the issue would become a through line in an otherwise modest legislative portfolio.

In Albany, he teamed up with Eric Adams, the future mayor of New York City, to ban the Police Department from maintaining a database of men its officers had stopped and frisked. In Washington, he helped write what became the First Step Act, a bipartisan federal sentencing overhaul signed by Mr. Trump, and wrote a bill passed by the House that would ban the use of chokeholds by police.

The Rev. Al Sharpton, who has known Mr. Jeffries for three decades, recalled working with him in 1999 on the case of Amadou Diallo, an unarmed 23-year-old immigrant from West Africa who was killed in the Bronx by four police officers who fired 41 shots because they thought he was reaching for a gun.

“When we were fighting police brutality, he would say, ‘I’ll help, but I’m not the guy that will go to jail, I’m the guy who will help get the legislation through.’”

Mr. Sharpton added: “He is an activist in his way. But all activists don’t do the same thing. He is committed to the long-term goal of what we’re trying to do.”

During the Trump administration, he worked closely with Jared Kushner, the former president’s son-in-law, to pass the First Step Act, visiting the White House for meetings even while serving as one of the Democrats’ most vocal critics of Mr. Trump.

Mr. Jeffries’s wife, Kennisandra Arciniegas-Jeffries, works for the benefits fund of the Service Employees International Union Local 1199, one of the city’s most powerful unions. They have two sons in college and live in Prospect Heights, a neighborhood that has rapidly gentrified in recent years, less than a mile away from Senator Chuck Schumer, the majority leader.

Mr. Jeffries has worked closely with Ms. Pelosi as part of her leadership team and remained deferential to her as she weighed whether to step down from leadership or seek another term leading her caucus. But the two have had a tense relationship at times, with Ms. Pelosi always aware that Mr. Jeffries’s political ambitions would only be realized with the end of her own.

As for how he would fare as the person in charge of keeping the Democratic caucus together, even his closest allies in Congress said it’s too soon to tell.

“It’s very difficult to know that until you go through that,” said Mr. Gottheimer, “until you’re the maestro yourself.”

PHOTOS: Representative Hakeem Jeffries, above with his House colleagues Adam Schiff, left, Jerrold Nadler, rear, and Jason Crow in 2020, and below with his sons, Joshua and Jeremiah, in 2012. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES; TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A12.

**Load-Date:** November 19, 2022

**End of Document**



[***We Are Facing a Turning Point for New York City; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62TH-FYD1-JBG3-61CG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 1, 2021 Tuesday 11:54 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1142 words

**Byline:** Kim Phillips-Fein

**Highlight:** Coming out of the pandemic, is it possible to build a more equal city?

**Body**

One year after the terrifying first wave of Covid swept the city, the availability of federal aid has helped buoy New York through the pandemic. It’s likely that the city will even see a budget surplus for 2022.

Still, New York has been shaken by the pandemic. Unemployment remains high, especially among low-wage workers in the service industries. Many fears remain: Will companies leave the city, no longer wanting to pay high rents if their workers can telecommute? Will property taxes plummet, decimating the city’s revenues? Will restaurants and theaters and bars reopen to the same packed crowds?

Viewed through a lens focused on these problems, the city has not faced this much existential uncertainty since the 1970s. As unemployment skyrocketed during last year’s lockdown and as the number of homicides rose, it seemed quite possible that New York might be headed for a prolonged crisis — similar to the one that brought the city to the edge of bankruptcy in 1975.

Today, in the midst of a race to pick a new mayor, New York seems at a turning point. Although the uptick in crime has garnered the most attention from the candidates, this obscures the extent to which a larger set of political questions are at stake in the election. Just as in the 1970s, New York faces a daunting challenge in which the old way of organizing the city’s life no longer seems viable, but it is not clear what the new one will be.

But there are lessons to be learned from that earlier time of crisis and transformation — and from the social vision that characterized New York City earlier in the 20th century.

For much of the post-World War II period, New York City had an ambitious local government. It ran a free system of higher education (and added new campuses over the 1950s and 1960s), an expansive public health department and more than 20 public hospitals. The city’s leaders embraced the idea that local government could play an important role in building a city open to all.

The fiscal crisis of the 1970s brought an end to these politics. As the city fell into an economic recession — one that emerged in part as a result of national trends and policies with origins far beyond the five boroughs — it was no longer able to generate the revenues that it needed to sustain the public sector. Bankruptcy seemed [*likely*](https://www.nytimes.com/2006/12/28/nyregion/28veto.html).

It was averted only when the city government agreed to sharp budget cuts in order to obtain federal aid. Tens of thousands of city workers were laid off, class sizes in schools swelled, public hospitals closed, routine maintenance stopped. The city university began to charge tuition for the first time.

Today, New York has been able to avoid a fiscal crisis for reasons that go beyond the availability of federal aid. The city’s economy was in better shape before the pandemic than in the 1970s.

But the bigger difference between then and now is political. After the fiscal crisis, many of the city’s political and economic leaders insisted that budgetary health depended on finding more ways to reach out to business, while relinquishing its old emphasis on the needs of poor and ***working-class*** New Yorkers. As the investment banker and city leader Felix Rohatyn [*put it*](https://www.nytimes.com/2006/12/28/nyregion/28veto.html), “Business has to be supported and not just tolerated.”

In the late 1970s, this approach to city governance led the city to [*offer*](https://www.nytimes.com/2006/12/28/nyregion/28veto.html) Donald Trump (and the Hyatt Corporation) tax abatements worth hundreds of millions of dollars to redevelop the Commodore Hotel near Grand Central Terminal. More recently, it has justified the billions spent on the Hudson Yards complex.

The idea that the city must appeal to the affluent has shaped policy in subtler ways as well. For example, the city’s gifted-and-talented program, with its emphasis on testing 4-year-olds — a program that has disproportionately served children of white and Asian backgrounds — seems designed to keep families who might otherwise go to private schools or the suburbs in the public system. The “stop-and-frisk” police strategy (ruled racially discriminatory by a federal judge in 2013) emphasized the comfort of tourists and well-off New Yorkers over the civil rights of young Black and Hispanic ones.

These underlying assumptions about city government are being challenged. The experience of the pandemic has called into question the old consensus that a focus on retaining business and the wealthy should guide city policy.

As a result, the State Legislature has raised taxes on millionaires, which has helped make it possible for the city to win funding for schools long promised by Albany. The city also plans to use some of its federal money to increase spending on initiatives that will especially affect people who are ***working-class***, middle-class or poor — like public health and early childhood education.

New York’s finances remain perilous; sales taxes and hotel taxes are down, though personal income taxes are up, buoyed by the stock market and also by federal stimulus. The federal funds that have supported recovery will not always be there, raising the question of how programs they fund today will be paid for in the future. The city’s own predictions forecast budget shortfalls in a few years, though these may well disappear if growth resumes. (The Independent Budget Office, a watchdog organization, [*suggests*](https://www.nytimes.com/2006/12/28/nyregion/28veto.html) that the gaps are manageable.)

But a new mayor will take charge in a city where the terms of political debate are changing fast, and in which more and more New Yorkers are asking what they can expect from their local government. Out of the pandemic, is it possible to build a more equal New York?

These concerns have been percolating through the mayoral race, even as they have been overshadowed by fears of crime, scandal, personality and the age-old question of how to define a bodega. But they will be at the heart of the city’s politics over the next four years.

Following the near-bankruptcy of the 1970s, the city turned away from its old traditions of social justice. Today, we might take a different set of lessons from that earlier crisis — this time, from the New Yorkers who slept in fire stations and libraries to keep them open. A city belongs to those who are willing to fight for it, whose lives and whose labor make it run.

Kim Phillips-Fein, a historian at the Gallatin School of Individualized Study at New York University, is the author, most recently, of “[*Fear City*](https://www.nytimes.com/2006/12/28/nyregion/28veto.html): New York’s Fiscal Crisis and the Rise of Austerity Politics” and “Invisible Hands: The Businessmen’s Crusade Against the New Deal.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2006/12/28/nyregion/28veto.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.nytimes.com/2006/12/28/nyregion/28veto.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2006/12/28/nyregion/28veto.html).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Damon Winter/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 2, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Sunak Faces Political Test of His Career: Unify Party and Fix the Economy***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66PJ-M7S1-DXY4-X0HC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 25, 2022 Tuesday 09:32 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1525 words

**Byline:** Mark Landler

**Highlight:** The Conservative Party is fractured and Britain’s public finances are battered. That will test the political skills of a leader who has been involved in national politics for only seven years.

**Body**

The Conservative Party is fractured and Britain’s public finances are battered. That will test the political skills of a leader who has been involved in national politics for only seven years.

LONDON — Rishi Sunak took over as Britain’s prime minister on Tuesday, the third in seven weeks, hoping to slow the revolving door at 10 Downing Street and restore stability to a government in turmoil.

But as he assembled a cabinet and began to confront a grave economic crisis, Mr. Sunak faced formidable political challenges, for which analysts said his seven-year career in national politics had not fully prepared him. The swift, truncated nature of his election may further complicate his task.

Having been elected with the votes of some 200 Conservative Party lawmakers, but not the party’s rank-and-file members, Mr. Sunak could have trouble claiming a mandate to lead a deeply fractured party, let alone the whole country. With his government forced into spending cuts and tax increases, he will have few resources with which to reward either his lawmakers or the public.

“He’s inheriting a divided party with a large number of Conservative M.P.s and members who believe he has no legitimate mandate,” said Matthew Goodwin, a professor of politics at the University of Kent. “That’s compounded by the fact that the party is in a free-fall and it’s not clear it has a parachute.”

And yet, on a day of now-familiar rituals, as Mr. Sunak, the fifth prime minister in six years, traveled to Buckingham Palace to be anointed by King Charles III, there was also a calm in British politics — something that had been missing since Boris Johnson’s chaotic departure this past summer.

Much of that owed to the 42-year-old prime minister himself: His well-received address to the nation on Tuesday showed a degree of political awareness, conceding the mistakes of his predecessor, Liz Truss, and promising improvement, while also reaching out to her and Mr. Johnson.

“I will place economic stability and confidence at the heart of this government’s agenda,” a somber and solitary Mr. Sunak said on Downing Street, after returning from the palace. “This will mean difficult decisions to come.”

His decision to appear there without his wife or daughters, and to dispense with the cheering staff members that greeted Ms. Truss last month, lent his arrival a brisk, businesslike tone. It also underlined the contrast between Mr. Sunak and his predecessor, which he said would extend beyond optics.

A former chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Sunak is expected to pull Britain back to more mainstream policies after Ms. Truss’s experiment in trickle-down economics, which rattled financial markets and badly damaged Britain’s fiscal reputation.

“Mistakes were made,” Mr. Sunak said. “Not borne of ill will or bad intentions. Quite the opposite, in fact. But mistakes, nonetheless. And I have been elected as leader of my party, and your prime minister, in part, to fix them.”

Mr. Sunak quickly set about selecting a cabinet remarkable for its familiar faces. He retained Jeremy Hunt, the chancellor whom Ms. Truss installed after ousting Kwasi Kwarteng, the architect of ill-fated tax cuts. Mr. Hunt, who has soothed the markets, is scheduled to present a more detailed fiscal plan on Oct. 31.

Mr. Sunak also kept on Ben Wallace as defense secretary and James Cleverly as foreign secretary, even though both had backed Mr. Johnson over him in the leadership race. And he retained Penny Mordaunt, who mounted a spirited challenge to him in that contest, as leader of the House of Commons.

It was a striking contrast to Ms. Truss, whose cabinet consisted almost entirely of people who had backed her for leader, and it seemed to signal a recognition by Mr. Sunak that he could not succeed by drawing dividing lines in the party.

Most conspicuously, Mr. Sunak reappointed Suella Braverman as home secretary, a job she had been forced out of only a week ago, ostensibly because she breached security rules. Her appointment was a gesture to the Conservative Party’s right flank: Ms. Braverman is a hard-liner who wants to cut immigration numbers. She said her “dream” was to see flights deporting asylum seekers from Britain to Rwanda.

Mr. Sunak did reward some loyalists, naming Dominic Raab, who campaigned faithfully for him, as deputy prime minister and justice minister, posts he held under Mr. Johnson.

Ms. Truss made her own appearance at Downing Street in the morning with her family, after formally submitting her resignation to the king, just seven weeks after she had been anointed by his mother, Queen Elizabeth II, in one of her last official acts, two days before her death.

In defiant, unapologetic farewell remarks, Ms. Truss took credit for protecting people from rising energy bills. Reiterating her belief in lower taxes and a fast-growing economy, she said, “I am more convinced than ever we need to be bold and confront the challenges that we face.”

Taking a page from Mr. Johnson, who likened himself to the retiring fifth-century Roman politician Cincinnatus, Ms. Truss quoted the Roman philosopher Seneca: “It is not because things are difficult that we do not dare. It is because we do not dare that they are difficult.”

Ms. Truss’s misfires have made Mr. Sunak’s job even more difficult. Britain’s straitened public finances and its higher borrowing costs — a consequence, in part, of rising interest rates in reaction to her policies — will require painful spending cuts. That will further test Mr. Sunak’s political skills. Last summer, he struggled to sell his tough-love message to party members, who preferred Ms. Truss’s supply-side remedies.

“The ideological riddle that Sunak has to try to solve is how the Conservative Party, amid a profound and prolonged economic crisis, can reconnect with the voters it attracted after Brexit,” Professor Goodwin said.

Mr. Sunak did reappoint Michael Gove, a seasoned minister, to a post overseeing efforts to “level up” struggling cities in the Midlands and north of England with more prosperous London. That is important to retaining ***working-class*** voters who propelled the Conservatives to their landslide general election victory in 2019.

As chancellor, Mr. Sunak was lionized when he doled out billions of pounds to people who had lost their jobs because of the coronavirus pandemic. He sponsored another good-news program, “Eat Out to Help Out,” which subsidized meals at restaurants to revive the industry after lockdowns.

But when it came to withdrawing those benefits and raising taxes, Mr. Sunak’s reputation unsurprisingly suffered. During his campaign against Ms. Truss, he struggled to stick to his message of fiscal conservatism. Under pressure from her promises of tax cuts, he said he would temporarily suspend the value-added tax, a sales tax, on energy bills — something that he had earlier rejected.

“He doesn’t have a lot of what I’d call trench-fighting experience,” said Tim Bale, a professor of politics at Queen Mary University of London. “His progress through the party has been so rapid that he hasn’t spent years forging friendships with colleagues who’ve got his back come what may.”

Professor Bale said Mr. Sunak was also thin-skinned about criticism he faced last spring of his wife, Akshata Murty, the daughter of an Indian technology billionaire, [*for her privileged tax status*](https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2022/apr/07/rishi-sunaks-wife-says-its-not-relevant-to-say-where-she-pays-tax-overseas). Her so-called non-domicile status allowed her to avoid paying taxes in Britain on millions of pounds of her global income (she [*eventually agreed*](https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2022/apr/08/rishi-sunak-akshata-murty-us-green-cards)to pay British taxes).

While Mr. Sunak’s sensitive reaction to the attacks against his wife may have been understandable, he is likely to face many more of them in the coming months from an opposition Labour Party that will seize on his extreme wealth to paint him as out of touch with the anxieties of ordinary people.

“They don’t care that he and his family are filthy rich,” Professor Bale said. “They do care they didn’t seem to be paying their fair share. That — and his heated outdoor swimming pool and his house in Santa Monica — is going to make it difficult for him to argue, ‘We’re all in this together.’”

Political analysts said the sheer magnitude of Ms. Truss’s failure was Mr. Sunak’s biggest asset. The Conservatives are trailing Labour by more than 30 percentage points in some polls. Even those who ardently opposed Mr. Sunak recognize that he is likely their last hope of avoiding a general election rout that would sweep hundreds of Conservative lawmakers out of their seats.

“His M.P.s have looked over the edge of the precipice and know that, unless they get behind the guy, who is basically their last chance, they’re heading for a huge fall,” Professor Bale said. “Basically, it’s Rishi or bust.”

PHOTOS: Prime Minister Rishi Sunak reported to 10 Downing Street on Tuesday with a somber but well-received speech on Britain’s challenges. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KIRSTY WIGGLESWORTH/ASSOCIATED PRESS); Liz Truss, the former prime minister, was defiant in her farewell. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DAN KITWOOD/GETTY IMAGES); Mr. Sunak met with King Charles III at Buckingham Palace. (PHOTOGRAPH BY AARON CHOWN/POOL, VIA GETTY IMAGES) (A6) This article appeared in print on page A1, A6.

**Load-Date:** October 26, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Why a Crash In Crypto Matters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66WK-KFB1-DXY4-X2KX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 18, 2022 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 20

**Length:** 1702 words

**Byline:** By Erin Griffith

**Body**

The failure of the cryptocurrency exchange FTX put the entire industry under scrutiny.

How could a $32 billion company vaporize overnight? That's what anyone watching the sudden collapse of FTX, a hot cryptocurrency start-up that plunged into bankruptcy last week, might be puzzling over.

It will take time -- and multiple federal investigations -- to fully understand what happened behind the scenes at FTX, a Bahamas-based crypto exchange. But the impact is already becoming clear. Lawmakers are calling for more oversight. Crypto die-hards are trying to distance themselves. Critics of this sector of finance are crowing. And for those of you who had, until now, managed to ignore the rise and rise and rise of crypto as a phenomenon? First of all, good for you. And second, you may want to watch this one play out. I'll explain why shortly.

But first, here is the simplest explanation of what happened that I can manage: FTX let people and companies buy and sell digital currencies, holding billions of dollars' worth of customer deposits. FTX's founder, Sam Bankman-Fried, also created an investment fund that trades cryptocurrencies called Alameda Research. The businesses were supposed to be separate, but this year, Alameda needed cash and apparently dipped into FTX's customer deposits. Then, this month, FTX customers became worried about their deposits and rushed to withdraw them, setting off a bank run and pushing FTX into bankruptcy.

The apparent commingling of funds between Alameda and FTX is highly suspicious and could lead to criminal fraud charges and lawsuits. The Securities and Exchange Commission and Justice Department are investigating. I want to explain today why the disintegration of FTX matters -- it's more than simply one man's financial catastrophe.

Three reasons

1. Crypto went mainstream in the pandemic. Regulation has yet to catch up.

Cryptocurrencies were part of overlapping investment manias -- including meme stocks, trading cards, NFTs and sneakers -- that got people chasing speculative investments over the past few years. But not everyone buying in understood the level of risk involved.

If a bank fails, the government might step in and bail it out. A hallmark of crypto is that it is largely unregulated -- buyer beware. Hacks can't be reversed, misplaced funds can't be retrieved by calling customer service, and a failing crypto exchange is not likely to get a government bailout. Investors have few protections.

Risky bets at several crypto projects once deemed valuable have already led to ''death spirals'' this year, incinerating billions of dollars' worth of investors' money. But FTX and Bankman-Fried stand out. He appeared on magazine covers, schmoozed regulators, grew his profile in philanthropy and politics and even sponsored a sports arena in Miami. He made hundreds of investments in smaller crypto projects and aggressively bailed out failing ones.

Evangelists for cryptocurrencies and their underlying technology promote them as investment vehicles that eliminate the need for faith in people and institutions. But Bankman-Fried made a point of fostering trust: from investors, journalists, politicians and charities. Now he's a pariah, and he brought all of the crypto industry under scrutiny.

2. FTX's collapse is connected to the broader tech industry retreat.

Bankman-Fried is already drawing comparisons to Bernie Madoff. And just as Madoff's Ponzi scheme fell apart during the 2008 financial crisis, FTX's collapse arrives amid a broader pullback for the tech industry. Tech stocks have crashed. Venture capital funding is drying up. Nearly 800 tech companies have laid off more than 120,000 workers this year, with cuts hitting Meta, Amazon and Twitter.

The tough times in tech can be traced to interest rates for borrowing money. For more than a decade, rates were low, pushing investors to chase risk and pour money into high-growth tech companies. Now, rates are rising, just as the pandemic-fueled growth of the last two years fades. The rate increases have hurt tech company valuations and access to capital -- including those focused on crypto.

3. There's more to come.

FTX's bankruptcy filings list more than one million creditors. In addition to people who used the platform to store their cryptocurrency investments and investors who backed the company directly, numerous funds and crypto start-ups had assets locked up there.

Investment managers that dabbled in crypto ''should really be considering whether they should have relatively new, relatively unproven, relatively unregulated assets in their retirement plans,'' said Marcia Wagner, founder of the Wagner Law Group, a firm focused on employee benefits. ''There are certain types of assets that frankly don't belong.''

More tech

Bankman-Fried criticized regulators in a blunt interview with Vox.

SpaceX employees say they were fired for speaking out about Elon Musk.

Musk gave Twitter employees a deadline to decide whether they want to stay at the company.

Don't delete your account just yet. Here's how to prepare for life after Twitter.

The latecomer's guide to crypto.

THE LATEST NEWS

Elections

Republicans clinched control of the House of Representatives, giving them a check on President Biden's agenda. Here's how they did it.

A slim majority and ideological gulfs among Republicans will make the House difficult to manage, The Times's Carl Hulse writes.

Karen Bass, a Democrat, became the first woman to be elected mayor of Los Angeles.

Senate Republicans re-elected Mitch McConnell as their leader.

Hard-right conservatives endorsed Donald Trump's 2024 bid, but other former allies shunned it.

Politics

A bill to protect same-sex marriage rights cleared a Senate hurdle, with 12 Republicans joining Democrats to break a filibuster.

The House passed a bipartisan bill that limits the use of nondisclosure agreements to silence victims of sexual misconduct.

The House is considering seating a nonvoting representative from the Cherokee Nation, which would fulfill a promise in an 1836 treaty.

Education

The law schools of Yale and Harvard are withdrawing from U.S. News & World Report rankings, saying the system devalues efforts to recruit ***working-class*** students.

Part-time faculty members at the New School in New York are striking for better pay.

Other Big Stories

Tensions are easing over a strike in Poland that killed two people. NATO officials said that it was probably a Ukrainian missile, but that Russia was to blame.

China's leader, Xi Jinping, briefly scolded Justin Trudeau, Canada's prime minister, accusing him of leaking details of a conversation they had.

Britain's criminal justice system disproportionately prosecutes and jails Black people, a Times investigation found.

Protect your pets and livestock: About 10,000 mink are running loose in Ohio.

Opinions

Welcoming Chinese students to the U.S. is critical to combating Xi's rising authoritarianism, Diana Fu argues.

Trump faces five serious investigations. Ankush Khardori documents how he could wriggle out of them.

MORNING READS

Marie Kondo is back: Move over, hygge. It's time for kurashi.

Etiquette: Do handwritten thank-you notes still matter? (Short answer: yes.)

A Times classic: Most Americans live pretty close to their moms.

Advice from Wirecutter: This slow cooker makes dinner while you're away.

Lives Lived: Virginia McLaurin was born a sharecroppers' daughter in the Jim Crow South. In 2016, she danced with Barack Obama and Michelle Obama at the White House. She died on Monday. She was 113 by her own accounting. (She had no birth certificate.)

SPORTS NEWS FROM THE ATHLETIC

A third Cy Young Award: The Astros ace and current free agent Justin Verlander picked up his third career A.L. Cy Young Award, an astounding feat at 39. The Marlins' Sandy Alcantara unanimously won on the N.L. side.

Nets and Simmons at odds: The Brooklyn Nets have grown increasingly frustrated with Ben Simmons' lack of availability and passion for the game, The Athletic's Shams Charania and Sam Amick write, another wrinkle in what has been a nightmare season for the Nets.

ARTS AND IDEAS

The National Book Awards

This year's National Book Award, one of the most prestigious literary prizes, was awarded last night.

Nonfiction: Imani Perry, a professor of African American studies, won for ''South to America,'' in which she travels to the American South, where she is from, to examine race, culture, politics and identity. ''I write for my people. I write because we children of the lash-scarred, rope-choked, bullet-ridden, desecrated are still here, standing,'' Perry said.

Fiction: Tess Gunty won for ''The Rabbit Hutch,'' which focuses on the daily dramas of tenants in a Midwestern housing complex. The Times called it a ''prismatic and often mesmerizing debut.''

For more: Here's a list of winners.

PLAY, WATCH, EAT

What to Cook

This creamy fettuccine honors Bronte, Sicily, a town renowned for its pistachios.

Seven Days to Thanksgiving

If you're planning a vegetarian Thanksgiving, Alexa Weibel has recipes for a blockbuster centerpiece -- an ombré gratin -- and four sides that use fall vegetables.

Theater

The lure of fascism comes disguised as adolescent romance in ''Camp Siegfried,'' Bess Wohl's disturbing new play.

Late Night

The hosts joked about Trump's campaign announcement.

Now Time to Play

The pangram from yesterday's Spelling Bee was lightbulb. Here is today's puzzle.

Here's today's Mini Crossword, and a clue: Syrup flavor (five letters).

And here's today's Wordle. After, use our bot to get better.

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow.

P.S. Jane Gross, a Times journalist who in 1975 became the first woman known to report from the locker room of a professional basketball team, died last week at 75.

Here's today's front page.

''The Daily'' is about Israel. On the Modern Love podcast, falling for your sperm donor.

Matthew Cullen, Lauren Hard, Lauren Jackson, Claire Moses, Ian Prasad Philbrick, Tom Wright-Piersanti and Ashley Wu contributed to The Morning. You can reach the team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](mailto:themorning@nytimes.com)

Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/17/briefing/crypto-collapse-ftx.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/17/briefing/crypto-collapse-ftx.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A20.

**Load-Date:** November 18, 2022

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[***N.Y. Democrats Blame Eric Adams for Election Losses. He Doesn’t Care.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66WK-RPV1-DXY4-X35R-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 18, 2022 Friday 13:26 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1608 words

**Byline:** Emma G. Fitzsimmons and Jeffery C. Mays

**Highlight:** The New York City mayor focuses relentlessly on crime, and critics say he lent legitimacy to Republicans who played up the issue in their midterms campaigns.

**Body**

The New York City mayor focuses relentlessly on crime, and critics say he lent legitimacy to Republicans who played up the issue in their midterms campaigns.

As New York Democrats sought to spread blame for their dismal performance in the midterm elections, a fair share was directed toward someone who wasn’t even running: Mayor Eric Adams of New York City.

One Democratic strategist wrote on Twitter that [*Mr. Adams had “betrayed” his party*](https://twitter.com/ghgtobias/status/1590377899726868480?s=20&amp;t=ZqpPrlVT30UXo_xX8hOtAg) by elevating “the Republicans’ crime panic narrative.” The Working Families Party [*accused him of “fearmongering”*](https://www.ny1.com/nyc/all-boroughs/politics/2022/11/10/did-adam-s-message-on-crime-boost-the-gop-) tactics that may have swung suburbanites to vote Republican.

And when Mr. Adams suggested that the state’s revised bail law was the reason for the Democrats’ poor performance, Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez [*offered a curt reply*](https://twitter.com/AOC/status/1590784809479307264?s=20&amp;t=ZqpPrlVT30UXo_xX8hOtAg): “Nope.”

Mr. Adams, a former police officer, couldn’t care less. He sees the election results in New York as a validation of his message and an opportunity to proselytize to national Democrats that they should embrace his brand of moderate politics rather than critique it.

“I think those who stated, ‘Don’t talk about crime,’ it was an insult to Black and brown communities where a lot of this crime was playing out,” Mr. Adams said in an interview.

He suggested that Democrats should treat the midterms as a teachable moment — a recognition that they mistakenly allowed Republicans to seize the narrative over public safety and crime.

“We’re strong on crime,” he said. “We voted for sensible gun laws. We voted to fund police officers, which the president has done, and yet we’ve allowed others to state that we’re just the opposite.”

In his first year as mayor, Mr. Adams has certainly tried to control the narrative on crime in the city. He constantly talks about public safety, [*visiting crime scenes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/08/nyregion/bodega-stabbing-jose-alba.html) and repeatedly pushing state lawmakers at news conferences to [*change bail laws*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/03/nyregion/bail-reform-adams-hochul.html) to make it easier to keep people in jail.

The heightened fear over crime in New York City is a bit of a chicken-and-egg conundrum: Are people more worried because Mr. Adams calls attention to nearly every high-profile crime and focuses on offenders returning to the streets? Or are New Yorkers genuinely more scared based on their experiences, and the mayor is responding to that?

Polls consistently showed that crime was a major issue in New York during the midterms. Roughly 42 percent of Republicans and 31 percent of independent voters listed it as their top issue, much higher than inflation and protecting democracy, [*according to a Quinnipiac University poll*](https://poll.qu.edu/poll-release?releaseid=3859).

Sochie Nnaemeka, the director of the Working Families Party in New York, said Mr. Adams’s comments about crime were particularly damaging because the public considers him a potent and credible messenger on the issue.

“What we see, especially because of the bully pulpit of the mayor, because of his lived experience as a former police officer, as a Black man, real badges of credibility in our communities, is that he accelerated a fear-based vision of the world that coincides exactly with what the G.O.P. strategy was,” Ms. Nnaemeka said. “It left many voters looking to the G.O.P. to solve the issue.”

Indeed, while Gov. Kathy Hochul, a Democrat, held off a challenge from Representative Lee Zeldin, a Republican, her [*margin of victory*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/11/08/us/elections/results-new-york-governor.html) was narrower than any governor in the state in three decades. And the party’s losses in several swing congressional races in New York helped Republicans take control of the House.

Ms. Hochul did well in New York City, where Democrats far outnumber Republicans. But in the Long Island suburbs, where television ads depicted the city as a lawless hellscape, Mr. Zeldin won 55 percent of the vote and Republicans flipped two Democratic House seats. Some Democratic state lawmakers in more conservative neighborhoods like Brighton Beach and Dyker Heights in Brooklyn also lost their seats.

In those neighborhoods and in Floral Park on Long Island, along the Queens-Nassau County border, numerous voters said that concerns over crime influenced their choice of candidates, but no one said that Mr. Adams’s relentless messaging was a factor.

“He’s trying to do a decent job,” Joan Jones, 67, who lives in Floral Park, said of Mr. Adams.

Ms. Jones, who said she voted for Republicans for governor and Congress, said that crime and inflation were the two most important issues to her and that she wants to see harsher punishments for criminals.

“There has to be more consequences,” she said. “I’m afraid to ride the subway. It’s a shame.”

Crime has risen in New York City since the pandemic began, but the city is much safer than it was in the 1990s, when there were more than 2,000 murders each year. Murders are down this year by 13 percent, and shootings are down 15 percent, [*according to city data*](https://www.nyc.gov/assets/nypd/downloads/pdf/crime_statistics/cs-en-us-city.pdf). But major crimes are up this year by 28 percent, driven by robberies and assaults.

In 2019, state lawmakers in New York rewrote bail law so that fewer people awaiting trial landed behind bars because they could not afford to post bail.

There is no clear evidence that those changes contributed to an increase in crime. Critics and supporters of bail reform have pointed to data and particular cases to advance their argument, but the research is inconclusive.

Mr. Adams has nonetheless blamed some of that crime uptick on those changes — a position that found him more closely aligned with Mr. Zeldin. In August, [*Mr. Adams held a news conference to hammer home that message*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/03/nyregion/bail-reform-adams-hochul.html), providing specific examples of people who have been arrested repeatedly with guns, and Mr. Zeldin applauded him.

Ms. Hochul held her own news conference that day and appeared visibly peeved at the broadside from Mr. Adams, her ostensible political ally. Still, Mr. Adams campaigned for Ms. Hochul and sought to help her, holding a joint event shortly before the election to announce more police officers for the subway — though a $10,000 donation to Mr. Zeldin from a political action committee run by a key Adams ally did raise questions about his loyalty.

The bail issue was so contentious that Mr. Adams began to soften his rhetoric in late October after attending a summit on crime organized by Norman Siegel, the former head of the New York Civil Liberties Union. Bail reform was such a divisive issue that participants agreed to not address it and to instead seek common ground.

At a subsequent news conference with Ms. Hochul, Mr. Adams sought to broaden his message.

“Everyone wants to point one word to dealing with the criminal justice issue we have. Bail reform, bail reform, bail reform,” Mr. Adams said. “No, it’s more than that. There are many rivers that feed the sea of violence.”

Bruce Gyory, a veteran Democratic political strategist, said that Mr. Adams did help legitimize the Republicans’ messaging on crime, but that it would have been a major issue even without the mayor’s frequent comments.

“Adams did far more to help Hochul than to hurt her,” Mr. Gyory said.

Plenty of Democrats support the mayor’s approach. Representative Adriano Espaillat, a Democrat who represents northern Manhattan and the Bronx, said that Mr. Adams had sent more police officers to violent places in his district, and that voters were concerned about public safety.

“The No. 1 issue people came up to me about was crime,” he said in an interview. “He’s doing the right thing to address it.”

Representative Ritchie Torres, a Democrat from the Bronx who did not support Mr. Adams during last year’s mayoral primary, said in an interview that he believed the mayor’s influence in the midterms was overstated. People do feel less safe, he said, especially in communities of color.

“It was clear that The New York Post was on a crusade against Hochul regardless of what Eric Adams was saying,” he said.

As for Mr. Adams, his crusade continues. In one national television appearance two days after the election, the mayor harped on the importance of tightening bail restrictions. “This catch, repeat, release system is just destroying the foundation of our country,” he said on MSNBC’s “Morning Joe.” “That’s why we are losing this election.”

He wrote an opinion piece for USA Today last week, arguing that Democrats should focus more on the present-day needs of ***working class*** voters who are concerned about the economy, crime and inflation.

Now left-leaning Democrats like Jumaane Williams, the city’s public advocate, are worried that Mr. Adams and other elected officials will push for more changes to bail laws during the next state legislative session in January, and the issue will again dominate headlines.

“When you hyperfocus on something such as bail, it can take away resources and discussion about how you create public safety in the city and state,” Mr. Williams said.

In the aftermath of the midterms, New York’s Democratic power brokers flocked to Puerto Rico for an annual gathering. Mr. Adams and Ms. Hochul met privately for nearly half an hour at the Royal Sonesta Hotel on Friday. The hotel served cookies, which Mr. Adams declined to eat because they were not vegan, and the pair discussed legislative priorities for January.

Mr. Adams would not say whether they talked about bail laws, but he said that he and the governor were closer than ever despite meddling by Mr. Zeldin’s supporters.

“People who supported him used everything they could to create a wedge between Kathy and Eric,” the mayor said. “Thank goodness the two of us didn’t bite. We didn’t fall into the trap.”

Nate Schweber contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Mayor Eric Adams views the election results in New York as validation of his messaging on crime. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SARAH BLESENER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A17) This article appeared in print on page A1, A17.

**Load-Date:** November 18, 2022

**End of Document**



[***How to Fix a Brake Light; Tip***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61T5-H2M1-JBG3-60XR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 19, 2021 Tuesday 01:07 EST

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**Section:** MAGAZINE

**Length:** 372 words

**Byline:** Malia Wollan

**Highlight:** Immediately replace bulbs that are out. Get some screwdrivers. Needle-nose pliers come in handy, too.

**Body**

“I don’t know much about cars, but I know a ton about changing brake lights,” says Benjamin Hoffman, 30, a stand-up comic, food-service worker and co-chair of the New Orleans chapter of the Democratic Socialists of America. In 2017, the chapter organized its first free brake-light-fixing clinic after a member had a traumatic experience with police officers who pulled her over for having a broken one. Since then, the group has run dozens of clinics, replicated by other chapters in cities across the country. “Any encounter with the cops in America is serious,” Hoffman says. Avoid an expensive ticket by immediately replacing bulbs that are out, which is often easy for older cars.

“You’ll want some screwdrivers and a socket set,” Hoffman says. Needle-nose pliers can come in handy, too. Open your trunk or hatch and look for bolts, screws or clips holding the light fixture in place from the inside. Some cars make this tricky, and on occasion Hoffman and his colleagues have had to climb into people’s trunks to access them. (Look under the trunk’s upholstery. The fasteners are often hidden under plastic covers, which you can pop off with a flathead screwdriver.) Once you’ve unscrewed these, grab the light casing from the outside and tug until it comes off. Remove and replace the faulty bulb (bulbs are imprinted with their model numbers). If you can’t figure out how to get the brake light cover off, search YouTube with the car’s make and model. “It’s always the same archetypical old dudes walking you through how to do every car going back to the ’80s,” Hoffman says.

Over the years, brake-light volunteers have collected all the discarded bulbs in a giant sack; they joke about building a bulb sculpture and calling it Karl Sparks. Hoffman says it’s mostly ***working-class*** people who come to the clinics, often driving rickety cars. Volunteers keep packing tape on hand, just in case, and try to engage drivers in conversation about issues like criminal justice and policing. They pass out fliers and bumper stickers that read, “A socialist fixed my brake light.” “Sometimes rich people pull over,” Hoffman says. “We even had an off-duty cop one time.”

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by Radio FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** January 21, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Kill It and Leave This Town***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61CW-2H41-JBG3-64G2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 27, 2020 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; Movies, Performing Arts/Weekend Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 355 words

**Byline:** By Maya Phillips

**Body**

One viewing is enough for this animated feature debut by the Polish director Mariusz Wilczynski.

It's difficult to describe the Polish artist Mariusz Wilczynski's debut film, ''Kill It and Leave This Town,'' because the animated feature -- plotless, gloomy and surreal -- is more a direct translation of feelings and sensations than a traditional work of storytelling.

There is truly nothing traditional about ''Kill It,'' in which the filmmaker reflects on his grief, mortality and isolation in his ***working-class*** industrial town. The grim film feels excavated from the subconscious: The coarse illustration style, with its frazzled, stray lines, emphasizes the bleakness of the images.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

The first third of the film is especially brutal. A child needlessly berated by his mother; flies plucked off flypaper; a dying woman in a hospital bed saying, ''I'm all alone here, lonely as an owl,'' as her son, an analog of the filmmaker, brusquely brushes her off: Wilczynski makes a feast of the obscene, but it is, by nature, hard to digest.

The film does have the capacity for beauty -- scenes of snowfall and rainfall and light streaming from buildings reveal an elegance that he works hard to negate. He'd rather we stare at a nurse carefully maneuvering a frayed thread through a needle to stitch not cloth, but the belly and genitals of an old woman's corpse, while severed heads roll down the streets and humans defecate on the sidewalks.

Tadeusz Nalepa's surprisingly energetic rock-heavy score, however, is a satisfying companion to the film's swift shifts in scale and perspective.

After a while, Wilczynski seems to tire of his violent approach, and though the film maintains its dark dreaminess, his images soften, but a sense of listlessness persists that rejects resolution.

Because ''Kill It'' is more than anything an emotional experience, it feels long and taxing. Wilczynski might consider ''Kill It'' a success -- but I don't want to encounter it again.

Kill It and Leave This TownNot rated. In Polish, with subtitles. Running time: 1 hour 28 minutes. Watch through virtual cinemas.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/26/movies/review-kill-it-and-leave-this-town.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/26/movies/review-kill-it-and-leave-this-town.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: A scene from ''Kill It and Leave This Town,'' Mariusz Wilczynski's animated feature debut. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Outsider Pictures FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 27, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Casinos Target a Vulnerable Clientele: Older Asian Gamblers***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:675P-KHS1-DXY4-X13P-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 26, 2022 Monday 11:14 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1869 words

**Byline:** Nicole Hong, Mable Chan and Janice Chung

**Highlight:** The industry’s efforts to lure Asian customers will be a significant factor looming over the upcoming application process for new casino licenses in New York.

**Body**

MONTICELLO, N.Y. — Soon after the white coach bus pulled up on a recent Monday morning, the passengers stepped off into the frigid cold. Outside, they rushed to the nearest tree, railing, wall or grassy knoll to stash their plastic bags crammed with thermoses of rice and soup.

With their lunches stowed away, they headed into the gleaming casino at the end of the sidewalk.

And so began the routine for the hundreds of older Chinese immigrants who ride the bus two hours north every morning from New York City to the Resorts World Catskills casino in Monticello, N.Y., collecting a $45 slot machine voucher with each trip.

The scene illustrated a longstanding phenomenon in the industry: people of Asian descent are among the demographics most targeted by casinos, and casino buses have been ubiquitous for decades in Chinatowns and Koreatowns across the country. With New York City set to get its first full-service casino in the coming years, and potentially three of them, Asians are expected to be a core customer base, deepening a complicated relationship the community has with casinos.

Many of the city’s older Chinese residents rely on the weekly bus routine for entertainment — and even income from selling their vouchers — as a way to deal with the isolation of living in a country where they barely speak the language.

But the constant exposure to gambling can also be a gateway to addiction and debt, exacerbated by sophisticated casino marketing and a lack of problem-gambling services for this population. Although there is limited research on the prevalence of gambling by race, studies have shown that Asian Americans are at greater risk of developing a gambling disorder than the population as a whole.

The effort to lure Asian gamblers will be a significant factor surrounding [*the casino bidding process in New York*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/nyc-casino-tracker.html), which will begin early next year. State legislators had approved the new licenses hoping for more tax revenue and jobs, and regulators have said no decisions on casino locations will be made until “later in 2023 at the earliest.”

New York City is home to about 1.2 million residents of Asian descent, the highest of any American city. During meetings with prospective business partners this year, some casino operators scoping out potential locations have cited proximity to large Chinese populations as a top consideration, according to people familiar with the meetings, who spoke on the condition of anonymity.

It’s not yet clear how the expansion of casinos will affect rates of problem gambling among Asian New Yorkers. Industry experts said that any casinos in the city would have the advantage of proximity, most likely taking existing customers away from competing casinos in the region.

Customers of Asian descent are especially important for East Coast casinos near large metropolitan areas, and New York City is “the epicenter,” said Steve Karoul, a longtime industry consultant. The bus programs began decades ago when casinos wanted to attract players who did not own cars, he said. Many casinos contract with third-party bus companies to operate the buses.

“Gaming is fairly acceptable within the Asian communities, so they are a prime target for a lot of the casinos,” Mr. Karoul said. He added that large casinos train employees to intervene if they see signs of problem gambling among Asian players. “You don’t want to kill the goose that lays the golden egg,” he said.

Many casinos have built up Asian marketing departments for decades, targeting a wide range of ethnicities and age groups. Some focus on attracting older Chinese, Korean or Vietnamese immigrants, for instance, while others also tailor their food and entertainment options to appeal to younger Asian Americans coming with their extended families, according to industry consultants.

Before the pandemic, some casinos flew V.I.P. gamblers in on first-class flights from cities like Singapore and Taipei.

But the image of the international high roller is sharply at odds with what unfolds on the gambling floor after the casino buses pour in on weekdays, carrying large groups of older immigrants living on poverty wages.

In New York, many people ride the casino bus not to gamble but to sell the free slot machine vouchers to other players as their primary form of income. The vouchers are one of many promotions casinos use to lure customers of all races.

Guofu Zheng, who rides the bus regularly from south Brooklyn, said in an interview from the Resorts World Catskills gambling floor that he and his wife can make $45 per trip. He did not elaborate. Casino policy prohibits customers from transferring their slots cards to other players.

A former restaurant worker, Mr. Zheng, who declined to give his age, said no one was willing to hire him because he no longer has the stamina for manual labor. He used to gamble more frequently at casinos in Pennsylvania and Connecticut but, at the urging of his wife, has limited himself these days to low-stakes slot machines, he said.

Going to the casino made it possible for him to meet other Chinese immigrants from his native Fujian Province and to walk around the woods on the property, allowing him to “be happy for a bit,” he said in Mandarin.

“As you get older, staying at home is very lonely,” said Mr. Zheng, sipping a free plastic cup of red wine handed out by a casino hostess.

In a statement, Peter Chan, the vice president of international marketing at the Resorts World Catskills, said the casino took “great pride in providing our guests from the Asian community a beautiful environment and welcoming space inside and outside of our property, where our culture is respected and celebrated.”

Last year, a report funded by the Massachusetts Gaming Commission found that the stress and social isolation experienced by ***working-class*** Asian immigrants made them more susceptible to casino advertising, raising concerns about whether casinos were exploiting a vulnerable population.

After interviewing 40 people from Cambodian, Chinese, Korean and Vietnamese communities in the Boston region, the writers of the report said that casino gambling gave immigrants in low-wage jobs a “false sense of accomplishment.” Even as many of the people surveyed said they had borrowed money from friends or loan sharks to keep gambling, they also said casinos were the only entertainment option accessible to them.

“For many Asian seniors, they walk into any casino and don’t need to worry about cultural competence or respect or language,” said Don Lee, the chairman of Homecrest Community Services, which operates two senior centers in Brooklyn. “That’s the one place where they feel safe.”

A longtime casino bus driver in New York City, who spoke on the condition of anonymity for fear of losing his job, described in an interview in Cantonese the mind-numbing effect of seeing the same riders on his bus for years.

Some of his passengers return to New York City at night, he said, only to board another bus bound for casinos in Pennsylvania. Since the pandemic started, the riders, some of whom are undocumented, have increased their reliance on casinos, he said, because stringent travel restrictions have prevented them from visiting friends and family back home in China.

On a recent Monday, shortly after 8 a.m., a white coach bus parked on the edge of Manhattan’s Chinatown neighborhood, one of at least a dozen buses departing from heavily Chinese neighborhoods in New York City that day. Every seat was full, almost entirely with repeat customers. “I ride this bus everyday,” one man said in Cantonese as he boarded. A woman whom the riders referred to as a tour guide stood at the entrance, collecting the $20 bus fare.

As the bus departed, the tour guide walked to the back. “Don’t talk, don’t take off your shoes and don’t eat,” she said in Mandarin.

For the passengers, the destination was not known as the Resorts World Catskills, but as “yun ding.” The translation means “top of the clouds,” evoking the aspirations of the bus riders.

After the two-hour ride, the passengers lined up inside the casino to get the $45 vouchers loaded onto their Resorts World play cards.

On the gambling floor, the baccarat tables immediately filled up. One woman put $600 down in cash, as another player, carefully flipping over the cards she was dealt, complained loudly in Mandarin that the casino’s hot sauce was not good.

There were televisions broadcasting Chinese news stations throughout the casino, attracting a crowd of people watching intently for updates about the war in Ukraine. Many people sat at the slot machines without playing, chatting with each other in various dialects from southern China.

In interviews, the casino-goers said they had read in Chinese newspapers that a casino might open in New York City. One man named Mr. Zhang, who asked to be identified only by his last name, was thrilled at the prospect of a shorter casino commute but said he would still go occasionally to the Catskills property for the scenery.

Mr. Zhang, 56, said he lost $70,000 gambling last year, prompting him to play more in the hopes of winning it back. He immigrated six years ago from Beijing, where he worked as a calligraphy teacher, but is now unemployed, he said. He rides the bus weekly from his home in south Brooklyn to play baccarat and other games.

He pulled out his platinum Resorts World card, saying he was prepared to stop gambling once he played enough to obtain a black card, the highest status.

“If only I could win a little bit every time I came,” Mr. Zhang said in Mandarin. “How great would that be?”

During lunchtime, the outside perimeter of the casino filled with people slurping up the steaming bowls of food they had stashed away earlier — because the casino prohibited outside food.

Some bus riders opted out of the casino altogether, setting up dueling card games outside on wooden planks that attracted a crowd of onlookers.

When it was time to return to the city around 3 p.m., passengers began streaming back to the bus. As one woman walked to the casino exit, she stuck her hand into a crevice in the wall, where she had hidden a plastic soup container.

On the bus home, the sunset cascaded over the riders, some of whom were counting wads of cash. The tour guide walked down the aisle, collecting money from anyone who wanted to buy another bus ticket. Her plastic bag quickly filled with $20 bills. “I’ll be back in two days,” one rider said in Mandarin.

The next morning, the bus would leave from the same corner in Chinatown, and the routine would start again.

Dana Rubinstein contributed reporting.

Dana Rubinstein contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: Passengers boarding a casino bus in Manhattan’s Chinatown. (A1); Inside Resorts World Catskills in Monticello, N.Y. Many immigrants ride the casino bus there so they can sell the free slot machine vouchers to other players for income.; Guofu Zheng, above, a regular at Resorts World Catskills, said riding the casino bus allowed him to make money at a time when he has struggled to find work. Top right, the casino’s bus stop area; at right, visitors stashing their lunches outside before going inside. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JANICE CHUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A11) This article appeared in print on page A1, A11.

**Load-Date:** December 26, 2022

**End of Document**



[***San Francisco ousters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64T6-9G61-JBG3-62YT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 17, 2022 Thursday 20:04 EST

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1902 words

**Byline:** David Leonhardt

**Highlight:** Why are liberal candidates losing in liberal cities?

**Body**

Why are liberal candidates losing in liberal cities?

An earthquake

Elections to the San Francisco Board of Education are not normally national bellwethers. The city is a proud symbol of liberalism, not a swing district, and school-board elections — as Thomas Fuller, The Times’s San Francisco bureau chief, notes — “have for decades been obscure sideshows to the more high-profile political contests.”

But the recall election this week [*that ousted three board members*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/16/us/san-francisco-school-board-recall.html) wasn’t about only local politics. It also reflected a trend: Many Americans, even in liberal places, seem frustrated by what they consider a leftward lurch from parts of the Democratic Party and its allies. This frustration spans several issues, including education, crime and Covid-19.

Consider these election results from last year, all in politically blue places:

* In Minneapolis, voters rejected a ballot measure to replace the city’s Police Department with an agency that would have focused less on law enforcement.

1. In Seattle, voters [*elected*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/30/us/seattle-city-attorney-election.html) Ann Davison — a lawyer who had recently quit the Democratic Party because she thought it had moved “so far left” — as the city’s top prosecutor. Davison beat a candidate who wanted to abolish the police.
2. In New York, voters elected as their mayor Eric Adams, a Democrat who revels in defying liberal orthodoxy. As a candidate, Adams promised to crack down on crime. Since taking office, he has signaled his frustration with Covid restrictions.
3. In the Democratic-leaning suburbs of both New Jersey and Virginia, Republican candidates for governor did surprisingly well. Several postelection analyses — including one by aides to Phil Murphy, New Jersey’s Democratic governor, who narrowly survived — concluded that [*anger over Covid policies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/10/podcasts/the-daily/new-york-mask-mandates.html) played a central role.

Three reasons for change

The San Francisco school-board recall joins this list. There, three separate issues drove the campaign.

First, the school board had attempted to rename 44 schools, so that they no longer honored [*anybody deemed reactionary*](https://www.newyorker.com/news/q-and-a/how-san-francisco-renamed-its-schools). Among the apparent reactionaries were Paul Revere, George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Senator Dianne Feinstein and John Muir, the environmentalist.

Second, the board scrapped an admissions system based on grades and test scores for Lowell High School, which Mark Barabak of The Los Angeles Times [*calls*](https://www.latimes.com/politics/story/2022-02-16/san-francisco-school-board-recall-democrats) “one of the city’s most sacred institutions,” and replaced it with a lottery.

Third, the board kept schools closed for months during the pandemic and showed little concern for the damage. One of the since-recalled board members waved away the ineffectiveness of remote classes, [*saying*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2021/02/reopening-schools-covid-safe-unions-distance-learning.html) that children were “just having different learning experiences.”

To many parents, board members have seemed overly focused on projecting symbols of virtuousness while ignoring the needs of families. “We are not getting the basics right,” Siva Raj, a father who helped organize the recall effort, said.

Another recall organizer, Autumn Looijen, used an analogy to explain the anger. Covid was akin to an earthquake that forced people to move into tents on the sidewalk, she suggested. “Finally, your elected leaders show up and you’re like, ‘Thank God, here’s some help,’” [*Looijen told Politico*](https://www.politico.com/news/2022/02/11/activists-upending-democratic-politics-00008108). “And they say, ‘We are here to help. We’re going to change the street signs for you.’”

What’s striking about this situation is that the Republican Party is also out of step with public opinion on many of the same issues. Republicans have defended the Confederate flag, nominated candidates who make racist comments and launched [*an exaggerated campaign against critical race theory*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/28/opinion/critical-race-theory.html). Republicans have opposed popular measures to improve police accountability and gun regulations. Republicans have made false statements about Covid vaccines and claimed that masks are a tool of government oppression.

Rather than responding with positions that are both more liberal and more popular, some Democrats and progressive activists have responded by overreaching public opinion in the other direction.

They have opposed the resumption of normal operations in schools. They have said they would no longer honor [*popular former presidents*](https://today.yougov.com/topics/politics/articles-reports/2021/07/27/most-and-least-popular-us-presidents-according-ame), like Thomas Jefferson and Theodore Roosevelt. They have called for defunding the police.

They have also called for abolishing the agency that enforces immigration laws, eliminating private health insurance, maintaining the current system of affirmative action and forbidding almost all abortion restrictions.

Dividing lines

On some of these issues, public opinion splits along racial lines, with Democrats taking the positions favored by voters of color and Republicans aligning with white voters. Many Democrats believe that it would be immoral to do otherwise, whatever the political price.

On other issues, though, the racial dynamics are messier. Many Asian and Latino voters [*oppose the current version of affirmative action*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/16/us/liberals-race.html), which helps explain why the changes to Lowell High School resonated in San Francisco. Many Black and Latino voters are to the right of Democratic politicians on abortion and crime.

Class seems to be at least as big a dividing line as race. College-educated Democrats — who dominate the ranks of politicians, campaign staffs and activist organizations — tend to be [*well to the left of* ***working-class*** *Democrats*](https://www.slowboring.com/p/democrats-college-degree-divide). By catering to its well-off base, the party creates electoral problems for itself, because there are more ***working-class*** Americans than college graduates.

You could see this dividing line in the New York mayor’s race. Adams won the Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens and Staten Island [*with a multiracial coalition*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/07/briefing/democratic-party-covid-georgia.html), while losing affluent white neighborhoods. (Adams’s heterodox politics are common among Black Americans, the political scientist Christina Greer [*has written*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/03/opinion/eric-adams-biden.html).)

You can also see the dividing line in San Francisco, where the city’s mayor, London Breed, who is Black, endorsed the recall. In an interview with Yahoo News this week, Breed [*said*](https://twitter.com/alexnazaryan/status/1493787362739978244), “It breaks my heart that kids in our public school system still have to wear masks.”

Her comments are a reminder that many elected Democrats, including President Biden, tend to disagree with the party’s left flank on several of these issues and to be more in tune with public opinion. But that flank nonetheless influences voters’ image of the party. In the most recent national elections, in 2020, Democrats fared worse than they expected, despite the highest voter turnout in decades.

THE LATEST NEWS

Ukraine-Russia

* Western officials accused Russia of lying about withdrawing troops from the border with Ukraine, saying that Moscow had [*added more than 7,000 combatants*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/16/world/europe/ukraine-russia-putin-nato.html).

1. To understand President Vladimir Putin’s aim, [*consider this U.S. base in Poland*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/16/world/europe/poland-missile-base-russia-ukraine.html).

The Virus

* People who have contracted Covid are [*more likely to develop mental health issues*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/16/health/covid-depression-anxiety.html) than those who have not, a study found.

1. The Times’s Gina Kolata [*revisits the “Russian flu,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/14/health/russian-flu-coronavirus.html) a mysterious 1800s pandemic that caused exhaustion and a loss of smell.

Politics

* Biden [*rejected Donald Trump’s attempt*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/16/us/politics/biden-trump-white-house-visitor-logs.html) to withhold White House visitor logs from the House committee investigating the Capitol attack.

1. Trump has long invented facts and figures about his wealth. Now, dropped by his accountants, [*he has made new claims about his net worth*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/16/business/trump-wealth-mazars.html).
2. Ryan Zinke, Trump’s interior secretary, broke federal ethics rules, [*a watchdog found*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/16/us/politics/ryan-zinke-ethics.html).
3. The Education Department will [*cancel loans*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/16/business/student-loans-devry-university.html) for students defrauded by DeVry University.
4. How [*Kathy Hochul, New York’s first female governor*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/16/nyregion/kathy-hochul-governor.html), transformed herself from unexpected leader into clear front-runner.

The Olympics

* The Canadian women’s hockey team [*beat the U.S.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/16/sports/olympics/us-canada-womens-hockey.html) to win gold.

1. Mikaela Shiffrin tripped on a gate in the women’s combined. It was the third race [*she failed to finish*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/16/sports/olympics/mikaela-shiffrin-alpine-combined-skiing.html).
2. Follow this morning’s [*women’s figure skating competition*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/02/17/sports/figure-skating-olympics), and read about [*the jump that changed the sport*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/02/16/sports/olympics/quad-jumps-figure-skating.html).

Other Big Stories

* Eric Adams’s budget proposal for New York City calls for [*cuts to most city agencies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/16/nyregion/budget-adams-police-nyc.html), but not for the Police Department.

1. A conservative group is challenging [*elite public high schools*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/16/us/school-admissions-affirmative-action.html) in the U.S. that are changing admissions policies to diversify their student body.
2. At least [*94 people died in mudslides*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/16/world/americas/brazil-mudslides-death.html) in Brazil after intense rainfall.
3. Queen Elizabeth II is celebrating 70 years on the throne, but [*bad news hasn’t stopped*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/16/world/europe/andrew-prince-charles-charity.html) for the British royals.

Opinions

Economic sanctions are an imperfect tool to deter a Russian invasion. They’re also [*the best option*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/16/opinion/sanctions-russia-ukraine.html), says Peter Coy.

The rush to declare a pandemic over [*can leave people behind*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/17/opinion/aids-pandemic-covid.html), Gregg Gonsalves argues.

Parents caring for adult children who struggle with substance abuse or mental illness [*need more support*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/16/opinion/parenting-adult-children.html), Jessica Grose writes.

MORNING READS

TikTok: A child’s social media stardom opened doors. [*Then a gunman arrived*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/17/us/politics/tiktok-ava-majury.html).

TV: How the latest [*“Law &amp; Order” spinoff lost its way*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/16/magazine/law-order-svu-organized-crime.html).

Prawn cocktail: Maybe you’d like to [*look at some surreal ceramics*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/16/t-magazine/oddity-ceramics-surrealism-art.html).

Advice from Wirecutter: [*Declutter your life*](https://www.nytimes.com/wirecutter/blog/7-tips-to-declutter-your-life/).

Lives Lived: Walter Dellinger, an advocate for civil and reproductive rights, served as a top legal official in Bill Clinton’s administration. He [*died at 80*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/16/us/walter-dellinger-top-legal-official-in-clinton-white-house-dies-at-80.html).

ARTS AND IDEAS

The lives of street children

A street child in Lusaka, Zambia, finds another boy dead in a mountain of trash. Who was he, and who killed him? That’s the [*mystery at the heart of “Walking the Bowl,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/13/books/review/walking-the-bowl-chris-lockhart-daniel-mulilo-chama.html) a new nonfiction book by Chris Lockhart and Daniel Mulilo Chama.

Lockhart, an American anthropologist, and Chama, a Zambian outreach worker, partnered with a team of former street children who helped them gather information. The story follows a 17-year-old hustler; a spindly 8-year-old who is alone in the city; a 16-year-old prostitute planning her escape; and Lusabilo, an observant 11-year-old boy who scavenges through trash. Their lives twine around one another; each, it turns out, has played a key role in the boy’s death.

“Daily life, meticulously recorded, rarely has the attributes of a novel,” Ellen Barry, a mental health reporter for The Times who was previously chief international correspondent, writes in a review, “a clean arc of ascending action, a handful of vivid characters, an ending that snaps shut like a purse. ‘Walking the Bowl,’ remarkably, has all of those.”

More suggestions: [*Times editors recommend nine new books*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/10/books/review/9-new-books-we-recommend-this-week.html).

PLAY, WATCH, EAT

What to Cook

[*This one-pot German stew*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/11/dining/braised-short-rib-stew.html) is a go-to for cold days.

What to Read

Get a glimpse into the lives of rich daughters over the past five centuries in [*“Heiresses,” by Laura Thompson*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/15/books/review-heiresses-laura-thompson.html?).

What to Watch

[*“Out of Time,” at the Public Theater*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/16/theater/out-of-time-asian-american-actors.html), features performers over 60 delivering monologues on memory, parenthood and more.

Late Night

Jimmy Kimmel [*critiqued Trump’s latest statement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/17/arts/television/jimmy-kimmel-trump-financial-claims.html).

Now Time to Play

The pangram from yesterday’s Spelling Bee was outfoxed. Here is today’s puzzle — or you can [*play online*](https://www.nytimes.com/puzzles/spelling-bee).

Here’s [*today’s Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/games/wordle/index.html). (If you’re worried about your stats streak, play in the browser you’ve been using.)

Here’s [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/crosswords/game/mini), and a clue: “baby horse” (four letters).

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow. — David

P.S. Richard Nixon left the White House for China [*50 years ago today*](https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/big/0217.html).

[*Here’s today’s front page*](https://static01.nyt.com/images/2022/02/17/nytfrontpage/scan.pdf).

“[*The Daily*](https://www.nytimes.com/thedaily)” is about Russia and Ukraine. On [*the Modern Love podcast*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/16/podcasts/modern-love-podcast-ham-sandwich.html), a first-generation American’s struggle with sex.

Claire Moses, Ian Prasad Philbrick, Tom Wright-Piersanti, Ashley Wu and Sanam Yar contributed to The Morning. You can reach the team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](mailto:themorning@nytimes.com).

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing).

PHOTO: London Breed, San Francisco’s mayor. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Jim Wilson/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** February 17, 2022

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[***Why the Crypto Collapse Matters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66WD-BK71-JBG3-60H1-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1683 words

**Byline:** Erin Griffith

**Highlight:** The failure of the cryptocurrency exchange FTX put the entire industry under scrutiny.

**Body**

The failure of the cryptocurrency exchange FTX put the entire industry under scrutiny.

How could a $32 billion company vaporize overnight? That’s what anyone watching the sudden collapse of FTX, a hot cryptocurrency start-up that plunged into bankruptcy last week, might be puzzling over.

It will take time — and multiple federal investigations — to fully understand what happened behind the scenes at FTX, a Bahamas-based crypto exchange. But the impact is already becoming clear. Lawmakers are calling for more oversight. Crypto die-hards are trying to distance themselves. Critics of this sector of finance are crowing. And for those of you who had, until now, managed to ignore the rise and rise and rise of crypto as a phenomenon? First of all, good for you. And second, you may want to watch this one play out. I’ll explain why shortly.

But first, here is the simplest explanation of what happened that I can manage: FTX let people and companies buy and sell digital currencies, holding billions of dollars’ worth of customer deposits. FTX’s founder, Sam Bankman-Fried, also created an investment fund that trades cryptocurrencies called Alameda Research. The businesses were supposed to be separate, but this year, Alameda needed cash and [*apparently dipped into*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/14/technology/ftx-sam-bankman-fried-crypto-bankruptcy.html) FTX’s customer deposits. Then, this month, FTX customers became worried about their deposits and rushed to withdraw them, setting off a bank run and [*pushing FTX into bankruptcy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/11/business/ftx-bankruptcy.html).

The apparent commingling of funds between Alameda and FTX is highly suspicious and could lead to criminal fraud charges and lawsuits. The Securities and Exchange Commission and Justice Department are investigating. I want to explain today why the disintegration of FTX matters — it’s more than simply one man’s financial catastrophe.

Three reasons

1. Crypto went mainstream in the pandemic. Regulation has yet to catch up.

Cryptocurrencies were part of [*overlapping investment manias*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/13/technology/crypto-art-NFTs-trading-cards-investment-manias.html) — including meme stocks, trading cards, NFTs and sneakers — that got people chasing speculative investments over the past few years. But not everyone buying in understood the level of risk involved.

If a bank fails, the government might step in and bail it out. A hallmark of crypto is that it is largely unregulated — buyer beware. Hacks can’t be reversed, misplaced funds can’t be retrieved by calling customer service, and a failing crypto exchange is not likely to get a government bailout. Investors have few protections.

Risky bets at several crypto projects once deemed valuable have already led to “[*death spirals*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/12/technology/cryptocurrencies-crash-bitcoin.html)” this year, incinerating billions of dollars’ worth of investors’ money. But FTX and Bankman-Fried stand out. He appeared on magazine covers, schmoozed regulators, grew his profile in philanthropy and politics and even sponsored a sports arena in Miami. He made hundreds of investments in smaller crypto projects and aggressively bailed out failing ones.

Evangelists for cryptocurrencies and their underlying technology promote them as investment vehicles that eliminate the need for faith in people and institutions. But Bankman-Fried made a point of fostering trust: from investors, journalists, politicians and charities. Now he’s a pariah, and he brought all of the crypto industry under scrutiny.

2. FTX’s collapse is connected to the broader tech industry retreat.

Bankman-Fried is already drawing [*comparisons to Bernie Madoff*](https://www.cnn.com/2022/11/15/business/ftx-madoff-bankman-fried-bair/index.html). And just as Madoff’s Ponzi scheme fell apart during the 2008 financial crisis, FTX’s collapse arrives amid a broader pullback for the tech industry. Tech stocks have crashed. Venture capital funding is drying up. Nearly 800 tech companies have laid off more than 120,000 workers this year, with cuts hitting Meta, Amazon and Twitter.

The tough times in tech can be traced to interest rates for borrowing money. For more than a decade, rates were low, pushing investors to chase risk and pour money into high-growth tech companies. Now, rates are rising, just as the pandemic-fueled growth of the last two years fades. The rate increases have hurt tech company valuations and access to capital — including those focused on crypto.

3. There’s more to come.

FTX’s bankruptcy filings list more [*than one million creditors*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/15/technology/crypto-ftx-bankruptcy-creditors.html). In addition to people who used the platform to store their cryptocurrency investments and investors who backed the company directly, numerous funds and crypto start-ups had assets locked up there.

Investment managers that dabbled in crypto “should really be considering whether they should have relatively new, relatively unproven, relatively unregulated assets in their retirement plans,” said Marcia Wagner, founder of the Wagner Law Group, a firm focused on employee benefits. “There are certain types of assets that frankly don’t belong.”

More tech

* Bankman-Fried criticized regulators in [*a blunt interview with Vox*](https://www.vox.com/future-perfect/23462333/sam-bankman-fried-ftx-cryptocurrency-effective-altruism-crypto-bahamas-philanthropy).

1. SpaceX employees say they [*were fired for speaking out*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/17/business/spacex-workers-elon-musk.html) about Elon Musk.
2. Musk gave Twitter employees a deadline to decide [*whether they want to stay at the company*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/16/technology/elon-musk-twitter-employee-deadline.html).
3. Don’t delete your account just yet. Here’s [*how to prepare*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/16/technology/personaltech/twitter-exodus.html) for life after Twitter.
4. The [*latecomer’s guide*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/03/18/technology/cryptocurrency-crypto-guide.html) to crypto.

THE LATEST NEWS

Elections

* Republicans clinched control of the House of Representatives, giving them a check on President Biden’s agenda. [*Here’s how they did it*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/11/16/us/elections/republicans-house-congress.html).

1. A slim majority and ideological gulfs among Republicans will make the House difficult to manage, [*The Times’s Carl Hulse writes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/16/us/politics/republicans-house-majority-mccarthy.html).
2. Karen Bass, a Democrat, became the [*first woman to be elected mayor of Los Angeles*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/16/us/politics/la-mayor-race-california-caruso-bass.html).
3. Senate Republicans [*re-elected Mitch McConnell*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/16/us/elections/mitch-mcconnell-rick-scott-senate.html) as their leader.
4. Hard-right conservatives endorsed Donald Trump’s 2024 bid, but [*other former allies shunned it*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/16/us/politics/trump-republicans-alternatives.html).

Politics

* A bill to [*protect same-sex marriage rights*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/16/us/politics/same-sex-marriage-bill-senate.html) cleared a Senate hurdle, with 12 Republicans joining Democrats to break a filibuster.

1. The House passed a bipartisan bill that limits the [*use of nondisclosure agreements*](https://www.axios.com/2022/11/16/congress-passes-groundbreaking-bill-limiting-the-use-of-secret-agreements-in-sexual-harassment-cases) to silence victims of sexual misconduct.
2. The House is considering seating a nonvoting representative [*from the Cherokee Nation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/16/us/elections/house-delegate-cherokee-nation.html), which would fulfill a promise in an 1836 treaty.

Education

* The law schools of Yale and Harvard [*are withdrawing from U.S. News &amp; World Report rankings*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/16/us/yale-law-school-us-news-rankings.html), saying the system devalues efforts to recruit ***working-class*** students.

1. Part-time faculty members at [*the New School in New York*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/16/nyregion/new-school-parsons-strike-walkout.html) are striking for better pay.

Other Big Stories

* Tensions are easing over a strike in Poland that killed two people. NATO officials said that it was probably a Ukrainian missile, [*but that Russia was to blame*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/16/world/europe/ukraine-russia-poland-explosion.html).

1. China’s leader, Xi Jinping, [*briefly scolded Justin Trudeau*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/16/world/asia/xi-trudeau-china-canada.html), Canada’s prime minister, accusing him of leaking details of a conversation they had.
2. Britain’s criminal justice system [*disproportionately prosecutes and jails Black people*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/16/world/europe/uk-ademola-adedeji-murder-conspiracy-gangs.html), a Times investigation found.
3. Protect your pets and livestock: About [*10,000 mink are running loose in Ohio*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/16/us/mink-farm-ohio-loose.html).

Opinions

Welcoming Chinese students to the U.S. is critical to [*combating Xi’s rising authoritarianism*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/17/opinion/america-chinese-students.html), Diana Fu argues.

Trump faces five serious investigations. Ankush Khardori documents [*how he could wriggle out of them*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/11/17/opinion/trump-five-major-investigations-dozens-of-ways-out.html).

MORNING READS

Marie Kondo is back: Move over, hygge. [*It’s time for kurashi*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/15/realestate/marie-kondo-life-coach.html).

Etiquette: Do [*handwritten thank-you notes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/15/style/why-thank-you-notes.html) still matter? (Short answer: yes.)

A Times classic: Most Americans live [*pretty close to their moms*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/12/24/upshot/24up-family.html).

Advice from Wirecutter: This [*slow cooker*](https://www.nytimes.com/wirecutter/reviews/best-slow-cooker/#who-should-get-this) makes dinner while you’re away.

Lives Lived: Virginia McLaurin was born a sharecroppers’ daughter in the Jim Crow South. In 2016, she danced with Barack Obama and Michelle Obama at the White House. She [*died on Monday.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/16/us/virginia-mclaurin-obamas-dead.html) She was 113 by her own accounting. (She had no birth certificate.)

SPORTS NEWS FROM THE ATHLETIC

A third Cy Young Award: The Astros ace and current free agent Justin Verlander picked up his [*third career A.L. Cy Young Award*](https://theathletic.com/3905448/2022/11/16/justin-verlander-sandy-alcantara-cy-young/), an astounding feat at 39. The Marlins’ Sandy Alcantara unanimously won on the N.L. side.

Nets and Simmons at odds: The Brooklyn Nets have [*grown increasingly frustrated*](https://theathletic.com/3902850/2022/11/16/nets-ben-simmons-frustrations/) with Ben Simmons’ lack of availability and passion for the game, The Athletic’s Shams Charania and Sam Amick write, another wrinkle in what has been a nightmare season for the Nets.

ARTS AND IDEAS

The National Book Awards

This year’s National Book Award, one of the most prestigious literary prizes, was awarded last night.

Nonfiction: Imani Perry, a professor of African American studies, won for “[*South to America*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/25/books/review/south-to-america-imani-perry.html),” in which she travels to the American South, where she is from, to examine race, culture, politics and identity. “I write for my people. I write because we children of the lash-scarred, rope-choked, bullet-ridden, desecrated are still here, standing,” Perry said.

Fiction: Tess Gunty won for “The Rabbit Hutch,” which focuses on the daily dramas of tenants in a Midwestern housing complex. The Times called it a “[*prismatic and often mesmerizing debut*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/02/books/review/tess-gunty-rabbit-hutch.html).”

For more: Here’s a [*list of winners*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/16/books/national-book-award-winners.html).

PLAY, WATCH, EAT

What to Cook

This creamy fettuccine honors Bronte, Sicily, a town [*renowned for its pistachios*](https://cooking.nytimes.com/recipes/1023489-pasta-alla-brontese-creamy-fettuccine-with-pancetta-and-pistachios).

Seven Days to Thanksgiving

If you’re planning a vegetarian Thanksgiving, Alexa Weibel has [*recipes for a blockbuster centerpiece*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/09/dining/best-vegetarian-thanksgiving-recipes.html) — an ombré gratin — and four sides that use fall vegetables.

Theater

The lure of fascism comes disguised as adolescent romance in [*“Camp Siegfried,” Bess Wohl’s disturbing new play*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/15/theater/camp-siegfried-review.html).

Late Night

The hosts joked about [*Trump’s campaign announcement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/17/arts/television/trevor-noah-trump-supporters.html).

Now Time to Play

The pangram from yesterday’s Spelling Bee was lightbulb. Here is [*today’s puzzle*](https://www.nytimes.com/puzzles/spelling-bee).

Here’s [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/crosswords/game/mini), and a clue: Syrup flavor (five letters).

And here’s [*today’s Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/games/wordle/index.html). After, [*use our bot*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/upshot/wordle-bot.html) to get better.

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow.

P.S. Jane Gross, a Times journalist who in 1975 became the first woman known to report from the locker room of a professional basketball team, [*died last week at 75*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/10/sports/basketball/jane-gross-dead.html).

Here’s [*today’s front page*](https://static01.nyt.com/images/2022/11/17/nytfrontpage/scan.pdf).

“[*The Daily*](https://www.nytimes.com/thedaily)” is about Israel. On [*the Modern Love podcast*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/16/podcasts/falling-for-your-sperm-donor.html), falling for your sperm donor.

Matthew Cullen, Lauren Hard, Lauren Jackson, Claire Moses, Ian Prasad Philbrick, Tom Wright-Piersanti and Ashley Wu contributed to The Morning. You can reach the team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](mailto:themorning@nytimes.com).

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This article appeared in print on page A20.

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[***Centrist Democrats Gain, But Progressives Battle On***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:667G-27B1-DXY4-X3R0-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 13

**Length:** 1354 words

**Byline:** By Nicholas Fandos

**Body**

The party's more moderate establishment declared victory, but a closer look reveals the battle for the soul of the party will grind on.

Representative Sean Patrick Maloney, a moderate Democrat from New York City's northern suburbs, saw a clear-cut lesson in his lopsided primary victory Tuesday night over one of his home state's brightest left-wing stars.

''Tonight, mainstream won,'' Mr. Maloney, who also leads House Democrat campaign committee, declared afterward. ''Common sense won.''

The 30-point margin appeared to be a sharp rebuke to the party's left flank, which had tried to make the race a referendum on Mr. Maloney's brand of leadership in Washington. A second, narrower win by another moderate Democrat, Daniel Goldman, in one of the city's most liberal House districts prompted more hand-wringing among some progressives.

But as New York's tumultuous primary season came to a close on Tuesday, a survey of contests across the state shows a more nuanced picture. Four summers after Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez's surprise victory ignited Democrats' left flank and positioned New York at the center of a fight for the soul of the Democratic Party, the battle has entered a new phase. But it is far from abating.

Mostly gone this year were shocking upsets by little-known left-leaning insurgents like Ms. Ocasio-Cortez and a gaggle of challengers in Albany. They dislodged an entrenched block of conservative Democrats controlling the State Senate in 2018. Representative Jamaal Bowman defeated a powerful committee chairman in 2020. Those contests made the political left appear ascendant.

Two years later, though, the tension within the party appears likely to grind on, as progressives struggle to marshal voters into movements as they did during the Trump presidency. At the same time, the party's establishment wing has regained its footing after President Biden and Mayor Eric Adams, avowed moderates, won the White House and City Hall.

''We are past that political and electoral moment,'' said Sochie Nnaemeka, the director of New York's liberal Working Families Party, said of the rapid gains of past election cycles. ''The headwinds are a real amount of voter fatigue, economic malaise and just the pressures of everyday life.''

Ms. Nnaemeka and her allies still found reason to celebrate on Tuesday though, particularly over state-level contests. Kristen Gonzalez, a tech worker supported by the Democratic Socialists of America, won a marquee Brooklyn-Queens State Senate race over Elizabeth Crowley, despite Mayor Adams and outside special interests openly campaigning against her.

''Today, we really proved that socialism wins,'' Ms. Gonzalez told jubilant supporters after her win.

As moderates backed by well-financed outside groups and well-known leaders like Mr. Adams sought to oust them, progressives also successfully defended key seats won in recent election cycles.

Among them were Jabari Brisport, a member of the Democratic Socialists, and Gustavo Rivera, another progressive state senator targeted by Mr. Adams. Mr. Bowman, whose district had been substantially redrawn in this year's redistricting process, also survived.

''We had some really good wins,'' Ms. Nnaemeka added. ''Despite the headwinds, despite the dark money, despite the redistricting chaos, we sent some of the hardest working champions of the left back to the State Senate to complete the work the federal government isn't doing right now.''

But in many of the most recognizable races, there were clear signs that those wins had limits.

Mr. Maloney provided moderates with their most resonant victory, defeating Alessandra Biaggi, a progressive state senator who was part of the 2018 insurgency, by a two-to-one margin. This time, she had the vocal backing of Ms. Ocasio-Cortez. She fiercely critiqued Mr. Maloney as ''a selfish corporate Democrat with no integrity.''

But she was drowned out by a flood of outside spending that came to Mr. Maloney's aid, with attacks centered on her harsh past criticisms of the police. She struggled to quickly introduce herself to voters in a district she had never run in before. Speaker Nancy Pelosi and former President Bill Clinton also openly lent their support to the congressman.

In the race for an open Democratic seat in New York City, Mr. Goldman, a former federal prosecutor, beat out three progressive stars in some of the city's most liberal enclaves. All had once enjoyed the backing of the Working Families Party. And former Representative Max Rose, an avowed centrist attempting to make a comeback on Staten Island, handily turned back a primary challenger championed by activists.

The outcomes -- along with Gov. Kathy Hochul's yawning primary victory in June over a left-aligned challenger, Jumaane Williams -- left leaders of the party's more moderate wing crowing over what they see as a more pragmatic mood among the electorate in the aftermath of the Trump presidency.

''Common-sense, get-things-done, mainstream Biden Democrats have been winning all across the country,'' said Representative Hakeem Jeffries, the Brooklyn Democrat and House leader whose political action committee backed Mr. Maloney.

He added: ''The voters are clearly supporting individuals who are getting big things done in Washington, D.C., and are committed to working with President Biden and his administration, not undermining it.''

Political analysts and Democratic operatives who run campaigns in New York offered competing explanations for the shifting electoral landscape.

After the upsets of 2018 and even 2020, incumbents and the outside groups that often fund them have learned how not to get caught flat-footed against underdog challengers. In many cases, they have shifted to the left on key issues, undercutting the ideological case against them.

Progressives, especially those on the far left, may also have simply already won many of the lowest-hanging electoral fruit in areas of Brooklyn and Queens packed with a diverse array of younger voters.

''What you're seeing is that Democrats who do not define themselves as pure progressives are able to cherry-pick the most popular progressive ideas, adopt them as their own and use the rhetorical excesses of progressives to build up defenses,'' said Bruce N. Gyory, a veteran political strategist trusted by some of the state's top Democrats.

The question for progressives today, he added, was whether they could continue to build bridges reaching beyond their most fervent supporters, or fade as a major electoral force like the antiwar Democratic reformers of the 1960s and '70s .

The left has tried to recalibrate, with mixed success. Their victories at the state and congressional level have often come when progressive groups consolidated voters behind single, viable challengers in fewer races.

But the strategy has not always worked. Mr. Adams, a former Republican who has disavowed his party's left flank, won the mayor's office last year in part because more liberal candidates cannibalized each other's support, while he won over ***working class*** Black voters.

A similar dynamic played out on Tuesday in the 10th Congressional District, where three Working Families Party aligned candidates -- Assemblywoman Yuh-Line Niou, Representative Mondaire Jones and Council Member Carlina Rivera -- ultimately split about 60 percent of the vote between them. Mr. Goldman, a Levi Strauss heir who made his name working on the first Trump impeachment, and took more moderate positions in the race, won with just a quarter of the vote.

''On the congressional side, we're not there yet,'' said Camille Rivera, a strategist who helped Mr. Rivera, a progressive state senator from the Bronx, successfully fend off a challenge from a moderate backed by the Bronx Democratic Party. Congressional races require speaking to a bigger electorate and are often shaped by outside money many progressives eschew.

''Organizing and educating voters and turning the tide on messaging takes years,'' Ms. Rivera added. ''There will be peaks, but that doesn't mean every race will be like A.O.C. or Bowman.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/24/nyregion/maloney-biaggi-democrats-progressives-left.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/24/nyregion/maloney-biaggi-democrats-progressives-left.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Progressive Democrats failed to unseat the moderate Representative Sean Patrick Maloney, above. Kristen Gonzalez, left, backed by the Democratic Socialists of America, won a State Senate primary in Brooklyn and Queens. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY EDUARDO MUNOZ ALVAREZ/ASSOCIATED PRESS

JANICE CHUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***An Exit Interview With Brian Deese***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67M3-66J1-DXY4-X4CJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** David Leonhardt

**Highlight:** A top adviser talks about President Biden’s economic record.

**Body**

A top adviser talks about President Biden’s economic record.

The following is a transcript of a conversation I had with Brain Deese, the outgoing director of President Biden’s National Economic Council. It has been lightly edited for clarity. You can read [*the accompanying article here*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/22/briefing/brian-deese-economy-biden.html).

David Leonhardt: Let’s start with what you think the administration’s biggest accomplishments have been on economic policy.

Brian Deese: Well, given the incredibly uncertain and unprecedented nature of this crisis, it’s difficult to make that judgment in midstream. But I would say, sitting where we are today, the most significant economic accomplishments are:

* A strong and equitable economic recovery from crisis — in fact, historically one of the strongest and most equitable in modern history.

1. A proving out of the theory that the United States is both capable and enthusiastic about a campaign of public investment to try to drive productivity enhancements in key sectors of the economy, clean energy, innovation, infrastructure.
2. And I would say a rejuvenation of the historical precedent of driving competition and this notion of a presidential drive toward greater competition in antitrust enforcement at the center of an economic agenda.

And I think those obviously tie together in important ways. But in all of those cases we’re breaking new ground, and I think that we’ve got a lot of distance to travel, but have made a lot of progress so far.

Leonhardt: Let’s dig in on each of those, and then we’ll turn to some other questions, some things that didn’t quite go so well. On a strong and equitable recovery, I assume that’s a reference to a lot of the legislation that you got passed as well as the short-term performance of the economy?

Deese: There’s been a lot of focus on the strong labor market performance and the resilience of the labor market, even through a set of uncertain events — a lot of focus on the 3.4% unemployment rate, historically low. I think there has been less appreciation for the ways in which a strong and fast labor market recovery generates really important outcomes for the country.

In the last four or five economic recoveries, it took 50 months for Black unemployment to get to its pre-crisis level. That happened in 24 months [this time]. Labor force participation for women has actually rebounded to above its pre-pandemic high much more quickly than in prior recoveries. So even as we have had conversations about “the great resignation” and other concepts that have come out of this pandemic-affected economy, what we have seen is the durable impacts of a strong labor market recovery that mean we are not having a conversation now about the long-term scarring impacts that come from persistently high unemployment.

That obviously is connected in important ways to the legislation that we have passed. That didn’t happen on its own. It was not projected before we came into office.

Leonhardt: What’s the main causal mechanism? How is it that the virus response bill, which was the first major bill the president signed, led to what you see as the equitable recovery?

Deese: I think that the president in his economic policy prioritized the idea of having a strong labor-market-recovery-driven trajectory coming out of the crisis. And that early piece of legislation, as well as other steps that we took, did two things.

One, it recognized and prioritized that an effective virus response and an effective pandemic response was a predicate to see a robust economic recovery. And, two, was to provide a combination of support and insurance to families at the family balance sheet level — and businesses as well as states and localities — to cushion that period, and also provide some insurance against uncertain future events, which we have now lived through — the Delta variant, the Omicron variant, Putin’s invasion of Ukraine. None of them were specifically predicted at the time, but all of them created different uncertainties and challenges in the economy. And through that we see more resilience in household balance sheets, more resilience in small business creation and business balance sheets, and you can connect those to policy choices.

Leonhardt: One way to think about it is that the legislation gave people a whole bunch of cash, which made things like the huge increase in gas prices that was caused significantly by the invasion of Ukraine easier for households to deal with.

Deese: I think it created both insurance against those unexpected risks and also resilience. And resilience in the sense of the balance sheet metrics that you look at, again, at the family or the corporate side. That’s one of the unique elements of this recovery. You don’t typically come through a recovery at this point in the trajectory and see household and corporate balance sheet metrics that look in many cases better than they did before the pandemic.

Leonhardt: You describe it as a strong and equitable recovery. The data I’ve seen suggests that wages for low-income workers outpaced inflation, but the wages for middle income workers have trailed behind inflation.

Deese: It depends on different measures and different wages. I think that if you look at disposable income, this recovery is unique in that the largest gains have been for the bottom two quartiles of the income distribution.

Leonhardt: There’s been so much debate about inflation, right?

Deese: Yes.

Leonhardt: Inflation obviously was higher than the administration expected, than private forecasters expected, than the media expected. Does that mean that when you look back you nonetheless think that the rough size of that bill was correct, both with the information you had then and in hindsight?

Deese: It leads me to believe that it was the right policy and it was the right priorities. It was the right policy to prioritize a strategy that had the potential of leading to a strong labor-market-centric recovery, and to provide insurance against risks, particularly given that there was a pandemic at the center of this crisis.

And so while there has been and will be a lot of historical debate about the precise parameters of that piece of legislation, as there are with every piece of legislation, it was the right thing with both the information we had then and the information we have now, it was the right thing to do, and has generated economic benefits and resilience benefits to the economy that I think we will appreciate more across time.

Leonhardt: I hear you saying that we can’t be certain whether it was too big, but you think it was the right policy in the big picture?

Deese: I think it was the right thing to do. I think it was the right thing to do.

Leonhardt: O.K. On the campaign for public investment, when you look at the numbers about the percentage of our G.D.P. we spend on investment, the decline from the mid to late 20th century is clearly alarming.

Deese: Yeah.

Leonhardt: It’s not just in the statistics. We built the highway system — and now we spend a lot of time sitting in traffic. And I could do that for a lot of different areas of the economy. The economic argument for those kinds of investments is overwhelming. I didn’t even mention climate change, but that makes it even more so. To me, the two big questions are: How big is the magnitude of the increase? I mean, are you getting us back to 1950s-level investment? Are you getting us part of the way there?

Secondly, there is concern that a number of people have — Noah Smith [*expressed it pretty well in a recent piece*](https://noahpinion.substack.com/p/the-state-of-bidenomics?utm_source=substack&amp;utm_medium=email) where he said, basically, Spending money isn’t enough. The U.S. system for getting things done, for building things, is so broken — in terms of how costly and how many delays and choke points there are — that simply passing legislation that puts more money in without the other reforms is actually going to be quite disappointing.

Deese: I’ll take the first piece first. I think if you look at the through line and the combined impact of the investment in clean energy, physical infrastructure and innovation, including semiconductors, you see a coherent strategy about using public investment to try to crowd in private investment, and in places of high productive potential for the economy.

In terms of magnitude, you have to go back to the ’50s and early ’60s to find a similar approach, a similar magnitude with respect to infrastructure. You have to go back to that same period of the ’60s to find a similar magnitude impact in our research and innovation base. Some of that in the Chips and Science Act is authorized and yet to be fully funded.

And there is no historic analog on the clean energy side. Our investments there are roughly 10x what we’ve done in the past. In scope and policy design, there really isn’t a historic analog. So in the aggregate, this does reflect the most significant effort, certainly since the 1960s, to try to demonstrate that you can use strategic public investment to try to unlock those productivity benefits.

Now to the second part of the question of, are there other parts of our system that are just going to keep that from happening? My answer to that is, “No and yes.”

No, in the sense that a big part of what we’re trying to do, which I’m not sure is fully appreciated — and I’ll take clean energy in particular, because I think this is where a lot of the locus of the debate is — is use public investment to drive cost down on new innovations at a very rapid clip; and make zero-carbon and low-carbon solutions by far the dominant and cheap option; and maintain the United States’ relative comparative advantage on lower-cost energy, but make that advantage in zero-carbon energy. A lot of what we are doing tracks exactly that strategy, and I think we have good data and good reason to believe that will be successful, that we will drive down the cost curves much quicker.

That alone doesn’t solve or resolve permitting issues and other issues, but it flips the power of the market. If we can make it cheaper and more convenient and more pleasant to drive electric vehicles, then you have the market working to your advantage rather than vice versa.

Leonhardt: I see all that on clean energy. But as important as that is, there are still all the infrastructure issues, right? There’s still the issue of just how incredibly difficult it is to build in this country.

Deese: That was the “yes” part of my “yes and no” answer. We also are going to need to demonstrate that we can build physical infrastructure, build energy infrastructure, both faster and in a fairer way than we have in the past. There’s no question about that. And so, we are going to need new tools and new approaches to do that. That’s one of the reasons the president has been really pushing on permitting reform and trying to get the Congress to move in a bipartisan way there, because we would benefit from that. It’s why we’ve now organized as a government to say, “We need to, in operation and execution, demonstrate that the federal government is going to do things differently than we have in the past.”

Take the Brent Spence Bridge, which the president went to at the beginning of January. The reason that is moving at a much more rapid clip than traditional very large bridge projects is because they’re using a different procurement strategy and a different design strategy that is about building things at the same time, in increments, rather than waiting and doing one thing after another thing after another thing. There are innovations that we can borrow from other countries. There are innovations that we can borrow from particular instances of success. But we’re going to have to harness all of those things together, in order to really show that we can do things differently.

Leonhardt: Antitrust was the third accomplishment that you mentioned. It seems to me that this is another area where there’s just an enormous amount of evidence that the approach we’ve had over the last few decades has not worked. Big companies have gotten bigger, and the macroeconomic results have been quite poor. You can also look at finer levels and see in individual industries that big companies often aren’t good.

The advantage of the approach that essentially started in the ’70s and ’80s, and came out of the academic work of Robert Bork and others, was that it had a very clear standard that people could talk about. The disadvantage is that the standard appears to have been bad for most Americans, but it had a very clear standard. The way I would define that standard is: Does a merger raise consumer prices? But they were too focused on the short term and not focused enough on wages.

What it seems to me that [*the new antitrust enforcers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/24/business/biden-antitrust-amazon-google.html) are struggling with is to define what their clear standard is. This extends well beyond your office, but the antitrust push is having some early successes, but it’s also having a bunch of early failures where judges are throwing cases out. I’m interested in your big picture sense of, is it possible to design a new standard that actually is clear but also is less damaging than the old standard?

Deese: My answer, which I both hope and believe is true, is yes. There has to be more care, and more nuance applied than an approach that is both clear and wrong.

Among the problems with the effort that took root, and over decades became the dominant perspective, was this lack of understanding of a sort of full definition of consumer and societal welfare. The increasing evidence showed that people are harmed by anti-competitive behavior, both on the labor side and on the price side. It’s wages and prices. And you need to have an approach that is capable of capturing those effects. You’ve got to work through to arrive at that more nuanced understanding — that will be clearer, but also not so easy that you get to easy wrong answers. That’s number one.

The other part that’s important about how we’ve approached this is to say that antitrust enforcement should be thought of as one component of a much broader effort to try to say, “How do we think holistically about competition issues in our economy?”

One of the principle innovations in the president’s Executive Order that he released in the summer of 2021 on competition was to not only send a clear signal of his expectation of vigorous antitrust enforcement around a broader set of understandings of economic welfare, but also that we needed to reinvigorate an approach to competition more broadly across the executive branch. To ask where — outside of mergers and outside of direct antitrust enforcement — have we become too lax in not asking the question about whether anti-competitive rules, anti-competitive behaviors were actually undermining labor market outcomes or driving up prices in ways that were unfair?

That has really unleashed this extraordinary amount of activity and creative thinking and incorporation of new economic concepts that extends way beyond that core question of the antitrust data.

Leonhardt: What are a couple examples, in addition to junk fees?

Deese: One, there are important competition enforcement statutes across the government outside of the F.T.C. and D.O.J. For example, at U.S.D.A., the Packers and Stockyards Act, which hasn’t been updated and rejuvenated to recognize that the questions of competition about cattle or poultry need to be thought of in a broader sense. That’s true with respect to ocean shipping, for example, where the president passed legislation to actually begin to address the fact that we have an entire industry that is kind of written out of antitrust enforcement, and we just lived through a pandemic that was a natural experiment in showing how broadly that negative impact can rebound across the economy.

But other competition-related efforts also have very practical retail appeal. Hearing aids — we finalized a rule to say that hearing aids can be sold over the counter without a prescription. That does two things: One, it drives prices down and makes things more convenient for consumers because you don’t have to go to a doctor, you don’t have to get a prescription, you can just walk into a Walgreens, or a CVS, or a drugstore or Costco. Two, it creates more competition, it creates new innovation opportunities.

I got feedback from a C.E.O. who told me they were at the C.E.S. [an annual consumer electronics convention] this year. And there were all of these new start-up technologies on display about hearing-aid innovation because there’s a new market opportunity and you don’t have that barrier to entry. There’s an opportunity to drive prices down further, improve quality, and you have direct access to your consumer as well.

Another big example that’s very prominent right now is non-competes in the labor market. That’s something the president has long identified as a friction that was anti-competitive. He thinks about this in practical terms — that if you work for a sub shop on one side of the street, you should be able to go across the street and get a 50-cent raise to do the same job. In the fast food industry, we’ve gotten pushback by some firms who, after hearing the president raise that analogy multiple times, changed their practice and then said, “Please don’t keep invoking us in that context.” That’s an example of an area that is far outside of the very traditional notion of antitrust enforcement — the labor market.

I think it is important to have that coming from the president. It’s been decades or more since you’ve had a president who was this forward-leaning and saying, “I want competition policy to be at the center of my economic policy.”

Leonhardt: What’s something that the administration would do differently if you could do it again on economic policy, even if that’s based on 20/20 hindsight?

Deese: One thing we would do differently if we could — if you give me 20/20 hindsight — is that the length of time and the process itself of the American Jobs Plan. We proposed the American Jobs Plan, and the American Families Plan, in March of 2021. And from that period, we had a long and winding legislative process that resulted in the infrastructure bill and then ultimately the CHIPS Act and the Inflation Reduction Act. But the length of that process, and some of the peaks and valleys in that process, I think made it harder for people to really see what Joe Biden is trying to get done in the economy — that arc and that thread. There were points in this process where that was really hard to see.

With hindsight, if we had been able to move the legislative process more quickly and resolve those issues earlier on and also more clearly tie those elements together, I think we would’ve been in a better position to explain more clearly how these things fit together. Now, legislation is always hard. It’s particularly hard in a situation where you have a 50-50 Senate and all the like. And on the back end of it, that common thread that I was describing around strategic public investment to crowd in private capital across these areas of high productive return, I think is clear and will get increasingly clear across time in the implementation. But that’s the operational and narrative element we’re trying to build right now as opposed to doing it a year ago.

Leonhardt: Two questions spring from that. The first is based on Suzanne Mettler’s research on “the submerged state.” Is some of this about the substance rather than the timing, which is, there isn’t anything in the agenda that is quite as tangible and specific as Medicare, as Social Security, as a new interstate highway system, as universal pre-K that didn’t exist and now it’s open on your corner? Do you think that some of the frustrations of progressive economic policymaking in recent decades are related to the idea that many Americans have a very hard time seeing the relationship between the bill and their daily lives?

Deese: One of the things that makes me the most optimistic about the period going forward is that I think, for the first time in some significant time, we’ve now enacted legislation that actually has the elements of that kind of concrete and direct impact that people will see and people will feel. And almost all of that is yet to be delivered and yet to be written. So to your point about Medicare and Medicaid, the changes in what people pay for and the interaction with how they deal with prescription drugs is among the most important and salient things for people in their daily lives. And now already enacted, but yet to be implemented changes, will fundamentally change the way people live and operate.

Big national projects that I think have the potential to be as evocative as the interstate highway system like high speed, affordable internet for every single American, that’s on the horizon now. It’s on the horizon with $40 billion in grants that are going to go out this coming summer, and they are going to be connected to state plans. This concept of a national network of electric vehicle chargers, which should become the analog of the interstate highway system for tomorrow. We’re going to be releasing the guidance that actually for the first time provides a pathway for people to see, wait, this is actually going to happen.

It is both rational and understandable for people to not really internalize and appreciate those things until they both see them and they then can rely on them — that this is going to be there and it’s an institution or it’s an innovation that is actually going to sustain as opposed to get pulled away.

Leonhardt: A second thing: It was a reasonable theory that if you pass a big child tax credit, it would prove so effective and popular that Congress would not be able to get rid of it. But it didn’t prove out. How do you think about the very temporary success of that policy and the failure to get it codified?

Deese: I think it’s an extraordinary policy success, not only in reducing child poverty, but also reducing economic anxiety, encouraging positive labor market outcomes that happened coincident to this strong rebound in labor force participation, in stark contrast to some of the completely unfair caricatures of that policy.

It can and must be part of the project, of the work yet to be done, to not let the story of that success be one ultimately of failure — to recognize and appreciate and then build into our policy architecture going forward the benefits of that. The president’s committed to that. There is a bipartisan conversation to be had in that space, and I hope and expect that there will be a conversation there. And so I believe that really does need to be part of the work yet to be done.

Leonhardt: Let’s talk about labor law reform. The president said he wanted to be the most pro-labor president in history. Obviously he’s done some things that will improve lives for ***working-class*** people. We’ve been talking about a bunch of them. But we now have this pattern where every Democratic president says they’re going to pass a law that’s going to make it easier for people to join unions, and it never happens. Is that just the way it’s always going to be? Or is there ever going to be a Democratic president who actually signs a law that strengthens organized labor?

Deese: The answer is yes, there will be that time. Because I think this president has done more than just enact policies that have had concrete benefits and changed the labor market dynamic for a lot of workers. Number one, he has communicated in a clearer and a more forward-leaning way than any modern president. In the first month in office, and I remember it clearly, the president went out and said, it is the current law of the U.S. government to encourage unionization. And I think that matters — and it matters that not only has he said that, but that support among Democrats for that position has increased on the back of that.

The second thing is, I think, by being as forward-leaning as he has about the value of organized labor, it has also helped to spark a different kind of conversation among employers and workers. We now have more real concrete conversations about the economic benefits, the efficiency benefits, the quality benefits that come from employers building constructive relationships. There are really significant opportunities to take advantage of the economic benefits and efficiencies that come from these types of tools. And that’s a conversation that will, I think, also build more support and more recognition across time.

The reason these very significant projects, be they an infrastructure project or a semiconductor fab, are being built with a labor agreement is because the company leadership is saying: “We will fail. We move too slowly. It will cost too much if we don’t have the ability to have predictable access to really high quality labor in this context.” And I think that is another reason we have the ability to build more support rather than less.

Leonhardt: There’s an analogy there to health care: It took many decades to get a health care bill passed. Are you saying he sort of pushed things so that it’s more likely in the future?

Deese: Absolutely. Which is why I think it is a misinterpretation to say that he says he’s the most pro-labor president, but in fact it’s otherwise. In fact we have labor market outcomes that are really different, but also are shaping a national conversation in ways that are different as well.

Leonhardt: He’s built much of his political identity [*on appealing to the* ***working class***](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/20/briefing/biden-2024.html), the middle class, and that has distinguished him from a lot of modern Democrats. Can you talk a little bit about how both the president and the administration as a whole thinks that the Democratic Party hasn’t paid enough attention historically to workers, and what it should be doing to do a better job of that?

Deese: I think number one is to be able to speak clearly and optimistically to why it’s so important to prioritize workers and labor and affecting that power dynamic in the labor market. A labor market where workers have more opportunities and have more power and have more leverage is a good thing. It’s a good thing for working people, and it’s a good thing for the economy. Making that argument both as an economic argument and a practical argument is something that certainly this president has done.

The other thing about the president’s industrial strategy and these elements of public investment that we’ve been talking about are that they are, by policy design, place-based, in a way that prior policy has either been more agnostic to or in some cases shy about.

The policy design is intentionally focused on saying, how do we drive that investment and that economic opportunity to places and parts of this country that have not fully felt the benefits of prior recoveries? There is now built into the tax law an affirmative incentive for companies to locate energy production facilities in parts of the country that have produced traditional energy or parts of the country that have traditionally borne the brunt of carbon pollution. And that is important because it also signals this desire to say these parts of the country and these many people who have felt as if policies coming out of Washington, policies sometimes coming out of both political parties, have left them behind.

I would say from an economic perspective, it’s also a really important part of how we build at scale and speed and do so in the most efficient and effective way for the country because we actually want to build out in areas where we haven’t harnessed their full productive potential, where it’s actually cheaper for people to live and raise a family and the like. This strategy has the potential to unlock more productive potential in parts of the country where the return on that is going to be higher.

Leonhardt: Here’s a good place to end. The bills the president signed on clean energy and infrastructure, the health care bill that President Obama signed, they were possible because of years of background work people had done. People at think tanks, academics, people on the Hill. As you leave this job, what would you urge people to work on, not for 2023 or 2024, but down the road? What needs more attention so that there can be good legislation four or 10 or 15 years down the line?

Deese: One of the biggest pieces of this president’s agenda that is yet to be done falls in this category that you’re raising: How to effectively and efficiently build out what we’ve referred to as the care economy — as society ages, the basic structure of how you orient a family to provide care for elderly parents and children at the same time, how we reduce the cost burden of that for families and do so in a way that builds out a work force and a labor force that is creating career pathways for the millions of service employees that will be employed in that area. We need to solve that as a country.

We have urgency in solving it, but also there has been an extraordinary amount of policy thinking and coordinating thus far. But it needs to continue, and it needs to build, and it needs to think more creatively about how to do that. We’re going to continue with a degree of urgency around trying to get it done, but I think it’s also a place where the movement would benefit from the dynamics you’re describing.

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[***In N.Y. Primaries, a Fight for the Democratic Party’s Future***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:667B-NMT1-DXY4-X2X2-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

The party’s more moderate establishment declared victory, but a closer look reveals the battle for the soul of the party will grind on.

Representative Sean Patrick Maloney, a moderate Democrat from New York City’s northern suburbs, saw a clear-cut lesson in his lopsided primary victory Tuesday night over one of his home state’s brightest left-wing stars.

“Tonight, mainstream won,” Mr. Maloney, who also leads House Democrat campaign committee, declared afterward. “Common sense won.”

[*The 30-point margin*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/23/nyregion/maloney-alessandra-biaggi-primary.html) appeared to be a sharp rebuke to the party’s left flank, which had tried to make the race a referendum on Mr. Maloney’s brand of leadership in Washington. A second, [*narrower win*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/19/nyregion/super-pac-ny-primaries.html) by another moderate Democrat, Daniel Goldman, in one of the city’s most liberal House districts prompted more hand-wringing among some progressives.

But as New York’s tumultuous primary season came to a close on Tuesday, a survey of contests across the state shows a more nuanced picture. Four summers after Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez’s surprise victory ignited Democrats’ left flank and positioned New York at the center of a fight for the soul of the Democratic Party, the battle has entered a new phase. But it is far from abating.

Mostly gone this year were shocking upsets by little-known left-leaning insurgents like Ms. Ocasio-Cortez and a gaggle of challengers in Albany. They dislodged an entrenched block of conservative Democrats controlling the State Senate in 2018. Representative Jamaal Bowman defeated a powerful committee chairman in 2020. Those contests made the political left appear ascendant.

Two years later, though, the tension within the party appears likely to grind on, as progressives struggle to marshal voters into movements as they did during the Trump presidency. At the same time, the party’s establishment wing has regained its footing after President Biden and Mayor Eric Adams, avowed moderates, won the White House and City Hall.

“We are past that political and electoral moment,” said Sochie Nnaemeka, the director of New York’s liberal Working Families Party, said of the rapid gains of past election cycles. “The headwinds are a real amount of voter fatigue, economic malaise and just the pressures of everyday life.”

Ms. Nnaemeka and her allies still found reason to celebrate on Tuesday, though, particularly over state-level contests. Kristen Gonzalez, a tech worker supported by the Democratic Socialists of America, won a marquee Brooklyn-Queens State Senate race over Elizabeth Crowley, despite [*Mayor Adams*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/20/nyregion/eric-adams-endorsements.html) and outside special interests openly campaigning against her.

“Today, we really proved that socialism wins,” Ms. Gonzalez told jubilant supporters after her win.

As moderates backed by well-financed outside groups and well-known leaders like Mr. Adams sought to oust them, progressives also successfully defended key seats won in recent election cycles.

Among them were Jabari Brisport, a member of the Democratic Socialists, and Gustavo Rivera, another progressive state senator targeted by Mr. Adams. Mr. Bowman, whose district had been substantially redrawn in this year’s redistricting process, also survived.

“We had some really good wins,” Ms. Nnaemeka added. “Despite the headwinds, despite the dark money, despite the redistricting chaos, we sent some of the hardest-working champions of the left back to the State Senate to complete the work the federal government isn’t doing right now.”

But in many of the most recognizable races, there were clear signs that those wins had limits.

Mr. Maloney provided moderates with their most resonant victory, defeating Alessandra Biaggi, a progressive state senator who was part of the 2018 insurgency, by a two-to-one margin. This time, she had the vocal backing of Ms. Ocasio-Cortez. She [*fiercely critiqued Mr. Maloney*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/21/nyregion/maloney-biaggi-dccc-congress.html) as “a selfish corporate Democrat with no integrity.”

But she was drowned out by a flood of outside spending that came to Mr. Maloney’s aid, with attacks centered on her harsh past criticisms of the police. She struggled to quickly introduce herself to voters in a district she had never run in before. Speaker Nancy Pelosi and former President Bill Clinton also openly lent their support to the congressman.

In the race for an open Democratic seat in New York City, Mr. Goldman, a former federal prosecutor, beat out three progressive stars in some of the city’s most liberal enclaves. All had once enjoyed the backing of the Working Families Party. And former Representative Max Rose, an avowed centrist attempting to make a comeback on Staten Island, handily turned back a primary challenger championed by activists.

The outcomes — along with [*Gov. Kathy Hochul’s yawning primary victory*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/28/nyregion/hochul-governor-primary-new-york.html) in June over a left-aligned challenger, Jumaane Williams — left leaders of the party’s more moderate wing crowing over what they see as a more pragmatic mood among the electorate in the aftermath of the Trump presidency.

“Common-sense, get-things-done, mainstream Biden Democrats have been winning all across the country,” said Representative Hakeem Jeffries, the Brooklyn Democrat and House leader whose political action committee backed Mr. Maloney.

He added: “The voters are clearly supporting individuals who are getting big things done in Washington, D.C., and are committed to working with President Biden and his administration, not undermining it.”

Political analysts and Democratic operatives who run campaigns in New York offered competing explanations for the shifting electoral landscape.

After the upsets of 2018 and even 2020, incumbents and the outside groups that often fund them have learned how not to get caught flat-footed against underdog challengers. In many cases, they have shifted to the left on key issues, undercutting the ideological case against them.

Progressives, especially those on the far left, may also have simply already won many of the lowest-hanging electoral fruit in areas of Brooklyn and Queens packed with a diverse array of younger voters.

“What you’re seeing is that Democrats who do not define themselves as pure progressives are able to cherry-pick the most popular progressive ideas, adopt them as their own and use the rhetorical excesses of progressives to build up defenses,” said Bruce N. Gyory, a veteran political strategist trusted by some of the state’s top Democrats.

The question for progressives today, he added, was whether they could continue to build bridges reaching beyond their most fervent supporters, or fade as a major electoral force like the antiwar Democratic reformers of the 1960s and ’70s .

The left has tried to recalibrate, with mixed success. Their victories at the state and congressional level have often come when progressive groups consolidated voters behind single, viable challengers in fewer races.

But the strategy has not always worked. Mr. Adams, a former Republican who has disavowed his party’s left flank, won the mayor’s office last year in part because more liberal candidates cannibalized each other’s support, while he won over ***working-class*** Black voters.

A similar dynamic played out on Tuesday in the 10th Congressional District, where three candidates aligned with the Working Families Party — Assemblywoman Yuh-Line Niou, Representative Mondaire Jones and Council Member Carlina Rivera — ultimately split about 60 percent of the vote between them. Mr. Goldman, a Levi Strauss heir who made his name working on the first Trump impeachment, and took more moderate positions in the race, won with just a quarter of the vote.

“On the congressional side, we’re not there yet,” said Camille Rivera, a strategist who helped Mr. Rivera, a progressive state senator from the Bronx, successfully fend off a challenge from a moderate backed by the Bronx Democratic Party. Congressional races require speaking to a bigger electorate and are often shaped by outside money many progressives eschew.

“Organizing and educating voters and turning the tide on messaging takes years,” Ms. Rivera added. “There will be peaks, but that doesn’t mean every race will be like A.O.C. or Bowman.”

PHOTOS: Progressive Democrats failed to unseat the moderate Representative Sean Patrick Maloney, above. Kristen Gonzalez, left, backed by the Democratic Socialists of America, won a State Senate primary in Brooklyn and Queens. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY EDUARDO MUNOZ ALVAREZ/ASSOCIATED PRESS; JANICE CHUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 26, 2022

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[***Farmland Values Hit Record Highs, Pricing Out Farmers***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66VR-TV51-JBG3-64CP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 14, 2022 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 11

**Length:** 1566 words

**Byline:** By Linda Qiu

**Body**

Joel Gindo thought he could finally own and operate the farm of his dreams when a neighbor put up 160 acres of cropland for sale in Brookings County, S.D., two years ago. Five thousand or six thousand dollars an acre should do the trick, Mr. Gindo estimated.

But at auction, Mr. Gindo watched helplessly as the price continued to climb until it hit $11,000 an acre, double what he had budgeted for.

''I just couldn't compete with how much people are paying, with people paying 10 grand,'' he said. ''And for someone like me who doesn't have an inheritance somewhere sitting around, a lump sum of money sitting around, everything has to be financed.''

What is happening in South Dakota is playing out in farming communities across the nation as the value of farmland soars, hitting record highs this year and often pricing out small or beginning farmers. In the state, farmland values surged by 18.7 percent from 2021 to 2022, one of the highest increases in the country, according to the most recent figures from the Agriculture Department. Nationwide, values increased by 12.4 percent and reached $3,800 an acre, the highest on record since 1970, with cropland at $5,050 an acre and pastureland at $1,650 an acre.

A series of economic forces -- high prices for commodity crops like corn, soybeans and wheat; a robust housing market; low interest rates until recently; and an abundance of government subsidies -- have converged to create a ''perfect storm'' for farmland values, said Jason Henderson, a dean at the College of Agriculture at Purdue University and a former official at the Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City.

As a result, small farmers like Mr. Gindo are now going up against deep-pocketed investors, including private equity firms and real estate developers, prompting some experts to warn of far-reaching consequences for the farming sector.

Young farmers named finding affordable land for purchase the top challenge in 2022 in a September survey by the National Young Farmers Coalition, a nonprofit group.

Already, the supply of land is limited. About 40 percent of farmland in the United States is rented, most of it owned by landlords who are not actively involved in farming. And the amount of land available for purchase is extremely scant, with less than 1 percent of farmland sold on the open market annually.

The booming housing market, among a number of factors, has bolstered the value of farmland, particularly in areas close to growing city centers.

''What we have seen over the past year or two was, when housing starts to go up with new building construction, that puts pressure on farmland, especially on those urban fringes,'' Professor Henderson explained. ''And that leads to a cascading ripple effect into land values even farther and farther away.''

Government subsidies to farmers have also soared in recent years, amounting to nearly 39 percent of net farm income in 2020. On top of traditional programs like crop insurance payments, the Agriculture Department distributed $23 billion to farmers hurt by President Donald J. Trump's trade war from 2018 to 2020 and $45.3 billion in pandemic-related assistance in 2020 and 2021. (The government's contribution to farm income decreased to 20 percent in 2021 and is forecast to be about 8 percent in 2022.)

Those payments, or even the very promise of additional assistance, increase farmland values as they create a safety net and signal that agricultural land is a safe bet, research shows.

''There's an expectation in the market that the government's going to play a role when farm incomes drop, so that definitely affects investment behavior,'' said Jennifer Ifft, a professor of agricultural economics at Kansas State University.

Eager investors are increasingly turning to farmland in the face of volatility in the stock and real estate markets. Bill Gates, the Microsoft co-founder and a billionaire, is the biggest private farmland owner in the country and recently won approval to buy 2,100 acres in North Dakota for $13.5 million.

The number of private equity funds seeking to buy stakes in farmland has ticked higher, said Tim Koch, a vice president at an agricultural financial cooperative in the Midwest, Farm Credit Services of America. Pension funds also consider farmland a stable investment, Professor Ifft said.

Farmers, too, have witnessed an influx of outside interest. Nathaniel Bankhead, who runs a farm and garden consulting business in Chattanooga, Tenn., has banded with a group of other agricultural workers to save up to $500,000 to buy about 60 acres of land. For months, the collective has been repeatedly outbid by real estate developers, investors looking to diversify their portfolios and urban transplants with ''delusional agrarian dreams,'' he said.

''Places that I have looked at as potential farmland are being bought up in cash before I can even go through the process that a ***working-class*** person has to do to access land,'' he said. ''And the ironic thing is, those are my clients, like I get hired by them to do as a hobby what I'm trying to do as a livelihood. So it's tough to watch.''

Mr. Bankhead characterized the current landscape as a form of ''digital feudalism'' for aspiring working farmers. Wealthy landowners drive up land prices, contract with agricultural designers like himself to enact their vision and then hire a caretaker to work the land -- pricing out those very employees from becoming owners themselves.

''They kind of lock that person to this new flavor of serfdom where it's, you might be decently paid, you've got access to it, but it will never be yours,'' he said.

Unable to afford land in her native Florida, Tasha Trujillo recently moved her flower farm to South Carolina. Ms. Trujillo had grown cut flowers and kept bees on a parcel of her brother-in-law's five-acre plant nursery in Redland, a historically agricultural region in the Miami area, about 20 miles south of downtown.

When she sought to expand her farm and buy her own land, she quickly found that prices were out of reach, with real estate developers driving up land values and pushing out agriculture producers.

A five-acre property in the Redlands now costs $500,000 to $700,000, Ms. Trujillo said. ''So I essentially didn't have a choice but to leave Miami and Florida as a whole.''

''Farming is a very stressful profession,'' she added. ''When you throw in land insecurity, it makes it 20 times worse. So there were many, many times where I thought: 'Oh my God. I'm not going to be able to do this. This isn't feasible.'''

As small and beginning farmers are shut out -- the latest agricultural census said that the average age of farmers inched up to 57.5 -- the prohibitively high land values may have ripple effects on the sector at large.

Brian Philpot, the chief executive of AgAmerica, an agricultural lending institution, said his firm's average loan size had increased as farms consolidated, squeezing out family farms. This, he argued, could lead to a farm crisis.

''Do we have the skills and the next generation of people to farm it? And two, if the answer is going to be, we're going to have passive owners own this land and lease it out, is that very sustainable?'' he said.

Professor Henderson also warned that current farmers may face increased financial risk as they seek to leverage their high farmland values, essentially betting the farm to expand it.

''They'll buy more land but they'll use debt to do it,'' he said. ''They'll stretch themselves out.''

Economists and lenders said farmland values appeared to have plateaued in recent months, as the Federal Reserve raised interest rates and the cost of fertilizer and diesel soared. But with high commodity prices forecast for next year, some believe values will remain high.

A native of Tanzania who moved to South Dakota about a decade ago, Mr. Gindo bought seven acres of land to raise livestock in 2019 and currently rents an additional 40 acres to grow corn and soybeans -- all the while working full time as a comptroller to make ends meet.

For now, he has cooled off his search for a farm of his own even as he dreams of passing on that land to his son. The more immediate concern, he said, was whether his landlord would raise his rent. So far, the landlord has refrained because Mr. Gindo helps him out around the farm.

''He really doesn't have to lend me his land,'' Mr. Gindo said. ''He can make double that with someone else.''

In Florida, Ms. Trujillo said, the owner of the land where her brother-in-law's nursery sits has spoken of selling the plot while prices remain high, so he too has begun looking for his own property.

''That's a big fear for a lot of these farmers and nursery owners who are renting land, because you just never know when the owner's just going to say: 'You know what? This year, I'm selling and you've got to go,''' she said.

In Tennessee, Mr. Bankhead said he considered giving up on owning a farm ''multiple times a day'' as friends who have been longtime farmers leave the profession.

But so far, he remains committed to staying in the field and doing ''the work of trying to keep land in families' hands and showing there's more to do with this land than to sell it to real estate developers,'' he said. ''But the pain of not having my own garden and not being able to have my animals where I live, it never stings any less.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/13/us/politics/farmland-values-prices.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/13/us/politics/farmland-values-prices.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Farmland outside of Clark, S.D. The value of farmland in the state surged by 18.7 percent from 2021 to 2022, one of the largest increases in the country, according to the Agriculture Department.

A native of Tanzania, Joel Gindo bought seven acres in South Dakota to raise livestock in 2019 and now rents 40 acres more for corn and soybeans.

Corn is among the commodity crops whose prices have soared recently. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY TIM GRUBER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Unable to afford land in Florida, Tasha Trujillo recently moved her flower farm to South Carolina. ''Farming is a very stressful profession,'' she said. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TRAVIS DOVE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A11.

**Load-Date:** November 14, 2022

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[***A Novelist Chronicles the Panic of War While Living Through It; Roving Eye***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6672-D6M1-JBG3-62FS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 23, 2022 Tuesday 13:56 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 1355 words

**Byline:** J. Hoberman

**Highlight:** To read “Last Times,” by Victor Serge, is to watch the accelerating catastrophe of the Nazi invasion of France.

**Body**

To read “Last Times,” by Victor Serge, is to watch the accelerating catastrophe of the Nazi invasion of France.

Franz Kafka speaks for us all but there may be no other European writer who experienced the tumultuous first half of the 20th century more profoundly than Victor Serge (1890-1947).

A man of action and letters, the author of seven works of fiction plus two confiscated by the Soviet police, a history, a [*memoir*](https://www.nyrb.com/collections/victor-serge/products/memoirs-of-a-revolutionary?variant=1094930205) and a recently published [*journal*](https://www.nyrb.com/collections/victor-serge/products/notebooks?variant=7060384055348) that is the equal of any novel, Serge was also an anarchist agitator, a participant in two revolutions (Barcelona in 1917 and Russia in 1919), a Bolshevik, a Comintern agent, a radical journalist and pamphleteer (defending Trotsky, attacking Stalin), a political prisoner, a cause célèbre and a stateless fugitive.

Serge was born in one exile, as the child of Russian dissidents who sought refuge in Belgium, and died in another, having escaped to Mexico from German-occupied France. His life is the stuff of novels, including his own.

LAST TIMES (New York Review Books, 390 pp., paper, $19.95), Serge’s penultimate work of fiction, was written in Mexico in the early 1940s while the nearly penniless writer was taking in pre-Columbian monuments, consorting with refugee Surrealists, dodging Stalinist hit men and, apparently, wondering how best to write a popular novel. Serge’s last, most modernist fiction, “[*Unforgiving Years*](https://www.nyrb.com/products/unforgiving-years?variant=1094933021),” can serve as a final testament. “Last Times” is something else. According to Richard Greeman, Serge’s longtime critical champion and frequent English-language translator, the author’s American friends, including the Partisan Review editor Dwight Macdonald, were frustrated in their attempts to get his earlier books published in the United States, hence his attempt to write something more commercial.

Translated by Ralph Manheim and released in the United States as “The Long Dusk” in 1946, “Last Times” would be the lone Serge novel to have an American edition in his lifetime. (His best-known work, “The Case of Comrade Tulayev,” highly regarded for its evocation of the Stalinist show trials, was published in English in 1950.) “Last Times” opens with a long, evocative portrait of the Marais, then a ***working-class***, immigrant district in Paris, frozen in the searchlight of history. Denial gives way to mounting panic as a trickle of French deserters and then German troops enter the city; after the Fall, the book kicks into an exciting, mordant rondo of arrests, denunciations, assassinations and executions, as experienced by a large, varied cast of talkative characters. Although not all of these characters are authorial mouthpieces, “Last Times” begins with a laconic bit of personal wisdom: “Everything doesn’t collapse all at once.”

To read “Last Times” is to watch an accelerating catastrophe. Watch is the operative word. Serge’s novel suggests a treatment for a social disaster movie. Written in the midst of World War II, it spans a bit more than a year, from the capture of Paris in June 1940 to the German invasion of the Soviet Union the following June, and often evokes a three-hour film epic with an all-star international cast.

When the arrival of German tanks dissolves the initial tenement symphony, the narrative spills south in a chaotic exodus from Paris, described with the observed immediacy of Irène Némirovsky’s “[*Suite Française*](https://www.nytimes.com/2006/04/09/books/review/09gray.html).” The principal characters make their way to Marseille, as did Serge in 1940, desperately seeking a way out of Europe. The book’s final section has affinities to the novel “[*Transit*](https://www.nyrb.com/products/transit?variant=1094932885),” written in Mexico around the same time by Anna Seghers, a fellow refugee who escaped on the same overcrowded boat that Serge took (along with André Breton and Claude Lévi-Strauss), and who, as a Stalinist, was Serge’s mortal enemy.

“Transit” is steeped in existential angst. “Last Times,” by contrast, is suffused with the bitterness of revolutionary failure, although, perhaps mindful of America’s wartime alliance with the Soviets, Serge waits until the boat leaves Marseille to fully reveal the fanatical cunning of a Stalinist triple agent.

Unlike Seghers (or Némirovsky), Serge puts himself — or at least a version — in the book. His alter ego is Dr. Simon Ardatov, 63, a marginally employed political refugee and (implicitly) a stateless old Bolshevik, haunted by memories of revolutionary Petrograd. His traveling companions include Pepe Ortiga, another of Serge’s “experts in defeat,” having fought on the losing side of the Spanish Civil War, and a young Polish Jew, Maurice Silber, already slated for deportation. As in a Hollywood platoon film, many of the characters and all of the women are types. Hilda, the courageous young militant who shares a psychic bond with Ardatov, would not be out of place in a Howard Hawks movie.

Augustin Charras, a salt-of-the-earth dealer in coal, a veteran of the trenches easily visualized as Jean Gabin, best articulates Serge’s mystical sense of the collective: “It is not we who think, but thought that lives all by itself inside us.” But it’s the aging poet Félicien M\xC3rier, decorated with the Legion of Honor, who affords Serge a degree of grim enjoyment. The scenes with loquacious M\xC3rier provide the poet’s parody of “Brave New World,” and allow Serge to deliver a sardonic aside on Louis-Ferdinand Céline: “lyrical and half-mad, lewd, scatological and prophetic, foamed at the mouth for a thousand pages on the Jews, the Jew-infected, the sodomized and the Negroids — in a word, the greatest writer of the century.”

Attuned to those refugee agents whose actual names and nationalities were known to no one, Serge excels in ensemble scenes, particularly under confinement. (His first novel, “Men in Prison,” written in Russia after his expulsion from the Communist Party and mailed out for publication in France, has always struck me as his most heartfelt — a story he had to tell.) Serge is also an observer. A French detention camp offers “the spectacle of a calm riot.” The camp’s Communist cell deliberates while peeling potatoes in the kitchen yard between the latrines, the storeroom and the cooks’ dormitory.

Greeman writes in an introduction to this edition that Serge most likely saw “Casablanca” in Mexico City and modeled his spontaneous singing duel, between chauvinists and internationalists at the prison camp, after the one at [*Rick’s Café*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HM-E2H1ChJM), in which “La Marseillaise” drowns out “Die Wacht am Rhein.” Certainly, he would have been stirred by what, for many wartime viewers, was the movie’s key scene. (According to my mother, who first saw “Casablanca” as a student at Brooklyn College, the antifascist audience stood up and sang along.)

Late in “Last Times,” word comes that the Germans have attacked the Soviets. “It was at this precise moment that Simon Ardatov became a man doubly hunted” — as both a stateless Russian national and an anti-Stalinist Red. “What can a shipwrecked man out of the last lifeboat explain to anyone about his experience, his despair, the certainty of his expectations — as certain as the storm in the gathering clouds,” Ardatov wonders, clearly speaking for the author. Ardatov is granted something that Serge, as a former Communist, could never have been (namely a visa to enter the United States), but Serge lived long enough to accomplish something his fictional alter ego could not, writing this book.

“Last Times” has two endings. One is fatalistic. The other, bravely affirmative, has a few surviving characters redeem themselves by joining the Resistance. Anticipating Samuel Fuller’s didactic, if problematic, antiracist western, “Run of the Arrow,” which closes with a title card addressing the audience — “The end of this story can only be written by you” — Serge bows out with a parenthetical postscript: “(… but nothing has ended.)”

J. Hoberman is at work on a chronicle of New York City’s 1960s avant-garde underground.

LAST TIMES, by Victor Serge | Translated by Ralph Manheim | 390 pp. | New York Review Books | Paper, $19.95

J. Hoberman is at work on a chronicle of New York City’s 1960s avant-garde underground.

PHOTO: Victor Serge, left, not long after fleeing occupied Paris. (PHOTOGRAPH FROM ALAMY)

**Load-Date:** September 19, 2022

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[***Who won and who lost in the Ohio and Indiana primary elections.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65CC-0F01-DXY4-X453-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; elections

**Length:** 952 words

**Byline:** Azi Paybarah

**Highlight:** The fall matchup for an Ohio Senate seat is set. A progressive challenger was defeated again in her bid for a House seat. Here’s what else was decided.

**Body**

The fall matchup for an Ohio Senate seat is set. A progressive challenger was defeated again in her bid for a House seat. Here’s what else was decided.

Ohio’s consequential Republican Senate primary dominated much of the attention on Tuesday evening, but it was far from the only race decided.

Here is a rundown of the winners and losers in some of the most important contests:

J.D. Vance won Ohio’s marquee race, the Republican Senate primary

J.D. Vance, the author of “Hillbilly Elegy” and a venture capitalist who trailed in the polls until he was endorsed by former President Donald J. Trump, won the Republican nomination for Senate, giving Mr. Trump an early victory in the midterm election season.

Mr. Vance had transformed himself from a Never-Trumper in 2016 into a grateful recipient of Mr. Trump’s support.

He defeated a crowded field of candidates — most notably, Josh Mandel, Mike Gibbons, Matt Dolan and Jane Timken. Many had tried to position themselves in the mold of Mr. Trump, but it appears that the former president’s backing mattered the most.

Tim Ryan, who says ‘Americans first,’ won the Democratic Senate primary

The victory by Representative Tim Ryan, a Democrat, means the November contest to replace Senator Rob Portman, a Republican who is retiring, will be a race between a seasoned politician on the left and a first-time candidate for office, Mr. Vance, on the right.

Mr. Ryan, who ran for president in 2020 complaining that the party had abandoned ***working-class*** voters, easily defeated two lesser-known, [*lesser-funded*](https://www.fec.gov/data/elections/senate/OH/2022/) primary challengers: Morgan Harper and Traci Johnson.

Mr. Ryan echoed some of Mr. Trump’s rhetoric, if with a slight tweak: “Right now, we have to be Americans first,” Mr. Ryan said in a TV ad, the last two words sounding similar to Mr. Trump’s “America First” agenda.

Shontel Brown defeated her progressive challenger, Nina Turner, again

Representative Shontel Brown, a Democrat, last defeated Nina Turner in a special election for this Ohio House seat just nine months ago. Now she has done it again.

Two Democratic heavyweights offered their endorsements late in the race: President Biden, for Ms. Brown, and Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, for Ms. Turner. And this time around, the [*Congressional Progressive Caucus PAC*](https://weareprogressives.org/congressional-progressive-caucus-pac-announces-new-endorsement-slate/) backed Ms. Brown.

Similar to their bitter 2021 matchup, Ms. Turner — who rose to national prominence as a surrogate for Senator Bernie Sanders — was the subject of attack ads funded by several outside groups that described her as too far afield from the Democratic base to be effective.

Gov. Mike DeWine, a Republican who doesn’t sound like Trump, easily won his primary

Gov. Mike DeWine, a Republican who eschewed the combative and conspiratorial tones of Mr. Trump, easily dispatched the field of primary challengers that was [*led by Jim Renacci*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/30/us/politics/ohio-senate-primary-vance-trump.html?searchResultPosition=2), who presented himself as a more Trump-aligned alternative to the governor.

Mr. DeWine, a low-key career politician who has been in elected office since the mid-1970s, [*won bipartisan praise*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/28/us/politics/mike-dewine-ohio-coronavirus.html) for his handling of the pandemic — though not from Mr. Renacci, who wielded it against him. Mr. DeWine mainly stuck to bread-and-butter issues on the campaign trail, like cutting taxes and adding jobs.

Max Miller, a Trump White House aide, won his House primary

Max Miller, whom the former president endorsed, clinched the Republican nomination in Ohio’s Seventh Congressional District — another deep-red district where Mr. Trump’s influence over the party was on display.

Two incumbents in the district declined to run. The first was Representative Anthony Gonzalez, who called Mr. Trump a [*“cancer”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/16/us/politics/anthony-gonzalez-ohio-trump.html) and retired after two terms.

The second, Representative Bob Gibbs, was aligned with Mr. Trump but was forced into the race against Mr. Miller late in his campaign, because of redistricting. He opted to retire, which more or less cleared the field for Mr. Miller.

Mr. Miller was [*accused of assault*](https://www.cleveland.com/news/2021/10/heres-how-we-decided-to-print-stephanie-grishams-abuse-claims-against-max-miller-letter-from-the-editor.html) by an ex-girlfriend, Stephanie Grisham, a former White House press secretary. Mr. Miller has denied the accusation and has [*sued*](https://www.cleveland.com/court-justice/2021/10/ex-trump-staffer-max-miller-files-defamation-lawsuit-against-stephanie-grisham-over-abuse-allegations.html) Ms. Grisham.

A Trump-endorsed Pence (not that one) won his primary in Indiana

Representative Greg Pence, a Republican and an older brother of former Vice President Mike Pence, easily beat his nominal primary opponent, James Alspach.

The elder Mr. Pence joined more than 140 other Republicans in the House in [*voting to overturn*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/01/07/us/elections/electoral-college-biden-objectors.html) the presidential election results after a mob of Trump supporters attacked the Capitol on Jan. 6. The younger Mr. Pence, whom some in the mob had targeted, angered Mr. Trump and his supporters by [*saying*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/04/us/politics/pence-trump-election.html) he did not have the constitutional power to overturn the results.

The older Mr. Pence has said [*he stands by his brother*](https://thehill.com/news/campaign/3472131-trump-endorse-pences-brother-for-reelection-in-indiana/).

J.R. Majewski will be the Republican to challenge Kaptur this fall

J.R. Majewski, a self-styled political outsider, won the Republican nomination in Ohio’s Ninth Congressional District and will face Representative Marcy Kaptur, a Democrat who, if elected to her 21st term in November, would become [*the longest-serving female*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/28/us/politics/labor-unions-ohio-democrats.html?searchResultPosition=2) member of Congress.

The newly drawn district in the northern part of the state [*now tilts Republican*](https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/redistricting-2022-maps/ohio/), and attracted three well-funded Republican candidates, as well as [*spending*](https://www.opensecrets.org/races/outside-spending?cycle=2022&amp;id=OH09) from outside interest groups.

Mr. Majewski sought to tap into Mr. Trump’s Make America Great Again energy, showing himself [*in television ads*](https://adm0.page.link/f27q) holding a gun as he told viewers, “I’m willing to do whatever it takes to return this country back to its former glory.”

He defeated Craig Riedel and Theresa Gavarone, state legislators who also ran as Trump-style conservatives.

PHOTO: J.D. Vance on stage with his wife, Usha Vance, on Tuesday night in Cincinnati after his victory. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Maddie McGarvey for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 4, 2022

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[***What Republicans Should Do if They Win Big This Fall***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:666V-3S31-DXY4-X37J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 22, 2022 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 18; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 1412 words

**Byline:** By Oren Cass and Chris Griswold

**Body**

Nearly everyone expects that Republicans will, if they win November's midterm elections, use newfound majorities in the House and possibly the Senate for intense oversight of the Biden administration and to press Democrats on hot-button issues like critical race theory, gender identity and the Covid-19 response. But what else could they do?

While periods of divided government can yield gridlock, they also offer opportunities for progress. A party in control of the White House and Congress often finds itself at war with its own most uncompromising elements. By contrast, a party limited to power in one or both legislative chambers has an incentive to advance moderate ideas that force difficult choices on the other side of the aisle, and one holding only the presidency knows that compromise is its only path to governing.

In 1986 the House of Representatives, under Democratic control with a 72-seat margin, approved President Ronald Reagan's tax legislation, with 176 Democrats and 116 Republicans voting in favor. A decade later, half of House Democrats joined their colleagues in the Republican majority to pass welfare change, which President Bill Clinton signed into law.

Our organization, American Compass, has been developing a conservative agenda that supplants blind faith in free markets with policies focused on workers and their families. That way of thinking is making inroads in the Republican Party, creating avenues for legislative progress. Across three categories of policymaking, the party appears poised to make good use of any control it would have in the next Congress.

First, genuine bipartisan agreement could emerge where the parties have similar views on an issue to which Republicans will give priority. Industrial policy to compete with China is the most likely candidate. Last month's bipartisan breakthrough on the CHIPS and Science Act, which directs more than $50 billion to the domestic semiconductor industry, underscored the broad-based appeal of supporting innovation and domestic production in critical technologies. The bill also sparked debate that highlights the work still to be done.

Many on the right, including some congressional Republicans, were harshly critical -- but they expressed not just the typical concerns about big government or picking winners and losers. They also complained that the bill did not interfere with the market enough and left companies too much latitude to continue investing in China. For instance, the Republican Study Committee, the largest conservative caucus in the House, argued that the bill was too weak because a company receiving CHIPS funds to build an American factory might still be allowed to make new Chinese investments as well.

A Republican majority will return to this issue, and groups like the Republican Study Committee are already formulating tough restrictions on financial flows to and from China. House Democrats have aggressive proposals of their own. And with such provisions in place, other critical industries like electric vehicle batteries and the rare earth minerals they need are ripe for CHIPS-like support. Democratic leadership may not have prioritized investment restriction, but when Republicans do, it will gain momentum quickly on both sides of the aisle.

A second category of action under split control of government would be Republican legislation that has broad popular appeal but threatens a core Democratic principle or constituency. Here, education policy offers an ideal opportunity. Parents' rights and critical race theory in K-12 schools have drawn the most attention, but a broader battle is also brewing over options after high school. Both political parties routinely pay rhetorical homage to apprenticeships and other noncollege pathways, but Democrats have spent their political capital on college attendees and aspirants, with proposals for student loan forgiveness and free college that neglect the majority of Americans who do not earn degrees.

Republicans have the opportunity to offer a sharp contrast by excoriating the failures of the nation's college-or-bust education system and proposing to reallocate federal education funds away from tax breaks and loan subsidies for college students and toward alternatives like on-the-job training. This should appeal to a large majority of Americans, who, according to a survey led by our organization, prefer options like apprenticeships to free college for themselves and their children and to all who are tired of a culture that confers respect mainly on the collegebound.

For many on the right, an added attraction would be reducing funding to universities they see as culturally toxic. And conservatives would be willing to consider targeted student debt relief, perhaps through bankruptcy -- though they would also want genuine reform that leaves the universities on the financial hook for the success of students. That would not be popular with the higher-education lobby and its allies on the left, but voters may be another matter.

The third place to look for economic policy developments is in the Republican caucus's internal debates. As Democrats have learned over the past two years, a narrow congressional majority prompts tough intraparty battles that are more easily suppressed when in the opposition. In the wake of the Supreme Court decision that overturned Roe v. Wade, some conservatives are taking up sides on a range of policy proposals to enhance support for expectant and new parents. In a Republican Congress, the family policy debate will be front and center.

The recent Family Security Act 2.0 proposal from Senators Mitt Romney, Richard Burr and Steve Daines would convert the current child tax credit into a significantly more generous cash benefit paid monthly to working families with children. While Republicans have traditionally panned direct cash payments to families as welfare, the F.S.A. has garnered a notably broad range of right-of-center support -- for instance, from scholars at both the conservative Ethics and Public Policy Center and the business-friendly American Enterprise Institute, as well as from leading anti-abortion groups.

Notwithstanding the anti-tax activist Grover Norquist's recent remark that such policies reappear from time to time ''like herpes or shingles,'' the traditional opponents of government spending have mostly held their fire.

If Republicans coalesce around this sort of proposal, it could shoot immediately to the top of the national political agenda, where it would have significant bipartisan potential but would also pose a vexing quandary for the Democratic coalition. On the one hand, the F.S.A. would be a larger and more widely accessible expansion of family support than anything the Democratic presidential nominees Barack Obama, Hillary Clinton and Joe Biden ran on -- it's tailor-made for support across the political spectrum. On the other hand, its limitation to working families would fall short of the unconditional universal payments that Democrats included for one year in 2021's American Rescue Plan and fought to make permanent in Build Back Better but that have since expired.

A Republican bill along these lines could be generous, popular and anathema to the Democrats' progressive base. The emergence of a widely backed program for supporting families would depend on how the internal Republican debate resolves and whether Democrats would be ready to strike a deal.

The common force pushing forward these various policy opportunities is the evolution in conservative thinking toward greater focus on the interests of the ***working class*** and a greater role for government in addressing the free market's shortcomings. Attitudes within the Republican Party's shifting coalition of voters have moved clearly in this direction, and at least some of its leaders have as well. If Americans elect a Republican-controlled Congress this fall, it could provide the G.O.P. with an early test of whether the party is ready to make good on that promise.

Oren Cass is the executive director at American Compass, a think tank for conservative economics. Chris Griswold is the policy director.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/18/opinion/republican-congress-agenda.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/18/opinion/republican-congress-agenda.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY R. KRUBNER/CLASSICSTOCK, VIA GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** August 22, 2022

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[***Letters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:648X-J2T1-DXY4-X0TB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 12, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 6

**Length:** 746 words

**Body**

A Small Omission

To the Editor:

Since, as Ian Frazier points out in By the Book (Nov. 28), it only has 27 words, it's disappointing that the Book Review didn't find room to print Emily Dickinson's ''To Make a Prairie.'' One of those words is ''revery.'' It's fascinating to imagine the president -- present or former -- being required to ponder, and perhaps to enact, that word each day. I'm guessing that the current president already does.

Lois LowryFalmouth, Maine

The writer is the author of ''The Giver.''

Hard Truths

To the Editor:

I enjoyed Adam Hochschild's review of ''The 1619 Project'' (Nov. 21), but was disappointed to see him deploy a critique that is easily debunked. He claims that British abolitionism ''didn't come to life until a decade later'' than the American Revolution.

A quick internet search yields books and scholarly articles by Brycchan Carey (2005) and Rena Vassar (1970) that trace an upwelling of abolitionist sentiment agitating the highest levels of church and state in pre-1776 Britain. William Warburton, the bishop of Gloucester, preached a sermon attacking slavery in 1766, a document that the Quaker abolitionist Anthony Benezet referenced in ''A Caution and Warning to Great Britain'' (1767). Other landmark antislavery texts include Granville Sharp's ''A Representation of the Injustice and Dangerous Tendency of Tolerating Slavery'' (1769) and the founding Methodist John Wesley's ''Thoughts Upon Slavery'' (1774).

''The 1619 Project'''s claim that ''growing calls to abolish the slave trade'' in Britain predated the American Revolution is supported by a great deal of written evidence.

Ronald BriggsNew York

Aspirational Reading

To the Editor:

As a historian of publishing, I appreciated Tina Jordan's survey of ''a history of self-improvement, told through advertisements in the Book Review'' (Nov. 28). Those of us who have made careers out of writing, editing, publishing and occasionally reading books will be pleased to learn, perhaps too late in life, that books can be an aid to impressing girls.

As an addendum to Jordan's piece, I would note that in the same era in which the Pocket Classical Library and Haldeman-Julius's remarkable Little Blue Books came out, the most successful set of self-education books ever published in America appeared: the Harvard Classics, known popularly as ''Dr. Eliot's five-foot shelf of books,'' edited by Charles W. Eliot, retired president of Harvard, and published in 50 volumes by P. F. Collier & Son beginning in 1910.

Collier specialized in mail-order subscription publishing and owned the popular Collier's Magazine, in the pages of which the set was copiously advertised, as it was in other magazines and newspapers, including The New York Times. One of the advertising slogans was ''15 minutes a day,'' the amount of time an upward aspiring ***working-class*** reader might invest to achieve the equivalent of a liberal university education.

The hard sell was overseen for a while by Collier's assistant sales manager Bruce Barton, who went on to found the pioneering advertising firm of Batten, Barton, Durstine and Osborn. The ad campaign was followed up by a nationwide network of traveling salesmen who visited potential buyers, signed them to a contract, collected the money and delivered the product.

The set sold in massive numbers. The New York Times reported in 1926 that ''more than 14,000,000 copies'' of the individual books ''have been sold. The value of these sales was $20,827,188.'' The fact that possibly several years at ''15 minutes a day'' might be needed to master the 20,000 or so pages of the set seemed irrelevant.

Paul M. Wright Boston

Spoiled Rotten

To the Editor:

I have to agree with Pete Warshaw's letter in the Nov. 21 Book Review. Three reviews of historical fiction books in that issue summarized each book's plot in depth and revealed what looked to me like key plot developments. Now it seems pointless to me to actually read the books. Please, no spoilers!

Andrea PalumboMinneapolisThe Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters for publication should include the writer's name, address and telephone number. Letters should be addressed to The Editor, The New York Times Book Review, 620 Eighth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10018. The email address is [*books@nytimes.com*](mailto:books@nytimes.com) Letters may be edited for length and clarity. We regret that because of the large volume of mail received, we are unable to acknowledge or to return unpublished letters.

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Rebecca Clarke FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 26, 2021

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[***Farmland Values Hit Record Highs, Pricing Out Farmers***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66VJ-PV11-JBG3-6433-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 13, 2022 Sunday 11:33 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1665 words

**Byline:** Linda Qiu

**Highlight:** Small farmers are now going up against deep-pocketed investors, including private equity firms and real estate developers.

**Body**

Joel Gindo thought he could finally own and operate the farm of his dreams when a neighbor put up 160 acres of cropland for sale in Brookings County, S.D., two years ago. Five thousand or six thousand dollars an acre should do the trick, Mr. Gindo estimated.

But at auction, Mr. Gindo watched helplessly as the price continued to climb until it hit $11,000 an acre, double what he had budgeted for.

“I just couldn’t compete with how much people are paying, with people paying 10 grand,” he said. “And for someone like me who doesn’t have an inheritance somewhere sitting around, a lump sum of money sitting around, everything has to be financed.”

What is happening in South Dakota is playing out in farming communities across the nation as the value of farmland soars, hitting record highs this year and often pricing out small or beginning farmers. In the state, farmland values surged by 18.7 percent from 2021 to 2022, one of the highest increases in the country, [*according to the most recent figures from the Agriculture Department*](https://www.nass.usda.gov/Publications/Todays_Reports/reports/land0822.pdf). Nationwide, values increased by 12.4 percent and reached $3,800 an acre, the highest on record since 1970, with cropland at $5,050 an acre and pastureland at $1,650 an acre.

A series of economic forces — high prices for commodity crops like [*corn*](https://www.nass.usda.gov/Charts_and_Maps/Agricultural_Prices/pricecn.php), [*soybeans*](https://www.nass.usda.gov/Charts_and_Maps/Agricultural_Prices/pricesb.php) and [*wheat*](https://www.nass.usda.gov/Charts_and_Maps/Agricultural_Prices/pricewh.php); a robust housing market; low interest rates until recently; and an abundance of government subsidies — have converged to create a “perfect storm” for farmland values, said Jason Henderson, a dean at the College of Agriculture at Purdue University and a former official at the Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City.

As a result, small farmers like Mr. Gindo are now going up against deep-pocketed investors, including private equity firms and real estate developers, prompting some experts to warn of far-reaching consequences for the farming sector.

Young farmers named finding affordable land for purchase the top challenge in 2022 in a [*September survey*](https://www.youngfarmers.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/NationalSurveyReport22-1.pdf) by the National Young Farmers Coalition, a nonprofit group.

Already, the supply of land is limited. About [*40 percent of farmland in the United States is rented*](https://www.ers.usda.gov/webdocs/publications/74672/eib-161.pdf), most of it owned by landlords who are not actively involved in farming. And the amount of land available for purchase is extremely scant, with [*less than 1 percent of farmland*](https://www.minneapolisfed.org/article/2021/a-pragmatic-producers-value-of-farmland) sold on the open market annually.

The booming housing market, among a number of factors, has bolstered the value of farmland, particularly in areas close to growing city centers.

“What we have seen over the past year or two was, when housing starts to go up with new building construction, that puts pressure on farmland, especially on those urban fringes,” Professor Henderson explained. “And that leads to a cascading ripple effect into land values even farther and farther away.”

Government subsidies to farmers have also soared in recent years, amounting to [*nearly 39 percent of net farm income*](https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R46676) in 2020. On top of traditional programs like crop insurance payments, the Agriculture Department distributed [*$23 billion to farmers hurt by President Donald J. Trump’s trade war*](https://www.gao.gov/products/gao-22-104259) from 2018 to 2020 and [*$45.3 billion in pandemic-related assistance*](https://www.fb.org/market-intel/recovering-farm-income-jeopardized-by-record-operating-expenses-and-harvest) in 2020 and 2021. (The government’s contribution to farm income decreased to 20 percent in [*2021*](https://sgp.fas.org/crs/misc/R47051.pdf) and is forecast to be about 8 percent in [*2022*](https://www.ers.usda.gov/topics/farm-economy/farm-sector-income-finances/highlights-from-the-farm-income-forecast/#:~:text=Median%20Income%20of%20Farm%20Operator,further%20to%20%2493%2C663%20in%202022.).)

Those payments, or even the very promise of additional assistance, increase farmland values as they create a safety net and signal that agricultural land is a safe bet, research shows.

“There’s an expectation in the market that the government’s going to play a role when farm incomes drop, so that definitely affects investment behavior,” said Jennifer Ifft, a professor of agricultural economics at Kansas State University.

Eager investors are increasingly [*turning to farmland*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/08/business/mutfund/farmland-is-valuable-but-buying-it-is-tricky-for-fund-investors.html) in the face of volatility in the stock and real estate markets. Bill Gates, the Microsoft co-founder and a billionaire, is the biggest private farmland owner in the country and recently won approval to [*buy 2,100 acres in North Dakota*](https://www.agweb.com/news/business/farmland/bill-gates-north-dakota-farmland-purchase-approved-attorney-general) for $13.5 million.

The number of private equity funds seeking to buy stakes in farmland has ticked higher, said Tim Koch, a vice president at an agricultural financial cooperative in the Midwest, Farm Credit Services of America. Pension funds also consider farmland a stable investment, Professor Ifft said.

Farmers, too, have witnessed an influx of outside interest. Nathaniel Bankhead, who runs a farm and garden consulting business in Chattanooga, Tenn., has banded with a group of other agricultural workers to save up to $500,000 to buy about 60 acres of land. For months, the collective has been repeatedly outbid by real estate developers, investors looking to diversify their portfolios and urban transplants with “delusional agrarian dreams,” he said.

“Places that I have looked at as potential farmland are being bought up in cash before I can even go through the process that a ***working-class*** person has to do to access land,” he said. “And the ironic thing is, those are my clients, like I get hired by them to do as a hobby what I’m trying to do as a livelihood. So it’s tough to watch.”

Mr. Bankhead characterized the current landscape as a form of “digital feudalism” for aspiring working farmers. Wealthy landowners drive up land prices, contract with agricultural designers like himself to enact their vision and then hire a caretaker to work the land — pricing out those very employees from becoming owners themselves.

“They kind of lock that person to this new flavor of serfdom where it’s, you might be decently paid, you’ve got access to it, but it will never be yours,” he said.

Unable to afford land in her native Florida, Tasha Trujillo recently moved her flower farm to South Carolina. Ms. Trujillo had grown cut flowers and kept bees on a parcel of her brother-in-law’s five-acre plant nursery in Redland, a historically agricultural region in the Miami area, about 20 miles south of downtown.

When she sought to expand her farm and buy her own land, she quickly found that prices were out of reach, with real estate developers driving up land values and pushing out agriculture producers.

A five-acre property in the Redlands now costs $500,000 to $700,000, Ms. Trujillo said. “So I essentially didn’t have a choice but to leave Miami and Florida as a whole.”

“Farming is a very stressful profession,” she added. “When you throw in land insecurity, it makes it 20 times worse. So there were many, many times where I thought: ‘Oh my God. I’m not going to be able to do this. This isn’t feasible.’”

As small and beginning farmers are shut out — the latest agricultural census said that [*the average age of farmers inched up*](https://www.nass.usda.gov/Publications/Highlights/2019/2017Census_Farm_Producers.pdf#page=2) to 57.5 — the prohibitively high land values may have ripple effects on the sector at large.

Brian Philpot, the chief executive of AgAmerica, an agricultural lending institution, said his firm’s average loan size had increased as farms consolidated, squeezing out family farms. This, he argued, could lead to a farm crisis.

“Do we have the skills and the next generation of people to farm it? And two, if the answer is going to be, we’re going to have passive owners own this land and lease it out, is that very sustainable?” he said.

Professor Henderson also warned that current farmers may face increased financial risk as they seek to leverage their high farmland values, essentially betting the farm to expand it.

“They’ll buy more land but they’ll use debt to do it,” he said. “They’ll stretch themselves out.”

Economists and lenders said farmland values appeared to have plateaued in recent months, as the Federal Reserve raised interest rates and the cost of fertilizer and diesel soared. But with high commodity prices forecast for next year, some believe values will remain high.

A native of Tanzania who moved to South Dakota about a decade ago, Mr. Gindo bought seven acres of land to raise livestock in 2019 and currently rents an additional 40 acres to grow corn and soybeans — all the while working full time as a comptroller to make ends meet.

For now, he has cooled off his search for a farm of his own even as he dreams of passing on that land to his son. The more immediate concern, he said, was whether his landlord would raise his rent. So far, the landlord has refrained because Mr. Gindo helps him out around the farm.

“He really doesn’t have to lend me his land,” Mr. Gindo said. “He can make double that with someone else.”

In Florida, Ms. Trujillo said, the owner of the land where her brother-in-law’s nursery sits has spoken of selling the plot while prices remain high, so he too has begun looking for his own property.

“That’s a big fear for a lot of these farmers and nursery owners who are renting land, because you just never know when the owner’s just going to say: ‘You know what? This year, I’m selling and you’ve got to go,’” she said.

In Tennessee, Mr. Bankhead said he considered giving up on owning a farm “multiple times a day” as friends who have been longtime farmers leave the profession.

But so far, he remains committed to staying in the field and doing “the work of trying to keep land in families’ hands and showing there’s more to do with this land than to sell it to real estate developers,” he said. “But the pain of not having my own garden and not being able to have my animals where I live, it never stings any less.”

PHOTOS: Farmland outside of Clark, S.D. The value of farmland in the state surged by 18.7 percent from 2021 to 2022, one of the largest increases in the country, according to the Agriculture Department.; A native of Tanzania, Joel Gindo bought seven acres in South Dakota to raise livestock in 2019 and now rents 40 acres more for corn and soybeans.; Corn is among the commodity crops whose prices have soared recently. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY TIM GRUBER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Unable to afford land in Florida, Tasha Trujillo recently moved her flower farm to South Carolina. “Farming is a very stressful profession,” she said. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TRAVIS DOVE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A11.

**Load-Date:** November 14, 2022

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[***Story Collections***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65JR-G6X1-DXY4-X3JX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 29, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 22; THE SHORTLIST

**Length:** 1145 words

**Byline:** By Jean Chen Ho

**Body**

Chelsea Bieker, the author of the novel ''Godshot,'' returns with another bold, uncanny ode to California's Central Valley. In the 11 stories in HEARTBROKE (277 pp., Catapult, $26), we meet sex workers and raisin farmers, miners and addicts. ''Godshot'''s Officer Geary pops up now and again in the collection, asking pesky questions of Bieker's narrators, a number of whom become unwitting (or at least unwilling) accessories to murder. Violence is everywhere in ''Heartbroke,'' where an abusive father or husband seems the rule rather than the exception. And the women -- the wives, mothers and sisters -- are often narcissistic and manipulative. Resentful guardians treat their wards with abject indifference. Babies and children go missing: kidnapped, taken from unfit parents by social services or having run away from home.

The title story is one of several that circle a man named Pretty, whose vulnerabilities and foibles are revealed through tender letters from his mother as she recounts a litany of maternal regrets. In ''Cadillac Flats,'' Pretty is a timid teenager whose desire hasn't yet hardened into entitlement. He thinks his older cousin Jackie is a fool for telling him ''real men smoked cigarettes, men got their due from whatever woman they pleased,'' but it takes a literal gunshot to awaken him to the theater of masculinity and his eventual role in it. Though he staggers off intact, the version of Pretty who dances with glee in blue suede shoes all but vanishes.

Years later, what remains of him in ''Keep Her Down'' is only the subject of listless musing between his ex-wives, Baby and Jan. Their unlikely friendship is built on the shared experience of having survived Pretty, each one ''dragged through the mire of her own devotion, then scorned, beaten and spit on.'' The reader encounters this Pretty first: the archetype of the angry, reproachful man so ubiquitous in ''Heartbroke.'' But as his story deepens, Pretty becomes something else entirely.

Bieker offers an unsentimental view of the hardscrabble lives of the white ***working class*** in a less romanticized region of California. In ''Raisin Man,'' a father tells his son, ''God came down and ran His mighty hand on the land, blessed this place.'' The boy retorts: ''My ma says it's the deepest hole in hell.'' Bieker's lucid, compassionate prose makes room for both visions, and more.

A thousand-plus miles due southeast, a different valley dazzles the senses. The characters in Fernando A. Flores's VALLEYESQUE (193 pp., MCD x FSG Originals, paper, $16) exist in a surrealist rendering of the Texas-Mexico border, where they float into and out of bizarre dreamscapes as if passing through a police checkpoint, or the customs counter. Which is to say, reality is subjective and the rules for safe crossing are often arbitrary. In this exuberantly strange story collection, Flores asks: Whose reality? What rules?

Absurdist logic reigns in ''Valleyesque.'' The invention of breakfast tacos topped with pre-shredded American cheese is deemed ''an authentic experience that's better, faster than the real thing.'' When possums gentrify your hometown and underestimate your ambition, there's nothing to do but leave the border and never look back. A struggling novelist finds solace in his ''Nostradamus baby'' made of human earwax. Flores writes with a sublime comic sensibility.

''Nocturne From a World Concave'' is a standout in the collection. In Ciudad Juárez, a terminally ill Frédéric Chopin marks his last days in a shabby apartment near the market square. The renowned composer, or ''Papá Chopin,'' as the children in the street call him, is the avuncular curmudgeon of Plaza Bonifacio. After an unsuccessful attempt to recover his confiscated Pleyel piano, Chopin is detained by a pair of handsomely dressed goons. They pull a luchador mask over his head -- the eyes and mouth sewn shut -- and throw him in a pickup truck. In that private, darkened room, under the shroud, Chopin thinks of his dead mother, buried only a week ago. What happens next is hard to explain: Chopin enters a feverish grief fantasy involving a half-naked king, a castle under mournful enchantment and a sickly, hairless girl in an emerald gown.

At last, the Pleyel piano. Chopin sits down to play. Flores's prose here soars and dips, taking on a haunting, poetic register: ''Don't forget us, distant yesterdays and impossible tomorrows, whales under moonlight, blood upon clear, green waters, don't forget.'' The lyrical improvisation lifts the spell on the castle, like magic. It transports the reader, too.

Traveling even farther east, Erica Plouffe Lazure examines the vicissitudes of small-town life in eastern North Carolina in her debut collection, PROOF OF ME (212 pp., New American Press, paper, $17). Each of the book's five sections delves into a family or community in the fictional crossing of Mewborn. Written with deep emotional intelligence, these are indelible portraits of people seeking grace in all the wrong places.

Within each section are discrete but linked stories, many of which are succinct vignettes that telegraph a character's complex interiority in a few short pages. It's the longer pieces, however, that allow Lazure's characters to fully breathe. In ''Shad Daze,'' Noah Saunders brings his girlfriend home to meet the family during Mewborn's Shad Festival in April, when the herring make ''their seasonal upstream runs on the Neuse,'' the local river. Years back, his sister, Sissy, had been crowned the Shad Queen ''in her knockout days ... rail-thin and red-haired, her smile saucy and come-hither.'' Her affair with an older man scandalized the town, however, and Sissy's pageant title was rescinded. Noah doesn't communicate with his family much, and there's little love between him and Sissy these days, though they were once close. The siblings even shared a best friend, Knox, who died from an accidental drug overdose two years ago. In spare, bright prose, Lazure deftly reveals how grief penetrates and takes hold of a family and irrevocably splinters a whole community.

The characters in ''Proof of Me'' gossip about their neighbors, betray their spouses in large and small ways, and spend more time at Duck's Tavern than they should. They're also the same people who care for an aging parent or abandoned niece without complaint and lie without blinking to spare a friend's feelings. Some may flee Mewborn -- for Philadelphia, Boston, San Francisco or as far away as Bodh Gaya, India -- to seek other fortunes. Still, when North Carolina's rural landscape calls, these prodigal sons and daughters inevitably answer. Lazure's sensitive portrayal of this specific American locale deserves the attention of readers from all over the map.

Jean Chen Ho is a doctoral candidate at the University of Southern California and the author of ''Fiona and Jane.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/17/books/review/american-fiction-stories.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/17/books/review/american-fiction-stories.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS

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[***What to See in N.Y.C. Galleries in July***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68MH-C3T1-DXY4-X4YD-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** Want to see new art in New York this weekend? Check out Behjat Sadr’s earthy canvases in Greenwich Village or rafa esparza’s portraits in TriBeCA. And don’t miss John Fahey’s works on paper in Greenpoint, Brooklyn.

**Body**

Want to see new art in New York this weekend? Check out “Luxe, Calme, Volupté” on the Lower East Side or “Reclamation” at Hudson Yards. And don’t miss Rachel Rossin’s “mechs” in Chinatown.

Newly Reviewed

‘Luxe, Calme, Volupté’

Through Aug. 11. Candice Madey, 1 Rivington Street, Manhattan; 917-415-8655, [*candicemadey.com*](http://candicemadey.com/)

For many young artists in the cash-poor, art-rich East Village of the 1970s and very early 1980s, bathtub-in-kitchen tenement apartments were also studios. You get an immediate sense of forced spatial economy in “Luxe, Calme, Volupté,” a salon-style group show of some 70 works from that time and place, each small enough to have been done on a kitchen table.

The show is a piquant tasting menu of a moment when realist art was suddenly in high flood after a long Minimalist/Conceptualist-induced drought. For a sense of new possibilities explored, or revisited, check out a 1981 Times Square cityscape by Jane Dickson, or Thomas Lanigan-Schmidt’s 1986 altar boy valentine, or a sculpted pair of spike heels (real spikes!) by the great Greer Lankton, or a companionable 1988 trifecta in the form of Gail Thacker’s photograph of Mark Morrisroe photographing Rafael Sánchez.

More than anything, this is a portrait show, of artists’ lovers and friends, almost all artists themselves. Together they define a brief, bright community occupying a gentrifying bit of turf, and a dolorous passage in time: Several of the artists represented here would die of AIDS, with Richard Brintzenhofe, Luis Frangella, Peter Hujar, Nicolas Moufarrege and the experimental photographer Darrel Ellis among the early losses. (The Madey show has been organized by Antonio Sergio Bessa and Allen Frame, curators of the Darrel Ellis retrospective now at the Bronx Museum of the Arts.) Happily, illusions of “luxe, calme and volupté” were still possible when much of what’s here was made. HOLLAND COTTER

‘Reclamation’

Through Aug. 11. Sean Kelly Gallery, 475 10th Avenue, Manhattan; 212-239-1181, [*skny.com*](https://www.skny.com/).

For the concluding exhibition of NXTHVN’s graduating fellowship cohort, the artists in this program founded in 2019 by the painter Titus Kaphar and two partners in New Haven, Conn., have produced work that is visually arresting, materially inventive, and takes real risks.

In the group show, “Reclamation,” Donald Guevara has fashioned collages of human limbs, animal appendages and bits of popular iconography mounted amid a rabble of multicolored shards titled “Glitches” (2023). His installation, which reads as a stop-motion blur of activity, brings to mind Sylvia Plath’s line from “Elm”: “a wind of such violence will tolerate no bystanding.” Another highlight is Anindita Dutta’s assemblages that combine black boots and shoes in which the heels are replaced by cruelly curved horns paired with sumptuous leather, cloth and feather textiles. Her series “Sex, Sexuality, and Society” (2023) finds that sweet seam between the phallic and the feminine, making it obvious that clothing really is talismanic conjuring in disguise.

Edgar Serrano’s paintings flirt with horror, but with a light, comical touch. The red-eyed ghoul shrieking underneath a Stahlhelm military helmet in “Doctor Hardcore” (2023) seems both silly and disturbing. Lastly, in the downstairs gallery, Ashanté Kindle’s circular paintings of hairstyling strips and acrylic on wood panel expound on her fascination with Black people’s hair. Her previous work was mostly obsidian, but now has added variegated pigmentation and objects such as hair bows and beads that give the paintings more visual voltage. The entire exhibition is like this work: sensuality embedded in intellectual curiosity. SEPH RODNEY

Rachel Rossin

Through Aug. 11. Magenta Plains, 149 Canal Street, Manhattan; 917-388-2464, [*magentaplains.com*](https://magentaplains.com/exhibitions/rachel-rossin-scry).

The ground floor gallery at Magenta Plains is configured as a chapel — but of what faith? The New York artist Rachel Rossin is as much a programmer as a painter, and her exhibition embroiders the boundaries around “the human” with knowing reverence. On a round LED screen mounted to the ceiling, the video “The Maw Of” pans and zooms through 3-D renderings of disembodied nerves and skeletons, glowing networks, and the orange and blue blobs of bodies viewed in infrared. It’s a celestial tondo of the posthuman, a portal to the angels or their digital avatars. It turns the room red.

On the curved back wall hang five portraits of “mechs” — robotic suits of anime armor. Their purplish, blurred silhouettes seem printed on top of the ridges of milky paint depicting pale, layered figures and puddling abstractions. In “Just like Velveteen Rabbit, Mech Standing,” the largest and center panel, the mech’s beatific pose echoes an obscure, winged shape sketched into the pulsing lavender shadows in butter yellow and grass. Several, such as “SCRY. 1 Corinthians 13:12.,” a picture in minty pastels where the mech’s pilot’s face punches through the haze, incorporate line drawings of dragons labeled Bad or Good in a naïve hand; others feature angels. The apostle Paul had heaven in mind when he wrote, in 1 Corinthians, that “now we see as through a glass darkly”; Rossin’s cyborg icons hold out that true vision might require a higher power, a congestion of human and machine. TRAVIS DIEHL

Last Chance

Senga Nengudi

Through July 28 at Sprüth Magers, 22 East 80th Street, Manhattan; 917-722-2370, [*spruethmagers.com*](https://spruethmagers.com/exhibitions/). On long-term view at Dia:Beacon, 3 Beekman Street, Beacon, N.Y.; 845-440-0100, [*diaart.org*](https://diaart.org/visit/visit-our-locations-sites/dia-beacon-beacon-united-states).

Senga Nengudi is a pioneer of performance art and installation, coaxing meaning and dark messages from materials like plastic, sand and nylon stockings. A compact survey of her works from the late 1960s to 2020 can be seen in “Spirit Crossing” at Sprüth Magers (presented jointly with [*Thomas Erben Gallery*](https://www.thomaserben.com/)) and [*Dia:Beacon*](https://www.diaart.org/exhibition/exhibitions-projects/senga-nengudi-exhibition-296).

At Sprüth Magers, works made in New York in the ’70s include photographs of fabric cutouts, called “Spirit Flags,” suspended in liminal, derelict urban spaces. (One of her most famous works is the collaborative performance “[*Ceremony for Freeway Fets*](https://philamuseum.org/resources/senga-nengudis-ceremony-for-freeway-fets),” from 1978, which took place under a Los Angeles overpass.) The suggestion of spirits lingering in alleyways or descending fire escapes is palpable in “Down (Purple),” “Red Devil (Soul 2)” and “Drifting Leaves,” all from 1972. A few “Spirit Flags” are here too, like “Twins” and “Holler” — both conceived in the early ’70s and remade this year — which are alternatively buoyant and dark, conjuring the flayed skins of martyrs in [*European paintings*](https://www.wga.hu/html_m/m/michelan/3sistina/lastjudg/4lastjud.html) or dark moments in American history.

Dia’s presentation is initially more austere. Sheets of clear vinyl, folded carefully and filled with colored water, are mounted on the wall or lined up on the floor. A large rectangular installation, “Sandmining B” (2020), made with sand, pigment and nylon, explodes the stillness, though. Every hour for a few minutes, a recording plays of Nengudi reading a text about bones and blood and ghosts. Honoring her African American ancestors and conjuring their spirits, she has made her work sacramental and mediumistic; all the humble objects around you are suddenly activated. MARTHA SCHWENDENER

‘Island Time’

Through July 29. Jane Lombard Gallery, 58 White Street, ground floor, Manhattan; 212-967-8040, [*janelombardgallery.com*](https://www.janelombardgallery.com/).

“Island Time” can be a derogatory phrase: a way to mock various Pacific Rim and Caribbean cultures for a supposed indifference to punctuality. But it can be used — jokingly, fondly — by island inhabitants too: a reminder that succumbing to the tyranny of clocks and timers might be just one of many possible ways to live.

Taking “Island Time” as its title, this show includes videos, paintings and sculptures by twelve artists based in the Philippines. Its curator, the Filipino American artist James Clar, seemingly asks how Filipino constructions of identity — and the pace of daily existence — can exist with and also apart from chronological systems imported by colonizers.

Extending across a curved wall, “Silent Gravity” (2023) by Miguel Aquilizan greets visitors with sculptures of tropical fruit, pearls and fragments of mahogany wood — an invasive species. Aquilizan’s piece is one of many to include imagery of local vegetation, landscapes and histories — often interrupted by grids and frames. In one video by Poklong Anading, a balmy sunset unfolds beyond the right angles of a fence in the foreground. Shireen Seno’s work, “To Pick a Flower” (2021), constructs a taxonomy of old archival photos featuring plants endemic to the Philippines alongside the people who interacted with them — from laborers to brides to sniffy-looking European botanists.

Then there’s “Proof of Work” (2023), by the collective KoloWn, which invites visitors to record their day’s activities on a time sheet, then pin it to a wall in a grid. Filling one out takes a moment, and turns a gallery visit into something unexpected: the chance to ponder the tempo of your own life, fast or slow as it may be. DAWN CHAN

Phase 2

Through July 28. ACA Galleries, 529 West 20th Street, fifth floor, Manhattan; 212-206-8080, [*acagalleries.com*](http://acagalleries.com/).

As a progenitor of the style writing movement, the artist Phase 2 developed a visual language that collided typographical deconstruction with the volatility of street life, advancing subway art’s urgent scrawl into a dense cosmology of form. This five-decade survey of his work includes 25 examples across paper, canvas, and aluminum engravings and still only glances at the magnitude of his contributions to hip-hop culture. (He was an accomplished dancer, improving upon the breaking and uprock styles and assembling the B-boy crew New York City Breakers, as well as a graphic designer, developing the geometric cut-and-paste aesthetic he called “[*Funky Nous Deco*](https://eyeondesign.aiga.org/in-the-late-70s-in-the-bronx-phase-2s-party-flyers-created-a-visual-language-for-hip-hop/)” for party fliers that popularized the foundational music of the period).

But his voice was clearest in paint. Credited with inventing the bubble letter technique — known as “softies” for their inflated, pillowy look, and later, accelerating the “wildstyle” evolution, a kinetic, labyrinthine expressionism that traded legibility for propulsiveness, Phase 2 embraced a totalizing vision of aerosol art. He rejected the “G word” (meaning graffiti), its insufficiency he likened to “calling a meteor a pebble.”

The show charts his progression into increasingly florid work — near-cryptic symbology woven into baroque, calligraphic abstraction, which he made nearly until his death in 2019. That restlessness is evident in the insistence of his line, as in “Hieroglyphs” (1987): fluid, continuous, without a discernible end point. As he explained of his nom de plume, in typically oracular fashion: “One is a beginning and two is the next step. Two is forever.” MAX LAKIN

Giorgio de Chirico

Through July 29. Vito Schnabel Gallery, 455 West 19th Street, Manhattan; 646-216-3932; [*vitoschnabel.com*](http://vitoschnabel.com/).

Almost any of the 16 Giorgio de Chirico paintings in “Horses: The Death of a Rider” could sustain an exhibition by itself. A couple from the late 1920s are less polished, and you could reasonably call “Two Horses on a Seashore,” 1970, a little glib. But for the most part the lush, peculiar and consistently delightful paintings show the Greek-born Italian painter at the top of his game for the better part of five decades.

As the exhibition title suggests, every canvas also holds one or more horses, often backed by one of the mysterious landscapes he’s known for. Carnal but loaded with symbolism, the horse is a living link to antiquity, making it the perfect subject for a history-conscious artist like de Chirico (1888-1978). It’s also full of bulging joints and fleshy mounds, and de Chirico approaches it, visually as well as conceptually, as a kind of chimera, a grab-bag of separate moments and encounters.

The majestic white steed in the title piece, “Death of a Rider,” rears up on a twilit beach, letting its rider tumble off like Icarus behind it. In the distance stands a city on a hill; nearby, two voyagers or gods watch from a rowboat. But the horse’s posture is actually that of a statue, its foreleg bent, its head in a dramatic profile that doesn’t quite match the angle of its body. To one side it’s a crouching, unconscious power; to the other a self-possessed, even arrogant personality. Altogether it encapsulates the drama of the scene, at once active and eternal. WILL HEINRICH

More to See

‘No Title’

Through Aug. 4. Chapter NY, 60 Walker Street, Manhattan; 646-850-7486, [*chapter-ny.com*](https://chapter-ny.com/).

Two drawings by Lee Lozano, both untitled from 1964 and 1969, anchor this group show, which consists otherwise of recent paintings, sculptures, installation pieces and photographs by living artists. Lozano’s drawings of abstract but vividly spatial forms vibe with Philip Guston’s cartoonish figurative style from the same period.

At the gallery’s entrance, cameron clayborn’s sculpture “a short list of grievances” (2022), a gathering of dyed and stuffed muslin like oversized sausages, hangs above the wood floor feeling bodily, akin to Louise Bourgeois. The carbine red of two works by the Beirut-based artist Dala Nasser frame the back and a side wall. Hung like paintings, the large cloth-based works are like skin grafts of a landscape, as the artist exposes her materials outside to the elements before bringing them back inside to be hung. Here the landscape conjured is American. The works, “Cochineal I” and “Cochineal II” (both 2023), are named for the beetle, found on prickly pear cactus, used to make red dye.

The five silver gelatin photographs by Sam Moyer (all 2023) give the exhibition serious heft. Four depict giant slabs of composite stone, perhaps segments of an eroded sea wall, the fifth a field of long undulating grass — all in concrete frames inset with Long Island beach stone aggregate.

Summer group shows often feel motivated more by a desire to gather the participating artists together for the opening night party, but here the works cohere: a weighty whole, a sustained event. JOHN VINCLER

Edgar Calel

Through Aug. 7. SculptureCenter, 44-19 Purves Street, Long Island City, Queens; (718) 361-1750; [*sculpture-center.org*](http://sculpture-center.org/).

In important ways the New York contemporary art world was a much bigger place three decades ago than it is today, not in size but in its thinking. For a few multiculturalist years our smaller, adventurous art spaces experimented with bringing spirituality into their premises, not just as an object of study but as an active practice, a way to think about what art is, or can be.

The first institutional solo show of the artist Edgar Calel, titled “B’alab’äj (Jaguar Stone),” is a reminder of this. Born in 1987 in Guatemala, where he lives and works, Calel is of Mayan Kaqchikel ancestry and that heritage shapes the character of his monumental SculptureCenter installation of raw earth, rough stone and fire in the form of burning candles. In appearance, the piece suggests an altar, a memorial, and mazelike garden. Its content interweaves cultural, political and personal histories.

Obliquely, poetically, Calel refers to Mayan views of the earth as a dynamic, responsive, sacred being. He offers a lament for an Indigenous people historically persecuted in their own land. And he presents a tribute to continuity in the form of family, his own. (Sections of molded soil spell out the syllable “tik,” the sound he remembers his grandmother making to call wild birds for feeding.) The resulting SculptureCenter piece, beautiful to see, isn’t a “religious” work in any narrow sense. It’s a spiritual charging-station, multipurpose, real. HOLLAND COTTER

Graham Anderson

Through Aug. 11. Klaus von Nichtssagend, 87 Franklin Street, Manhattan. 212-777-7756; [*klausgallery.com*](http://klausgallery.com/).

Oranges are uniquely at home in the imagination. You can easily look past their surface texture and treat them simply as shapes, and they share their name, if not their very identity, with a color. There’s also their [*history*](https://us.macmillan.com/books/9780374512972/oranges) as symbols of exotic luxury. In other words, they’re the perfect subject for “Mirror Grove,” the latest seminar in perception and design from the Brooklyn-based painter’s painter Graham Anderson.

In eight modestly scaled paintings with evocative titles like “Masks Without Owners” and “The Chimeric Mesh,” Anderson makes oranges look like hazy spotlights, paper cutouts, hovering planets, bouncy Art Deco ornaments, office-supply stickers, glowing buttons and elements of ancient Roman frescoes. He does all this with a combination of flat, saturated color, trompe l’oeil shadows and tiny, overlapping daubs of paint that split the difference between TV static and Ben-Day dots.

In “Advice From the Sun,” an enormous disc hangs like Pharaoh Akhenaten’s abstracted sun god between two gently rolling spheres. A smaller disc, nearby, is adorned with a sprig of schematic leaves. The fact that each of these planetlike orange circles is itself made up of tiny orange circles makes clear that the music of the spheres is also the music of atoms, and vice versa. But Anderson isn’t using his painting to illustrate this familiar, if always mind-boggling, truth. He’s using the truth to adorn his painting. WILL HEINRICH

Behjat Sadr

Through Aug. 27. Institute of Arab &amp; Islamic Art, 22 Christopher Street, [*instituteaia.org*](https://www.instituteaia.org/).

[*Behjat Sadr*](https://behjat-sadr.com/en/), who died in 2009, was a prominent painter in Iran before moving to Paris in the early 1980s. Her work demonstrates how artists absorbed a dizzying array of influences after World War II. For Sadr, this meant the earthy approach of European Informel painters like [*Alberto Burri*](https://www.guggenheim.org/artwork/artist/alberto-burri) and [*Jean Dubuffet*](https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/art-1010/post-war-european-art/postwar-art-france/a/dubuffet-a-view-of-paris), but also the systemic geometries of Islamic architecture — and even the exaggerated, [*Pop brushstrokes of Roy Lichtenstein*](https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/lichtenstein-brushstroke-p07354). This show at the [*Institute of Arab and Islamic Art*](https://www.instituteaia.org/bejat-sadr) shows off her range with paintings, installations and haunting collages.

Sadr studied in Rome in the mid-1950s and the canvases from that period, many painted on thick, toothy surfaces like Burri’s, are charged with carefully controlled formal energy. Later, she would scrape patterns into the “abstract” image, creating what looks like wood grain or that Lichtenstein brushstroke. The buoyant stripes in a kinetic work from the late 1960s, made with window blinds attached to the surface of a canvas, appear and disappear, depending on your perspective. The collages made in Paris feature photographs of arid Iranian landscapes, but also one of an unidentified man, seemingly silenced by a criss-cross pattern plastered over his mouth.

At root, many of the works are charged with subversive politics. Sadr left Iran after the 1979 revolution and her work reverberates with radical poetry and powerful histories. It feels vitally important now, at a moment when women are leading a protest movement in that country, to see the visionary work of this groundbreaking woman artist. MARTHA SCHWENDENER

rafa esparza

Through Aug. 19. Artists Space, 11 Cortlandt Alley, Manhattan; 212-226-3970, [*artistsspace.org*](https://artistsspace.org/home).

The entrance to rafa esparza’s exhibition “[*Camino*](https://artistsspace.org/exhibitions/rafa-esparza-camino)” is flanked by two paintings. In order to face either one head on, you must stand on a small, uneven platform of homemade adobe bricks. This is a message from the artist: He’s not interested in a seamless viewing experience. He wants you to think about the ground you’re walking upon.

The Los Angeles–based artist may be best known for his extreme performances. For example, at Art Basel Miami Beach last December, he turned a coin-operated pony ride into a [*lowrider bike*](https://www.latimes.com/lifestyle/image/story/2022-11-29/rafa-esparza-becomes-a-lowrider-cyborg-for-art-basel-miami) outfitted for his body, so that participants rode him. By comparison, his first solo show in New York is tame. It recalls his contribution to the 2017 Whitney Biennial, where he created a room of adobe bricks. That installation was more immersive; this one is conceptually tighter.

Here, a winding path of bricks connects life-size portraits of members of esparza’s largely queer community. The paintings are also on adobe, referencing his Mexican heritage and accentuating his subjects’ brown skin. On the walls hang renderings of L.A.’s 110 Freeway, featuring concrete tunnels and embankments. This sets up a tension over how we build society — in concert with people and the earth or with little regard for them?

A striking painting at the back depicts [*P-22*](https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/puma-profiles-p-22.htm), the mountain lion that famously crossed two L.A. freeways. Its stride and stare mimic those of the human figures, all coalescing to issue a kind of challenge: What would it take to embrace a more sustainable way of life? JILLIAN STEINHAUER

John Fahey

Through Aug. 12. Picture Theory, Greenpoint (address available with an appointment), Brooklyn; 917-765-9762, [*picturetheoryprojects.com*](https://www.picturetheoryprojects.com/).

Apartment galleries offer intimate experiences with art that the blue-chip behemoths of Chelsea cannot. At Picture Theory in Greenpoint, a record played on a turntable in what would normally be a sitting room. The music was familiar: the distinctive fingerpicking style of the guitarist John Fahey — folk and blues flecked with traditional Indian raga — whose artwork rather than music I came to see.

The phrase “American primitive,” used for Fahey’s music, equally fits his visual art: All 17 works on paper or poster board were made in the last few years of his life when he was on the road touring or at home in Salem, Oregon. (He died in 2001.) Tempera, spray paint and markers are mostly employed to render layered fields of poured, soaked, sprayed and impressed color. Emergent forms in the compositions are occasionally outlined with a marker. Two jotted drawings, in marker only, are vaguely surrealist. The other untitled and largely undated works tend toward primary colors or, less frequently, pastel tones. Some incorporate glitter or iridescent materials.

Despite the exhibition’s title, “Fields of Reptiles and Mud,” the work is bright and joyous, a vivid and fascinating contrast with his vast body of music. The exhibition is the result of collaboration between Picture Theory’s founder, Rebekah Kim, and John Andrew, the manager of Fahey’s painting archive — two former colleagues at David Zwirner gallery who bonded over a shared appreciation for outsider art. It’s worth seeing what spills onto the page when a musical genius turns to another medium. JOHN VINCLER

Aliza Nisenbaum

Through Sept. 10. Queens Museum, New York City Building, Flushing Meadows Corona Park, Queens; 718-592-9700; [*queensmuseum.org*](http://queensmuseum.org/).

Aliza Nisenbaum grew up in Mexico and now lives in New York. So do many of the people in Corona, Queens, whom she’s spent years painting in their homes and workplaces, in her studio at the Queens Museum or while they were enrolled in a class she once taught called “English Through Feminist Art History.” The museum’s wonderful “Queens, Lindo y Querido” (Queens, Beautiful and Beloved), a wide-ranging show of her work, includes portraits of Delta Air Lines and Port Authority employees; of Hitomi Iwasaki, the show’s curator, in her plant-filled office; and of an art class that Nisenbaum offered to food pantry volunteers at the museum, displayed along with a selection of the volunteers’ own works (“El Taller, Queens Museum”).

It’s worth mentioning all of this because Nisenbaum’s interest in people, her need to connect with them, doesn’t just provide content for her paintings — it comes through in their form. Realistic but with heightened colors and flattened planes, they’re homey and glamorous at once, capable of absorbing any number of idiosyncratic details. “El Taller” (The Workshop) presents 10 budding artists, five working on self-portraits with the aid of small mirrors, against the unreal purple mists of Flushing Meadows Corona Park. And then there are the paintings-within-the-painting, each with its own distinctive style, not to mention 19 naïve, multicolored games of [*“exquisite corpse.”*](https://www.moma.org/collection/terms/exquisite-corpse) It’s a tribute to Nisenbaum’s generosity — and to her skills with composition — that it all inhabits a single room in harmony. WILL HEINRICH

Closed Shows

Cosima von Bonin

Through July 21. Petzel Gallery, 520 West 25th Street, Manhattan; 212-680-9467, [*petzel.com*](https://petzel.com/).

Presiding over Cosima von Bonin’s “Church of Daffy,” an eclectic congregation of sculptures and wall works, a dark gray statue of the titular duck raises his arms to his god — a gesture of supplication, or resignation. Or maybe thanks: nearby, a soft trash can overflows with stuffed Bugs Bunny dolls, a mess of furry feet and gloved hands. Von Bonin’s deadpan displays of cartoon characters evoke their bundles of exaggerated traits. In this cosmology, Daffy’s venal impulses and commendable persistence force him into a pointless, unwinnable rivalry with a happy-go-lucky hare. The duck is rigid and alone, while the bunny is pliable, containing multitudes.

The Daffy statue stands in the corner of a low, rectangular pedestal, a webbed toe overhanging the edge. A lobster-shaped mirror on the wall, claws up, mimics Daffy’s stance. Moving around the room, you can fit Daffy’s reflection into the silver shellfish. “The Lobster” takes the show into the realm of high-polish pop. It’s not praying — that’s just how lobsters are made — it has no choice. This tableau plays out in the first, smaller room. A larger gallery is given over to embroidered plaid-and-felt fabric wall works stitched with cartoon characters, Daffy and Eeyore and Bambi, and phrases like “le snobisme de l’argent.” They play at being paintings, with the secondhand cool of a fashion show. A plush velvet fence makes a slouching corral in the middle of the room. Von Bonin’s cartoon materials are soft and floppy, but their slapstick morality can still be confining. TRAVIS DIEHL

Denzil Hurley

Through July 22. Canada, 60 Lispenard Street, Manhattan, 212-925-4631. [*canadanewyork.com*](http://www.canadanewyork.com/).

There’s found abstraction: Weathered posters hung in galleries by the Italian artist Mimmo Rotella; animal bones that were at the root of Henry Moore’s sculptures.

And there’s made abstraction: Almost all other abstract art, by the likes of Agnes Martin or Donald Judd.

But the works by the painter Denzil Hurley now on view at Canada seem to inhabit a new category we might call “made found abstraction.”

Hurley’s objects are clearly made, from scratch.

“Orange Glyph,” for instance, presents a bright orange canvas that would live happily among the postwar monochromes of Yves Klein.

The piece titled “J2#1” involves an all-black oblong, about head-high, whose subtle mottling makes it a dark counterpart to the all-white paintings of Robert Ryman.

But Hurley pushes beyond the customary “made-ness” of his abstractions by adding elements that produce a found, functional vibe. The canvas in “Orange Glyph” comes perched on top of a wooden stick that makes the whole ensemble look vaguely useful, like a protest sign soon to be lettered. “J2#1” is anchored in a crude block of lumber, as though waiting to have a marksman’s target stuck to it.

Hurley was a longtime art professor who died, age 72, in 2021; he knew his abstract antecedents by heart. He was also Black. I wonder if the “foundness” in his works captures a sense, widespread among Black artists, that mainstream culture never made those antecedents as fully available to him, or to any Black artist, as they might have been to white artists, who could access European art’s grand tradition without any question that they had a right to it. By making found abstractions, Hurley links his works to functional traditions that bypass fine art altogether. BLAKE GOPNIK

Luc Tuymans

Through July 21. David Zwirner, 537 West 20th Street, Manhattan; [*davidzwirner.com*](https://www.davidzwirner.com/exhibitions/2023/luc-tuymans-the-barn).

How do you paint war: and, more to the point, why? In 1864, [*Édouard Manet painted an American Civil War*](https://philamuseum.org/collection/object/101707) battle off telegraphed news reports, and updated military painting for an age of mass media. Luc Tuymans has done something similarly important in “Bucha” (2023): a large, challenging, half-decipherable nighttime scene of what looks to be an open grave in the mortified Kyiv suburb of the title. Emergency lights illuminate a solitary worker, reduced to a white specter. Below is drab olive grass, above a heavy sky, but the floodlights have obscured the atrocity site, rendered in open smears of light gray and stifled blues and mauves. The horror fills maybe 95 percent of the canvas, but irregular pink edges suggest that this Bucha scene might be a photograph someone far from Ukraine is flicking past. To one side is a pale circle: a touchscreen’s back button, a digital signpost back to barbarism.

Tuymans has always painted not the violence of war but its related mundanities: a pine tree in a concentration camp, Condoleezza Rice biting her lip. What “Bucha” confirms is that his diverted gaze was never just about Hitchcockian shock. His pinks and blues now blend into unbounded topographies that recall heat-mapping software, while his iPhone motifs, which had felt like a gimmick before, have matured into critical compositional tools. At the bottom of “The Barn,” the diluted idyll that gives this show its name, he diminishes several other paintings on view to thumbnails in a Photos app carousel. Once Tuymans’s muted compositions felt fatalistic; now they appear as committed assaults on our digital fragmentation and the lies that thrive in its cracks. JASON FARAGO

Sylvia Palacios Whitman

Through July 22. Americas Society, 680 Park Avenue, Manhattan; 212-249-8950, [*as-coa.org.*](https://www.as-coa.org/exhibitions/sylvia-palacios-whitman-draw-line-body)

Simple, literal and often quite funny, many of the drawings and performances in Sylvia Palacios Whitman’s exhibition “To Draw a Line With the Body” at Americas Society have been under the radar for decades. At a recent performance and discussion at Americas Society, Palacios admitted that she’d stopped making art for nearly 40 years. She is back now, though, in full force.

Palacios moved to New York from her native Chile in the early 1960s and danced with Trisha Brown. Her early performances — the first ones were staged in Brown’s downtown studio — included absurd, deadpan movements, like picking up a group of performers with a crane in “Green Bag” (1975), moving them across the space and lowering them into a huge green bag made of fabric. In others, she inserted herself into a giant “Slingshot” (1975) or donned big green sculptural hands. Upon her return to making art, Palacios has been drawing, often illustrating episodes from her childhood, and doing performances explaining the drawings, which are almost like comedy routines.

One thread running through her work is the everyday nature of art. Common materials like kraft paper and cardboard are shaped into sculptures and exhibited on the floor. Anyone, in her estimation, can make art. At the Americas Society event, Palacios even encouraged an audience member who said they weren’t an artist to go home and make some art. “You never know!” Palacios exhorted. MARTHA SCHWENDENER

‘Beautiful, Vivid, Self-Contained’

Through July 21. Hill Art Foundation, 239 10th Avenue, Manhattan. 212-337-4455; [*hillartfoundation.org.*](https://hillartfoundation.org/)

In the catalog for “Beautiful, Vivid, Self-Contained,” a group show he curated at the Hill Art Foundation, the painter David Salle cites a remark the dealer Joe Helman used to make: “Ellsworth [Kelly] is our Matisse.” Salle goes on to unspool his ambivalence about Helman’s comparison, disparaging it, on the one hand, as glib and superficial, but conceding, on the other, that it’s also pretty compelling. Ambivalent or not, it’s exactly this kind of juxtaposition — brisk, intuitive and, for a person as steeped in critical minutiae as Salle, painfully reductive — that gives the show its energy.

One striking, insightful, precarious pairing follows another in this frankly incredible group of paintings that Salle has managed to call in. Red stippling in a recent Walter Price echoes the gray atmosphere of an Edgar Degas; abstraction by Amy Sillman looks like a color negative of Albert Oehlen’s, or vice versa; and Martha Diamond, Willem de Kooning and Brice Marden all use wavering, expressive lines — to very different effects, if you think of their individual contexts, but as mere variations on a theme when they’re side by side. (There are also works by Twombly, Picasso, Matisse, even Peter Paul Rubens.)

It’s true, as Salle fears, that this kind of thing risks being tendentious, and that it may come at the expense of subtlety or art-historical detail. But it’s also surprising and delightful, and after all, neither language nor curation can avoid being at least a little reductive. You might as well make it snappy. WILL HEINRICH

Trevor Paglen

Through July 22. Pace Gallery, 540 West 25th Street, Manhattan; 212-421-3292; [*pacegallery.com*](https://www.pacegallery.com/exhibitions/trevor-paglen-new-york/).

Art — in military terms — is psyops: a kind of mental magic with material effects. This is the insight of the MacArthur fellow Trevor Paglen. For years, he’s turned the tools of surveillance back on the U.S. government’s covert operations, from tracking spy satellites with telescopes to photographing secret bases with very long lenses, with results blurry and abstract enough to evoke Rothko. His current [*show at Pace*](https://www.pacegallery.com/exhibitions/trevor-paglen-new-york/), “You’ve Just Been F\*cked by Psyops,” explores dissemblance and misdirection. A suite of grayscale photos with expansive titles like “UNKNOWN #89161 (Unclassified object near The Revenant of the Swan)” depict nebulae smattered on the black ground of deep space like painterly dust. Pay attention, and you’ll notice the white streaks skimming through the compositions: These are a few of the objects in orbit that the government can’t (or won’t) [*identify*](https://paglen.studio/2023/05/10/unids/). Debris, probably — maybe decoys.

Paglen likes to show you sublime images, with hidden but profound flaws — evidence of brutality that, once discovered, you can’t unsee. A lurid assemblage on the wall, a chrome and ruby mandala of bullets and numerals orbiting a cackling death’s head, is based on a cryptic military intelligence logo. Its title is a common psyops motto: “Because physical wounds heal …” In the hourlong video interview, “Doty,” projected on the opposite wall, a former Air Force agent admits to, among other things, planting falsehoods with U.F.O. truthers. He’s spilling the tea — yet, in art and war, who can you truly trust? Haven’t you been wounded by art? TRAVIS DIEHL

Julian Kent

Through July 14. Kerry Schuss Gallery, 73 Leonard Street, Manhattan, 212-219-9918, [*kerryschussgallery.com*](http://kerryschussgallery.com/).

With his “Everyday Life” paintings the 21-year-old artist Julian Kent is already past the “looks promising” stage of his career. As seen in New York at the Independent Art Fair and especially in his current gallery debut, his paintings exude a youthful perfection. They operate as both narratives and objects with utmost efficiency; nothing is wasted or left over.

Kent’s small, stylized canvases depict specific moments in the lives of one or two Black people, seen in close-up, often tightly cropped. The setting is usually domestic; the action is primarily psychological and emotional, conveyed in subtle glances and gestures. Kent outlines his shapes in black and uses a palette of inspired plainness; his robust textures are particularly engaging. His small repeating brush strokes can evoke Robert Ryman, Philip Guston and Robert Thompson, only neater; their changes in direction or rhythm, create a sense of sturdiness and care that is implicitly optimistic.

The paintings at the Independent were fraught with apprehension — the racial stress that are far too constant to Black American life. The paintings at Schuss replace tension with moments of quiet enjoyment and togetherness cherished by all people. In “Late Afternoon,” a young woman and man sit in their living room; he touches her arm. In the background, a television shows a hand reminiscent of the hand of God bringing Adam to life in Michelangelo’s Sistine Chapel ceiling. Did this cue the man’s light touch, or does it underscore the transformative power of touch, and love?

“Grey Gardens,” takes its title from the Maysles brothers’ 1975 documentary about the eccentric mother-daughter pair of high-society dropouts, Big Edie (Edith Bouvier Beale) and Little Edie, who lived in a squalid mansion in East Hampton with several dozen cats. But he substitutes a visibly less eccentric couple: a Black father and son with their cat. Their eyes convey different emotions: happiness, worry and watchfulness. WASP propriety is embraced and mocked by one of the painting’s largest shapes: the son’s tattersall shirt. ROBERTA SMITH

Nachume Miller

Through July 10. David Benrimon Fine Art, 41 East 57th Street, second floor, Manhattan; 212-628-1600, [*davidbenrimon.com*](http://davidbenrimon.com/).

The churning color of Nachume Miller’s last paintings suggest phosphene, the impression of seeing light without any of it being there — a phenomenon familiar to anyone who has pressed on their eyeball with eyes closed. They also resemble something molecular: pulsating neurons or synapses firing under stress, a revolt of the body.

The retinal effects of “Suns &amp; Illusions,” completed from 1996 to 1998, while Miller was undergoing treatment for and until he succumbed to brain cancer, are a Transcendentalist’s embrace of the unknown, a transmutation of the natural world into the spiritual one. They are orgiastically physical. Blooms of fungal forms metastasize in fractal, hallucinatory patterns — somewhere between algae and apparition — bisected by shafts of light that appear as if clawed into the paint by bare hands. (The more probable technique is hinted at in a short film showing Miller attempting what looks like automatic drawing, including gripping multiple pencils at once.)

The darkness of Miller’s earlier preoccupations — etchings of cadaverous bodies and haunted visions that evince inherited trauma (his parents were the only members of their families to escape the Holocaust) — lifts here, lighter in palette though no less intense. The smeary, diffuse color fields, reminiscent of Gerhard Richter’s squeegeed abstracts, eventually crowd with the gesture Miller used nearly his entire career, a fluid, whorling mark, akin to da Vinci’s apocalyptic “deluge” drawings, that threatens to consume itself. They become more densely packed as Miller nears [*death*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/16/arts/design/nachume-miller-flood-exhibition-art.html), a radiant horror vacui — an artist filling in the empty space for as long as possible. MAX LAKIN

Jaime Muñoz

Through July 8. François Ghebaly, 391 Grand Street, Manhattan; 646-559-9400, [*ghebaly.com*](http://ghebaly.com/jaime-munoz-machina/).

Staring you down from the back wall is the passionless alloy skull of a Terminator, specifically the T-800 model portrayed (with skin) by Arnold Schwarzenegger. The California-based artist Jaime Muñoz combines motifs from Central American textiles, Catholic shrines and auto body shops in beatific, biting homages to the SoCal ***working class***. “Machina” turns to the dark side of mechanized labor. The three large paintings on view depict more or less benign metallic products — Hollywood’s killer cyborg, a mechanical knight and a can of Boing! soda — in minty, glittering pastels, embellished with printer’s marks and Love’s truck stop logos, in looping designs that seem indebted to [*Lari Pittman*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/30/arts/design/lari-pittman-art-basel-museo-jumex.html?timespastHighlight=lari,pittman).

The canvases look hands-free, technical and clean. Muñoz renders a richer line among machines, imitation and replacement in a pair of ink on paper drawings. In Mexico, Pato Pascual, a cartoon duck bearing an infringing similarity to Disney’s star fowl, Donald, advertises Boing! soda; “Diagram Drawing #8” has Pascual and a spidery prosthetic hand accompanying a picture of a worker on the bottling line.

In a similar composition, Muñoz inks the emblems for Love’s and Utility trailers above a diagram of an industrial robot arm and a portrait of A08, the eerie robot “dog” by Boston Dynamics, a war machine with a sinister resemblance to man’s best friend. Both drawings portray the alienating beauty of industry, which — if not quite the rise of the machines — speaks to the uncertain value of human life in an increasingly automated world. TRAVIS DIEHL

PHOTO: Greer Lankton’s “Jesus’s Cha Cha Heels,” 1986, in the group show “Luxe, Calme, Volupté.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY via Greer Lankton Archives Museum and Company Gallery, New York FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 3, 2023

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[***Adams Endorses Primary Candidates, Hoping to Defeat Left-Wing Democrats***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:666D-HT61-JBG3-652G-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** The mayor has chosen sides in at least 10 primaries this year, as he looks to enact criminal justice changes and defeat left-leaning candidates.

**Body**

The mayor has chosen sides in at least 10 primaries this year, as he looks to enact criminal justice changes and defeat left-leaning candidates.

Most big-city mayors, especially those in the relative infancy of their tenures, typically try to avoid wading into fractious party primaries, mindful that their goal is to build consensus.

[*Mayor Eric Adams*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/eric-adams-mayor-nyc) of New York City does not subscribe to that theory.

Just seven months into his first term, Mr. Adams, a Democrat, has injected himself into his party’s divide, making endorsements in roughly a dozen state legislative primaries.

Mr. Adams has endorsed incumbents, upstart challengers, and even a minister with a history of making antisemitic and homophobic statements.

Behind all the endorsements lies a common theme: The mayor wants to push Albany and his party away from the left, toward the center.

“I just want reasonable thinking lawmakers. I want people that are responding to the constituents,” Mr. Adams said Thursday. “The people of this city, they want to support police, they want safe streets, they want to make sure people who are part of the catch-release-repeat system don’t continue to hurt innocent New Yorkers.”

In [*Tuesday’s State Senate primary*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/13/nyregion/new-york-primaries-guide.html), the mayor has endorsed three candidates facing rivals backed by the Democratic Socialists of America. The mayor said the endorsements are meant to help elect people willing to tighten the state’s bail law, a move that he believes is needed to address an uptick in serious crime.

Mr. Adams’s most striking endorsement might be his decision to back the Rev. Conrad Tillard, who [*has disavowed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2003/06/16/nyregion/keeping-the-faith-differently-a-harlem-firebrand-quietly-returns-to-christianity.html) his remarks about gay people and Jews, over incumbent Senator Jabari Brisport, a member of the Democratic Socialists.

The mayor, who [*proudly hires people with troubled pasts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/27/nyregion/eric-adams-administration.html), said Mr. Tillard is a changed man. During a recent interview on WABC radio, Mr. Tillard said that Mr. Adams was elected with a “mandate” to make New York City safer.

“I want to join him in Albany, and I want to join other legislators who have common sense, who realize that without safe streets, safe communities, we cannot have a thriving city,” he said.

The mayor has also held a fund-raiser for Miguelina Camilo, a lawyer running against Senator Gustavo Rivera in the Bronx. Mr. Rivera was endorsed by Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, who has [*criticized Mr. Adams*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/09/nyregion/aoc-eric-adams.html) for some of his centrist views; Ms. Camilo is the candidate of the Bronx Democratic Party.

In a newly created Senate district that covers parts of Queens, Brooklyn and Manhattan, the mayor has endorsed a moderate Democrat, Elizabeth Crowley, over Kristen Gonzalez, a tech worker who is supported by the Democratic Socialists and the Working Families Party. Mike Corbett, a former City Council staff member, is also running. The race has been [*flooded with outside money*](https://www.thecity.nyc/queens/2022/8/10/23300287/real-estate-pac-elizabeth-crowley) supporting Ms. Crowley.

In Brooklyn, Mr. Adams endorsed incumbent Senator Kevin Parker, who is facing a challenge from Kaegan Mays-Williams, a former Manhattan assistant district attorney, and David Alexis, a former Lyft driver and co-founder of the Drivers Cooperative who also has support from the Democratic Socialists.

Three candidates — Mr. Brisport, Ms. Gonzalez and Mr. Alexis — whose rivals were supported by Mr. Adams said they are opposed to revising the bail law to keep more people in jail before their trials.

“When it comes to an issue like bail reform, what we don’t want to have is a double standard where if you have enough money you can make bail and get out, but if you are poor or ***working class*** you don’t,” Ms. Gonzalez said.

Mr. Brisport said that the mayor’s motive extends beyond bail and criminal justice issues.

Mr. Adams, Mr. Brisport said, is “making a concerted effort to build a team that will do his bidding in Albany.”

The mayor did not disagree.

In his first dealings with Albany as a mayor, Mr. Adams fell short of accomplishing his legislative agenda. He had some victories, but was displeased with the Legislature’s refusal to accommodate his wishes on the bail law or to grant him long-term control of the schools, two issues central to his agenda.

While crime overall remains comparatively low and homicides and shootings are down, other crimes such as robbery, assault and burglary have increased as much as 40 percent compared with this time last year. Without evidence, the mayor has blamed the bail reform law for letting repeat offenders out of jail.

Under [*pressure from the governor*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/03/nyregion/bail-reform-adams-hochul.html), the Legislature in April made changes to the bail law, but the mayor has repeatedly criticized lawmakers for not going far enough.

“We passed a lot of laws for people who commit crimes, but I just want to see what are the list of laws we pass that deal with a New Yorker who was the victim of a crime,” Mr. Adams said.

The mayor’s strategy is not entirely new. Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg sought influence by donating from his [*personal fortune to Republicans*](https://www.nytimes.com/2008/03/01/nyregion/01bloomberg.html). Mayor Bill de Blasio embarked on a [*disastrous fund-raising plan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/16/nyregion/mayor-bill-de-blasio-investigation-no-criminal-charges.html) to help Democrats take control of the Senate in 2014. But those mayors were interceding in general elections, not intraparty primaries.

In the June Assembly primaries, Mr. Adams endorsed a handful of incumbents facing upstart challengers from the left. He backed Michael Benedetto, an incumbent from the Bronx who beat back a primary challenge from Jonathan Soto, who worked for, and was endorsed by, Ms. Ocasio-Cortez. Mr. Adams also endorsed Assemblywoman Inez E. Dickens in Central Harlem in her victorious campaign against another candidate backed by Ms. Ocasio-Cortez.

“The jury is still out on how much endorsements matter, but they do matter for the person being endorsed,” said Olivia Lapeyrolerie, a Democratic political strategist and former aide to Mr. de Blasio. “It’s good to keep your friends close.”

Mr. Adams’s influence is not restricted to his endorsements. Striving for a Better New York, a political action committee run by one of his associates, the Rev. Alfred L. Cockfield II, donated $7,500 to Mr. Tillard in May and more than $12,000 to Mr. Parker through August.

The mayor’s efforts have come under attack. Michael Gianaris, the deputy majority leader in the Senate, said there is no need to create a new faction in the Senate that is reminiscent of the Independent Democratic Conference, a group of breakaway Democrats that allowed Senate Republicans to control the chamber until they were [*vanquished in 2018*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/13/nyregion/state-senate-election-results-idc-klein.html).

“Eric Adams was never very good at Senate politics when he was in the Senate,” Mr. Gianaris said. “And apparently he hasn’t gotten much better at it.”

It’s unclear how much influence Mr. Adams’s endorsements will have. Sumathy Kumar, co-chair of the New York City chapter of the Democratic Socialists of America, said that with the mayor’s [*lukewarm approval ratings*](https://scri.siena.edu/2022/06/07/big-apple-is-sour-on-the-job-mayor-adams-is-doing-only-29-rate-his-job-performance-positively-but-53-like-his-style/), she’s betting that on-the-ground organizing will be the deciding factor in what is expected to be a low turnout primary.

Mr. Parker said the mayor’s endorsement would be influential in his district and supported Mr. Adams’s push against the left wing of the party.

“How many times do you have to be attacked by the D.S.A. before you realize you’re in a fight and decide to fight back?” Mr. Parker said.

Emma G. Fitzsimmons contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Mayor Eric Adams was unhappy with Albany on the bail law and the refusal to grant him long-term control of the schools. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CINDY SCHULTZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 20, 2022

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[***A Marxist's Views on Race and Class Expose Rift Among Socialists***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60KN-K791-JBG3-60CS-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

The cancellation of a speech reflects an intense debate on the left: Is racism the primary problem in America today, or the outgrowth of a system that oppresses all poor people?

Adolph Reed is a son of the segregated South, a native of New Orleans who organized poor Black people and antiwar soldiers in the late 1960s and became a leading Socialist scholar at a trio of top universities.

Along the way, he acquired the conviction, controversial today, that the left is too focused on race and not enough on class. Lasting victories were achieved, he believed, when ***working class*** and poor people of all races fought shoulder to shoulder for their rights.

In late May, Professor Reed, now 73 and a professor emeritus at the University of Pennsylvania, was invited to speak to the Democratic Socialists of America's New York City chapter. The match seemed a natural. Possessed of a barbed wit, the man who campaigned for Senator Bernie Sanders and skewered President Barack Obama as a man of ''vacuous to repressive neoliberal politics'' would address the D.S.A.'s largest chapter, the crucible that gave rise to Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and a new generation of leftist activism.

His chosen topic was unsparing: He planned to argue that the left's intense focus on the disproportionate impact of the coronavirus on Black people undermined multiracial organizing, which he sees as key to health and economic justice.

Notices went up. Anger built. How could we invite a man to speak, members asked, who downplays racism in a time of plague and protest? To let him talk, the organization's Afrosocialists and Socialists of Color Caucus stated, was ''reactionary, class reductionist and at best, tone deaf.''

''We cannot be afraid to discuss race and racism because it could get mishandled by racists,'' the caucus stated. ''That's cowardly and cedes power to the racial capitalists.''

Amid murmurs that opponents might crash his Zoom talk, Professor Reed and D.S.A. leaders agreed to cancel it, a striking moment as perhaps the nation's most powerful Socialist organization rejected a Black Marxist professor's talk because of his views on race.

''God have mercy, Adolph is the greatest democratic theorist of his generation,'' said Cornel West, a Harvard professor of philosophy and a Socialist. ''He has taken some very unpopular stands on identity politics, but he has a track record of a half-century. If you give up discussion, your movement moves toward narrowness.''

The decision to silence Professor Reed came as Americans debate the role of race and racism in policing, health care, media and corporations. Often pushed aside in that discourse are those leftists and liberals who have argued there is too much focus on race and not enough on class in a deeply unequal society. Professor Reed is part of the class of historians, political scientists and intellectuals who argue that race as a construct is overstated.

This debate is particularly potent as activists sense a once-in-a-generation opportunity to make progress on issues ranging from police violence to mass incarceration to health and inequality. And it comes as Socialism in America -- long a predominantly white movement -- attracts younger and more diverse adherents.

Many leftist and liberal scholars argue that current disparities in health, police brutality and wealth inequality are due primarily to the nation's history of racism and white supremacy. Race is America's primal wound, they say, and Black people, after centuries of slavery and Jim Crow segregation, should take the lead in a multiracial fight to dismantle it. To set that battle aside in pursuit of ephemeral class solidarity is preposterous, they argue.

''Adolph Reed and his ilk believe that if we talk about race too much we will alienate too many, and that will keep us from building a movement,'' said Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, a professor of African-American studies at Princeton University in New Jersey and a socialist who has given talks to D.S.A. chapters and is familiar with these debates. ''We don't want that -- we want to win white people to an understanding of how their racism has fundamentally distorted the lives of Black people.''

A contrary view is offered by Professor Reed and some prominent scholars and activists, many of whom are Black. They see the current emphasis in the culture on race-based politics as a dead-end. They include Dr. West; the historians Barbara Fields of Columbia University and Toure Reed -- Adolph's son -- of Illinois State; and Bhaskar Sunkara, founder of Jacobin, a Socialist magazine.

They readily accept the brute reality of America's racial history and of racism's toll. They argue, however, that the problems now bedeviling America -- such as wealth inequality, police brutality and mass incarceration -- affect Black and brown Americans, but also large numbers of ***working class*** and poor white Americans.

The most powerful progressive movements, they say, take root in the fight for universal programs. That was true of the laws that empowered labor organizing and established mass jobs programs during the New Deal, and it's true of the current struggles for free public college tuition, a higher minimum wage, reworked police forces and single-payer health care.

Those programs would disproportionately help Black, Latino and Native American people, who on average have less family wealth and suffer ill health at rates exceeding that of white Americans, Professor Reed and his allies argue. To fixate on race risks dividing a potentially powerful coalition and playing into the hands of conservatives.

''An obsession with disparities of race has colonized the thinking of left and liberal types,'' Professor Reed told me. ''There's this insistence that race and racism are fundamental determinants of all Black people's existence.''

These battles are not new: In the late 19th century, Socialists wrestled with their own racism and debated the extent to which they should try to build a multiracial organization. Eugene Debs, who ran for president five times, was muscular in his insistence that his party advocate racial equality. Similar questions roiled the civil rights and Black power movements of the 1960s.

But the debate has been reignited by the spread of the deadly virus and the police killing of George Floyd in Minneapolis. And it has taken on a generational tone, as Socialism -- in the 1980s largely the redoubt of aging leftists -- now attracts many younger people eager to reshape organizations like the Democratic Socialists of America, which has existed in various permutations since the 1920s. (A Gallup poll late last year found that Socialism is now as popular as capitalism among people aged 18 to 39.)

The D.S.A. now has more than 70,000 members nationally and 5,800 in New York -- and their average age now hovers in the early 30s. While the party is much smaller than, say, Democrats and Republicans, it has become an unlikely kingmaker, helping fuel the victories of Democratic Party candidates such as Ms. Ocasio-Cortez and Jamaal Bowman, who beat a longtime Democratic incumbent in a June primary.

In years past, the D.S.A. had welcomed Professor Reed as a speaker. But younger members, chafing at their Covid-19 isolation and throwing themselves into ''Defund the Police'' and anti-Trump protests, were angered to learn of the invitation extended to him.

''People have very strong concerns,'' Chi Anunwa, co-chair of D.S.A.'s New York chapter, said on a Zoom call. They said ''the talk was too dismissive of racial disparities at a very tense point in American life.''

Professor Taylor of Princeton said Professor Reed should have known his planned talk on Covid-19 and the dangers of obsessing about racial disparities would register as ''a provocation. It was quite incendiary.''

None of this surprised Professor Reed, who sardonically described it as a ''tempest in a demitasse.'' Some on the left, he said, have a ''militant objection to thinking analytically.''

Professor Reed is an intellectual duelist, who especially enjoys lancing liberals he sees as too cozy with corporate interests. He wrote that President Bill Clinton and his liberal followers showed a ''willingness to sacrifice the poor and to tout it as tough-minded compassion'' and described former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. as a man whose ''tender mercies have been reserved for the banking and credit card industries.''

He finds a certain humor in being attacked over race.

''I've never led with my biography, as that's become an authenticity-claiming gesture,'' he said. ''But when my opponents say that I don't accept that racism is real, I think to myself, 'OK, we've arrived at a strange place.'''

Professor Reed and his compatriots believe the left too often ensnares itself in battles over racial symbols, from statues to language, rather than keeping its eye on fundamental economic change.

''If I said to you, 'You're laid off, but we've managed to rename Yale to the name of another white person', you would look at me like I'm crazy,'' said Mr. Sunkara, the editor of Jacobin.

Better, they argue, to talk of commonalities. While there is a vast wealth gap between Black and white Americans, poor and ***working-class*** white people are remarkably similar to poor and ***working-class*** Black people when it comes to income and wealth, which is to say they possess very little of either. Democratic Party politicians, Professor Reed and his allies say, wield race as a dodge to avoid grappling with big economic issues that cut deeper, such as wealth redistribution, as that would upset their base of rich donors.

''Liberals use identity politics and race as a way to counter calls for redistributive polices,'' noted Toure Reed, whose book ''Toward Freedom: The Case Against Race Reductionism'' tackles these subjects.

Some on the left counter that Professor Reed and his allies ignore that a strong emphasis on race is not only good politics but also common sense organizing.

''Not only do Black people suffer class oppression,'' said Professor Taylor of Princeton, ''they also suffer racial oppression. They are fundamentally more marginalized than white people.

''How do we get in the door without talking race and racism?''

I put that question to Professor Reed. The son of itinerant, radical academics, he passed much of his boyhood in New Orleans. ''I came back and forth into the Jim Crow South and developed a special hatred for that system,'' he said.

Yet even as he has taken pleasure of late as New Orleans removed memorials to the old Confederacy, he preferred a different symbolism. He recalled, as a boy, traveling to small New England towns and walking through cemeteries and seeing moss-covered tombstones marking the graves of young white men who had died in service of the Union.

''I got this warm feeling reading those tombstones, 'So-and-so died so that all men could be free,''' he said. ''There was something so damned moving about that.''

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Adolph Reed, a professor emeritus at the University of Pennsylvania, was invited to speak to the Democratic Socialists of America, but the lecture was canceled. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIC SUCAR/UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA)

**Load-Date:** August 18, 2020

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[***Emily Dickinson, British Abolitionism and Other Letters to the Editor***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:648G-1TY1-DXY4-X55F-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 10, 2021 Friday 16:59 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 744 words

**Highlight:** Readers respond to recent issues of the Sunday Book Review.

**Body**

A Small Omission

To the Editor:

Since, as Ian Frazier points out in By the Book (Nov. 28), it only has 27 words, it’s disappointing that the Book Review didn’t find room to print Emily Dickinson’s “To Make a Prairie.” One of those words is “revery.” It’s fascinating to imagine the president — present or former — being required to ponder, and perhaps to enact, that word each day. I’m guessing that the current president already does.

Lois Lowry

Falmouth, Maine

The writer is the author of “The Giver.”

Hard Truths

To the Editor:

I enjoyed Adam Hochschild’s review of “The 1619 Project” (Nov. 21), but was disappointed to see him deploy a critique that is easily debunked. He claims that British abolitionism “didn’t come to life until a decade later” than the American Revolution.

A quick internet search yields books and scholarly articles by Brycchan Carey (2005) and Rena Vassar (1970) that trace an upwelling of abolitionist sentiment agitating the highest levels of church and state in pre-1776 Britain. William Warburton, the bishop of Gloucester, preached a sermon attacking slavery in 1766, a document that the Quaker abolitionist Anthony Benezet referenced in “A Caution and Warning to Great Britain” (1767). Other landmark antislavery texts include Granville Sharp’s “A Representation of the Injustice and Dangerous Tendency of Tolerating Slavery” (1769) and the founding Methodist John Wesley’s “Thoughts Upon Slavery” (1774).

“The 1619 Project”’s claim that “growing calls to abolish the slave trade” in Britain predated the American Revolution is supported by a great deal of written evidence.

Ronald Briggs

New York

Aspirational Reading

To the Editor:

As a historian of publishing, I appreciated Tina Jordan’s survey of “a history of self-improvement, told through advertisements in the Book Review” (Nov. 28). Those of us who have made careers out of writing, editing, publishing and occasionally reading books will be pleased to learn, perhaps too late in life, that books can be an aid to impressing girls.

As an addendum to Jordan’s piece, I would note that in the same era in which the Pocket Classical Library and Haldeman-Julius’s remarkable Little Blue Books came out, the most successful set of self-education books ever published in America appeared: the Harvard Classics, known popularly as “Dr. Eliot’s five-foot shelf of books,” edited by Charles W. Eliot, retired president of Harvard, and published in 50 volumes by P. F. Collier &amp; Son beginning in 1910.

Collier specialized in mail-order subscription publishing and owned the popular Collier’s Magazine, in the pages of which the set was copiously advertised, as it was in other magazines and newspapers, including The New York Times. One of the advertising slogans was “15 minutes a day,” the amount of time an upward aspiring ***working-class*** reader might invest to achieve the equivalent of a liberal university education.

The hard sell was overseen for a while by Collier’s assistant sales manager Bruce Barton, who went on to found the pioneering advertising firm of Batten, Barton, Durstine and Osborn. The ad campaign was followed up by a nationwide network of traveling salesmen who visited potential buyers, signed them to a contract, collected the money and delivered the product.

The set sold in massive numbers. The New York Times reported in 1926 that “more than 14,000,000 copies” of the individual books “have been sold. The value of these sales was $20,827,188.” The fact that possibly several years at “15 minutes a day” might be needed to master the 20,000 or so pages of the set seemed irrelevant.

Paul M. Wright

Boston

Spoiled Rotten

To the Editor:

I have to agree with Pete Warshaw’s letter in the Nov. 21 Book Review. Three reviews of historical fiction books in that issue summarized each book’s plot in depth and revealed what looked to me like key plot developments. Now it seems pointless to me to actually read the books. Please, no spoilers!

Andrea Palumbo

Minneapolis

The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters for publication should include the writer’s name, address and telephone number. Letters should be addressed to The Editor, The New York Times Book Review, 620 Eighth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10018. The email address is [*books@nytimes.com*](mailto:books@nytimes.com) Letters may be edited for length and clarity. We regret that because of the large volume of mail received, we are unable to acknowledge or to return unpublished letters.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Rebecca Clarke FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 13, 2021

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[***The Best TV Episodes of 2022***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:674N-40M1-JBG3-631H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 21, 2022 Wednesday 23:59 EST

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**Section:** ARTS; television

**Length:** 1878 words

**Byline:** James Poniewozik, Mike Hale and Margaret Lyons

**Highlight:** TV in the streaming era is an endless feast. This year, series like “Barry,” “Ms. Marvel,” “Pachinko,” “Station Eleven” and “This Fool” offered some of the best bites.

**Body**

TV in the streaming era is an endless feast. This year, series like “Barry,” “Ms. Marvel,” “Pachinko,” “Station Eleven” and “This Fool” offered some of the best bites.

TV can be a lot of different things these days. So can a TV episode: It can be a “chapter” of a visual novel, a revelatory stand-up special or a straight-up sitcom installment.

You’ll find all of those and more in our choices of some of the best individual pieces we’ve sampled this year. Television in 2022 may have been all about the binge, but sometimes what you remember most about a feast is simply that one perfect bite. JAMES PONIEWOZIK

‘Amber Brown’ (Apple TV+)

Season 1, Episode 3: ‘No Place Like Two Homes’

Aw man, I loved this light tween drama about a sixth grader whose parents are newly divorced. In the show’s third episode, Amber (Carsyn Rose) is trying to build up the courage to audition for the school play — she hopes to follow in her father’s drama-club footsteps so they can bond more now that he’s moved back to town. “Do you think he likes me?” she asks her best friend. Of course, her friend says. He’s your father; he loves you. “Well, I know he loves me,” Amber replies. “I just wonder if he likes me.” It’s this kind of brutal, beautiful poignancy that makes the show so special. (Streaming on [*Apple TV+*](https://tv.apple.com/us/episode/no-place-like-two-homes/umc.cmc.1164447rj30c3qv3ss91o6o39).) MARGARET LYONS

‘Barry’ (HBO)

Season 3, Episode 6: ‘710N&#39;

More than one scene from this stunner — a high-speed motorcycle chase through a traffic jam, a high-firepower shootout at a car dealership — would have been the high point of any other series. But there was more to “710N” than simply showing off Bill Hader’s directing chops. The action sequences, simultaneously thrilling, slapstick and bathetic, served the larger purpose of “Barry,” to tell the story of an antihero without celebrating his antiheroism. (Streaming on [*HBO Max*](https://play.hbomax.com/page/urn:hbo:page:GYkG4Xwil-a24wgEAAALJ:type:episode).) PONIEWOZIK

‘Black Bird’ (Apple TV+)

Season 1, Episode 4: ‘WhatsHerName’

Dennis Lehane’s mini-series was a showcase for the fine and distinctive actor Paul Walter Hauser, who plays Larry Hall, a convicted kidnapper and suspected serial killer who is close to having his convictions overturned and walking free. It is nominally the story (based on an autobiographical novel) of another convict, played by [*Taron Egerton*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/01/arts/television/taron-egerton-black-bird.html), who makes a deal to befriend Hall and compromise him. But Hauser’s soft, sibilant, weirdly sexy performance is all that matters. In the fourth episode, Hall is put in charge of cleaning up after a prison riot (itself a shocking yet poetic spasm of violence, as directed by Jim McKay), and Hauser conveys a deep, narcissistic satisfaction that puts cleanliness next to beastliness. (Streaming on [*Apple TV+*](https://tv.apple.com/us/show/black-bird/umc.cmc.30gx1y8nwthydkrvhqu156p3)) MIKE HALE

‘Derry Girls’ (Netflix)

Season 3, Episode 5

[*Lisa McGee’s*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/06/arts/television/lisa-mcgee-derry-girls.html) rowdy Northern Irish comedy used a high school reunion to turn its clock back from the 1990s to the 1970s, visiting the adolescence of its Derry Mums. The half-hour brought in a new cast to play its adult characters as punk-era teens, but McGee established such a voice and sense of character over three short seasons that you could instantly recognize the elders in their younger versions (and see their daughters in them as well). The tart, heartfelt episode underscored how teenage rebellions, like some political ones, cut across generations. PONIEWOZIK

‘Fleishman Is in Trouble’ (FX on Hulu)

Season 1, Episode 7: ‘Me-Time&#39;

This limited series worked hard to re-create the pyrotechnics of Taffy Brodesser-Akner’s 2019 novel, from the upside-down shots that mimicked the topsy-turvy imagery of the book cover to a copious use of voice-over. (Brodesser-Akner, who created the series and wrote this episode, is a staff writer for The New York Times Magazine.) Here, it pulled off the novel’s signature reversal — telling the title character’s divorce story from the perspective of his wife — using the tools of the screen, in particular a wrenching performance by [*Claire Danes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/04/arts/television/fleishman-is-in-trouble-claire-danes-jesse-eisenberg.html), an emotional volcano who has rarely erupted better. (Streaming on [*Hulu*](https://www.hulu.com/series/fleishman-is-in-trouble-710e51f8-3387-404d-8b07-e7c9b766d11c).) PONIEWOZIK

‘Genndy Tartakovsky’s Primal’ (Adult Swim)

Season 2, Episodes 7-9: ‘The Colossaeus’ (parts I, II and III)

In its second season, “Primal” expanded its scope and time frame, dipping into 19th-century England for an episode and introducing various other clans to our cave man and dinosaur protagonists. But it was this three-part blood bath, culminating in a triumphant slave rebellion at sea, that exemplified the show’s tender nuance and also its unrelenting savagery. It was a reminder that while cartoon violence can be exhausting and meaningless in live-action shows, it can still be mesmerizing and meaningful when done where it belongs. “Primal” is almost entirely wordless, and its characters rarely rely on gesture; instead, their ideas are communicated through expression, breath and attention. And yet, few other shows are able to capture passion and pain with such precision, an entire life story told through one furrowed brow. (Streaming on [*HBO Max*](https://play.hbomax.com/page/urn:hbo:page:GYrGIEgIf5wCdrAEAAAHP:type:episode).) LYONS

‘Ms. Marvel’ (Disney+)

Season 1, Episode 5: ‘Time and Again’

This “Spider-Man”-like series about Kamala Khan ([*Iman Vellani*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/06/arts/television/ms-marvel-iman-vellani.html)), a Jersey City 16-year-old in a ***working-class*** immigrant family who discovers that she has superpowers, is the most charming and likable of the Marvel shows for Disney+ so far. The obligatory flashback episode revealing how Kamala came by her powers was set during the partition of India and Pakistan; the incorporation of that fraught history could easily have led to something labored and stiff, but in the hands of the writer Fatimah Asghar and the director Sharmeen Obaid-Chinoy it was ingenious and surprisingly moving. (Streaming on [*Disney+*](https://www.disneyplus.com/series/ms-marvel/45BsikoMcOOo)) HALE

‘Pachinko’ (Apple TV+)

Season 1, Episode 7

The penultimate episode of this Min Jin Lee novel adaptation, set in and around the 1923 Yokohama earthquake, is staggering in its scope and rendering of cataclysm. But it’s equally, quietly devastating in how its expands the depiction of a key character: Koh Hansu (Lee Minho), introduced in the series as a menacing, charismatic gangster. Laying out how he began as a young math tutor with hopes for a legitimate life, then fell onto his path through disaster and circumstance, “Chapter 7” connects him to the series’s other Korean exiles making hard choices in an unwelcoming Japan. (Streaming on [*Apple TV+*](https://tv.apple.com/us/show/pachinko/umc.cmc.17vf6g68dy89kk1l1nnb6min4).) PONIEWOZIK

‘Rothaniel’ (HBO)

A lot of “confessional” comedy has ground itself into a rut in recent years. But the comedian Jerrod Carmichael breathes new life into the paradigm with this lyrical and restrained special, in which he comes out as gay and explores his fraught relationship with his family. Carmichael weaves together sorrow and humor, insight and fear, love and disappointment, unraveling family secrets and allowing for messy and unresolved truths to all exist at once. (Streaming on [*HBO Max*](https://play.hbomax.com/page/urn:hbo:page:GYjTxLwCPgSiOTwEAAACn:type:feature).) LYONS

‘The Simpsons’ (Fox)

Season 34, Episode 3: ‘Lisa the Boy Scout’

A seemingly routine episode of “The Simpsons” is hijacked by hackers (wearing masks that are a frightening combination of Guy Fawkes and Homer Simpson) who demand a $20 million ransom; until it is paid, they will broadcast a stream of “Simpsons” outtakes “so ill-conceived, so idiotic that their exposure would destroy the value of the very I.P. itself.” Luckily, no one pays, and we get to see a lovingly assembled panoply of blackout sketches, written by Dan Greaney and directed by Timothy Bailey, ranging across 34 seasons of characters and animation styles. One highlight: a two-hander for the Sea Captain and Groundskeeper Willie whose dialogue consists entirely of “Yar” and “Aye.” (Streaming on [*Hulu*](https://www.hulu.com/series/the-simpsons-c88bb35c-880b-437e-9187-ab59b52df1a2).) HALE

‘Slow Horses’ (Apple TV+)

Season 1, Episode 3: ‘Bad Tradecraft’

Based on Mick Herron’s Slough House novels, “Slow Horses” — set in a fictional MI5 office where out-of-favor agents pass their time doing busy work — is in one sense a sendup of John le Carré’s moody, cerebral tales of the postwar British intelligence services. But it’s also a completely credible spy thriller, with complicated, believable twists and well executed action. The first season’s third episode, written by Will Smith and directed by James Hawes, best encapsulated the show’s seesawing mix of sardonic humor, deft characterization and sometimes brutal suspense. (Streaming on [*Apple TV+*](https://tv.apple.com/us/show/slow-horses/umc.cmc.2szz3fdt71tl1ulnbp8utgq5o).) HALE

‘Station Eleven’ (HBO Max)

Season 1, Episode 9: ‘Dr. Chaudhary’

TV’s sweetest apocalypse story began just before the holidays last year, so it was the gift that kept on giving in early 2022. The penultimate episode, which found Jeevan Chaudhary ([*Himesh Patel*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/19/arts/television/emmy-himesh-patel-station-eleven.html)) impersonating a doctor in a big-box-store-turned-birthing-center, was an inventive expression of the show’s oddly hopeful vision: the first sparks of humanity’s future being kindled amid the mundane ruins of its past. Like the traveling actors who make the backbone of this story, Jeevan puts on a performance that ends up becoming real and restorative. (Streaming on [*HBO Max*](https://play.hbomax.com/page/urn:hbo:page:GYZWoOQ6F9cLDCAEAAABP:type:series).) PONIEWOZIK

‘This Fool’ (Hulu)

Season 1, Episode 5: ‘Sandy Says’

The closing seconds of this episode-long homage to “Austin Powers” were perhaps the most satisfying payoff I saw this year. “Sandy Says” exemplifies the tricky tone “This Fool” is able to strike, combining the structure of traditional sitcoms with the style of auteur comedies, hitting a sweet spot of goofy and clever. Luis (Frankie Quinones), newly out of prison, is in annoying-eighth-grader mode with his constant “Austin Powers” references, and the episode is packed with shagadelic Easter eggs before Luis explains part of why the movie means so much to him. “I’m tired of wasting time living in the past,” he says. “Ideally, we’ll change. The world is ever-changing, homey. I gotta change with it. That’s what ‘Austin Powers’ is all about. You know, I used to think that movie was a comedy. But now I know, it’s a tragedy.” (Streaming on [*Hulu*](https://www.hulu.com/series/this-fool-18ea1265-5978-41d7-b619-2ad23e075a71).) LYONS

‘This Is Us’ (NBC)

Season 6, Episode 4: ‘Don’t Let Me Keep You’

“This Is Us” did a lot of traveling over its six-season run — through multiple family trees, across the divide of death, from the future to the deep past. But it was often at its best when focused on one story, here Jack’s (Milo Ventimiglia) trip to Ohio to attend his mother’s funeral and reckon with the legacy of his abusive father. It’s a showcase for Ventimiglia, who anchored a big-feeling show through his reserved portrayal of a father, husband and son driven to fix things. (Streaming on [*Hulu*](https://www.hulu.com/series/this-is-us-9dc170da-85db-475d-9df4-6572f15ffb00).) PONIEWOZIK

PHOTOS: An episode of “Barry,” above, included a thrilling freeway chase with the title character (Bill Hader, who also directed) on a stolen motorcycle, carrying a bag of beignets. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HBO); A group-therapy session in an episode of “This Fool” that functioned as a nonstop homage to “Austin Powers.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY HULU); The ninth episode of “Station Eleven” featured Himesh Patel (right, with Rebecca Applebaum) impersonating a doctor in a birthing center. (PHOTOGRAPH BY IAN WATSON/HBO MAX); Dearbháile McKinney, left, and Shauna Higgins as 1970s teenagers in an episode of “Derry Girls.” (PHOTOGRAPHS BY NETFLIX); In a “Simpsons” episode, nasty hackers subjected viewers to lampoons of the series’ three decades. (PHOTOGRAPH BY FOX); In “Ms. Marvel,” Iman Vellani (right, with Aramis Knight) plays a 16-year-old with superpowers. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DISNEY+) This article appeared in print on page C5.

**Load-Date:** December 28, 2022

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[***A Black Marxist Scholar Wanted to Talk About Race. It Ignited a Fury.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60KG-VRD1-JBG3-6062-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 14, 2020 Friday 10:35 EST

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 1840 words

**Byline:** Michael Powell

**Highlight:** The cancellation of a speech reflects an intense debate on the left: Is racism the primary problem in America today, or the outgrowth of a system that oppresses all poor people?

**Body**

The cancellation of a speech reflects an intense debate on the left: Is racism the primary problem in America today, or the outgrowth of a system that oppresses all poor people?

Adolph Reed is a son of the segregated South, a native of New Orleans who organized poor Black people and antiwar soldiers in the late 1960s and became a leading Socialist scholar at a trio of top universities.

Along the way, he acquired the conviction, controversial today, that the left is too focused on race and not enough on class. Lasting victories were achieved, he believed, when ***working-class*** and poor people of all races fought shoulder to shoulder for their rights.

In late May, Professor Reed, now 73 and a professor emeritus at the University of Pennsylvania, was invited to speak to the Democratic Socialists of America’s New York City chapter. The match seemed a natural. Possessed of a barbed wit, the man who campaigned for Senator Bernie Sanders and skewered President Barack Obama as a man of “vacuous to repressive neoliberal politics” would address the D.S.A.’s largest chapter, the crucible that gave rise to Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and a new generation of leftist activism.

His chosen topic was unsparing: He planned to argue that the left’s intense focus on the disproportionate impact of the coronavirus on Black people undermined multiracial organizing, which he sees as key to health and economic justice.

Notices went up. Anger built. How could we invite a man to speak, members asked, who downplays racism in a time of plague and protest? To let him talk, the organization’s Afrosocialists and Socialists of Color Caucus stated, was “reactionary, class reductionist and at best, tone deaf.”

“We cannot be afraid to discuss race and racism because it could get mishandled by racists,” the caucus stated. “That’s cowardly and cedes power to the racial capitalists.”

Amid murmurs that opponents might crash his Zoom talk, Professor Reed and D.S.A. leaders agreed to cancel it, a striking moment as perhaps the nation’s most powerful Socialist organization rejected a Black Marxist professor’s talk because of his views on race.

“God have mercy, Adolph is the greatest democratic theorist of his generation,” said Cornel West, a Harvard professor of philosophy and a Socialist. “He has taken some very unpopular stands on identity politics, but he has a track record of a half-century. If you give up discussion, your movement moves toward narrowness.”

The decision to silence Professor Reed came as Americans debate the role of race and racism in policing, health care, media and corporations. Often pushed aside in that discourse are those leftists and liberals who have argued there is too much focus on race and not enough on class in a deeply unequal society. Professor Reed is part of the class of historians, political scientists and intellectuals who argue that race as a construct is overstated.

This debate is particularly potent as activists sense a once-in-a-generation opportunity to make progress on issues ranging from police violence to mass incarceration to health and inequality. And it comes as Socialism in America — long a predominantly white movement — attracts younger and more diverse adherents.

Many leftist and liberal scholars argue that current disparities in health, police brutality and wealth inequality are due primarily to the nation’s history of racism and white supremacy. Race is America’s primal wound, they say, and Black people, after centuries of slavery and Jim Crow segregation, should take the lead in a multiracial fight to dismantle it. To set that battle aside in pursuit of ephemeral class solidarity is preposterous, they argue.

“Adolph Reed and his ilk believe that if we talk about race too much we will alienate too many, and that will keep us from building a movement,” said Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, a professor of African-American studies at Princeton University in New Jersey and a socialist who has given talks to D.S.A. chapters and is familiar with these debates. “We don’t want that — we want to win white people to an understanding of how their racism has fundamentally distorted the lives of Black people.”

A contrary view is offered by Professor Reed and some prominent scholars and activists, many of whom are Black. They see the current emphasis in the culture on race-based politics as a dead-end. They include Dr. West; the historians Barbara Fields of Columbia University and Toure Reed — Adolph’s son — of Illinois State; and Bhaskar Sunkara, founder of Jacobin, a Socialist magazine.

They readily accept the brute reality of America’s racial history and of racism’s toll. They argue, however, that the problems now bedeviling America — such as wealth inequality, police brutality and mass incarceration — affect Black and brown Americans, but also large numbers of ***working-class*** and poor white Americans.

The most powerful progressive movements, they say, take root in the fight for universal programs. That was true of the laws that empowered labor organizing and established mass jobs programs during the New Deal, and it’s true of the current struggles for free public college tuition, a higher minimum wage, reworked police forces and single-payer health care.

Those programs would disproportionately help Black, Latino and Native American people, who on average have less family wealth and suffer ill health at rates exceeding that of white Americans, Professor Reed and his allies argue. To fixate on race risks dividing a potentially powerful coalition and playing into the hands of conservatives.

“An obsession with disparities of race has colonized the thinking of left and liberal types,” Professor Reed told me. “There’s this insistence that race and racism are fundamental determinants of all Black people’s existence.”

These battles are not new: In the late 19th century, Socialists wrestled with their own racism and debated the extent to which they should try to build a multiracial organization. Eugene Debs, who ran for president five times, was muscular in his insistence that his party [*advocate racial equality.*](https://www.jacobinmag.com/2015/08/debs-socialism-race-du-bois-socialist-party-black-liberation/) Similar questions roiled the civil rights and Black power movements of the 1960s.

But the debate has been reignited by the spread of the deadly virus and the police killing of George Floyd in Minneapolis. And it has taken on a generational tone, as Socialism — in the 1980s largely the redoubt of aging leftists — now attracts many younger people eager to reshape organizations like the Democratic Socialists of America, which has existed in various permutations since the 1920s. (A Gallup poll late last year found that Socialism is now as popular as capitalism among people aged 18 to 39.)

The D.S.A. now has more than 70,000 members nationally and 5,800 in New York — and their average age now hovers in the early 30s. The organization has become an unlikely kingmaker, helping fuel the victories of Democratic Party candidates such as Ms. Ocasio-Cortez and Jamaal Bowman, who beat a longtime Democratic incumbent in a June primary.

In years past, the D.S.A. had welcomed Professor Reed as a speaker. But younger members, chafing at their Covid-19 isolation and throwing themselves into “Defund the Police” and anti-Trump protests, were angered to learn of the invitation extended to him.

“People have very strong concerns,” Chi Anunwa, co-chair of D.S.A.’s New York chapter, said on a Zoom call. They said “the talk was too dismissive of racial disparities at a very tense point in American life.”

Professor Taylor of Princeton said Professor Reed should have known his planned talk on Covid-19 and the dangers of obsessing about racial disparities would register as “a provocation. It was quite incendiary.”

None of this surprised Professor Reed, who sardonically described it as a “tempest in a demitasse.” Some on the left, he said, have a “militant objection to thinking analytically.”

Professor Reed is an intellectual duelist, who especially enjoys lancing liberals he sees as too cozy with corporate interests. He wrote that President Bill Clinton and his liberal followers showed a “willingness to sacrifice the poor and to tout it as tough-minded compassion” and described former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. as a man whose “tender mercies have been reserved for the banking and credit card industries.”

He finds a certain humor in being attacked over race.

“I’ve never led with my biography, as that’s become an authenticity-claiming gesture,” he said. “But when my opponents say that I don’t accept that racism is real, I think to myself, ‘OK, we’ve arrived at a strange place.’”

Professor Reed and his compatriots believe the left too often ensnares itself in battles over racial symbols, from statues to language, rather than keeping its eye on fundamental economic change.

“If I said to you, ‘You’re laid off, but we’ve managed to rename Yale to the name of another white person’, you would look at me like I’m crazy,” said Mr. Sunkara, the editor of Jacobin.

Better, they argue, to talk of commonalities. While there is a vast wealth gap between Black and white Americans, [*poor and* ***working-class*** *white people are remarkably similar to poor and* ***working-class*** *Black people when it comes to income and wealth,*](https://www.jacobinmag.com/2015/08/debs-socialism-race-du-bois-socialist-party-black-liberation/)which is to say they possess very little of either. Democratic Party politicians, Professor Reed and his allies say, wield race as a dodge to avoid grappling with big economic issues that cut deeper, such as wealth redistribution, as that would upset their base of rich donors.

“Liberals use identity politics and race as a way to counter calls for redistributive polices,” noted Toure Reed, whose book “Toward Freedom: The Case Against Race Reductionism” tackles these subjects.

Some on the left counter that Professor Reed and his allies ignore that a strong emphasis on race is not only good politics but also common-sense organizing.

“Not only do Black people suffer class oppression,” said Professor Taylor of Princeton, “they also suffer racial oppression. They are fundamentally more marginalized than white people.

“How do we get in the door without talking race and racism?”

I put that question to Professor Reed. The son of itinerant, radical academics, he passed much of his boyhood in New Orleans. “I came back and forth into the Jim Crow South and developed a special hatred for that system,” he said.

Yet even as he has taken pleasure of late as New Orleans removed memorials to the old Confederacy, he preferred a different symbolism. He recalled, as a boy, traveling to small New England towns and walking through cemeteries and seeing moss-covered tombstones marking the graves of young white men who had died in service of the Union.

“I got this warm feeling reading those tombstones, ‘So-and-so died so that all men could be free,’” he said. “There was something so damned moving about that.”

PHOTO: Adolph Reed, a professor emeritus at the University of Pennsylvania, was invited to speak to the Democratic Socialists of America, but the lecture was canceled. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIC SUCAR/UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA)

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[***Back on Broadway With Nothing to Prove***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67MY-NY51-JBG3-60MS-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** Section AR; Column 0; Arts and Leisure Desk; Pg. 24

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**Body**

Less than a week before she was set to appear in a Broadway revival of ''A Doll's House'' as Nora, one of the most iconic female roles in Western theater, Jessica Chastain confessed to a nagging worry.

''I don't want it to feel like a TED Talk,'' she said.

Chastain sat in the upstairs lounge at the Hudson Theater, where preview performances of ''A Doll's House'' began on Feb. 13. She was fighting a cold and drinking Throat Coat herbal tea, dressed in a navy sweater and white sneakers, a fluffy tan coat pooling around her.

She was reflecting on what it means to be starring in a raw, radical reimagining of Henrik Ibsen's 1879 play -- a work long celebrated as a profound exploration of how gender roles confine women, distorting their identities.

Chastain has fought for pay equity in Hollywood, pushed for support of Planned Parenthood and used red-carpet and talk-show appearances to champion causes such as the women protesting repression in Iran. In films as varied as ''Zero Dark Thirty'' and ''The Eyes of Tammy Faye,'' she's embodied complicated, ambitious women who refuse to be constrained.

So she wondered if taking on the role of Nora, theater's most famous oppressed housewife, might seem too pointed, even preachy.

''I'm such an advocate, I'm so outspoken, so even putting me in the part, we're already doing something, right?'' Chastain said. ''So how can I as an actor approach it in a way that doesn't feel like I'm here to give everyone in the audience a lecture?''

The answer came as she began to realize Nora isn't a victim dominated by her condescending husband, Torvald. She plays the role of the pretty, fragile, childlike wife for a reason.

''When denied, you work within a system to gain power, and we're all responsible for that. So that's not just, oh, Torvald is a villain because he's put Nora in a cage. Nora has stepped in the cage to gain what little power she has,'' Chastain said. ''Because girls are taught so young to be smaller, right? So our voices get higher, we don't want to be threatening, we're docile and meek. That's kind of bred into us. But that's part of how we are helping it continue, women not being seen as equal. We're playing a part so we're palatable enough, so that people hopefully will listen to us.''

She stopped, wary of veering into TED Talk territory -- ''I know I'm rambling a lot'' -- then, a moment later, as if realizing that she had cut herself off, finished the thought.

''I hope people will come to the theater and go: How am I doing that?'' she said. ''How am I not being my authentic self in order to be palatable to others?''

Chastain last appeared on Broadway a decade ago, when she starred in ''The Heiress'' as Catherine Sloper, a dowdy, awkward aristocrat. Wearing petticoats, a bustle and a prosthetic nose she applied herself, Chastain immersed herself in the play's 19th-century mannerisms and aesthetic, studying how to curtsy and properly hold a fan, even embroidering during rehearsal breaks to stay in character.

With ''A Doll's House,'' an adaptation by the British director Jamie Lloyd set to open on March 9, Chastain has no theatrical set pieces or ambience to fall back on. There are no period costumes, no props, nothing resembling a set. There's not even a door to slam in Nora's infamous parting gesture. The play is stripped down to its barest essentials -- Ibsen's story, and the emotions it provokes in the actors and audience. It's not a stretch to say that the entire production rests on the power of her performance.

Chastain seems to relish the challenge.

''She commits 100 percent every single second. Right from the first read-through, she was all in, totally committed to the psychological and emotional journey,'' Lloyd said. ''This is the key to Jessica's approach. Yes, it is a deeply political play that resonates today, but it's an intensely psychological play.''

Asked how it felt performing live in such an unvarnished way, Chastain was blunt. ''Scary,'' she said. ''It's very exposed as an actress working this way, because it really is all about the words and the feelings and the relationships. Jamie's note is always 'simple, simple.' Simplify it, simplify it, simplify it.''

Though it was unnerving at first, Chastain adapted to Lloyd's extreme minimalism, which is so austere that it can feel almost untheatrical. It's been liberating, she said.

''It feels like I'm not getting in my own way,'' she said. ''Like, I'm not having to show anything.''

A meteoric rise, and the anxiety that came with it

Plenty has happened to Chastain since she last took the stage. She won an Academy Award for best actress last year playing the weepy, charismatic televangelist Tammy Faye Bakker in ''The Eyes of Tammy Faye,'' a movie she developed herself in an effort to humanize a mocked and misunderstood woman.

Chastain won a Golden Globe in 2013 for her role as a driven C.I.A. analyst in ''Zero Dark Thirty.'' She appeared in blockbusters like ''The Martian'' and ''Interstellar,'' and in art-house films and adaptations of classics like ''Miss Julie,'' a movie based on August Strindberg's 1889 play.

She starred in prestige TV, including ''Scenes From a Marriage,'' which earned her another Golden Globe nomination, and ''George & Tammy,'' in which she played Tammy Wynette, modulating her voice into the country singer's twang. The two series explore, in different ways, how women navigate marriage and divorce and its messy aftermath.

In 2016, Chastain started a production company, Freckle Films, which she has used to develop woman-centered projects. She married the Italian fashion executive Gian Luca Passi de Preposulo in 2017, and they are now raising a family in New York City.

Along the way, she has gone from being called ''the latest It Girl of thinking person's cinema'' (a label that implied her fame might be fleeting) to being something of a Hollywood power player. It's emboldened her to try things that once terrified her -- like anchoring a Broadway revival of a beloved classic.

''I don't feel the angst and the fear that I did the last time I was onstage,'' Chastain said. ''Now I feel like I've put in a lot of work, and I feel like I've carved a place for myself in the industry. People know I work hard.''

Theater, after all, was where she discovered her love of acting. Growing up in a ***working-class*** household in Northern California, she saw ''Richard III'' during a trip to the Oregon Shakespeare Festival and was instantly hooked. Even though she didn't graduate from high school, she was determined to attend Juilliard, so she earned an adult diploma and was accepted there with a scholarship, becoming at 22 the first college student in her family. Her second year, she was cast in Anton Chekhov's ''The Seagull,'' and a few years after she graduated, Al Pacino cast her alongside himself in a stage production of Oscar Wilde's ''Salomé,'' which was later produced as a film.

It took years of bit parts on ''ER'' and ''Law & Order'' before her movie career took off, but in 2011, she was suddenly everywhere: She appeared in six films, including ''The Tree of Life,'' ''Take Shelter'' and ''The Help,'' which landed her her first Oscar nomination.

The flurry of work and attention was thrilling but terrifying. When Chastain appeared on Broadway in ''The Heiress,'' an adaptation of the Henry James novella ''Washington Square,'' the expectations felt crushing. It didn't help that some theater critics were underwhelmed, including Ben Brantley of The Times, who said her delivery ''sometimes has a flatness that I associate with cold readings of scripts.''

''I'm a sensitive person, and the last time I did theater, it was so much pressure, and all the pressure took the joy out of it for me,'' Chastain said.

''In the beginning, when I got all that attention so quickly,'' she continued, ''it just felt like this isn't going to last. I felt so scared. It felt so unearned.''

Reviving an 1879 play with a new degree of nuance

Chastain wasn't eager to return to the stage when she was approached six years ago by Lloyd, an acclaimed director whose minimalist restaging of ''Cyrano de Bergerac'' captivated audiences at the Brooklyn Academy of Music last year.

They met through a mutual friend, James McAvoy, who had worked with Chastain on the indie film ''The Disappearance of Eleanor Rigby,'' and starred as the title character in Lloyd's ''Cyrano.'' Lloyd asked her why she wasn't doing theater anymore.

''I think my response was, 'Oh, I'm too scared,''' Chastain said.

Over lunch, he convinced her to reconsider, then asked her to propose a play they could do together. By 2019, they settled on John Webster's ''The Duchess of Malfi'' but learned that a version of the play was about to be staged in London.

Then Chastain texted Lloyd -- what about ''A Doll's House?''

It seemed exhilarating, and risky. For more than a century, ''A Doll's House'' has occupied hallowed ground, revered as thought-provoking theater that made a prescient argument for women's autonomy. Ibsen's heroine, Nora, initially seems naïve and dependent on her husband, but she becomes disillusioned with how he controls and belittles her. She eventually leaves him with what the playwright George Bernard Shaw described as the ''door slam heard around the world.''

When it made its 1879 debut in Copenhagen, ''A Doll's House'' was met with critical acclaim as well as condemnation, including from women. Nora's decision to abandon her family was considered so shocking that some actresses refused to play her.

Over the decades, the character has come to be seen as one of theater's most demanding and rewarding roles. Liv Ullmann was nominated for a Tony for her performance in a 1975 Broadway revival. In 1997, the last time ''A Doll's House'' was staged on Broadway, Janet McTeer won a Tony for playing Nora. In 2017, the playwright Lucas Hnath won accolades for his brazen sequel, ''A Doll's House, Part 2,'' which explored the premise that Nora (played by Laurie Metcalf, who also won a Tony) returned home 15 years later.

When Chastain and Lloyd decided that they would collaborate on a revival of ''A Doll's House,'' they were aware that staging the play now -- post-MeToo, post-144 years of theatrical history -- required a new degree of nuance. Their goal was to jettison the baggage associated with the ''A Doll's House'' and hit reset, Lloyd said. ''The idea is to clear away all those expectations.''

They planned to stage it in London in the spring of 2020, using an adaptation by Frank McGuinness. When the pandemic put the project on hold, Lloyd saw an opportunity for a fresh adaptation by a female playwright, and Chastain, who was distraught by Covid's impact on New York City, proposed moving it to Broadway.

'It went very intimate very quickly'

Chastain, as it happened, had been thinking about ''A Doll's House'' while working on ''Scenes From a Marriage," an HBO mini-series inspired by the filmmaker Ingmar Bergman's exploration of a faltering relationship. (Bergman himself was influenced by ''A Doll's House'' and released an adaptation called ''Nora'' in 1981.)

The TV show, which stars Chastain and Oscar Isaac, flips the gender dynamic of the original, so that Chastain is the partner who feels suffocated by the marriage and leaves her husband -- a twist that echoes Ibsen's plot.

One of the show's lead writers was Amy Herzog, a playwright who had been obsessed with ''A Doll's House'' since she was a teenager and had written a homage to it with her play ''Belleville.'' She jumped at the chance to work on an adaptation, and early last year, she began writing a version of Ibsen's play based on a translation by Charlotte Barslund. Herzog and Chastain agreed that Nora should be played as a more ambiguous character.

''She didn't go into it wanting to play a tragic victim. She went into it wanting to find those darker, subtler colors,'' Herzog said of Chastain. ''She's willing to be unlikable, and she's kind of fearless in exploring all kinds of weird, gnarly stuff.''

Chastain, who rarely speaks about her private life, brought up her own family when she described how society judges women like Nora, who reject marriage and motherhood. ''The idea of leaving my children would be horrific, and devastating,'' she said. At the same time, she understood and wanted to capture how Nora bristled at the restrictions of her life. ''Nora rejects it to become a human being first,'' she said.

When rehearsals began in January, Lloyd asked the cast to show up with the script memorized, so that the actors were responding to each other, not reciting lines, from the start. ''Some of the discoveries that they made, right from the first week of rehearsal, are still in production today, because they were able to be totally in that moment and be as inventive and spontaneous as possible,'' Lloyd said.

On the second day of rehearsal, the actors wore small microphones that rested near their mouths, allowing them to whisper lines and hear each other's breathing. ''It went very intimate very quickly,'' said Arian Moayed, who plays Torvald.

Chastain, he said, had a granular approach to the text and was willing to take emotional risks in her performance.

''She has an unbelievable ability to empathize with anything and everything,'' Moayed said. ''It comes to her with ease.''

Chastain's performance in ''A Doll's House'' begins before the play even starts. On the first night of previews, the audience was still settling in when the curtain rose to reveal Chastain, wearing a simple long, dark dress, her copper hair tumbling down her back, sitting in a wooden chair as the stage spun her in slow, hypnotic circles.

For roughly two hours, with no intermission, she mostly remained front and center, often affixed to her chair, a tangible manifestation of Nora's paralysis, as she veers from doting to cowering to realizing that she doesn't know who she is. She delivered some lines under her breath, in hushed, frantic tones and ragged rasps.

Chastain appeared drained after that first public performance, her eyes still wet with tears as she bowed. Earlier, back in the lounge, when asked how it felt to be doing theater now, she thought about it for a moment.

''I don't have to prove myself as much,'' she said. ''Ten years ago, I had impostor syndrome, which a lot of women have, you know? And maybe now I feel like, no, no, I'm home.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/22/theater/jessica-chastain-dolls-house-broadway.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/22/theater/jessica-chastain-dolls-house-broadway.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY THEA TRAFF FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (AR24-AR25)

From top, Jessica Chastain during ''A Doll's House'' rehearsal

in her Oscar-winning performance in ''The Eyes of Tammy Faye''

with Oscar Isaac in ''Scenes From a Marriage.'' (PHOTOGRAPHS BY EMILIO MADRID

SEARCHLIGHT PICTURES

JOJO WHILDEN/HBO) (AR25) This article appeared in print on page AR24, AR25.

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[***U.K.'s Prime Minister Race Offers Candidates Diverse In Background, Not Policy***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65X3-9931-JBG3-601C-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

The Conservatives running to be Britain's prime minister include women and people of non-European descent, but they sound a lot alike: They like Brexit and want to cut taxes.

LONDON -- Four are women. Six have recent forebears hailing from far beyond Europe -- India, Iraq, Kenya, Mauritius, Nigeria and Pakistan. Of the three white men, one is married to a Chinese woman while another holds a French passport.

On paper, the nearly dozen candidates vying to replace Boris Johnson as Conservative Party leader and prime minister are a kaleidoscopic tribute to Britain's rich diversity. In terms of policy proposals, however, the mosaic they create is resolutely monochromatic.

Nearly all the candidates are promising to cut taxes of one sort or another to cushion the blow of a spiraling cost-of-living crisis. Most favor legislation that reneges on an agreement with the European Union on trade in Northern Ireland. Many would continue to put illegal migrants on planes to Rwanda.

The degree of continuity and uniformity is especially striking, given that the candidates are competing to replace a prime minister who was criticized for lurching wildly from crisis to crisis, running a government that is, by all accounts, drifting in the face of grave economic stress and deepening tensions with Brussels. Several had sat in the cabinet that raised the taxes they now want to cut.

''There's just a bizarre disconnect from reality on the part of all of them,'' said Jonathan Portes, a professor of economics and public policy at Kings College London. ''They're just off in this fantasy land, talking about tax cuts.''

What they should be talking about, Professor Portes said, is how Britain is going to avert a full-blown crisis in its schools and hospitals in a few months, when surging inflation and budget cuts will hit teachers and nurses, prompting some to quit their jobs and others to strike. Tax cuts will not solve the cost-of-living squeeze, he said, but they will stoke inflation and deplete Britain's already shaky public finances.

To some extent, the untethered nature of the debate is a result of the size of the field, which leaves lots of people jockeying to break through. That will change quickly under new elections rules adopted on Monday evening by an influential committee of backbenchers in the Conservative Party, which oversees the leadership contest.

Under the rules, Conservative Party lawmakers will whittle down the list of contenders in successive rounds of voting, starting on Wednesday, with the support of 20 lawmakers needed to run in that first contest, and ending next week with a shortlist of two. One candidate will emerge victorious from a ballot of Conservative Party members by Sept. 5 and succeed Mr. Johnson as prime minister. In theory, a two-person race will sharpen the debate and surface more difficult issues.

But the uniformly right-leaning nature of the candidates' proposals also reflects the Conservative Party electorate. The party's center of gravity has tilted to the right during its bitter battles over Brexit. Mr. Johnson purged more centrist lawmakers, like the former cabinet minister Rory Stewart.

The party's rank-and-file membership, which is largely made up of activists, also tends to be more right-wing than average voters (there were 160,000 eligible members during the last leader election in 2019, according to the party). The members may have swung even more right in recent months as the party lost popularity under the scandal-scarred Mr. Johnson, and less committed members drifted away.

Still, the multistage nature of the contest, some analysts said, could be a trap for the tax-cutting evangelists. While most Tory members of Parliament are attracted to lower taxes, party members were likely to be less positive, because they tend to be older and have more experience with publicly funded services.

For them, tax cuts financed by cuts to health care or other public programs might not be an attractive proposition. Some candidates are emphasizing tax cuts in the first phase of the contest to differentiate themselves from the early front-runner, Rishi Sunak, whose resignation as chancellor of the Exchequer last week helped set in motion the events that brought down Mr. Johnson.

Mr. Sunak, presenting himself as a fiscal hawk, suggested in his introductory campaign video that his rivals are telling ''comforting fairy tales.''

Robert Ford, professor of political science at the University of Manchester, agreed that ''there is a danger for some of these contenders of making promises to get through the first round that may come back to haunt them.''

One striking aspect of the debate so far was the lack of discussion about Brexit, the issue that split the party and country for nearly six years. The candidates are, by and large, coalescing around Mr. Johnson's plan to tear up a deal he made with the European Union on trade rules for Northern Ireland. The move led Brussels to accuse Britain of violating international law and has sparked fears of a trade war.

Among the plan's loudest proponents is Liz Truss, the foreign secretary, who is one of the major contenders for leader and sponsored the legislation in Parliament. Analysts said she did so in part to appeal to the party's right flank.

There is growing evidence that Brexit has imposed an extra burden on the British economy. But Britain's sharp split from the European Union is now a matter of political orthodoxy. Expressing doubts about it, Professor Ford said, was ''like making a case for atheism at St. Peter's.''

For all the cavils about cookie-cutter proposals, there was a refreshing diversity in the social-media pitches of the candidates.

Critics cited Mr. Sunak's polished video as evidence that he had been long preparing a run for leader. His enemies circulated a less flattering clip of an interview he gave in 2001 in which he claimed to have friends from all social backgrounds but then corrected himself to say that this did not include ***working-class*** people.

Penny Mordaunt, a former cabinet minister who is mounting an energetic bid, had to edit her video to cut out images of the British Paralympic athlete, Jonnie Peacock, who asked not to be in the film, as well as the convicted killer Oscar Pistorius. The least well-known contender, Rehman Chishti, put out a video that appeared to have been recorded outside by phone, with wind noise in the background.

The laundry list of contenders makes this one of the party's most difficult leadership contests to predict in years. Some expect the first major culling to yield a single candidate from the party's right, who would square off in the final round against a heavily backed front-runner like Mr. Sunak.

Before the list is winnowed, however, some said it was worth savoring the diversity of faces, if not of messages, that was on display.

''Perhaps the most remarkable fact about it is that people don't see it as remarkable,'' Professor Ford said. It showed, he said, ''how far the party has come on that in really a quite short period of time.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/11/world/europe/uk-conservative-prime-minister-sunak-johnson.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/11/world/europe/uk-conservative-prime-minister-sunak-johnson.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Liz Truss, the British foreign secretary, is a top contender. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DAN KITWOOD/GETTY IMAGES)

Rishi Sunak resigned as chancellor of the Exchequer last week. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JOHN SIBLEY/REUTERS)

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[***A Path to Financial Security That Skips a 401(k)***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63PG-M9J1-DXY4-X21R-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

Some Black and Hispanic millennials are looking to alternatives like real estate or entrepreneurship, or to trading stock on their own.

Raul Duplessi became intrigued with the stock market nearly 15 years ago, when he landed his first job as a hotel doorman in Manhattan and a TV near his workstation played financial news on a continuous loop.

But Mr. Duplessi, 36, a ***working-class*** native of the Bronx whose parents were from the Dominican Republic, wasn't sure where or how to start investing. ''I don't have people to talk to about these kinds of things,'' he said.

''I grew up with two hard-working parents. They both worked two jobs,'' he said, adding that his father had only a fleeting window to enjoy retirement before he died. ''My parents retired with nothing.''

The turning point, he said, was reading -- at his father's repeated urging -- the book ''Rich Dad Poor Dad,'' which discusses the importance of financial literacy and how to build wealth through investing.

''It made me say, Having a job is just not enough,'' Mr. Duplessi said.

But what were his options?

For a vast majority of working Americans who don't have a defined-benefits pension, their 401(k) is the centerpiece of their retirement plan. But some young adults of color, like Mr. Duplessi, are putting their hopes -- and their money -- into alternatives like real estate, entrepreneurship or stock trading on their own. They see straying from the beaten path as offering them a better shot at financial security -- even if that means figuring it out as they go, and taking big risks.

People who study systemic racism and barriers to access in the financial services industry say they aren't surprised that people like Mr. Duplessi have little faith in the Wall Street machine.

''Black customers have a lot more distrust -- rightfully so -- of financial institutions,'' said Mehrsa Baradaran, a law professor at the University of California, Irvine School of Law, who studies financial inclusion and inequality.

Ken Alozie, a former investment banker and member of Score, an executive mentoring program for entrepreneurs, agreed. ''Some of them saw their parents lose their jobs or saw their parents' retirement plans get eviscerated'' during the financial crisis in 2008, Mr. Alozie said. ''It makes sense, given all that they have seen, that they have less trust in the financial system.''

In addition, he said, he has found that people of color ''tend to be less reliant on investing assets in traditional methods that are going to build wealth slowly,'' especially if they're the first generation in their family to try to create real financial security.

''If you're trying to build wealth and you don't already have a significant asset base, it's hard to do that using mutual funds and E.T.F.s,'' Mr. Alozie said. ''Particularly with people of color, they want to build something they can pass down.''

Darrick Hamilton, a professor of economics and urban policy and the founding director of the Institute for the Study of Race, Stratification and Political Economy at The New School, also pointed to the financial crisis. ''Black people were targeted with products that were subprime'' or with products at different terms than white people got, and that, he said, ''was intentional.''

And even if people of color had access to the same types of financial instruments as white investors, Dr. Hamilton said, ''it's not as if Blacks in general have access to the resources to get into that type of asset to begin with.'' He added: ''The main ingredient to people having a diverse portfolio is resources itself.''

According to the Federal Reserve, white families have a median wealth of $188,200, compared with $36,100 for Hispanic families and just $24,100 for Black families. Wealth is related to but not the same as income. It is a measure of the value of holdings like real estate, stock portfolios and other assets.

''If you're busy thinking about, How am I going to have basic needs met, it's harder to think about how to grow one's wealth,'' said John Campbell, a senior vice president at U.S. Bank Private Wealth Management. ''At the end of the day, there may be a lack of time or lack of financial resources to take advantage of other investment and savings programs,'' he said.

When the coronavirus pandemic struck, Carl Napoleon, 36, said he watched the collapse of his travel-concierge business, which he had built around his Haitian American heritage.

''One of our niches became to focus on carnivals around the Caribbean diaspora,'' he said. Demand had been growing, but the pandemic hit the five-year-old business hard. And as he's been trying to build it back, many of the islands have continued to maintain travel restrictions.

''We almost went bankrupt,'' he said. ''We lost almost $350,000.'' To date, Mr. Napoleon has been able to replenish only a fraction of the savings he poured into the business, dealing a major setback to his long-term plan to buy property and create a stream of rental income.

''I've always made it my goal to be financially free,'' Mr. Napoleon said. ''My family is dirt poor,'' he said. ''Luck is what provides their stability.'' It was frustrating now, he said, to realize that his credit score had sunk under the weight of the debt he accrued when his cash flow plunged. Now he effectively has to start over.

Mr. Napoleon said his family home in Brooklyn where he and his four siblings, one of whom has special needs, grew up has been in foreclosure for more than a decade. ''They worked real hard as immigrant Americans to get their home,'' he said. ''One of my reasons for wanting to retire early is to spend time with my parents and provide something.''

A sense of obligation to provide for parents and sometimes extended families burdens the finances of many millennials with roots in immigrant communities, said Shellise Rogers, 30, who grew up in Trinidad and New York City and has gone to Score for advice. She now lives in New York and has her own business as an accountant and business coach.

''It's more about building up for the family versus for the individual,'' she said. ''Definitely, as someone who's in finance and accounting and has lots of clients of color, I notice that there's a need for an immediate cash flow'' for many people, she said. Compared with reinvesting in their business, ''adding to a 401(k) doesn't seem as fruitful.''

Mr. Duplessi said he had decided to put money in a 401(k) when he finally got the chance to open an account two years ago when he became eligible to do so through his union. But he said he's not sure how much to trust it, since both of his parents lost money in their accounts during the financial crisis in 2008 and he was unable to make any contributions when the hotel where he worked closed during the pandemic.

Many Black and Hispanic workers don't even have the option of opening a 401(k). Federal Reserve data shows that 68 percent of white working-age families have access to employer-sponsored defined-contribution plans such as 401(k)s compared with only 56 percent of Black workers and 44 percent of Hispanic workers who have access to such plans.

Mr. Duplessi said he devoured resources on markets and dove into the mechanics of trading equities, options and other assets. Alarmed at what he viewed as predatory targeting of young minority investors, he started an invitation-only online group on Instagram where they could share insights and strategies for free. He said he has been investing mostly in stocks, though he also dabbled in options and cryptocurrencies.

''I consider those guys to be the biggest scammers in the world,'' Mr. Duplessi said of self-styled investment gurus, whom he described as exploiting young adults who don't know where to turn for advice. ''I knew no one had this place to find that information. I was so poor, I understand where they're coming from.''

Ms. Baradaran, the law professor, suggested that the financial services industry recognized that young adults from marginalized groups might be better served by more inclusive strategies aimed at combating structural economic inequality.

''Because of the racial wealth gap and its history, there's just much less wealth, much less of a buffer, which means fewer paths toward wealth creation,'' she said, arguing that a 401(k) is not necessarily a one-size-fits-all solution. ''A 401(k) is a privilege, a luxury,'' she said. ''A 401(k) was not designed for ***working-class*** wages.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/25/business/investing-black-hispanic-millennials.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/25/business/investing-black-hispanic-millennials.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Raul Duplessi, 36, said he was alarmed at what he viewed as predatory targeting of young minority investors, so he started an online group to discuss investing strategies. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 26, 2021

**End of Document**



[***For a Novel, a Quiet Reception Turns Into a Celebration***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6152-12T1-JBG3-63FH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 26, 2020 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 3

**Length:** 1376 words

**Byline:** By Alexandra Alter

**Body**

Douglas Stuart, a fashion designer, started writing fiction on the side. Now his first book is up for the Booker Prize and the National Book Award.

The title character in Douglas Stuart's debut novel, ''Shuggie Bain,'' at one point finds his mother passed out in their Glasgow apartment. He gently turns her head to the side so that she doesn't choke on her vomit, places a bucket by the bed and sets out three mugs next to her -- one with tap water for her dry throat, one with milk for her sour stomach, and one with flat, leftover lager to ease her shaking limbs.

''He knew this was the one she would reach for first,'' Stuart writes.

It's a wrenching realization. But Shuggie's almost maternal tenderness toward his emotionally volatile mother, and his love for her despite her failures, helps him endure their hardscrabble existence.

Stuart based the novel on his own childhood in Scotland, as the lonely youngest son of a single, alcoholic mother. Still, he sees Shuggie's story not as a tragedy, but as a tale about unbreakable filial bonds.

''For me, 'Shuggie Bain' is a love story,'' Stuart, 44, said during an interview on a drizzly day in downtown Manhattan this month. ''It's about love before it's about addiction.''

When the book came out in February, it had a warm but rather quiet reception. Now, it is being celebrated as one of this year's most accomplished debuts.

It was named as a finalist for both the National Book Award and the Booker Prize, two of the most prestigious literary prizes in the world. It has drawn comparisons to D.H. Lawrence, James Joyce and Frank McCourt.

Stuart, who lives in the East Village with his husband, Michael Cary, a curator at Gagosian who specializes in Picasso, said he is ''absolutely stunned'' by the novel's success. When he first started writing more than a decade ago, Stuart was working 12-hour days as a senior director of design at Banana Republic, jotting down scenes and bits of dialogue in his spare time almost as a form of therapy.

''I sat down to write 'Shuggie' without knowing what I was writing,'' he said. ''I wouldn't allow myself to believe I was writing a book, because it was too intimidating.''

A portrait of a struggling city, community, family and woman, ''Shuggie Bain'' unfolds in the economic and social stagnation of 1980s Glasgow, after the region's shipbuilding, mining and steelwork industries collapsed. Stable, ***working-class*** communities became destitute, leading to widespread poverty and addiction.

In this harsh world, Shuggie feels like an outcast. His mother is ostracized by the local women and preyed upon by the men; Shuggie is bullied by his classmates for being gay.

The novel caused a stir in Scotland. ''New York fashionista uses Glasgow's Sighthill as inspiration for novel,'' the Daily Record, a Scottish newspaper, trumpeted in August. Nicola Sturgeon, the first minister of Scotland, tweeted a photo of the book, and congratulated Stuart on his Booker nomination.

The Scottish American actor and writer Alan Cumming, who became friendly with Stuart after reading ''Shuggie Bain,'' said he was struck by how Stuart drew on the Scottish literary canon but expanded it by writing from the point of view of a gay boy and his wayward mother.

''Douglas is incredibly entrenched in that great Scottish ***working-class*** tradition of storytelling, but he's coming at it from being an outsider in your own country,'' he said. ''He's bringing a queer sensibility to it.''

As a boy growing up in public housing, Stuart rarely saw books at home. His mother had shelves of what looked like leather-bound classics, but they were decorative, faux-leather cases for video cassettes of movies and soap operas.

Like Shuggie, Stuart had a lonely childhood. The youngest of three, he felt like an only child, as his older brother and sister were teenagers when he was born and found jobs to escape the chaos at home. He barely knew his father, who left when Stuart was young. Stuart often functioned as a caretaker for his mother, who would black out from drinking and sometimes try to harm herself.

He occasionally skipped school to look after her. On the days that he went, he was shunned by the other boys and attacked for being too ''poofy.''

''I was effeminate, I was fey, I was precocious,'' Stuart said. ''There was no way to identify as gay, because I was too young, but I was different.''

His mother died of alcoholism-related health issues when he was 16. He lived with his older brother for a while, then moved into a room in a boardinghouse at 17.

Books became a refuge. Stuart devoured works by Thomas Hardy, Irvine Welsh, Agnes Owens and Iain Banks, and became the first person in his family to graduate from high school. He wanted to study English literature in college, but was discouraged by a teacher who told him the subject wouldn't suit someone from his background. He decided to study textiles instead, earning a bachelor's degree from the Scottish College of Textiles and a master's from the Royal College of Art in London.

''He didn't go around saying 'poor me,' and I'm sure a lot of people didn't realize his circumstances,'' said Sheila-Mary Carruthers, a professor of design who taught Stuart when he was an undergraduate. ''He's a very determined personality, not in a very assertive, ghastly way, but in a positive way. He just gets on with it.''

A Calvin Klein representative offered Stuart a job after seeing his work at a school fashion show. He moved to New York City at 24 and for around 20 years worked for global brands such as Calvin Klein, Ralph Lauren, Banana Republic and Jack Spade.

When he first started writing, he treated it as a private creative outlet, a way to grapple with the residual trauma of his childhood. Whole scenes came flooding back. His first draft was 900 single-spaced pages.

Stuart signed with the literary agent Anna Stein, but when they shopped the book, more than 30 editors passed. Many told Stuart it would be too hard to get Americans interested in a novel about a gay Scottish boy and his alcoholic mother.

Then Stuart met with Peter Blackstock, a senior editor at Grove Atlantic, who was determined to publish ''Shuggie Bain.'' It was the only offer Stuart got.

''It kind of had this classic feel to it,'' Blackstock said. ''But I felt like I hadn't really read this story of a queer, ***working-class*** boy's childhood before.''

Grove Press released the book in February, but just as buzz and word of mouth began to build, the pandemic hit the United States. Grove had shipped some 7,000 copies to bookstores, but with many brick-and-mortar locations closed, only around 1,000 hardcover copies sold in the first two months after publication, according to NPD BookScan.

''It was really tough timing for Douglas,'' Blackstock said. ''Just as the book was getting its momentum from great reviews, it got put on pause, and that was difficult.''

Then, this fall, awards nominations began to pile up, and ''Shuggie Bain'' got a second life.

In September, it was listed as a finalist for the Kirkus Prize and made the cut as one of six finalists for the Booker Prize, over works by celebrated authors like Anne Tyler and Hilary Mantel. Booker judges called it ''an amazingly intimate, compassionate, gripping portrait of addiction, courage and love.'' In October, it was named one of five fiction finalists for the National Book Award.

Grove moved up the publication of the paperback edition from December to Oct. 13 and has printed 30,000 copies, with another 10,000 on the way. If Stuart wins the Booker or the National Book Award in November -- or, in an unprecedented coup, both -- Grove plans to print another 50,000 copies.

Stuart dedicated ''Shuggie Bain'' to his mother. In a roundabout way, she was the first person who encouraged him to write.

Some nights when she was drunk, she would dictate her autobiography for him to take down, he said. She never got past the dedication, which she always made out to one of her role models, Elizabeth Taylor -- another glamorous, melodramatic woman who was unlucky in love.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/23/books/douglas-stuart-shuggie-bain.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/23/books/douglas-stuart-shuggie-bain.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Right, Douglas Stuart at the Beekman hotel in New York. ''Shuggie Bain'' was published in February. ''I sat down to write 'Shuggie' without knowing what I was writing,'' he said. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DANIEL DORSA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 26, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Rivals Vying to Replace Johnson Are Diverse in Background, Not in Plans***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65WY-CGB1-DXY4-X1PM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 11, 2022 Monday 23:06 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1206 words

**Byline:** Mark Landler and Stephen Castle

**Highlight:** The Conservatives running to be Britain’s prime minister include women and people of non-European descent, but they sound a lot alike: They like Brexit and want to cut taxes.

**Body**

The Conservatives running to be Britain’s prime minister include women and people of non-European descent, but they sound a lot alike: They like Brexit and want to cut taxes.

LONDON — Four are women. Six have recent forebears hailing from far beyond Europe — India, Iraq, Kenya, Mauritius, Nigeria and Pakistan. Of the three white men, one is married to a Chinese woman while another holds a French passport.

On paper, the nearly dozen candidates vying to replace Boris Johnson as Conservative Party leader and prime minister are a kaleidoscopic tribute to Britain’s rich diversity. In terms of policy proposals, however, the mosaic they create is resolutely monochromatic.

Nearly all the candidates are promising to cut taxes of one sort or another to cushion the blow of a [*spiraling cost-of-living crisis*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/30/business/cost-of-living-uk-prices.html). Most favor legislation that reneges on an agreement with the European Union on trade in Northern Ireland. Many would continue to put illegal migrants [*on planes to Rwanda*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/02/world/europe/uk-asylum-rwanda.html).

The degree of continuity and uniformity is especially striking, given that the candidates are competing to replace a prime minister who was criticized for lurching wildly from crisis to crisis, running a government that is, by all accounts, drifting in the face of grave economic stress and deepening tensions with Brussels. Several had sat in the cabinet that raised the taxes they now want to cut.

“There’s just a bizarre disconnect from reality on the part of all of them,” said Jonathan Portes, a professor of economics and public policy at Kings College London. “They’re just off in this fantasy land, talking about tax cuts.”

What they should be talking about, Professor Portes said, is how Britain is going to avert a full-blown crisis in its schools and hospitals in a few months, when surging inflation and budget cuts will hit teachers and nurses, prompting some to quit their jobs and others to strike. Tax cuts will not solve the cost-of-living squeeze, he said, but they will stoke inflation and deplete Britain’s already shaky public finances.

To some extent, the untethered nature of the debate is a result of the size of the field, which leaves lots of people jockeying to break through. That will change quickly under new elections rules adopted on Monday evening by an influential committee of backbenchers in the Conservative Party, which oversees the leadership contest.

Under the rules, Conservative Party lawmakers will whittle down the list of contenders in successive rounds of voting, starting on Wednesday, with the support of 20 lawmakers needed to run in that first contest, and ending next week with a shortlist of two. One candidate will emerge victorious from a ballot of Conservative Party members by Sept. 5 and succeed Mr. Johnson as prime minister. In theory, a two-person race will sharpen the debate and surface more difficult issues.

But the uniformly right-leaning nature of the candidates’ proposals also reflects the Conservative Party electorate. The party’s center of gravity has tilted to the right during its bitter battles over Brexit. Mr. Johnson purged more centrist lawmakers, like the former cabinet minister Rory Stewart.

The party’s rank-and-file membership, which is largely made up of activists, also tends to be more right-wing than average voters (there were 160,000 eligible members during the last leader election in 2019, according to the party). The members may have swung even more right in recent months as the party lost popularity under the scandal-scarred Mr. Johnson, and less committed members drifted away.

Still, the multistage nature of the contest, some analysts said, could be a trap for the tax-cutting evangelists. While most Tory members of Parliament are attracted to lower taxes, party members were likely to be less positive, because they tend to be older and have more experience with publicly funded services.

For them, tax cuts financed by cuts to health care or other public programs might not be an attractive proposition. Some candidates are emphasizing tax cuts in the first phase of the contest to differentiate themselves from the early front-runner, [*Rishi Sunak*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/05/world/europe/rishi-sunak-chancellor-of-the-exchequer.html), whose resignation as chancellor of the Exchequer last week helped set in motion the events that brought down Mr. Johnson.

Mr. Sunak, presenting himself as a fiscal hawk, suggested in his [*introductory campaign video*](https://twitter.com/RishiSunak/status/1545426650032111616) that his rivals are telling “comforting fairy tales.”

Robert Ford, professor of political science at the University of Manchester, agreed that “there is a danger for some of these contenders of making promises to get through the first round that may come back to haunt them.”

One striking aspect of the debate so far was the lack of discussion about Brexit, the issue that split the party and country for nearly six years. The candidates are, by and large, coalescing around Mr. Johnson’s plan to tear up a deal he made with the European Union [*on trade rules for Northern Ireland*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/uk-northern-ireland-protocol-eu.html). The move led Brussels to accuse Britain of violating international law and has sparked fears of a trade war.

Among the plan’s loudest proponents is [*Liz Truss*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/20/world/europe/uk-brexit-david-frost-liz-truss.html), the foreign secretary, who is one of the major contenders for leader and sponsored the legislation in Parliament. Analysts said she did so in part to appeal to the party’s right flank.

There is growing evidence that Brexit has imposed an extra burden on the British economy. But Britain’s sharp split from the European Union is now a matter of political orthodoxy. Expressing doubts about it, Professor Ford said, was “like making a case for atheism at St. Peter’s.”

For all the cavils about cookie-cutter proposals, there was a refreshing diversity in the social-media pitches of the candidates.

Critics cited Mr. Sunak’s polished video as evidence that he had been long preparing a run for leader. His enemies circulated a less flattering clip of an interview he gave in 2001 in which he claimed to have friends from all social backgrounds but then corrected himself to say that this [*did not include* ***working-class*** *people*](https://www.theguardian.com/politics/video/2022/jul/11/rishi-sunak-criticised-footage-no-working-class-friends-video?utm_term=Autofeed&amp;CMP=twt_gu&amp;utm_medium&amp;utm_source=Twitter#Echobox=1657545176).

Penny Mordaunt, a former cabinet minister who is mounting an energetic bid, had to edit her video to cut out images of the British Paralympic athlete, Jonnie Peacock, who asked not to be in the film, as well as the convicted killer Oscar Pistorius. The least well-known contender, Rehman Chishti, put out a video that appeared to have been recorded outside by phone, with wind noise in the background.

The laundry list of contenders makes this one of the party’s most difficult leadership contests to predict in years. Some expect the first major culling to yield a single candidate from the party’s right, who would square off in the final round against a heavily backed front-runner like Mr. Sunak.

Before the list is winnowed, however, some said it was worth savoring the diversity of faces, if not of messages, that was on display.

“Perhaps the most remarkable fact about it is that people don’t see it as remarkable,” Professor Ford said. It showed, he said, “how far the party has come on that in really a quite short period of time.”

PHOTOS: Liz Truss, the British foreign secretary, is a top contender. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DAN KITWOOD/GETTY IMAGES); Rishi Sunak resigned as chancellor of the Exchequer last week. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JOHN SIBLEY/REUTERS)

**Load-Date:** July 11, 2022

**End of Document**



[***What Republicans Should Do if They Win Big This Fall; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6660-KFF1-DXY4-X3H1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 18, 2022 Thursday 22:28 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1415 words

**Byline:** Oren Cass and Chris Griswold

**Highlight:** A conservative agenda focused on workers and their families could create avenues for progress.

**Body**

Nearly everyone expects that Republicans will, if they win November’s midterm elections, use newfound majorities in the House and possibly the Senate for intense oversight of the Biden administration and to press Democrats on hot-button issues like critical race theory, gender identity and the Covid-19 response. But what else could they do?

While periods of divided government can yield gridlock, they also offer opportunities for progress. A party in control of the White House and Congress often finds itself at war with its own most uncompromising elements. By contrast, a party limited to power in one or both legislative chambers has an incentive to advance moderate ideas that force difficult choices on the other side of the aisle, and one holding only the presidency knows that compromise is its only path to governing.

In 1986 the House of Representatives, under Democratic control with a 72-seat margin, approved President Ronald Reagan’s tax legislation, with 176 Democrats and 116 Republicans voting in favor. A decade later, half of House Democrats joined their colleagues in the Republican majority to [*pass welfare*](https://clerk.house.gov/Votes/1996383)change, which President Bill Clinton signed into law.

Our organization, [*American Compass*](https://americancompass.org/), has been developing a conservative agenda that supplants blind faith in free markets with policies focused on workers and their families. That way of thinking is making inroads in the Republican Party, creating avenues for legislative progress. Across three categories of policymaking, the party appears poised to make good use of any control it would have in the next Congress.

First, genuine bipartisan agreement could emerge where the parties have similar views on an issue to which Republicans will give priority. Industrial policy to compete with China is the most likely candidate. Last month’s bipartisan breakthrough on the CHIPS and Science Act, which directs [*more than $50 billion*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/10/technology/us-computer-chips.html) to the domestic semiconductor industry, underscored the broad-based appeal of supporting innovation and domestic production in critical technologies. The bill also sparked debate that highlights the work still to be done.

Many on the right, including some congressional Republicans, were harshly critical — but they expressed not just the typical concerns about big government or picking winners and losers. They also complained that the bill did not interfere with the market enough and left companies too much latitude to continue investing in China. For instance, the Republican Study Committee, the largest conservative caucus in the House, [*argued*](https://www.axios.com/2022/07/21/house-republicans-chips-plus-china) that the bill was too weak because a company receiving CHIPS funds to build an American factory might still be allowed to make new Chinese investments as well.

A Republican majority will return to this issue, and groups like the Republican Study Committee are already formulating tough restrictions on financial flows to and from China. House Democrats have aggressive proposals of their own. And with such provisions in place, other critical industries like electric vehicle batteries and the rare earth minerals they need are ripe for CHIPS-like support. Democratic leadership may not have prioritized investment restriction, but when Republicans do, it will gain momentum quickly on both sides of the aisle.

A second category of action under split control of government would be Republican legislation that has broad popular appeal but threatens a core Democratic principle or constituency. Here, education policy offers an ideal opportunity. Parents’ rights and critical race theory in K-12 schools have drawn the most attention, but a broader battle is also brewing over options after high school. Both political parties routinely pay rhetorical homage to apprenticeships and other [*noncollege pathways*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/10/opinion/college-vocational-education-students.html), but Democrats have spent their political capital on college attendees and aspirants, with proposals for student loan forgiveness and free college that neglect the majority of Americans who do not earn degrees.

Republicans have the opportunity to offer a sharp contrast by excoriating the [*failures*](https://americancompass.org/a-guide-to-college-for-all/) of the nation’s college-or-bust education system and proposing to reallocate federal education funds away from tax breaks and loan subsidies for college students and toward alternatives like on-the-job training. This should appeal to a [*large majority of Americans*](https://americancompass.org/essays/failing-on-purpose-survey-part-1/), who, according to a survey led by our organization, prefer options like apprenticeships to free college for themselves and their children and to all who are tired of a culture that confers respect mainly on the collegebound.

For many on the right, an added attraction would be reducing funding to universities they see as culturally toxic. And conservatives would be willing to consider targeted student debt relief, perhaps through bankruptcy — though they would also want genuine reform that leaves the universities on the financial hook for the success of students. That would not be popular with the higher-education lobby and its allies on the left, but [*voters*](https://www.npr.org/2022/06/17/1104920545/poll-student-loan-forgiveness) may be another matter.

The third place to look for economic policy developments is in the Republican caucus’s internal debates. As Democrats have learned over the past two years, a narrow congressional majority prompts tough intraparty battles that are more easily suppressed when in the opposition. In the wake of the Supreme Court decision that overturned Roe v. Wade, some conservatives are taking up sides on a [*range of policy proposals*](https://www.aei.org/op-eds/can-limited-government-conservatives-support-pro-family-policies/) to enhance support for expectant and new parents. In a Republican Congress, the family policy debate will be front and center.

The recent [*Family Security Act 2.0*](https://www.romney.senate.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/updated_family-security-act-2.0_one-pager_appendix.pdf) proposal from Senators Mitt Romney, Richard Burr and Steve Daines would convert the current child tax credit into a significantly more generous cash benefit paid monthly to working families with children. While Republicans have traditionally panned direct cash payments to families as welfare, the F.S.A. has garnered a notably broad range of right-of-center support — for instance, from scholars at both the conservative Ethics and Public Policy Center and the business-friendly American Enterprise Institute, as well as from leading anti-abortion groups.

Notwithstanding the anti-tax activist Grover Norquist’s [*recent remark that*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/us-policy/2022/08/07/republicans-family-benefits-roe-dobbs/) such policies reappear from time to time “like herpes or shingles,” the traditional opponents of government spending have mostly held their fire.

If Republicans coalesce around this sort of proposal, it could shoot immediately to the top of the national political agenda, where it would have significant bipartisan potential but would also pose a vexing quandary for the Democratic coalition. On the one hand, the F.S.A. would be a larger and more widely accessible expansion of family support than anything the Democratic presidential nominees Barack Obama, Hillary Clinton and Joe Biden ran on — it’s tailor-made for support across the political spectrum. On the other hand, its limitation to working families would fall short of the unconditional universal payments that Democrats included for one year in 2021’s American Rescue Plan and fought to make permanent in Build Back Better but that have since expired.

A Republican bill along these lines could be generous, [*popular*](https://americancompass.org/essays/child-tax-credit-expansion-survey/) and anathema to the Democrats’ progressive base. The emergence of a widely backed program for supporting families would depend on how the internal Republican debate resolves and whether Democrats would be ready to strike a deal.

The common force pushing forward these various policy opportunities is the evolution in conservative thinking toward greater focus on the interests of the ***working class*** and a greater role for government in addressing the free market’s shortcomings. Attitudes within the Republican Party’s shifting coalition of voters have moved clearly in this direction, and at least some of its leaders have as well. If Americans elect a Republican-controlled Congress this fall, it could provide the G.O.P. with an early test of whether the party is ready to make good on that promise.

Oren Cass is the executive director at American Compass, a think tank for conservative economics. Chris Griswold is the policy director.

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**Load-Date:** August 21, 2022

**End of Document**



[***A Path to Financial Security That Doesn’t Lead to a 401(k); retiring***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63P8-3691-DXY4-X0YV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 25, 2021 Saturday 08:47 EST

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**Section:** BUSINESS

**Length:** 1431 words

**Byline:** Martha C. White

**Highlight:** Some Black and Hispanic millennials are looking to alternatives like real estate or entrepreneurship, or to trading stock on their own.

**Body**

Some Black and Hispanic millennials are looking to alternatives like real estate or entrepreneurship, or to trading stock on their own.

Raul Duplessi became intrigued with the stock market nearly 15 years ago, when he landed his first job as a hotel doorman in Manhattan and a TV near his workstation played financial news on a continuous loop.

But Mr. Duplessi, 36, a ***working-class*** native of the Bronx whose parents were from the Dominican Republic, wasn’t sure where or how to start investing. “I don’t have people to talk to about these kinds of things,” he said.

“I grew up with two hard-working parents. They both worked two jobs,” he said, adding that his father had only a fleeting window to enjoy retirement before he died. “My parents retired with nothing.”

The turning point, he said, was reading — at his father’s repeated urging — the book “[*Rich Dad Poor Dad*](https://www.amazon.com/Rich-Dad-Poor-Teach-Middle-ebook/dp/B07C7M8SX9/ref=sr_1_1?crid=L0DST4DFWJVE&amp;dchild=1&amp;keywords=rich+dad+poor+dad&amp;qid=1632500065&amp;sprefix=Rich+Dad+Poor+Dad%2Caps%2C231&amp;sr=8-1),” which discusses the importance of financial literacy and how to build wealth through investing.

“It made me say, Having a job is just not enough,” Mr. Duplessi said.

But what were his options?

For a vast majority of working Americans who don’t have a defined-benefits pension, their 401(k) is the centerpiece of their retirement plan. But some young adults of color, like Mr. Duplessi, are putting their hopes — and their money — into alternatives like real estate, entrepreneurship or stock trading on their own. They see straying from the beaten path as offering them a better shot at financial security — even if that means figuring it out as they go, and taking big risks.

People who study systemic racism and barriers to access in the financial services industry say they aren’t surprised that people like Mr. Duplessi have little faith in the Wall Street machine.

“Black customers have a lot more distrust — rightfully so — of financial institutions,” said Mehrsa Baradaran, a law professor at the University of California, Irvine School of Law, who studies financial inclusion and inequality.

Ken Alozie, a former investment banker and member of Score, an executive mentoring program for entrepreneurs, agreed. “Some of them saw their parents lose their jobs or saw their parents’ retirement plans get eviscerated” during the financial crisis in 2008, Mr. Alozie said. “It makes sense, given all that they have seen, that they have less trust in the financial system.”

In addition, he said, he has found that people of color “tend to be less reliant on investing assets in traditional methods that are going to build wealth slowly,” especially if they’re the first generation in their family to try to create real financial security.

“If you’re trying to build wealth and you don’t already have a significant asset base, it’s hard to do that using mutual funds and E.T.F.s,” Mr. Alozie said. “Particularly with people of color, they want to build something they can pass down.”

Darrick Hamilton, a professor of economics and urban policy and the founding director of the Institute for the Study of Race, Stratification and Political Economy at The New School, also pointed to the financial crisis. “Black people were targeted with products that were subprime” or with products at different terms than white people got, and that, he said, “was intentional.”

And even if people of color had access to the same types of financial instruments as white investors, Dr. Hamilton said, “it’s not as if Blacks in general have access to the resources to get into that type of asset to begin with.” He added: “The main ingredient to people having a diverse portfolio is resources itself.”

[*According to the Federal Reserve*](https://www.federalreserve.gov/econres/notes/feds-notes/disparities-in-wealth-by-race-and-ethnicity-in-the-2019-survey-of-consumer-finances-20200928.htm), white families have a median wealth of $188,200, compared with $36,100 for Hispanic families and just $24,100 for Black families. Wealth is related to but not the same as income. It is a measure of the value of holdings like real estate, stock portfolios and other assets.

“If you’re busy thinking about, How am I going to have basic needs met, it’s harder to think about how to grow one’s wealth,” said John Campbell, a senior vice president at U.S. Bank Private Wealth Management. “At the end of the day, there may be a lack of time or lack of financial resources to take advantage of other investment and savings programs,” he said.

When the coronavirus pandemic struck, Carl Napoleon, 36, said he watched the collapse of his travel-concierge business, which he had built around his Haitian American heritage.

“One of our niches became to focus on carnivals around the Caribbean diaspora,” he said. Demand had been growing, but the pandemic hit the five-year-old business hard. And as he’s been trying to build it back, many of the islands have continued to maintain travel restrictions.

“We almost went bankrupt,” he said. “We lost almost $350,000.” To date, Mr. Napoleon has been able to replenish only a fraction of the savings he poured into the business, dealing a major setback to his long-term plan to buy property and create a stream of rental income.

“I’ve always made it my goal to be financially free,” Mr. Napoleon said. “My family is dirt poor,” he said. “Luck is what provides their stability.” It was frustrating now, he said, to realize that his credit score had sunk under the weight of the debt he accrued when his cash flow plunged. Now he effectively has to start over.

Mr. Napoleon said his family home in Brooklyn where he and his four siblings, one of whom has special needs, grew up has been in foreclosure for more than a decade. “They worked real hard as immigrant Americans to get their home,” he said. “One of my reasons for wanting to retire early is to spend time with my parents and provide something.”

A sense of obligation to provide for parents and sometimes extended families burdens the finances of many millennials with roots in immigrant communities, said Shellise Rogers, 30, who grew up in Trinidad and New York City and has gone to Score for advice. She now lives in New York and has her own business as an accountant and business coach.

“It’s more about building up for the family versus for the individual,” she said. “Definitely, as someone who’s in finance and accounting and has lots of clients of color, I notice that there’s a need for an immediate cash flow” for many people, she said. Compared with reinvesting in their business, “adding to a 401(k) doesn’t seem as fruitful.”

Mr. Duplessi said he had decided to put money in a 401(k) when he finally got the chance to open an account two years ago when he became eligible to do so through his union. But he said he’s not sure how much to trust it, since both of his parents lost money in their accounts during the financial crisis in 2008 and he was unable to make any contributions when the hotel where he worked closed during the pandemic.

Many Black and Hispanic workers don’t even have the option of opening a 401(k). Federal Reserve data shows that 68 percent of white working-age families have access to employer-sponsored defined-contribution plans such as 401(k)s compared with only 56 percent of Black workers and 44 percent of Hispanic workers who have access to such plans.

Mr. Duplessi said he devoured resources on markets and dove into the mechanics of trading equities, options and other assets. Alarmed at what he viewed as predatory targeting of young minority investors, he started an invitation-only online group on Instagram where they could share insights and strategies for free. He said he has been investing mostly in stocks, though he also dabbled in options and cryptocurrencies.

“I consider those guys to be the biggest scammers in the world,” Mr. Duplessi said of self-styled investment gurus, whom he described as exploiting young adults who don’t know where to turn for advice. “I knew no one had this place to find that information. I was so poor, I understand where they’re coming from.”

Ms. Baradaran, the law professor, suggested that the financial services industry recognized that young adults from marginalized groups might be better served by more inclusive strategies aimed at combating structural economic inequality.

“Because of the racial wealth gap and its history, there’s just much less wealth, much less of a buffer, which means fewer paths toward wealth creation,” she said, arguing that a 401(k) is not necessarily a one-size-fits-all solution. “A 401(k) is a privilege, a luxury,” she said. “A 401(k) was not designed for ***working-class*** wages.”

PHOTO: Raul Duplessi, 36, said he was alarmed at what he viewed as predatory targeting of young minority investors, so he started an online group to discuss investing strategies. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 25, 2021

**End of Document**



[***In Fight for House, New York Was the Democrats' Weakest Link***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66TW-Y6J1-DXY4-X163-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 10, 2022 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1760 words

**Byline:** By Nicholas Fandos

**Body**

Republicans flipped four congressional seats in New York, the most of any state in the country. How did this happen in one of the nation's most liberal states?

As Democrats sought to maintain their narrow House majority in this year's midterms, they counted on New York to be a crucial bulwark. Instead, as the party mostly outperformed dire predictions across the country Tuesday night, one of the nation's most liberal states morphed into perhaps the most powerful drag on its chances.

Channeling angst over persistent crime and inflation, Republicans ran a nearly clean sweep through the slate of New York's congressional tossup races. While their party struggled in swing states like Virginia and Michigan, Republican candidates made inroads deep into the suburbs of Long Island and the Hudson Valley, and even pockets of Brooklyn and Queens, where President Biden had won handily.

When they were done, Republicans had flipped four Democratic House seats, more than any other state, and had won a staggering prize: the defeat of Representative Sean Patrick Maloney, the House Democratic campaign chairman charged with protecting his party's hold on Congress.

The Republican surge in New York, which also rattled Democrats' hold on state races, did not result in an upset in the contest for governor. But Gov. Kathy Hochul's five-point victory over Representative Lee Zeldin, a Trump-backed Republican, seemed paradoxically to have a coattail effect for Republicans, who won in areas where Mr. Zeldin performed well.

''It was a terrible night in New York,'' said Howard Wolfson, a leading national Democratic strategist, summing up his party's disappointment. ''It's infuriating that a night as good as it was for Democrats overall is undone by arrogance and incompetence here.''

Republicans, on the other hand, were delighted. They argued that their resurgence not only laid the groundwork for a new Republican majority in Congress but also showed a pathway to wrest back old strongholds in Nassau County and ***working-class*** New York City boroughs outside Manhattan for years to come -- if still not a path to win statewide.

''House Republicans would not have a majority if it were not for the State of New York,'' said Representative Elise Stefanik, the top-ranking New York Republican in Washington, who predicted that the party would also fend off what was considered to be a prime Democratic pickup opportunity in Syracuse. ''How about that irony?''

Though the race for control of the House was still too close to call nationally, Ms. Stefanik's party needed to net just five seats nationwide to win the House, a number that appeared to be within reach.

In New York, Republicans were set to net three seats, after losing one to reapportionment. The only other state where they have flipped more than one so far is Florida, though Arizona may also follow suit.

The denouement, particularly on the House map, had not been entirely unforeseen after New York's once-in-a-decade redistricting process went haywire. Democrats in Albany began the year hopeful that they could draw new lines that would protect their incumbents and cost Republicans as many as four seats in the state to offset Republican gains elsewhere.

But New York's highest court, in response to a Republican lawsuit, threw out the maps as an unconstitutional gerrymander and put more competitive alternatives in their place. In a handful of other states, courts ruled that Republicans had gerrymandered maps but did not enforce those rulings, but in New York, the judges insisted the lines be redrawn this year -- instantly transforming the state into a critical, if unlikely, House battlefield.

And yet, even accounting for the shifting playing field, many Democratic House candidates in New York appear to have underperformed compared with their counterparts in other states.

For bleary-eyed local Democratic power brokers, the outcome poured fuel onto old feuds and long-running disagreements between left-leaning and more moderate wings of the party.

On the left, where prominent progressives associated with the Working Families Party set aside disagreements to help push Ms. Hochul over the finish line, Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez led calls for the resignation of the state party chairman, Jay Jacobs, who also leads the Nassau County Democratic Party.

''It's no secret that an enormous amount of party leadership in New York State is based on big money and old-school, calcified machine-style politics that creates a very anemic voting base that is disengaged and disenfranchised,'' Ms. Ocasio-Cortez said in an interview, adding that she was ''cleareyed'' about a need to rebuild the party apparatus from the bottom up.

Though many progressives did not name Ms. Hochul, they lamented that numerous candidates had failed to stake out a bolder agenda that would inspire the state's 6.5 million Democrats and to invest in more durable on-the-ground organizing, rather than trying to motivate voters out of fear of Mr. Zeldin.

''If you stand for something and fight for it and voters believe you're not just trying to be a lighter version of your Republican opponent, they come out and they vote,'' said Michael Gianaris, the deputy majority leader in the State Senate.

There was unquestionably a potent mix of issues at play: Polls suggested voters living on the outskirts of New York City, and in urban Orthodox Jewish and Asian enclaves, were unusually motivated by rising crime. Record outside spending swamped the airwaves, and Republicans turned out in droves. Ms. Hochul failed to generate significant enthusiasm at the top of the ticket, and her party faced typical midterm headwinds for any party in power.

And then there was the redistricting fiasco, which many liberals blame on Mr. Jacobs and his onetime patron, former Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo. In their telling, Mr. Cuomo struck a corrupt bargain with Senate Republicans a decade ago to put in place a flawed redistricting process and appointed the conservative judges who struck down the lines.

When the party then put a ballot proposition before voters last fall to try to fix it, the measure failed, and some including Mr. Gianaris charged Mr. Jacobs with failing to spend money promoting the measure against a conservative onslaught.

In an interview, Mr. Jacobs said he was being ''thrown under the bus'' for something he was never asked to do. He defended his stewardship, saying he had raised and spent millions of dollars this fall on turnout operations across the state. And he pointed blame back at Mr. Gianaris, who oversaw the mapmaking process in Albany, for making such a blatant grab for House seats that the courts could not help put intervene.

''People say things, but they just don't know what they're talking about,'' Mr. Jacobs said.

The argument between the competing factions is broader, though, with much of it resting on a yearslong debate over crime and changes that the Legislature made to the state's bail law in 2019. The changes were designed to stem the use of cash bail to try to make the criminal justice system more equitable.

Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, who represents parts of Queens and the Bronx, said that she believed too many Democratic candidates hurt their own causes on Tuesday by ''leaning into Republican narratives on crime and safety'' rather than more actively reframing them to talk about gun violence and its roots.

But more moderate Democrats like Mr. Wolfson argued that voters had repeatedly given Democrats clear signs that they needed to proactively address ''crime and disorder'' and that, fairly or not, the bail changes were being disproportionately blamed for upticks in crime.

Republicans on Long Island successfully used the issue as a wedge to help sweep Nassau County elections in 2021, and this year, Mr. Zeldin and his allies up and down the ballot made it the centerpiece of their campaign.

Although Ms. Hochul did push through tweaks toughening the law this spring, she generally avoided making public safety a top campaign message until the race's final weeks. She also irritated some fellow Democrats when at times she appeared to play down the extent of the threat. (Ms. Hochul did not make any public appearances on Wednesday to discuss the results.)

''We had an early warning system blinking red, and people just ignored it,'' Mr. Wolfson said.

Republicans spent millions of dollars hammering their opponents on public safety, and on frustration with the state's affordability crunch, on their way to winning all four House seats and several State Senate seats on Long Island.

On the South Shore of Nassau County, Anthony D'Esposito, a retired police officer and local Republican official, won a district Mr. Biden had won by 14 percentage points. Republicans achieved a similar swing just to the north, where George Santos, a far-right candidate, led his Democratic opponent by eight points.

Assemblyman Mike Lawler, Mr. Maloney's opponent, used similar attacks to defeat the campaign chairman in the suburbs of Westchester and Rockland Counties north of New York City. Mr. Maloney made other mistakes -- including running in a new district -- but Mr. Lawler and Republican super PACs spent millions of dollars highlighting his past support for bail reform.

Statistics suggest many of Republicans' claims about bail are overly simplistic, but moderate Democrats said arguing over those finer points simply was not working.

''Ignoring voters' safety concerns is both bad public policy and bad politics that resulted in multiple avoidable losses that will have a very negative effect on not just New York, but as it turns out, the country's balance of power,'' said Representative Thomas R. Suozzi, a retiring Democrat who ran against Ms. Hochul in this year's Democratic primary.

Mr. Suozzi said that Democrats did not need to compromise their values to find ''real solutions that are just, equitable.''

There were certainly still some brighter spots for Democrats, including maintaining their Senate and Assembly majorities. In the Hudson Valley, Representative Pat Ryan, who won an August special election, ran ahead of Ms. Hochul and was poised to once again eke out victory in a tossup race.

In an interview, Mr. Ryan declined to comment on other candidates' races directly, but he offered some general advice.

''People need to know in their gut you are really going to fight,'' he said. ''When you sort of pull those punches, you create a vacuum, and that I think leaves room for an opponent to come in and lie.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/09/nyregion/new-york-republicans-house.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/09/nyregion/new-york-republicans-house.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Assemblyman Mike Lawler at an election-night party. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JEENAH MOON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Representative Sean Patrick Maloney, after conceding. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KENNY HOLSTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (P14) This article appeared in print on page A1, P14.

**Load-Date:** November 11, 2022

**End of Document**



[***How ‘Shuggie Bain’ Became This Year’s Breakout Debut***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:614C-X8X1-DXY4-X1P7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 23, 2020 Friday 13:48 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS

**Length:** 1395 words

**Byline:** Alexandra Alter

**Highlight:** Douglas Stuart, a fashion designer, started writing fiction on the side. Now his first book is up for the Booker Prize and the National Book Award.

**Body**

Douglas Stuart, a fashion designer, started writing fiction on the side. Now his first book is up for the Booker Prize and the National Book Award.

The title character in Douglas Stuart’s debut novel, “[*Shuggie Bain*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/11/books/review/shuggie-bain-douglas-stuart.html),” at one point finds his mother passed out in their Glasgow apartment. He gently turns her head to the side so that she doesn’t choke on her vomit, places a bucket by the bed and sets out three mugs next to her — one with tap water for her dry throat, one with milk for her sour stomach, and one with flat, leftover lager to ease her shaking limbs.

“He knew this was the one she would reach for first,” Stuart writes.

It’s a wrenching realization. But Shuggie’s almost maternal tenderness toward his emotionally volatile mother, and his love for her despite her failures, helps him endure their hardscrabble existence.

Stuart based the novel on his own childhood in Scotland, as the lonely youngest son of a single, alcoholic mother. Still, he sees Shuggie’s story not as a tragedy, but as a tale about unbreakable filial bonds.

“For me, ‘Shuggie Bain’ is a love story,” Stuart, 44, said during an interview on a drizzly day in downtown Manhattan this month. “It’s about love before it’s about addiction.”

When the book came out in February, it had a warm but rather quiet reception. Now, it is being celebrated as one of this year’s most accomplished debuts.

It was named as a finalist for both the [*National Book Award*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/11/books/review/shuggie-bain-douglas-stuart.html) and the [*Booker Prize*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/11/books/review/shuggie-bain-douglas-stuart.html), two of the most prestigious literary prizes in the world. It has drawn comparisons to D.H. Lawrence, James Joyce and Frank McCourt.

Stuart, who lives in the East Village with his husband, Michael Cary, a curator at Gagosian who specializes in Picasso, said he is “absolutely stunned” by the novel’s success. When he first started writing more than a decade ago, Stuart was working 12-hour days as a senior director of design at Banana Republic, jotting down scenes and bits of dialogue in his spare time almost as a form of therapy.

“I sat down to write ‘Shuggie’ without knowing what I was writing,” he said. “I wouldn’t allow myself to believe I was writing a book, because it was too intimidating.”

A portrait of a struggling city, community, family and woman, “Shuggie Bain” unfolds in the economic and social stagnation of 1980s Glasgow, after the region’s shipbuilding, mining and steelwork industries collapsed. Stable, ***working-class*** communities became destitute, leading to widespread poverty and addiction.

In this harsh world, Shuggie feels like an outcast. His mother is ostracized by the local women and preyed upon by the men; Shuggie is bullied by his classmates for being gay.

The novel caused a stir in Scotland. “New York fashionista uses Glasgow’s Sighthill as inspiration for novel,” the Daily Record, a Scottish newspaper, [*trumpeted*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/11/books/review/shuggie-bain-douglas-stuart.html) in August. Nicola Sturgeon, the first minister of Scotland, [*tweeted*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/11/books/review/shuggie-bain-douglas-stuart.html) a photo of the book, and congratulated Stuart on his Booker nomination.

The Scottish American actor and writer Alan Cumming, who became friendly with Stuart after reading “Shuggie Bain,” said he was struck by how Stuart drew on the Scottish literary canon but expanded it by writing from the point of view of a gay boy and his wayward mother.

“Douglas is incredibly entrenched in that great Scottish ***working-class*** tradition of storytelling, but he’s coming at it from being an outsider in your own country,” he said. “He’s bringing a queer sensibility to it.”

As a boy growing up in public housing, Stuart rarely saw books at home. His mother had shelves of what looked like leather-bound classics, but they were decorative, faux-leather cases for video cassettes of movies and soap operas.

Like Shuggie, Stuart had a lonely childhood. The youngest of three, he felt like an only child, as his older brother and sister were teenagers when he was born and found jobs to escape the chaos at home. He barely knew his father, who left when Stuart was young. Stuart often functioned as a caretaker for his mother, who would black out from drinking and sometimes try to harm herself.

He occasionally skipped school to look after her. On the days that he went, he was shunned by the other boys and attacked for being too “poofy.”

“I was effeminate, I was fey, I was precocious,” Stuart said. “There was no way to identify as gay, because I was too young, but I was different.”

His mother died of alcoholism-related health issues when he was 16. He lived with his older brother for a while, then moved into a room in a boardinghouse at 17.

Books became a refuge. Stuart devoured works by Thomas Hardy, Irvine Welsh, Agnes Owens and Iain Banks, and became the first person in his family to graduate from high school. He wanted to study English literature in college, but was discouraged by a teacher who told him the subject wouldn’t suit someone from his background. He decided to study textiles instead, earning a bachelor’s degree from the Scottish College of Textiles and a master’s from the Royal College of Art in London.

“He didn’t go around saying ‘poor me,’ and I’m sure a lot of people didn’t realize his circumstances,” said Sheila-Mary Carruthers, a professor of design who taught Stuart when he was an undergraduate. “He’s a very determined personality, not in a very assertive, ghastly way, but in a positive way. He just gets on with it.”

A Calvin Klein representative offered Stuart a job after seeing his work at a school fashion show. He moved to New York City at 24 and for around 20 years worked for global brands such as Calvin Klein, Ralph Lauren, Banana Republic and Jack Spade.

When he first started writing, he treated it as a private creative outlet, a way to grapple with the residual trauma of his childhood. Whole scenes came flooding back. His first draft was 900 single-spaced pages.

Stuart signed with the literary agent Anna Stein, but when they shopped the book, more than 30 editors passed. Many told Stuart it would be too hard to get Americans interested in a novel about a gay Scottish boy and his alcoholic mother.

Then Stuart met with Peter Blackstock, a senior editor at Grove Atlantic, who was determined to publish “Shuggie Bain.” It was the only offer Stuart got.

“It kind of had this classic feel to it,” Blackstock said. “But I felt like I hadn’t really read this story of a queer, ***working-class*** boy’s childhood before.”

Grove Press released the book in February, but just as buzz and word of mouth began to build, the pandemic hit the United States. Grove had shipped some 7,000 copies to bookstores, but with many brick-and-mortar locations closed, only around 1,000 hardcover copies sold in the first two months after publication, according to NPD BookScan.

“It was really tough timing for Douglas,” Blackstock said. “Just as the book was getting its momentum from great reviews, it got put on pause, and that was difficult.”

Then, this fall, awards nominations began to pile up, and “Shuggie Bain” got a second life.

In September, it was listed as a finalist for the Kirkus Prize and made the cut as one of six finalists for the Booker Prize, over works by celebrated authors like Anne Tyler and Hilary Mantel. Booker judges called it “an amazingly intimate, compassionate, gripping portrait of addiction, courage and love.” In October, it was named one of five fiction finalists for the National Book Award.

Grove moved up the publication of the paperback edition from December to Oct. 13 and has printed 30,000 copies, with another 10,000 on the way. If Stuart wins the Booker or the National Book Award in November — or, in an unprecedented coup, both — Grove plans to print another 50,000 copies.

Stuart dedicated “Shuggie Bain” to his mother. In a roundabout way, she was the first person who encouraged him to write.

Some nights when she was drunk, she would dictate her autobiography for him to take down, he said. She never got past the dedication, which she always made out to one of her role models, Elizabeth Taylor — another glamorous, melodramatic woman who was unlucky in love.

Follow New York Times Books on [*Facebook*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/11/books/review/shuggie-bain-douglas-stuart.html), [*Twitter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/11/books/review/shuggie-bain-douglas-stuart.html) and [*Instagram*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/11/books/review/shuggie-bain-douglas-stuart.html), sign up for [*our newsletter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/11/books/review/shuggie-bain-douglas-stuart.html) or [*our literary calendar*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/11/books/review/shuggie-bain-douglas-stuart.html). And listen to us on the [*Book Review podcast*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/11/books/review/shuggie-bain-douglas-stuart.html).

PHOTOS: Right, Douglas Stuart at the Beekman hotel in New York. “Shuggie Bain” was published in February. “I sat down to write ‘Shuggie’ without knowing what I was writing,” he said. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DANIEL DORSA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 26, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Adams baselessly insists his rivals are trying to suppress Black people’s votes.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62YT-W3H1-DXY4-X0CX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 21, 2021 Monday 16:32 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 482 words

**Byline:** Jeffery C. Mays

**Highlight:** Eric Adams took aim at an alliance between two rivals, Andrew Yang and Kathryn Garcia. A third, Maya Wiley, who like Mr. Adams is Black, said that she did not see a problem. “I’m not calling this racism,” she said.

**Body**

Eric Adams took aim at an alliance between two rivals, Andrew Yang and Kathryn Garcia. A third, Maya Wiley, who like Mr. Adams is Black, said that she did not see a problem. “I’m not calling this racism,” she said.

In a round of early-morning television appearances Monday, Eric Adams continued to criticize an alliance between two of his rivals as an attempt to prevent the city from electing its second Black mayor.

The candidates in question, Andrew Yang and Kathryn Garcia, joined forces this weekend to urge voters to list Ms. Garcia second on their ranked-choice ballots and to say that Mr. Adams should not be mayor. Ms. Garcia did not suggest that her supporters rank Mr. Yang second.

Mr. Adams and some of his supporters have characterized the alliance as a bid to disenfranchise Black voters. On Sunday, Mr. Adams said that it was disrespectful for the candidates to unveil their alliance on Juneteenth.

“While we were celebrating liberation and freedom from enslavement, they sent a message and I thought it was the wrong message to send,” Mr. Adams said Sunday.

Speaking on CNN’s “New Day” and Fox 5’s “Good Day New York,” Mr. Adams continued to talk about the joint campaigning as disrespectful to efforts to elect Black and Latino leaders.

“What message were you sending during this time that we’re talking about how do you empower various ethnic groups in politics?” Mr. Adams asked on CNN.

On Fox, Mr. Adams argued that the alliance “feeds into the signals of America.”

“We know America’s dark past,” he said. “Everything from poll taxes to how we stop the vote, what we are seeing across the country.”

Another Black candidate for mayor, Maya Wiley, said she did not see any problem with the alliance between Mr. Yang and Ms. Garcia, acknowledging that such coordination often happens in ranked-choice elections.

“I’m not calling this racism,” she said Monday morning.

Susan Lerner of Common Cause New York, a government watchdog group, rejected Mr. Adams’s remarks, saying there was “nothing insidious or cynical about two candidates transparently using a legitimate strategy in a democratically approved system of election.”

Christina Greer, an associate professor of political science at Fordham University, said Mr. Adams often says things publicly that some his supporters might only discuss behind closed doors.

“I don’t understand the Adams critique, but he may be critiquing the visual of the Asian and white alliance and asking out loud to voters if this is the dog-whistle coalition we can expect under a Yang or Garcia administration, meaning Blacks and Latinos will be excluded from debates on housing, pay equity and schools,” Ms. Greer said.

“Adams speaks in a frequency that Black people and some ***working-class*** white people can hear,” she added.

PHOTO: Eric Adams campaigned in a church in Brooklyn on Sunday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY James Estrin/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 21, 2021

**End of Document**



[***How the Bold 'Pariah' Became an Inspiration***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64DH-4Y61-DXY4-X4T4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 29, 2021 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 4; CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

**Length:** 1590 words

**Byline:** By Beandrea July

**Body**

The Dee Rees drama made waves but studios largely returned to business as usual. A new crop of filmmakers sees signs of hope.

At the shimmering pink Catnip Lounge, a Brooklyn teenager, Alike, stands face to face with a dancer sliding head first down a pole. The pleasure manifesto ''My Neck, My Back'' from the rapper Khia booms from the speakers. Transfixed by the power of her desire, Alike discovers a physical place outside herself that can hold it. Finally.

This is the bold opening of ''Pariah,'' the coming-of-age drama from the writer-director Dee Rees. Ten years ago it premiered to critical acclaim, first at the Sundance Film Festival, then in theaters with a limited release that December, a herculean effort for an independent film starring a then unknown Adepero Oduye as Alike (pronounced ah-LEE-kay) and made on a shoestring budget of less than $500,000.

''Pariah'' (available to stream on HBO Max) was the first movie about a Black queer woman to be released in theaters nationwide by a Hollywood studio. As Nelson George wrote in The Times in 2011, ''No film made by a Black lesbian about being a Black lesbian has ever received the kind of attention showered on Ms. Rees's film.'' At the same time, George pointed out, ''Pariah'' was also part of a crop of films that pushed the boundaries of ''what 'Black film' can be.'' How Hollywood responded, then and now, has been telling.

Rees tells Alike's story with an uncompromising specificity that has etched its place in great American cinema. (This year the movie was added to the Criterion Collection.) This unflinching sensibility harks back to the New Queer Cinema of the 1990s. By opening with the unfettered eroticism of the lesbian club and showing us scenes -- like Alike's awkwardly endearing dildo try-on -- without explanation or apology, Rees followed in the footsteps of a group of filmmakers who refused to sanitize images of queer life to appease straight audiences. Think Cheryl Dunye's ''The Watermelon Woman'' (1996), the first narrative feature film about an out Black lesbian protagonist made by an out Black lesbian.

''Pariah'' began making waves in 2007 when Rees released the short that would become the basis for the 2011 feature. Kebo Drew of the San Francisco film training nonprofit Queer Women of Color Media Arts Project remembers the reaction in her community of friends and colleagues. ''The Blackness was just saturated, coming from the roots,'' Drew recalled.

After hearing word-of-mouth about the short, a screening at Outfest in Los Angeles touched the filmmaker Angela Robinson. ''I felt like it was kind of opening a door that I hoped would stay open,'' said Robinson. ''It was such a personal story and a singular vision.''

The writer-director Numa Perrier credits Rees and ''Pariah'' as an inspiration for her 2019 film ''Jezebel.'' She remembered, ''The softness of how vulnerable that coming-of-age story was, I hadn't seen that before.''

Yet this fresh perspective did not lead Hollywood to greenlight more films about Black lesbians. There have been supporting characters like the passionate teacher Ms. Rain (Paula Patton) in ''Precious'' (2009) and the serene boxing coach Buddhakan (Sheila Atim) in Halle Berry's directorial debut this year, ''Bruised.'' But over the last 10 years, not a single feature focused on Black lesbians has made it through mainstream pipelines.

At the same time L.G.B.T. characters overall have become far more visible on the big and small screens. Yet according to a University of Southern California report looking at the top 100 films of 2019 (the most recent year for which figures were available), nearly 80 percent of all such characters were male-identified and 77 percent were white. The report doesn't provide statistics on queer women of color, as a group distinct from the category ''female-identified.''

''It's almost like the stars have to align before we get another Black lesbian movie,'' Drew said. ''But that's a structural issue. So there has to be a more systematic approach for encouraging stories.''

So ''Pariah'' was singular not just in its self-assurance, but in whose story it told, too: Alike and her best friend, Laura (Pernell Walker), two Black, gay and masculine-of-center best friends from ***working-class*** neighborhoods in Brooklyn circa the early 2000s. Through the refuge of their friendship, they carve out space to be themselves.

At a ''Pariah'' screening at the Toronto International Film Festival in 2018, Rees told the audience, ''There shouldn't be two or three or 10. To me there should be like 200.'' She added, ''There's room for so many more stories.'' (Rees declined a request to be interviewed for this article.)

When Black lesbian stories, and the filmmakers with the lived experience to tell them, are shut out of the larger film world, the result is systemic erasure that is by definition hard to measure.

About 100 feature films have been directed by Black women since 1922, almost a third of whom are lesbians, the researcher and filmmaker Yvonne Welbon wrote in the 2018 anthology ''Sisters in the Life: A History of Out African American Lesbian Media-Making.''

But the work of Black lesbian filmmakers has almost exclusively been made outside the Hollywood system and often not seen outside the film festival circuit, academia or grassroots distribution networks. Rees's predecessors -- filmmakers like Dunye, Michelle Parkerson (''A Litany for Survival'') and others -- didn't have assurances that a larger audience would even see their work; they simply made films that mattered to them, stories they wanted to see that didn't yet exist in a film world that barely acknowledged their existence.

That ''Pariah'' earned distribution, made back its budget and even received a glowing shout-out from Meryl Streep during her acceptance speech for ''The Iron Lady'' at the 2012 Golden Globes, was all monumental, even if the film didn't garner much attention inside Hollywood.

This is something the filmmaker Tina Mabry well understands, having tried, and failed, to get a theatrical release for her critically acclaimed debut feature, ''Mississippi Damned,'' a few years before ''Pariah'' came out. After seeing the short version of ''Pariah,'' Mabry asked Rees for an introduction to the film's then up-and-coming cinematographer Bradford Young and hired him to shoot ''Mississippi Damned.''

A coming-of-age tale starring Tessa Thompson and based on Mabry's experience growing up in a Black ***working-class*** family in Tupelo, Miss., the movie won awards on the festival circuit, and aired on cable. Mabry said that she was told repeatedly that the movie was too similar to ''Precious'' and that ''the market can't handle two Black dramas.'' For some distributors that focus on L.G.B.T. audiences, the movie was also perceived as not being gay enough despite a Black lesbian main character.

''The distribution model failed us. The people did not,'' Mabry said. She also gives a nod to Ava DuVernay, who eventually got the film released on Netflix in 2015 through the film distribution arm she founded, Array. That year Mabry also got her first television directing job (''Queen Sugar,'' another DuVernay assist) and Mabry -- much like Rees after ''Pariah'' was released -- has worked steadily in Hollywood ever since.

Indeed, there are signs of potential change. Mabry said she currently has feature film projects in development at four Hollywood studios, some of which center on Black queer women protagonists, although none of them are a done deal yet.

Back when Robinson made her first feature, ''D.E.B.S.,'' a 2004 lesbian teen spy movie that has since become a cult classic, ''there was still the attitude in town that if you played a lesbian, it could ruin your career,'' she remembered.

After Nina Jacobson, then a Disney studio executive, saw ''D.E.B.S.'' at the Sundance Film Festival, she hired Robinson to direct ''Herbie Reloaded,'' starring Lindsay Lohan. With ticket sales of $144 million, Robinson became the first Black woman director to draw at least $100 million at the box office. But despite her gratitude to Jacobson and the crew, the experience left her feeling isolated.

''It was me and 200 white men,'' Robinson said.

That was when she pivoted to cable, accepting an offer from the showrunner Ilene Chaiken to direct episodes of the third season of ''The L Word,'' the groundbreaking show about the lives of high-powered lesbians in Los Angeles. Robinson hasn't made another studio-backed film since. (Her 2017 feature ''Professor Marston & the Wonder Women'' was an indie.)

But now, more than 15 years later, she has an all-female action movie in the works at Warner Bros., and her desire to cast women of color in the leads was met not with pushback, but enthusiasm, she said.

''Warner Bros. called back and they were like, 'Yes, we think you should make it more women of color and more queer,'' Robinson said. ''You have no idea how many years I have been waiting for somebody to say that.''

And Robinson is more hopeful than ever. She has a lucrative television production deal with Warner Bros. and several other projects in the pipeline, including a DC Comics series, ''Madame X,'' and a film remake of ''The Hunger.''

''It's always a tenuous time, but things have changed. I don't feel like I have to Trojan-horse it anymore,'' Robinson said, adding that it seems as if ''I can just walk in the front door and say, 'This is what I want to do.' And I feel like there's a lot of opportunity to do it.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/28/movies/pariah-black-lesbian-characters.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/28/movies/pariah-black-lesbian-characters.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Clockwise from top: Aasha Davis, left, and Adepero Oduye in ''Pariah,'' which debuted in theaters 10 years ago

from left, Sara Foster, Meagan Good, Devon Aoki and Jill Ritchie in ''D.E.B.S.''

and Tessa Thompson in ''Mississippi Damned.'' (PHOTOGRAPHS BY FOCUS FEATURES

BRUCE BIRMELIN/SAMUEL GOLDWYN FILMS

ARRAY RELEASING)

**Load-Date:** December 29, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Democrats Spent $2 Trillion to Save the Economy. They Don’t Want to Talk About It.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66MK-C5V1-DXY4-X0WC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1637 words

**Byline:** Jim Tankersley

**Highlight:** Polls show voters liked direct payments from President Biden’s 2021 economic rescue bill. But they have become fodder for Republican inflation attacks.

**Body**

Polls show voters liked direct payments from President Biden’s 2021 economic rescue bill. But they have become fodder for Republican inflation attacks.

In the midst of a critical runoff campaign that would determine control of the Senate, the Rev. Raphael Warnock promised Georgia voters that, if elected, he would help President-elect Biden send checks to people digging out of the pandemic recession.

Mr. Warnock won. Democrats delivered payments of up to $1,400 per person.

But this year, as Mr. Warnock is locked in a tight re-election campaign, he barely talks about those checks.

Democratic candidates in competitive Senate races this fall have spent little time on the trail or the airwaves touting the centerpiece provisions of their party’s $1.9 trillion economic rescue package, which party leaders had hoped would help stave off losses in the House and Senate in midterm elections. In part, that is because the rescue plan has become fodder for Republicans to attack Democrats over rapidly rising prices, accusing them of overstimulating the economy with too much cash.

The economic aid, which was intended to help keep families afloat amid the pandemic, included two centerpiece components for households: the direct checks of up to $1,400 for lower- to middle-class individuals and an expanded child tax credit, worth up to $300 per child per month. It was initially seen as Mr. Biden’s signature economic policy achievement, in part because the tax credit dramatically reduced child poverty last year. Polls suggested Americans knew they had received money and why — giving Democrats hope they would be rewarded politically.

Liberal activists are particularly troubled that Democratic candidates are not focusing more on the payments to families.

“It’s a missed opportunity and a strategic mistake,” said Chris Hughes, a founder of Facebook and a senior fellow at the Institute on Race, Power, and Political Economy at The New School, who is a co-founder of the liberal policy group Economic Security Project Action. “Our public polling and our experience suggest the child tax credit is a sleeper issue that could influence the election, a lot more than a lot of candidates realized.”

Celinda Lake, a Democratic pollster who [*has surveyed voters*](https://www.economicsecurityproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/Lake-ESP-CTC-slides-Sep2022.pdf) in detail on the child credit, said data suggest the party’s candidates should be selling Americans on the pieces of Mr. Biden’s policies that helped families cope with rising costs.

“We have a narrative on inflation,” Ms. Lake said in an interview. “We just aren’t using it.”

Many campaign strategists disagree. They say voters are not responding to messages about pandemic aid. Some Democrats worry that voters have been swayed by the persistent Republican argument that the aid was the driving factor behind rapidly rising prices of food, rent and other daily staples.

Economists generally agree that the stimulus spending contributed to accelerating inflation, though they disagree on how much. Biden administration officials and Democratic candidates reject that characterization. When pressed, they defend their emergency spending, saying it has put the United States on stronger footing than other wealthy nations at a time of rapid global inflation.

Republicans have spent nearly $150 million on inflation-themed television ads across the country this election cycle, according to data from AdImpact.

In Georgia alone, outside groups have hammered Mr. Warnock with more than $7 million in attack ads mentioning inflation. “Senator Warnock helped fuel the inflation squeeze, voting for nearly $2 trillion in reckless spending,” the group One Nation, which is aligned with Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the Republican leader, says in an ad that aired in the state in August.

Democrats have tried to deflect blame, portraying inflation as the product of global forces like crimped supply chains while touting their efforts to lower the cost of electricity and prescription drugs. They have aired nearly $50 million of their own ads mentioning inflation, often pinning it on corporate profit gouging. “What if I told you shipping container companies have been making record profits while prices have been skyrocketing on you?” Mr. Warnock said in an ad aired earlier this year.

Candidates and independent groups that support the stimulus payments have spent just $7 million nationwide on advertisements mentioning the direct checks, the child tax credit or the rescue plan overall, according to data from AdImpact.

Far more money has been spent by Democrats on other issues, including $27 million on ads mentioning infrastructure, which was another early economic win for Mr. Biden, and $95 million on ads that mention abortion rights.

Mr. Warnock has not cited any of the rescue plan’s provisions in his advertisements, focusing instead on issues like personal character, health care and bipartisanship, according to AdImpact data.

For months after the rescue plan’s passage, Democratic leaders were confident that they had solved an economic policy dilemma that has vexed Democrats and Republicans stretching back to the George W. Bush administration: They were giving Americans money, but voters weren’t giving them any credit.

Tax cuts and direct spending aid approved by Mr. Bush, President Barack Obama and President Donald J. Trump failed to win over large swaths of voters and spare incumbent parties from large midterm losses. Economists and strategists concluded that was often because Americans had not noticed they had benefited from the policies each president was sure would sway elections.

That was not the case with the direct checks and the child tax credit. People noticed them. But they still have not turned into political selling points at a time of rapid inflation.

As the November elections approach, most voters appear to be motivated by a long list of other issues, including abortion, crime and a range of economic concerns.

Mr. Warnock’s speech last week to a group of Democrats in an unfinished floor of an office space in Dunwoody, a northern Atlanta suburb, underscored that shift in emphasis.

He began the policy section of the rally with a quick nod to the child credit, then ticked through a series of provisions from bills that Mr. Biden has signed in the last two years: highways and broadband internet tied to a bipartisan infrastructure law, semiconductor plants spurred by a China competitiveness law, a gun safety law and aid for veterans exposed to toxic burn pits. He lingered on one piece of Mr. Biden’s Inflation Reduction Act: a cap on the cost of insulin for Medicare patients, which Mr. Warnock cast as critical for diabetics in Georgia, particularly in Black communities.

The direct payments never came up.

When asked by a reporter why he was not campaigning on an issue that had been so central to his election and whether he thought the payments had contributed to inflation, Mr. Warnock deflected.

“We in Georgia found ourselves trying to claw back from a historic pandemic, the likes of which we haven’t seen in our lifetime, which created an economic shutdown,” he said. “And now, seeing the economy open up, we’ve experienced major supply chain issues, which have contributed to rising costs.”

Direct pandemic payments were begun under Mr. Trump and continued under Mr. Biden, with no serious talk of another round after the ones delivered in the rescue plan. Most Democrats had hoped the one-year, $100 billion child credit in the rescue plan would be made permanent in a new piece of legislation.

But the credit expired, largely because Senator Joe Manchin III, Democrat of West Virginia and a key swing vote, opposed its inclusion in what would become the Inflation Reduction Act, citing concerns the additional money would exacerbate inflation.

Senator Michael Bennet, Democrat of Colorado, was one of the Senate’s most vocal cheerleaders for that credit and an architect of the version included in the rescue plan. His campaign has aired Spanish-language radio ads on the credit in his re-election campaign, targeting a group his team says is particularly favorable toward it, but no television ads. In an interview last week outside a Denver coffee shop, Mr. Bennet conceded the expiration of the credit has sapped some of its political punch.

“It certainly came up when it was here, and it certainly came up when it went away,” he said. “But it’s been some months since that was true. I think, obviously, we’d love to have that right now. Families were getting an average of 450 bucks a month. That would have defrayed a lot of inflation that they’re having to deal with.”

Mr. Biden’s advisers say the rescue plan and its components aren’t being deployed on the trail because other issues have overwhelmed them — from Mr. Biden’s long list of economic bills signed into law as well as the Supreme Court decision overturning Roe v. Wade that has galvanized the Democratic base. They acknowledge the political and economic challenge posed by rapid inflation, but say Democratic candidates are doing well to focus on direct responses to it, like the efforts to reduce costs of insulin and other prescription drugs.

Ms. Lake, the Democratic pollster, said talking more about the child credit could help re-energize Democratic voters for the midterms. Mr. Warnock’s speech in Dunwoody — an admittedly small sample — suggested otherwise.

Mr. Warnock drew cheers from the audience after he called the child tax credit “the single largest tax cut for middle- and ***working-class*** families in American history.”

But his biggest ovation, by far, came when the economics section of his speech had ended, and Mr. Warnock had moved on to defending abortion rights.

PHOTO: The American Rescue Plan put $1.9 trillion into the economy. (PHOTOGRAPH BY STEFANI REYNOLDS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A26) This article appeared in print on page A1, A26.

**Load-Date:** October 17, 2022

**End of Document**



[***‘Pariah’ at 10: When Black Lesbian Characters Had the Spotlight; critic’s notebook***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64DB-HS21-JBG3-62DH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 28, 2021 Tuesday 23:53 EST

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**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 1618 words

**Byline:** Beandrea July

**Highlight:** The Dee Rees drama made waves but studios largely returned to business as usual. A new crop of filmmakers sees signs of hope.

**Body**

The Dee Rees drama made waves but studios largely returned to business as usual. A new crop of filmmakers sees signs of hope.

At the shimmering pink Catnip Lounge, a Brooklyn teenager, Alike, stands face to face with a dancer sliding head first down a pole. The pleasure manifesto “My Neck, My Back” from the rapper Khia booms from the speakers. Transfixed by the power of her desire, Alike discovers a physical place outside herself that can hold it. Finally.

This is the bold opening of [*“Pariah,”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rbBiTlGhrPY) the coming-of-age drama from the writer-director [*Dee Rees*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/06/magazine/dee-rees-black-female-director.html). Ten years ago it premiered to critical acclaim, first at the Sundance Film Festival, then in theaters with a limited release that December, a herculean effort for an independent film starring a then unknown [*Adepero Oduy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/12/28/movies/pariah-with-adepero-oduye-as-a-young-lesbian-review.html)e as Alike (pronounced ah-LEE-kay) and made on a shoestring budget of less than $500,000.

“Pariah” (available to stream on [*HBO Max*](https://www.hbomax.com/feature/urn:hbo:feature:GYOia-A0ekMI-wgEAAAWh)) was the first movie about a Black queer woman to be released in theaters nationwide by a Hollywood studio. As Nelson George wrote in [*The Times*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/12/25/movies/pariah-reveals-another-side-of-being-black-in-the-us.html?pagewanted=all?src=tp&amp;utm_source=pocket_mylist) in 2011, “No film made by a Black lesbian about being a Black lesbian has ever received the kind of attention showered on Ms. Rees’s film.” At the same time, George pointed out, “Pariah” was also part of a crop of films that pushed the boundaries of “what ‘Black film’ can be.” How Hollywood responded, then and now, has been telling.

Rees tells Alike’s story with an uncompromising specificity that has etched its place in great American cinema. (This year the movie was added to the [*Criterion Collection*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/08/20/movies/criterion-collection-african-americans.html).) This unflinching sensibility harks back to the [*New Queer Cinema*](https://www.nytimes.com/2010/11/07/movies/07poison.html) of the 1990s. By opening with the unfettered eroticism of the lesbian club and showing us scenes — like Alike’s awkwardly endearing dildo try-on — without explanation or apology, Rees followed in the footsteps of a group of filmmakers who refused to sanitize images of queer life to appease straight audiences. Think Cheryl Dunye’s [*“The Watermelon Woman”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6LCT-kXNkzk) (1996), the first narrative feature film about an out Black lesbian protagonist made by an out Black lesbian.

“Pariah” began making waves in 2007 when Rees released [*the short*](https://www.indiewire.com/2007/07/shorts-column-pariah-leads-the-pack-of-outstanding-shorts-at-outfest-07-74229/) that would become the basis for the 2011 feature. Kebo Drew of the San Francisco film training nonprofit [*Queer Women of Color Media Arts Project*](https://qwocmap.org/) remembers the reaction in her community of friends and colleagues. “The Blackness was just saturated, coming from the roots,” Drew recalled.

After hearing word-of-mouth about the short, a screening at Outfest in Los Angeles touched the filmmaker Angela Robinson. “I felt like it was kind of opening a door that I hoped would stay open,” said Robinson. “It was such a personal story and a singular vision.”

The writer-director Numa Perrier credits Rees and “Pariah” as an inspiration for her [*2019 film “Jezebel.”*](https://www.imdb.com/title/tt7103742/) She remembered, “The softness of how vulnerable that coming-of-age story was, I hadn’t seen that before.”

Yet this fresh perspective did not lead Hollywood to greenlight more films about Black lesbians. There have been supporting characters like the passionate teacher Ms. Rain (Paula Patton) in “Precious” (2009) and the serene boxing coach Buddhakan (Sheila Atim) in Halle Berry’s directorial debut this year, [*“Bruised.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/25/movies/bruised-review.html)But over the last 10 years, not a single feature focused on Black lesbians has made it through mainstream pipelines.

At the same time L.G.B.T. characters overall have become far more visible on the big and small screens. Yet according to a University of Southern California [*report*](https://assets.uscannenberg.org/docs/aii-inequality_1300_popular_films_09-08-2020.pdf) looking at the top 100 films of 2019 (the most recent year for which figures were available), nearly 80 percent of all such characters were male-identified and 77 percent were white. The report doesn’t provide statistics on queer women of color, as a group distinct from the category “female-identified.”

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So “Pariah” was singular not just in its self-assurance, but in whose story it told, too: Alike and her best friend, Laura (Pernell Walker), two Black, gay and masculine-of-center best friends from ***working-class*** neighborhoods in Brooklyn circa the early 2000s. Through the refuge of their friendship, they carve out space to be themselves.

At a “Pariah” screening at the [*Toronto International Film Festival*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vy1aMzoYPVk) in 2018, Rees told the audience, “There shouldn’t be two or three or 10. To me there should be like 200.” She added, “There’s room for so many more stories.” (Rees declined a request to be interviewed for this article.)

When Black lesbian stories, and the filmmakers with the lived experience to tell them, are shut out of the larger film world, the result is systemic erasure that is by definition hard to measure.

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But the work of Black lesbian filmmakers has almost exclusively been made outside the Hollywood system and often not seen outside the film festival circuit, academia or grassroots distribution networks. Rees’s predecessors — filmmakers like Dunye, Michelle Parkerson (“A Litany for Survival”) and others — didn’t have assurances that a larger audience would even see their work; they simply made films that mattered to them, stories they wanted to see that didn’t yet exist in a film world that barely acknowledged their existence.

That “Pariah” earned distribution, made back its budget and even received a glowing shout-out from Meryl Streep during her [*acceptance speech*](https://youtu.be/Gt_xzFftXO0) for “The Iron Lady” at the 2012 Golden Globes, was all monumental, even if the film didn’t garner much attention inside Hollywood.

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A coming-of-age tale starring Tessa Thompson and based on Mabry’s experience growing up in a Black ***working-class*** family in Tupelo, Miss., the movie won awards on the festival circuit, and aired on cable. Mabry said that she was told repeatedly that the movie was too similar to “Precious” and that “the market can’t handle two Black dramas.” For some distributors that focus on L.G.B.T. audiences, the movie was also perceived as not being gay enough despite a Black lesbian main character.

“The distribution model failed us. The people did not,” Mabry said. She also gives a nod to Ava DuVernay, who eventually got the film released on Netflix in 2015 through the film distribution arm she founded, [*Array*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/20/movies/ava-duvernay-movies.html). That year Mabry also got her first television directing job (“Queen Sugar,” another DuVernay assist) and Mabry — much like Rees after “Pariah” was released — has worked steadily in Hollywood ever since.

Indeed, there are signs of potential change. Mabry said she currently has feature film projects in development at four Hollywood studios, some of which center on Black queer women protagonists, although none of them are a done deal yet.

Back when Robinson made her first feature, [*“D.E.B.S.,”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R3Unq55oBxQ) a 2004 lesbian teen spy movie that has since become a cult classic, “there was still the attitude in town that if you played a lesbian, it could ruin your career,” she remembered.

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But now, more than 15 years later, she has an all-female action movie in the works at Warner Bros., and her desire to cast women of color in the leads was met not with pushback, but enthusiasm, she said.

“Warner Bros. called back and they were like, ‘Yes, we think you should make it more women of color and more queer,” Robinson said. “You have no idea how many years I have been waiting for somebody to say that.”

And Robinson is more hopeful than ever. She has a lucrative television production deal with Warner Bros. and several other projects in the pipeline, including a DC Comics series, [*“Madame X,”*](https://deadline.com/2021/06/madame-x-series-dc-comics-hbo-max-angela-robinson-j-j-abrams-1234781704/) and a film [*remake of “The Hunger.”*](https://deadline.com/2021/05/the-hunger-remake-warner-bros-angela-robinson-jessica-sharzer-david-bowie-catherine-deneuve-susan-sarandon-1234758627/)

“It’s always a tenuous time, but things have changed. I don’t feel like I have to Trojan-horse it anymore,” Robinson said, adding that it seems as if “I can just walk in the front door and say, ‘This is what I want to do.’ And I feel like there’s a lot of opportunity to do it.”

PHOTOS: Clockwise from top: Aasha Davis, left, and Adepero Oduye in “Pariah,” which debuted in theaters 10 years ago; from left, Sara Foster, Meagan Good, Devon Aoki and Jill Ritchie in “D.E.B.S.”; and Tessa Thompson in “Mississippi Damned.” (PHOTOGRAPHS BY FOCUS FEATURES; BRUCE BIRMELIN/SAMUEL GOLDWYN FILMS; ARRAY RELEASING)

**Load-Date:** December 29, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Are the Polls Still Missing ‘Hidden’ Republicans? Here’s What We’re Doing to Find Out.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66TG-C531-DXY4-X3NF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 8, 2022 Tuesday 13:02 EST

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**Section:** UPSHOT

**Length:** 1664 words

**Byline:** Nate Cohn

**Highlight:** There’s no breakthrough in our experiment yet, but the differences are intriguing.

**Body**

There’s no breakthrough in our experiment yet, but the differences are intriguing.

It won’t be long until we learn the results of the 2022 midterm elections — and how the polls fared.

No one can be sure about outcomes on either front. The polls systematically underestimated Republicans in recent cycles, and pollsters have blamed something called nonresponse bias — the possibility that Donald J. Trump’s supporters are less likely to respond to surveys than demographically similar voters.

Nonresponse bias is a serious challenge for pollsters, who can’t hope to know anything about the people who won’t take their surveys. Without that information, pollsters don’t have a way to even account for their existence, much less devise a way to reach them.

So this fall, The New York Times tried something unusual: We paid people to take a poll.

In partnership with Ipsos, The Times paid respondents up to $25 dollars to take a political survey in Wisconsin, the battleground state where polls infamously erred in 2016 and 2020.

Beginning in early September, Ipsos mailed thousands of hard-to-miss priority mail and first-class envelopes to thousands of households across Wisconsin. The mailing contained a $5 bill and a letter promising an additional $20 if the respondent either took the survey online or returned the enclosed questionnaire in a provided return envelope.

At the same time, we fielded a traditional Times/Siena phone poll and an online probability-based panel survey on Ipsos/KnowledgePanel. This experimental design allows us to compare the results of the two groups of respondents, which, in turn, might offer a portrait of the kinds of people who might be less likely to be represented in a typical survey — for example, a moderate who isn’t a political junkie, someone who doesn’t really enjoy talking to strangers, and, yes, a Republican-leaning voter.

The data is still preliminary, and it will probably take at least six months, if not longer, before we can reach any final conclusions. But there is one immediate difference between the two groups, and that is in the polls’ response rates: Nearly 30 percent of households have responded to the survey so far — a figure dwarfing the 1.6 percent completion rate in the parallel Times/Siena poll.

That said, an initial glance at the topline findings may be sobering for anyone who hoped that $25 and higher response rates would break through to reach the coveted “hidden” Trump vote. While there were important differences between the high- and low-incentive surveys — including some that hold promise for improving Times/Siena surveys and others going forward — there was not necessarily obvious evidence of a breakthrough to a vastly different pool of respondents.

While the mail survey showed the Republican incumbent, Ron Johnson, and the Democrat Mandela Barnes tied among registered voters — a tally that’s similar to the results of other polls — the raw, unadjusted respondents to the mail and telephone surveys both leaned Democratic by a considerable margin, including a six-point margin in the race for U.S. Senate in the high-incentive mail survey.

(It’s important to note that these poll results are “old” — both the mail-in surveys and the Times/Siena polls were conducted over a period of weeks, beginning in September. It would be a mistake to assume these results are representative of voters today.)

The results by demographic group were uncannily similar as well. White ***working-class*** voters — both before and after weighting — had nearly identical partisan preferences in the two surveys. Registered voters in Wisconsin’s Third District — the Obama-to-Trump district in the state — backed Mr. Barnes in both surveys.

The relatively small differences between the high-incentive mail survey and other polls could be framed as a good or bad thing for surveys — and it raises the polling stakes for today’s election.

On the one hand, the small to modest differences suggest that the Times/Siena poll and other low-incentive surveys remain competitive with a high-incentive survey with vastly higher response rates. On the other, it might be interpreted to mean that the “hidden Trump” vote remains out of reach — that $25 can’t reach a far more representative sample. (Of course, we won’t know which of these is true until the election is over.)

The Times/Ipsos mail study offered relatively little evidence to support some of the most popular theories about nonresponse bias, like social trust.

Surprisingly, compared with those on the phone survey, a slightly larger share of respondents in the mail survey — 50 percent — said people could be trusted. The mail respondents were also just as likely to say they volunteer in their communities.

The pandemic has also been cited as a possible explanation for the polling error in 2020, on the assumption that liberals staying home might have been likelier to take political surveys. But telephone survey respondents were more likely to say the pandemic didn’t change how often they left home. Mail respondents were only three percentage points likelier to say they never worked from home.

And maybe most surprising of all, the mail survey respondents were just as likely to say they trusted the mainstream media (interviewers do not introduce the Times/Siena poll as a New York Times survey) and even less likely than telephone survey respondents to say they trusted conservative media. Election denialism was just as common on the phone as it was in the mail poll.

In all of these cases, it is possible that neither the telephone nor the mail study broke through to a group of people who typically don’t respond. Maybe the people who wouldn’t respond to either survey are far less likely to trust the mainstream media, and simply continue to remain out of reach.

That said, there were some differences between the two surveys. The mail survey did show greater support for Republicans than the telephone survey did. The difference was usually fairly minor — only a point, or sometimes two. It was not usually particularly meaningful, but it was there.

And the differences were larger on other questions, which offer a portrait of the kind of voters who don’t respond to surveys and who may be underrepresented in political discourse.

Political moderation and disengagement

The high-incentive mail survey respondents were far less politically engaged, more moderate and less likely to vote than those who responded on the telephone.

This should not come as a huge surprise: Political surveys are surely more appealing to political junkies, who tend to vote and hold ideologically consistent views.

But the magnitude of the differences was striking: The share of mail respondents who said they were “moderate” was more than 12 points higher in the mail survey than in the Times/Siena poll, with both liberals and conservatives representing a smaller share of the telephone sample.

Similarly, the share of people who said they were absolutely certain to vote in November was higher in the telephone poll than in the mail survey. There are countless such examples in the data, from how often they take surveys to how closely they follow the news.

Social engagement

Another major difference between the two surveys was how much respondents appeared to like engaging and interacting with strangers.

The people who took the telephone survey, for instance, were likelier to say they wanted to have a job that involved working with people, as opposed to working with their hands or on a computer.

And the voters who took the mail survey were likelier to own or say they considered getting a “no trespassing” or “no solicitation” sign. The respondents to the typical telephone survey were 10 percentage points likelier to say they hadn’t considered putting up such a sign; Republicans had a commanding lead among those who had.

Perhaps relatedly, the survey found a wide gap on preferences about immigration: 47 percent of respondents to the mail survey said undocumented immigrants should be deported back to their home country, compared with 38 percent in the Times/Siena poll.

It’s important to note that the greater incentive and higher response rate are not the only differences between the two surveys. The mail survey is self-administered; the telephone survey is conducted by a live interviewer. The presence of a live interviewer could have deterred a sliver of respondents from offering a potentially uncomfortable answer like support for deportation.

New registrants?

There was another set of differences that can’t easily be attributed to the divergence from an interview to a self-administered survey: those suggesting that the telephone survey reached a relatively mobile and unsettled group of people.

The mail survey had more people who were married, more people who were born in Wisconsin, and more people who had in-state area codes than Times/Siena respondents.

It’s a pattern consistent with pre-existing concerns about the kinds of voters who have cellphones available on voter registration files — a data set that’s the foundation of the Times/Siena poll. Almost by definition, the voters who provided their cellphones when they registered to vote did so over the last decade or so (someone who registered in 1992 almost certainly would not have had a cellphone to write down on the form). While the Times/Siena poll takes a variety of steps to account for this issue, the Ipsos survey results suggest it may not have been enough.

Whether differences over the number of out-of-state cellphone numbers would have helped shift the Times/Siena survey toward the final result is exactly the kind of question that will be addressed in the final analysis.

That analysis will begin soon after the final results in Wisconsin, which we’ll be watching closely tonight.

Ruth Igielnik and Alicia Parlapiano contributed reporting.

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PHOTO: A copy of the survey sent to households across Wisconsin. (PHOTOGRAPH BY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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**End of Document**



[***What Voters Are Trying To Tell Us***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:617C-T571-JBG3-63K8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 6, 2020 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 19

**Length:** 913 words

**Byline:** By David Brooks

**Body**

They are not always wise, but they have something important to say.

Yup, I wanted a grand rebuke, too. I wanted Trump demolished by 10 points. But elections are educational events. Voters are not always wise, but they are usually comprehensible. They know more about their own lives than we in our information bubbles do, and they almost always tell us something important.

The first thing we heard from most Americans -- since Joe Biden's popular vote victory seems all but certain -- is that Donald Trump is unacceptable. We live in a divided, dug-in nation, but millions more white evangelicals voted Democratic in 2020 than in 2016. Many people voted against partisan predilections to remove a man who is a unique menace to the foundations of this country. That is no meager accomplishment.

The second thing voters told us is this: Separate church and state. We've long had political polarization in this country and we still will. But over the last few years polarization has transmogrified into something worse: a religious war.

Trumpism and Wokeism are not equivalent phenomena, but they both serve as secular religions for their disciples. They offer a binary logic of good and evil, a cultlike membership experience, apocalyptic or utopian visions, witch trials for the excommunication of the impure and the sense of personal meaning that comes while fighting a holy war.

In different ways, voters told the two parties that they'd like our politics to be about practical issues. If you want a religious war, go have it somewhere else.

They told Republicans, for example, that you will be much stronger without the MAGA craziness. The Republican Party had a much better election than Trump. While Trump is losing, Republicans have picked up six House seats so far. The Democrats have yet to flip a single state legislature, meaning Republicans will draw the district lines for the next 10 years of electioneering.

The image of a possible future G.O.P. emerged -- a multiracial ***working-class*** party. Republicans made surprising gains among Latinos, African-Americans and Muslims. Trump won the largest share of the nonwhite vote of any Republican candidate in 60 years. That wasn't done by Trumpian race-baiting but because of the party's reputation for championing personal agency and personal responsibility, and for boosting small businesses and economic growth. That can be built on.

Meanwhile, voters told Democrats that they, too, would benefit if they played up policy and played down cultural concerns of their Portlandia/graduate-schooled/defund-the-police wing.

If there was ever going to be a Democratic blowout election, this was it -- against an immoral candidate with a criminally incompetent record. But Democrats failed to pull it off.

It's not policies that cost Democrats. The core Biden policies are astoundingly popular. It's that they've built a cultural blue wall that keeps the other half of the country out, no matter the circumstance.

They've done it by telling a certain sort of story. American politics, progressives commonly say, is all about the historical shift from homogeneity to diversity. They see America as divided between those enlightened cosmopolitans (Democrats) who welcome the coming diverse postindustrial world and those knuckle-dragging, racist troglodytes (Republicans) who don't.

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The voters have handed us a political system that will be led, probably, by Joe Biden, Nancy Pelosi and Mitch McConnell. These are not culture warriors. They are politicians and legislators.

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The voters reminded us yet again that the other side is not going away. We have to dispense with the fantasy that after the next miracle election our side will suddenly get everything it wants. We have to live with one another.

The key is loosening the grip the culture war has had on our politics and governance. Let's fight our moral difference with books, sermons, movies and marches, not with political coercion.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/05/opinion/trump-biden-voters.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/05/opinion/trump-biden-voters.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Damon Winter/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Bringing Her Activism Inside the Museum***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64YW-23C1-DXY4-X0XS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 11, 2022 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Byline:** By Jonathan Griffin

**Body**

From Queens, N.Y., to Manchester, England, museums are learning from this artist, who creates spaces where other voices can be raised.

LOS ANGELES -- On a cold day last December, sitting outside her studio in Santa Monica, Calif., the artist Suzanne Lacy talked excitedly about the coming year. In Manchester, England, exhibitions of her work were already open at the Whitworth Art Gallery and the Manchester Art Gallery. She looked forward to a prestigious fellowship at the University of Manchester in the spring.

Lacy, 76, was also preparing for ''The Medium Is Not the Only Message,'' a survey of her art at the Queens Museum, in New York, opening March 13. The exhibition features work made since the 1970s in what Lacy once termed ''new genre public art'' -- politically engaged projects in which she involves communities in discursive, collaborative workshops and events on ageism, sexual violence, incarceration, immigration and other issues that might result in documentary photographs, video, performance, text, sound recordings, sculptures or -- often -- all of the above. Progressive institutions like the Queens Museum and the Whitworth are now centering their programs on the kinds of activities she has been doing for years, sometimes as art, sometimes as activism, sometimes as community engagement.

''Especially since Covid, the world seems to be focused on 'care','' Lacy told me in February when I returned to her studio -- occupied mainly by wooden crates and plan chests that store her art. ''Even museums are talking about becoming caring institutions.''

Throughout our conversation, she plied me with chocolate bars from Trader Joe's. Beneath her kindly demeanor, however, lies a steeliness that comes from years of working at the front lines of political activism. She was born in California's rural San Joaquin Valley to ***working-class*** parents whom she describes as ''ethical rather than political.'' She is as comfortable talking to politicians or police officers as she is with teenagers, construction workers or the elderly, but she has the forthright air of someone impatient to get things done.

Then, on Feb. 22, the future of Lacy's projects -- indeed, the future of one of these ''caring institutions'' -- were thrown into question. The Guardian reported that Alistair Hudson, director of the Whitworth and curator of Lacy's exhibition there, had been ''asked to leave his post'' in response to an exhibition by the research group Forensic Architecture that Hudson had commissioned with the Manchester International Festival and the University of Manchester.

That exhibition, held last year, included a statement by Forensic Architecture expressing solidarity with Palestine and citing ''ethnic cleansing'' by Israeli police and settlers. The Whitworth is part of the University of Manchester; the advocacy group UK Lawyers for Israel criticized the public sector university for failing to remain neutral. As of this writing, Hudson denied that he had been asked by the university to resign, but declined to comment further on the ongoing legal dispute.

''It's outrageous for a university to so flagrantly disregard freedom of speech,'' Lacy said of the situation. She remains firmly in support of Hudson. Two associations of international museum leaders signed open letters to the University of Manchester opposing the attempt to force the director out.

Lacy's exhibition at the Whitworth is scheduled to run until April 10, but it sits within an ongoing program of community-engaged projects that she views as a collaboration with Hudson. As long as Hudson remains in the post, she intends to continue to fulfill her commitments in Manchester.

In England, artists pledged to boycott the Whitworth if Hudson was removed. When I asked if she would also consider joining the boycott, she pointed out that this would not be so simple as declining to ship a painting. Almost every project of Lacy's involves a network of collaborators, co-authors, institutional and organizational partners.

''I'm working with human beings whose lives are impacted by my actions, and who have investments equal to my investment,'' she said. ''So any decision I made would be based on thoughtful conversations with my collaborators.''

For decades, Lacy's work was little known outside California, where she has long been an influential educator, currently at the University of Southern California where she is a professor at the Roski School of Art and Design. In recent years, however, she has become recognized as a pioneer of ''social practice'' -- a genre of art that, some argue, is so widespread that it almost ceases to be a meaningful category.

Catherine Wood, senior curator of international art at Tate Modern, London, says that as a result of the social and political shifts of the past few years, ''we are coming to a new understanding of all art as social.'' She believes the term ''social practice'' will become less relevant, the way ''video art'' or ''performance art'' have been absorbed by the mainstream.

''I just call it art,'' says Sally Tallant, executive director of the Queens Museum, which has an unusually long history of community engagement. Tallant has wanted to mount an exhibition by Lacy since she joined the museum in 2019. ''I don't believe her influence is recognized on the East Coast,'' she says. ''There's such a passion for social practice now, but she's been doing it for decades.''

While political activism forms the core of her work, Lacy's methods are less confrontational and antagonistic than one might assume for an artist whose roots lie in the radical feminist performance of the 1970s. (In one 1973 performance, she nailed lamb viscera to a saw horse.)

Lacy is a bridge-builder and a mediator. She rarely puts her own deeply held beliefs at the forefront of her projects, but rather creates safe spaces where others' voices can be raised. ''In the current cultural and political context, protest tends to be the go-to strategy for artists,'' Lacy said. ''Protest is an important strategy, but there are other ways to make change as well.''

A growing trend in social practice, Lacy said, has been the shift toward art projects aiming to influence public policy -- a strategy little discussed in previous years. In Manchester, for example, Lacy's two exhibitions are part of a longer program titled ''What Kind of City? A Manual for Social Change.'' The initiative, spearheaded by Hudson and Lacy, aims to address their question: ''After Covid, what kind of city can we make together?'' Planned workshops around four themes -- youth agency, borders, social cohesion, and work prospects for older women -- correlate to themes in Lacy's exhibitions. Manchester residents will use Lacy's projects as both inspiration and informational resources for talking about how social conditions can be improved in their communities.

For one such project, ''Uncertain Futures,'' currently on view at the Manchester Art Gallery, Lacy and a team of university researchers interviewed 115 local women over the age of 50 -- a demographic that often struggles to be heard. Among the concerns they raised were their working prospects after Covid, public policy around retirement and pensions, migration, housing, disability and isolation.

''These older women are often in the position of providing care, while they themselves need care,'' Lacy said. At a summit meeting from March 23 to 26, Lacy's team plans to present its findings to local politicians and policymakers.

When Lacy visited Queens Museum, in 2020, she witnessed the Cultural Food Pantry, which gives out food packages to 500 families a week. (The initiative began in the early months of the pandemic.) She immediately wanted to be involved. ''Giving out food is so satisfying,'' she said. ''Direct service is very important to me. It comes from my ***working-class*** background.''

In her 1982 performance ''Freeze Frame: Room for Living Room,'' a participatory performance staged in an upscale furniture showroom, different groups of women, from sex workers to disabled women to ex-psychiatric patients and pregnant women, discussed their lives and the topic of survival as it related to their often-intersectional identities. (Intersectionality was not named, still less discussed, at that time.)

The artist will ''reactivate'' that project by installing furniture in the ''sunken living room,'' a public space in the atrium of the Queens Museum. Female volunteers from the Cultural Food Pantry -- all leaders in their ethnically diverse communities -- will take part in the project. Instead of inviting them to talk among themselves as participants did in 1982, Lacy is asking them what they want to learn. Leadership training and English language lessons have been raised so far, but the project is still in development.

Since Lacy's first major retrospective in 2019 at the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art and the Yerba Buena Center for the Arts, San Francisco, she has found herself working inside museums as never before. In the 1970s and '80s, she recalled, museums were simply not interested in supporting the kind of work she did. ''In the mid parts of my career, I took to the streets,'' she said.

Anne Pasternak, director of the Brooklyn Museum, commissioned Lacy in 2013 for one of those projects, ''Between the Door and the Street,'' when Pasternak was president and creative director of the public-art nonprofit Creative Time. The project had hundreds of women gather on stoops to talk about immigration, labor and poverty and the impact these issues had on women's lives.

Pasternak said that museums are now not only commissioning such projects by ''trailblazing'' social practice artists like Lacy, Tania Bruguera, Mel Chin, and Mierle Laderman Ukeles; they have begun to collect and archive them too.

Lacy welcomes this new context for her work. ''I need museums to the extent that I want my work embedded in art history,'' she said. ''I used to think, if my work was written about, if it's documented, even if I just put it in my archives, it would survive. And I don't believe that's the case anymore.'' The capacity of museums not just to exhibit but to store, conserve and contextualize her work has become increasingly important.

For her project ''Prostitution Notes'' (1974-75), Lacy moved through city streets, restaurants and bars ''tracking'' the lives of sex workers. The annotated drawings that were the project's main physical outcome sat rolled up in Lacy's garage for three decades before she framed them for the landmark feminist art survey ''WACK!'' in 2007 at the Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles. The piece then entered the museum's collection, and will be lent for her Queens Museum exhibition.

Today, museums are under great internal and external pressure to reform. ''The neutrality of the museum is a myth,'' Hudson asserts, a view that is widely becoming accepted.

Through decades of tireless work -- work that was once thought unsuitable for museum exhibition -- artists like Lacy are pointing a way forward for arts institutions to be more engaged, more useful, and to abandon the facade of neutrality. Museums, like Lacy's art, can be vessels for diverse and sometimes conflicting stories.

The Medium Is Not the Only Message

Through Aug. 14, Queens Museum, New York City Building, Flushing Meadows Corona Park, Queens; 718-592-9700; queensmuseum.org.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/10/arts/design/suzanne-lacy-queens-museum-activist.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/10/arts/design/suzanne-lacy-queens-museum-activist.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Clockwise from top: Suzanne Lacy

an installation view of ''Across and In-Between'' (2018) in Lacy's exhibition ''What Kind of City? A Manual for Social Change''

a view of Lacy's ''What Kind of City?'' featuring the installation ''The Oakland Projects'' (1991-2001), a collaboration with Julio CÃ©sar Morales and Unique Holland and city agencies to empower local youth

two performance documentations from ''The Medium Is Not the Only Message''

and ''Freeze Frame: Room for Living Room'' (1982). (PHOTOGRAPHS BY YUDI ELA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

SUZANNE LACY AND THE WHITWORTH, UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

MICHAEL POLLARD

SUZANNE LACY STUDIO

CINDY HONESTO, VIA SUZANNE LACYï¿½ï¿½

F-STOP FITZGERALD, VIA SUZANNE LACY STUDIO) (C16-C17)

**Load-Date:** March 11, 2022

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[***What the Voters Are Trying to Tell Us***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:617B-64P1-DXY4-X3K5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 5, 2020 Thursday 22:42 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 920 words

**Byline:** David Brooks

**Highlight:** They are not always wise, but they have something important to say.

**Body**

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The first thing we heard from most Americans — since Joe Biden’s popular vote victory seems all but certain — is that Donald Trump is unacceptable. We live in a divided, dug-in nation, but millions more white evangelicals voted Democratic in 2020 than in 2016. Many people voted against partisan predilections to remove a man who is a unique menace to the foundations of this country. That is no meager accomplishment.

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The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.ncsl.org/blog/2020/11/04/2020-legislative-election-results-its-status-quo-in-the-states.aspx) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.ncsl.org/blog/2020/11/04/2020-legislative-election-results-its-status-quo-in-the-states.aspx). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.ncsl.org/blog/2020/11/04/2020-legislative-election-results-its-status-quo-in-the-states.aspx).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Damon Winter/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 6, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Still Mulling the Mullet, After All These Years***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65H7-NXS1-DXY4-X0S4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 22, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section ST; Column 0; Style Desk; Pg. 3; ON BEAUTY

**Length:** 1046 words

**Byline:** By Megan Bradley

**Body**

Lil Nas X caused a stir, as he is wont to do, when he arrived on the red carpet at MTV's Video Music Awards last fall wearing a lavender hybrid outfit -- half pantsuit and half off-the-shoulder gown -- by Atelier Versace. The aim, explained the rapper, was to telegraph ''a mix of masculine and feminine energy.'' Furthering this idea was his hair: a mullet styled in a Jheri curl, a few wavy locks skimming his collarbone. The look drew comparisons to those of Rick James and Little Richard, while also harking back to a longer and rather colorful history.

There's evidence of the mullet -- which is characterized by hair closely shorn everywhere except at the back of the head, where it is left longish -- appearing in ancient Assyria, Egypt and Greece. Greek texts suggest the style was particularly popular with warriors; no doubt the longer strands kept their necks warm while the bangs ensured they could see clearly and, indeed, there's something helmet-like about the style. In Homer's ''Iliad,'' for instance, the Abantes, a faction of spearmen, are described as having ''hair long at the back.'' Depictions of the Greek gods also confirm that the mullet was a style of the time: the Apollo Belvedere, a second-century Roman sculpture, portrays Apollo with hair tied at the top and ringlets flowing down his neck. And in certain Indigenous populations, including tribes of the Western United States like the Blackfoot and Crow, long hair has long symbolized power and a connection with the divine, and a version of the mullet -- the front spiked with materials like grease and the back long and sometimes braided -- is considered a traditional style.

That in the 19th century, men of the Nez Perce tribe of the Pacific Northwest who wore their hair long in the back faced pressure from Christian missionaries to abandon the style in favor of something more ''civilized'' tells us about the evils of cultural erasure, but also about conformity more broadly. In much of the Western world, mullets have largely been seen as a thwarting, whether one celebrated or feared, of convention. Take David Bowie, who wore chalky white makeup, psychedelic jumpsuits and a coiffed orange mullet to debut his otherworldly alter ego Ziggy Stardust in 1972. Not long after this glamorous alien emerged came a more ***working-class*** punk subculture for which rebellion was a raison d'être. And as much as torn clothes, safety pins, chains and piercings -- the stuff of ''confrontation dressing,'' as Vivienne Westwood called it -- the mullet played a large part in the aesthetics of the movement. For one, the ragged style was purposefully ugly. ''It was meant to be a shock to society,'' says the hairstylist Guido Palau, who was a mullet-wearing member of the punk scene of 1970s Dorset, England. ''You'd walk down the road and people would cross over to avoid you,'' he says. ''It caused such havoc.''

In the '80s and early '90s, slightly softer versions suffused the broader culture via the era's dreamboat celebrities (Lionel Richie, Andre Agassi, the members of Duran Duran) before crossing over into cheesy territory on the heads of Billy Ray Cyrus and Michael Bolton. But the cut retained its edge in the queer community. The gender-bending musicians Joan Jett, Patti Smith and Prince all sported the style, which was copied by many of their fans. ''Queer people probably weren't going to a mainstream salon, because that's not a space where you were comfortable,'' says Rachael Gibson, the London-based hair and beauty editor who runs an Instagram account called the Hair Historian. ''But by nature of being a do-it-yourself thing, it became a powerful statement of being an outsider.'' Still, a decade or so later, the hairstyle, by then a tragic mark of trying too hard, fell out of style in a big way.

Perhaps, the mullet elicited such strong reactions because it refuses to be any one thing, sitting at the midpoint between long and short, masculine and feminine and tasteful and tacky. But if an inability to categorize causes discomfort in some, this sort of in-betweenness is just what some are looking for, especially at a time when gender and taste both feel, rightfully and crucially, so fluid. No wonder, then, that over the last five years the mullet has experienced a relative resurgence. Pop culture mainstays like Rihanna, who frequently returns to the style, and Miley Cyrus, whose choppy version has become a sort of signature, have brought the mullet back and cemented it as cool once again. It appeared in a multitude of fall 2022 runway shows, including Junya Watanabe's ready-to-wear, in which models walked with seemingly haphazardly dyed versions, as well as punk leather jackets, and at Stella McCartney's, which featured shaggier takes reminiscent of '70s rockers. Palau is responsible for the mullets seen at Alexander McQueen spring 2022 show, some bleached and spiked in overt references to Bowie. The hairstylist recalls that the brand's namesake founder was particularly fond of the style. ''He loved the sense of play,'' says Palau, ''the short and long together.''

Play, yes, but what about power? Gen Z has made it especially clear that there's a lot to fight back against. ''Whether [it's] the consciousness of climate change that they've been born into, then spending two years online and now a war going on, they recognize the world as extreme,'' says Moya Luckett, a media historian and professor of celebrity culture at N.Y.U., who has noticed more frequent and more radical experimentation in her students' looks in the past few years. ''They're interested in pushing buttons and boundaries.'' At the same time, this generation recognizes that we're in a postmodern era in which no one look is entirely in or out, or even all that likely to get a big reaction. It would be difficult to find someone who crosses the street to avoid a mullet in 2022. As Palau sees it, ''It's quite hard to shock people with your hair now because there are so many shocking things in the world.'' The kids know, too, that aesthetics' political potential only goes so far. But the mullet is a start, a gesture, a promise. And at a bare minimum, the style, often summed up as ''business in the front, party in the back,'' is pretty perfect for Zoom meetings.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/17/t-magazine/mullets-hair-trend.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/17/t-magazine/mullets-hair-trend.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BETTMANN/GETTY IMAGES (APOLLO BELVEDERE STATUE)

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**Load-Date:** May 22, 2022

**End of Document**



[***More Predictions! And Some Very Mixed Feelings.; The Conversation***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66T8-CWX1-JBG3-641D-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 7, 2022 Monday 10:53 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1555 words

**Byline:** Gail Collins and Bret Stephens

**Highlight:** The midterms are finally upon us.

**Body**

Gail Collins: OK, Bret — it’s elections week! Tell me the one outcome you’re most hoping to see and the one you’re most dreading.

Bret Stephens: The idea of Herschel Walker being elected a United States senator is the political equivalent of E.L. James, the author of “Fifty Shades of Grey,” being awarded the Nobel Prize for literature: the preposterous elevation of the former equals the total debasement of the latter.

On the other hand, and despite my reservations about him, I’m rooting for Lee Zeldin for New York governor. Our state is overtaxed, underpoliced and chronically misgoverned, and I’d like to see it the other way around. And a Republican victory in New York might finally jolt the Democratic Party into getting serious about crime and urban decay.

You?

Gail: Zeldin is awful. There are New York Republicans you could imagine running the state well, and there are New York Republicans who will inevitably create a mess of political polarization and stalled services. Mr. Z is definitely in that category.

Bret: I would be more inclined to agree with you about the overly Trumpy Zeldin — until I consider his opponent, the uninspired, ethically challenged and insipid Kathy Hochul.

Gail: In my rooting-for category, I’m going to bring up Senator Maggie Hassan in New Hampshire — just so I can mention her dreadful opponent, Don Bolduc. He’s long been known as an opponent of legal protections for transgender people. Last week, he claimed schools were giving out litter boxes to support kids who identify as cats. Which is, um … not true.

Who’s your most-to-be-avoided?

Bret: I’m with you on Hassan, a conscientious and bipartisan legislator. Who — I am amazed to say — might lose on Tuesday. As for my most-to-be-avoided? I’d have to go with Arizona’s Blake Masters. He gives me the sense of being the love child of Ayn Rand and Hans Gruber, the Alan Rickman character in “Die Hard.”

Gail: I adore it when you get mean about people like ol’ Blake.

Bret: Actually, that’s probably unfair to Gruber, who had a twinkle-in-the-eye panache that made his villainy interesting and often funny. Masters is neither interesting nor funny, and his only talent seems to consist in sucking up to rich guys.

Gail: You would be referring to Peter Thiel, billionaire co-founder of PayPal and backer of rancid Republicans.

Bret: And Donald Trump — assuming he’s actually rich. Let me ask you a different question: Is there any Republican in this whole election cycle you might see yourself supporting?

Gail: This goes back to the question I’ve been [*wrestling with*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/26/opinion/fetterman-oz-debate-midterms.html) since the world watched that Fetterman-Oz debate.

There are plenty of decent Republicans running for Senate, and some who are smarter than their Democratic opponents. And at least one Republican who can out-debate a Democrat who’s recovering from a stroke. But they all share one thing — they’d immediately vote to put their party in power.

Bret: They do tend to do that.

Gail: And that’s the crucial question this season — which party will be in charge? Right now the partisan rift is so deep you really have to decide which side you want to run the show and let that be your guide.

Does that make sense to you?

Bret: Yes and no. I powerfully sympathize with the impulse to oppose everyone who belongs to the party of Trump. But the idea of voting for your own side, no matter how lousy the candidate, also explains how Republicans talk themselves into voting for Trump, Walker, Bolduc, Masters and the rest of the evil clown parade. Parties should not be rewarded by voters when they sink to the lowest common denominator.

But … predictions! Any upsets you see coming?

Gail: When I worry about election results my thoughts almost always turn to Arizona, land of the you-never-can-tell voter. You’ve got Senator Mark Kelly neck-and-neck with Blake Masters. The only positive thing I can think of to say about Masters is that he hasn’t yet expressed any deep concern about litter boxes in public schools.

But the most terrifying Arizona race is for governor, where Kari Lake, a former TV anchor and current election denier, appears to be leading Katie Hobbs, the responsible but sorta boring secretary of state. Do not want to imagine the vote-counting crisis there in 2024 if Lake wins.

Bret: I’m going to venture that Lake is going to win handily and that Masters will win by a hair.

Gail: Aaauuughhh.

Bret: Part of my overall prediction that Democrats will wake up on Wednesday morning with a powerful impulse to move to Canada or Belgium to take advantage of their permissive assisted-suicide programs.

Gail: And what would your own reaction be, pray tell? I know you theoretically support the Republican Senate agenda, but I’ve noticed you find a lot of the Republican senators kinda … repulsive.

Bret: Again, very mixed feelings. Seeing the Republican Party go from bad to worse is depressing and scary. But as long as Joe Biden is president, they won’t be able to do much except embarrass themselves.

If there’s one saving grace for me here, it’s the faint hope that a Republican majority in at least one house of Congress will pump the brakes on spending. Our gross national debt is $31 trillion and rising. And it’s going to cost more to service as interest rates rise.

Gail: I’m touched to hear you express such confidence that the Republicans we’ve seen on the hustings this year are going to be able to come up with a smart plan to completely redo government spending.

Bret: Fair point.

Gail: My first response to the idea of sane Republican spending policy is sad giggles.

But I do feel obliged to offer at least one suggestion. The best way to tackle debt issues is not to cancel Covid relief or stop fixing the nation’s infrastructure. Tax the folks who can afford it, like those pharmaceutical billionaires who’ve done so very well off the pandemic.

Bret: Not sure these billionaires could pay off so many trillions in debt, even if we confiscated every penny they have.

Gail: It would be a start, and I suspect that even under a very serious new tax plan they’d be left with enough coins in their pockets to allow them to soldier on.

But speaking of good/bad government spending plans, what do you think about recent Republican calls to cut back on Social Security and Medicare entitlements?

Bret: The devil is in the details. Regarding Social Security, it was designed in the 1930s, when the typical life expectancy was around 60. It’s now around 76. The program is [*predicted to be*](https://sgp.fas.org/crs/misc/RL33514.pdf) insolvent in about 13 years if we do nothing to change it. My basic view is that we should honor our promises to those now benefiting from Social Security, pare back the promises to younger workers and eliminate them completely for those who haven’t yet spent decades paying into them.

How about you?

Gail: I say leave Social Security alone. It was meant to help protect Americans who reach retirement age, give them a reliable cushion to make their old age comfortable or at least bearable. Can’t do much better than that.

The fact that it’s seen as a plan for everybody — not just a program to aid the poor — gives it a special survivability. And on the fairness end, wealthy folk who don’t need it will give a good chunk back when it’s taxed as part of their income.

Bret: True, but it’s still going broke.

Gail: Of course, I’m not crazy enough to say the government can never touch Social Security if its finances get truly shaky. I just want to be sure whoever’s doing the fixing is dedicated to protecting the basic concept.

And Medicare — oh gosh, Bret, let’s save Medicare for next week. It can be our post-election calming mechanism.

Bret: Gail, I don’t want to get too far ahead of ourselves, but any thoughts on the news that Trump is very likely to declare his candidacy for president later this month?

Gail: Now that was the immediate post-election conversation I was yearning to avoid. Of course, we knew it was going to happen, but, gee, don’t you think he could have let us have the holidays off?

Bret: I know very little about what goes on in Trump’s mind, but I think we can safely say that giving either of us a break isn’t high on his list of priorities.

The silver lining here is that if Democrats take the kind of electoral drubbing I suspect they will on Tuesday, it should help concentrate their minds. Time for President Biden to give up on the idea — or fantasy, really — that he’s going to run for re-election and devote his time to saving Ukrainians, Iranians and Taiwanese from tyranny as the centerpiece of his presidential legacy.

Gail: I’m with you in the Joe-Don’t-Run camp.

Bret: Time also for party strategists to start thinking a whole lot harder about how they lost the ***working-class*** vote and how they can recapture it. Time, finally, for Democratic politicians to focus on middle-class fears about crime, education and inflation, not progressive obsessions with social justice and language policing.

Who knows? Maybe that’s just the wake-up call we all need if we’re going to keep Trump in Mar-a-Lago.

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Tom Brenner for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 8, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Inside a push to get 100,000 crime survivors to vote.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60RY-W7G1-JBG3-61S8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 4, 2020 Friday 19:13 EST

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**Section:** US; elections

**Length:** 294 words

**Byline:** Maggie Astor

**Highlight:** For all that narratives about crime shape American politics, survivors are rarely centered in the conversation, if they are heard at all. A campaign called #HealTheVote is trying to change that.

**Body**

Eris Eady, a project organizer at the Alliance for Safety and Justice, began a Zoom call this week with a request to the hundreds of participants: Tell us why, or for whom, you are here.

The answers poured into the in-meeting chat. “For my son,” who was fatally shot. “For survivors of mental and emotional abuse.” “For myself.” “For all our Black men and boys.”

And then: “For those who don’t think that voting makes a difference.”

For all that narratives about crime shape American politics, crime survivors are rarely centered in the conversation, if they are heard at all. Many express a sense that their voices and their needs don’t matter at the polls, just as they didn’t matter to the person who shot, assaulted or otherwise harmed them.

Hence the Zoom call, which served as the introductory event for a new campaign called #HealTheVote that aims to turn out 100,000 crime survivors for the coming election.

The Alliance for Safety and Justice, an advocacy group that supports crime prevention and rehabilitation programs instead of mass incarceration, will announce the initiative on Friday.

Its premise is that crime survivors are, like women or ***working-class*** voters or people with disabilities, a constituency with distinct needs that elected officials should be pushed to address — and also that engaging in the political process can help survivors themselves.

The campaign is nonpartisan, and it includes both Democrats and Republicans promoting a shift away from the 1990s-era “tough on crime” approach that led to mass incarceration of people of color.

PHOTO: Over the next nine weeks, a campaign will train local organizers to ensure that crime survivors know where and how to vote. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Lauren Justice for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 4, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Translating Fame in Brazil Into Worldwide Stardom***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6568-X3X1-DXY4-X2J7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 10, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section AR; Column 0; Arts and Leisure Desk; Pg. 13

**Length:** 1921 words

**Byline:** By Carolina Abbott Galvão

**Body**

In the past decade, the singer has earned fame and the respect of some of Brazil's most lauded musical elders. Now she's taking aim at new audiences but hoping to hold on to her roots.

''Meiga e Abusada,'' the 2013 song that first catapulted the Brazilian singer Anitta to fame, begins with a Lady Gaga sample and a cool assertion. ''I get everything I want,'' she sings in Portuguese. ''But it was so easy to control you.''

In the song's music video, partly filmed in Las Vegas, Anitta frolics around the desert in a cropped plaid shirt, drinks champagne and hits casinos in a limo. It's a declaration of her prowess made all the more brazen by its timing: Only a couple of months before its release, it had felt like nothing would ever happen for her.

''I'm a pessimistic person,'' Anitta said in a recent interview, speaking in Portuguese. That's partly because the odds were never strictly in her favor. ''Growing up, my father would say, 'We're poor, you can't study the arts,''' she said. ''He thought I'd need a plan B.''

She didn't. Since putting out her first album at age 20, Anitta has gone on to become one of Brazil's biggest pop stars. In the past decade, she has released four studio albums, performed at the 2016 Olympic opening ceremony and racked up numerous Latin Grammy nominations. Anitta got her start singing in Rio de Janeiro's favelas, and success eventually followed her to the rest of South America, where a string of Spanish-language hits featuring stars like J Balvin and Maluma cemented her status as one of the region's top performers.

The United States market feels like the final frontier. This month, Anitta will perform at both weekends of the Coachella festival. On April 12, her new trilingual album ''Versions of Me'' -- her first since signing with Warner Records in 2021, and her first international LP -- arrives. A solo female pop artist from Brazil has never become a star in North America, but Anitta's team and label are intent on making it happen -- and it shows. Featuring tracks produced by established hitmakers including Ryan Tedder, Stargate, and Andrés Torres and Mauricio Rengifo (who produced ''Despacito''), the album's sleek hooks, taut melodies and glossy production signal a clear attempt at breaking her in America.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

Speaking via video chat from her house in Miami in late February, Anitta was barefaced on the couch, dressed in an orange Versace T-shirt. She looked tired, but her posture was flawless. ''I got back yesterday from Rio and I was exhausted. I'd been working Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday without a break,'' she said, petting her sleepy Italian greyhound, Plínio. (He had great posture, too.)

Born Larissa Machado in Rio de Janeiro's ***working-class*** Honório Gurgel neighborhood, Anitta, 29, first rose to fame after she posted a video of herself singing into a can of deodorant. Her stage name, a homage to a character she'd long admired from an old Brazilian TV show, ''Presença de Anita,'' came later. In the series, she explained, Anita would say that she wanted to wake up a different person every day: ''She could be romantic, sensual, intelligent and crazy all at once.'' Anitta likes playing with that idea too.

''People have always wanted to define women: Is she the marrying type? Is she the type that likes to go out?'' she added. ''But I can be both things, right?''

Anitta made a name for herself performing at parties around Rio's favelas. Funk carioca, or baile funk, a vibrant rhythm that emerged in Rio de Janeiro's predominantly Black ***working-class*** neighborhoods in the 1980s, is the soundtrack of choice at these gatherings, where sound systems often blast the genre's signature tamborzão beat. ''I started bothering everyone and asking if I could sing at their events, the proibidas,'' Anitta said.

Proibida is Portuguese for prohibited. In the early 2000s, the police -- who deemed these bailes (dance parties) breeding grounds for gang violence -- began violently sweeping events in Rio's favelas under the guise of public safety. While the genre now plays in some of the country's wealthiest neighborhoods and in clubs popular with arty crowds in London and Berlin, its creators, especially those who haven't yet risen to fame, are still marginalized.

At the height of the moral panic around baile funk, even stars like Anitta didn't walk away unscathed. When she performed at the Olympic opening ceremony in 2016 alongside the national icons Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil, critics lashed out against her inclusion in the event, dismissing her as a ''favelada.''

''Prejudice hurts,'' Anitta said. ''But what artists like Caetano, Marisa Monte, Djavan and Bethânia have always told me is that they were the Anitta of their time,'' she said, referring to Maria Bethânia and other Brazilian stars who are mostly over 70 (Monte, the youngest of the group, is in her 50s). ''Everyone told them they were bums and now they're icons.''

Veloso, one of the country's most revered singer-songwriters who has collaborated with the singer in the past, praised her in an email. ''Anitta is so competent, sincere, direct and likable,'' he wrote. ''She has captured the zeitgeist in such an impressive way.''

In the mid-2000s, M.I.A. and Diplo began to export funk carioca out of Brazil through songs like ''Baile Funk One'' and a documentary, ''Favela on Blast,'' but the genre never made it to the pop charts. Anitta still believes it has the potential to go global, though. And while her new album experiments with a range of styles -- the Gaga-inspired electro-pop of ''Boys Don't Cry,'' the rollicking reggaeton of ''Gata'' -- ''Versions of Me'' never completely severs ties with her roots.

Still, she knows success often takes time. ''The main things are patience and persistence,'' she said. ''We have to do it step by step.''

Ryan Tedder, the frontman for the band One Republic who has written hits for Beyoncé and Taylor Swift, agreed to executive produce Anitta's project halfway through their first studio session. ''She's easily the hardest working person I've ever worked with,'' he said by phone. ''She does not have an off switch.''

Tom Corson, co-chairman and chief operating officer at Warner Records, agreed: ''Anitta has what it takes to be a global superstar.'' The plan? ''Obviously we want hit records,'' Corson said. ''And we'd like to see her as a unique force within the U.S. and global market, toggling back and forth between languages.'' The obvious comparison is Shakira.

While ''Versions of Me'' is above all, an international project, Tedder and Anitta were both adamant that Brazilian rhythms had to be a part of it. ''I didn't want to disenfranchise her Brazilian fan base from what she's already built,'' he said.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

For ''Faking Love'' -- a baile funk-inspired track featuring the American rapper Saweetie -- Anitta and Tedder flew the Brazilian producers Tropkillaz to Los Angeles for a session. ''The rhythmic movement of an actual funk beat doesn't use what's called quantization,'' Tedder said, referring to software that makes beats line up perfectly. ''You have to program it in with natural human swing.'' It took him several tries before he could get it right; Anitta sat and listened until she knew they'd found the one.

Anitta is aware that when it comes to her work, she is a perfectionist first. For years, she has worked with a speech therapist to minimize her accent, and even as she was putting the finishing touches on her album, she was rerecording parts of tracks. Would it matter if she sang in English with a strong accent? It shouldn't, but it does, she said. ''I realized that if I spoke slower in meetings or with an accent, people would respect me less,'' she said, recalling how she felt when she started doing business in America.

Things are different in her personal life, but it's hard to completely relinquish control when she has lived the bulk of it under a microscope. Anitta, who is bisexual, kept key aspects of her identity -- including her sexuality -- hidden from the Brazilian press for years. ''It was complicated because it was all very taboo at the time,'' she said. ''Lots of singers weren't out, and I don't judge them because I know people really came after me.''

It was only after a bodyguard had to chase down someone who took a picture of her kissing a woman at a party that she realized she wanted to stop hiding. ''My mom has known that I kiss girls since I was 13, why should I care what other people think?'' she said in a second interview, throwing both of her hands up in exasperation as she slouched down on a hotel room couch in Los Angeles.

Politically, aspects of Anitta's life have long been scrutinized too. The singer was criticized in 2018 when she didn't outright condemn Brazil's far-right president Jair Bolsonaro during the early stages of his campaign. But she maintains there's a reason for that. ''I was having my religious initiation,'' she said. In Candomblé, which mixes Yoruba, Fon and Bantu beliefs, initiations typically require people to remain secluded for around 21 days: ''I had no way of contacting the outside world.''

When it became clear Anitta would have to say something, she called a friend, the lawyer, journalist and political commentator Gabriela Prioli, and asked for help. ''I didn't understand anything. I didn't know what a congressman does or what a councilman does,'' she said. ''I'm not ashamed to say it because most Brazilians don't.''

In the end, Anitta found the conversation so helpful she decided to start broadcasting political education classes with Prioli on her Instagram, which she hopes to resume ahead of this year's elections. While she won't endorse a candidate, Anitta now firmly opposes Bolsonaro. In late March, when lawyers representing the president's party petitioned Brazil's supreme electoral court to stop artists from making ''political demonstrations'' in their sets, Anitta encouraged other performers to defy them. ''To my friends who want to speak out: I'll pay your fine,'' she said in an Instagram story.

Bolsonaro and Anitta occasionally even butt heads on social media, where the singer boasts 61 million followers on Instagram alone. ''He knows his conservative supporters don't like me, so he uses my name to draw attention to himself,'' she said.

Her follower count will likely only grow in the coming months. Popularized by the ''paso de Anitta'' -- Spanish for Anitta's dance move -- her TikTok hit ''Envolver'' is the first song by a Brazilian artist to enter the Top 10 on Spotify's global chart. In late March, it hit No. 1 there.

Anitta's upcoming Coachella performance on the festival's main stage marks another first for a Brazilian artist.

''I don't want to think about it,'' she said. ''It makes me anxious.'' But she is thinking about it.

Anitta said rehearsals for the show are happening in Rio, where she's training with one Brazilian and one American choreographer. (''I wanted to combine both cultures.'') And after that? ''I've only planned my life until Coachella,'' she said half-jokingly.

''I'm not going to overthink things,'' she said. That's how music becomes formulaic. ''I know what I want to do: if things work out, great,'' she added. ''If they don't, that's also great.'' She wasn't always this way. ''But I've accomplished so much more than I ever thought I would. If I fell asleep now and woke up at 40, I'd still feel like I'd done what I set out to do.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/07/arts/music/anitta-versions-of-me.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/07/arts/music/anitta-versions-of-me.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Top, the Brazilian singer Anitta. Her trilingual album ''Versions of Me'' is her first release as part of a major deal in North America. Above, Anitta performed in Miami in February. ''The main things are patience and persistence,'' she said. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY NATALIA MANTINI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

JOHN PARRA/GETTY IMAGE)

**Load-Date:** April 10, 2022

**End of Document**



[***In France, the People the Climate Summit Forgot***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6422-K2W1-JBG3-60M4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 10, 2021 Wednesday 07:50 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1573 words

**Byline:** Roger Cohen

**Highlight:** In one area of France, worries about rising energy prices trump anxiety about rising temperatures, raising fears of a resurgence of the Yellow Vest social uprising.

**Body**

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MONTARGIS, France — Just 75 miles separate this provincial town from Paris, but if the capital is all about a renewable energy revolution, the talk here is of how it costs people way too much.

“We want to go too fast,” said Jean-Pierre Door, a conservative lawmaker with a lot of angry constituents. “People are being pushed to the limit.”

Three years ago, Montargis became a center of the Yellow Vest social uprising, an angry protest movement over an increase in gasoline taxes that was sustained, sometimes violently, for more than year by a [*much broader sense of alienation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/15/business/yellow-vests-movement-inequality.html) felt by those in the outlying areas that France calls its “periphery.”

The uprising was rooted in a class divide that exposed the resentment of many ***working-class*** people, whose livelihoods are threatened by the clean-energy transition, against the metropolitan elites, especially in Paris, who can afford electric cars and can bicycle to work, unlike those in the countryside.

Now as Mr. Door and others [*watch the global climate talks underway in Glasgow*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/08/climate/glasgow-climate-summit.html), where experts and officials are warning that immediate action must be taken in the face of a looming environmental catastrophe, the economic and political disconnect that nearly tore apart France three years ago remains just below the surface.

There are plenty of people in the “periphery” who understand the need to transition to clean energy and are already trying to do their part. But if the theme of [*COP26*](https://ukcop26.org/), as the Glasgow summit is known, is how time is running out to save the planet, the immediate concern here is how money is running out before the end of the month.

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“If Parisians love wind turbines so much, why not rip up the Bois de Vincennes and make an attraction of them?” asked Magali Cannault, who lives near Montargis, alluding to the vast park to the east of Paris.

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The only sounds as she spoke on a misty, damp morning were the honking of geese and the crowing of roosters. Claude Madec-Cleï, the mayor of the nearby village of Griselles, nodded. “We are not considered,” he said. “President Macron is courting the Greens.”

In fact, with the election looming, Mr. Macron is courting just about everyone and is desperate to avoid a return of the Yellow Vests.

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To his left, the Green movement wants nuclear power, which accounts for 67.1 percent of France’s electricity needs, phased out, an adjustment so enormous that it is derided by conservatives as heralding “a return to the candlelight era.”

To Mr. Macron’s right, Marine Le Pen favors the dismantling of the country’s more than 9,000 wind turbines, which account for 7.9 percent of France’s electricity production.

In the middle, millions of French people, buffeted between concern for the planet and their immediate needs, struggle to adjust.

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At the start of the Yellow Vest movement, she joined demonstrations in Montargis. It was not just financial pressure that pushed her. It was a sense that “we are not listened to, that it’s those elites up on high who decide and we just suffer the consequences.”

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For ***working-class*** people like Ms. Gobet, who was mentioned in a recent 100-part series called “Fragments of France” in the newspaper Le Monde, calls in Glasgow to stop using fossil fuels and close nuclear power stations appear wildly remote from their daily lives.

At 58, she illustrates a generational chasm. The world’s youth led by Greta Thunberg is on one side, convinced that no priority can be more urgent than saving the planet. On the other are older people who, as Mr. Door put it, “don’t want the last 20 years of their lives ruined by environmental measures that drive energy prices up and the value of the house they put their money in down.”

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PHOTOS: Above, a banner protesting a methane-producing recycling plant on the field where it is planned to be built on the outskirts of Montargis, France. Left, Magalie Pasquet, a homemaker in the village of Griselles, France, who is the leader of a local association against wind power called Aire 45.; Montargis, France, was a center of the Yellow Vest uprisings over gasoline taxes in 2018. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDREA MANTOVANI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A6)

**Load-Date:** November 11, 2021

**End of Document**



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The New York Times

November 10, 2021 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1519 words

**Byline:** By Roger Cohen

**Body**

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Three years ago, Montargis became a center of the Yellow Vest social uprising, an angry protest movement over an increase in gasoline taxes that was sustained, sometimes violently, for more than year by a much broader sense of alienation felt by those in the outlying areas that France calls its ''periphery.''

The uprising was rooted in a class divide that exposed the resentment of many ***working-class*** people, whose livelihoods are threatened by the clean-energy transition, against the metropolitan elites, especially in Paris, who can afford electric cars and can bicycle to work, unlike those in the countryside.

Now as Mr. Door and others watch the global climate talks underway in Glasgow, where experts and officials are warning that immediate action must be taken in the face of a looming environmental catastrophe, the economic and political disconnect that nearly tore apart France three years ago remains just below the surface.

There are plenty of people in the ''periphery'' who understand the need to transition to clean energy and are already trying to do their part. But if the theme of COP26, as the Glasgow summit is known, is how time is running out to save the planet, the immediate concern here is how money is running out before the end of the month.

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**Graphic**

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**Load-Date:** November 11, 2021

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[***Wonking Out: France’s Economy Is Having a Good Pandemic; Paul Krugman***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64J0-C621-JBG3-62MP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 14, 2022 Friday 13:38 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 775 words

**Byline:** Paul Krugman

**Highlight:** “Socialism” seems to be working pretty well.

**Body**

Yesterday I wrote about America’s [*surprising success*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/13/opinion/pandemic-economic-recovery.html) in limiting the economic damage from Covid-19. Compared to expectations and compared to our handling of the 2008 financial crisis, we’ve done remarkably well. But other countries have also done well, in some cases and by some measures better. In fact, among major advanced economies, the star performer of the pandemic era, arguably, is … France.

France? For as long as I can remember, U.S. media coverage of the French economy has been relentlessly negative.

Back in 1997, The Times’s Roger Cohen [*described*](https://www.nytimes.com/1997/08/24/weekinreview/france-s-allegiance-to-things-french-like-hypocrisy.html) France as “America’s favorite European basket case” (although he had the good grace to make fun of his own premature pessimism [*16 years later*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/12/opinion/global/roger-cohen-frances-glorious-malaise.html).) Indeed, in the ’90s we were told that France was too culturally stagnant to keep up with modern technology; another 1997 [*article*](https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1997-01-27-mn-22569-story.html) was titled “Why the French Hate the Internet.” (France currently has higher [*broadband penetration*](https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=BROADBAND_DB) than we do.) During the 2010-13 euro crisis, I constantly read assertions that France was next in line to join the afflicted economies of Southern Europe — “France is in Free Fall,” asserted an editor at [*Fortune*](https://fortune.com/2013/01/09/the-euro-crisis-no-one-is-talking-about-france-is-in-free-fall/).

The data never actually supported this negativism. What was really going on, I believe, was that business and economic discourse in the United States is strongly shaped by conservative ideology — and given that ideology, France, with its huge [*social expenditure*](https://data.oecd.org/socialexp/social-spending.htm), [*high taxes*](https://data.oecd.org/tax/tax-revenue.htm) and extensive economic regulation should have been a basket case. So reporting about France seized on every negative development as a sign that the long-awaited disaster was finally arriving.

But it never did show up. Instead, the French economy just kept on plugging along. True, [*gross domestic product per capita*](https://data.oecd.org/gdp/gross-domestic-product-gdp.htm) is about a quarter lower in France than it is here. But that mainly reflects a combination of earlier retirement and, above all, [*shorter working hours*](https://data.oecd.org/emp/hours-worked.htm) — because the French, unlike Americans, actually take vacations. That is, somewhat lower G.D.P. mainly reflects a choice rather than a problem.

And while the French work less than we do, they’re more likely than Americans to be employed during their prime working years. That’s probably not the story you’ve heard; my sense is that many Americans still imagine that France suffers from mass unemployment, a vision that had some truth to it 25 years ago but has long been out of date.

And prime-age employment is where France has done astonishingly well during the pandemic. Many economists use the employed percentage of adults ages 25 to 54 as a gauge of labor market conditions. This ratio plunged in the United States during the worst of the Covid-19 slump; it has since recovered strongly but is still below prepandemic levels, even though other indicators suggest a very tight labor market — one of the divergences that have economists talking about a Great Resignation of workers unwilling or unable to return to the labor force. France, however, not only managed to avoid a huge plunge in employment but has also surpassed its prepandemic level:

How did it do that? When the pandemic forced economies into a temporary lockdown, Europe, France included, and the United States took divergent routes toward supporting workers’ incomes. We offered enhanced unemployment benefits; France offered subsidies to employers to keep furloughed workers on the payroll. At this point it seems clear that the European solution was better, because it kept workers connected to their employers and made it easier to bring them back once vaccines were available.

Oh, and while the French have their anti-vaxxers, they don’t have as much political clout as their U.S. counterparts, so the country has done better at getting shots in arms:

France also has universal child care, which [*reopened relatively early*](https://www.usnews.com/news/best-countries/articles/2021-03-03/how-keeping-schools-open-helped-french-women-return-to-the-workplace) in the pandemic, as did schools — freeing parents, largely mothers, to return to work.

I don’t want to romanticize the French economy or French society, both of which have plenty of problems. And liberals who like to imagine that we could neutralize the anger of the white ***working class*** by raising wages and strengthening the social safety net should know that France, whose policies are to the left of U.S. progressives’ wildest dreams, has its own ugly white nationalist movement, albeit not as powerful as ours.

Still, at a time when Republicans denounce as destructive “socialism” any effort to make America less unequal, it’s worth knowing that the economy of France — which isn’t socialist but comes far closer to socialism than anything Democrats might propose — is doing pretty well.

PHOTO: Paris. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Dmitry Kostyukov for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** January 14, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Jessica Chastain Returns to the Stage With Nothing to Prove***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67M3-8HD1-JBG3-627J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 22, 2023 Wednesday 13:46 EST

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**Section:** THEATER

**Length:** 2426 words

**Byline:** Alexandra Alter

**Highlight:** In a pared-down Broadway revival of “A Doll’s House,” the Oscar-winning actress doesn’t have props, period costumes or much of a set. To her surprise, she likes it.

**Body**

Less than a week before she was set to appear in a Broadway revival of “A Doll’s House” as Nora, one of the most iconic female roles in Western theater, Jessica Chastain confessed to a nagging worry.

“I don’t want it to feel like a TED Talk,” she said.

Chastain sat in the upstairs lounge at the Hudson Theater, where preview performances of “A Doll’s House” began on Feb. 13. She was fighting a cold and drinking Throat Coat herbal tea, dressed in a navy sweater and white sneakers, a fluffy tan coat pooling around her.

She was reflecting on what it means to be starring in a raw, radical reimagining of Henrik Ibsen’s 1879 play — a work long celebrated as a profound exploration of how gender roles confine women, distorting their identities.

Chastain has fought for pay equity in Hollywood, pushed for support of Planned Parenthood and used red-carpet and talk-show appearances to champion causes such as the women protesting repression in Iran. In films as varied as “Zero Dark Thirty” and “The Eyes of Tammy Faye,” she’s embodied complicated, ambitious women who refuse to be constrained.

So she wondered if taking on the role of Nora, theater’s most famous oppressed housewife, might seem too pointed, even preachy.

“I’m such an advocate, I’m so outspoken, so even putting me in the part, we’re already doing something, right?” Chastain said. “So how can I as an actor approach it in a way that doesn’t feel like I’m here to give everyone in the audience a lecture?”

The answer came as she began to realize Nora isn’t a victim dominated by her condescending husband, Torvald. She plays the role of the pretty, fragile, childlike wife for a reason.

“When denied, you work within a system to gain power, and we’re all responsible for that. So that’s not just, oh, Torvald is a villain because he’s put Nora in a cage. Nora has stepped in the cage to gain what little power she has,” Chastain said. “Because girls are taught so young to be smaller, right? So our voices get higher, we don’t want to be threatening, we’re docile and meek. That’s kind of bred into us. But that’s part of how we are helping it continue, women not being seen as equal. We’re playing a part so we’re palatable enough, so that people hopefully will listen to us.”

She stopped, wary of veering into TED Talk territory — “I know I’m rambling a lot” — then, a moment later, as if realizing that she had cut herself off, finished the thought.

“I hope people will come to the theater and go: How am I doing that?” she said. “How am I not being my authentic self in order to be palatable to others?”

Chastain last appeared on Broadway a decade ago, when she starred in “The Heiress” as Catherine Sloper, a dowdy, awkward aristocrat. Wearing petticoats, a bustle and a prosthetic nose she applied herself, Chastain immersed herself in the play’s 19th-century mannerisms and aesthetic, studying how to curtsy and properly hold a fan, even embroidering during rehearsal breaks to stay in character.

With “A Doll’s House,” an adaptation by the British director Jamie Lloyd set to open on March 9, Chastain has no theatrical set pieces or ambience to fall back on. There are no period costumes, no props, nothing resembling a set. There’s not even a door to slam in Nora’s infamous parting gesture. The play is stripped down to its barest essentials — Ibsen’s story, and the emotions it provokes in the actors and audience. It’s not a stretch to say that the entire production rests on the power of her performance.

Chastain seems to relish the challenge.

“She commits 100 percent every single second. Right from the first read-through, she was all in, totally committed to the psychological and emotional journey,” Lloyd said. “This is the key to Jessica’s approach. Yes, it is a deeply political play that resonates today, but it’s an intensely psychological play.”

Asked how it felt performing live in such an unvarnished way, Chastain was blunt. “Scary,” she said. “It’s very exposed as an actress working this way, because it really is all about the words and the feelings and the relationships. Jamie’s note is always ‘simple, simple.’ Simplify it, simplify it, simplify it.”

Though it was unnerving at first, Chastain adapted to Lloyd’s extreme minimalism, which is so austere that it can feel almost untheatrical. It’s been liberating, she said.

“It feels like I’m not getting in my own way,” she said. “Like, I’m not having to show anything.”

A meteoric rise, and the anxiety that came with it

Plenty has happened to Chastain since she last took the stage. She won an Academy Award for best actress last year playing the weepy, charismatic televangelist Tammy Faye Bakker in [*“The Eyes of Tammy Faye,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/17/movies/jessica-chastain-eyes-of-tammy-faye.html)” a movie she developed herself in an effort to humanize a mocked and misunderstood woman.

Chastain won a Golden Globe in 2013 for her role as a driven C.I.A. analyst in “[*Zero Dark Thirty*](https://www.nytimes.com/2012/12/18/movies/jessica-chastain-in-zero-dark-thirty.html).” She appeared in blockbusters like “The Martian” and “Interstellar,” and in art-house films and adaptations of classics like “[*Miss Julie*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/12/05/movies/miss-julie-stars-jessica-chastain-and-colin-farrell.html),” a movie based on August Strindberg’s 1889 play.

She starred in prestige TV, including “[*Scenes From a Marriage*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/09/arts/television/review-scenes-from-a-marriage.html),” which earned her another Golden Globe nomination, and “[*George &amp; Tammy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/01/arts/television/george-tammy-review-were-gonna-hold-on-until-we-dont.html),” in which she played Tammy Wynette, modulating her voice into the country singer’s twang. The two series explore, in different ways, how women navigate marriage and divorce and its messy aftermath.

In 2016, Chastain started a production company, Freckle Films, which she has used to develop woman-centered projects. She married the Italian fashion executive Gian Luca Passi de Preposulo in 2017, and they are now raising a family in New York City.

Along the way, she has gone from being called “[*the latest It Girl of thinking person’s cinema*](https://www.nytimes.com/2012/11/02/theater/reviews/the-heiress-with-jessica-chastain-at-walter-kerr-theater.html)” (a label that implied her fame might be fleeting) to being something of a Hollywood power player. It’s emboldened her to try things that once terrified her — like anchoring a Broadway revival of a beloved classic.

“I don’t feel the angst and the fear that I did the last time I was onstage,” Chastain said. “Now I feel like I’ve put in a lot of work, and I feel like I’ve carved a place for myself in the industry. People know I work hard.”

Theater, after all, was where she discovered her love of acting. Growing up in a ***working-class*** household in Northern California, she saw “Richard III” during a trip to the Oregon Shakespeare Festival and was instantly hooked. Even though she didn’t graduate from high school, she was determined to attend Juilliard, so she earned an adult diploma and was accepted there with a scholarship, becoming at 22 the first college student in her family. Her second year, she was cast in Anton Chekhov’s “The Seagull,” and a few years after she graduated, Al Pacino cast her alongside himself in a stage production of Oscar Wilde’s “Salomé,” which was later produced [*as a film*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/29/movies/wilde-salome-review-al-pacino.html).

It took years of bit parts on “ER” and “Law &amp; Order” before her movie career took off, but in 2011, she was suddenly everywhere: She appeared in six films, including “The Tree of Life,” “Take Shelter” and “The Help,” which landed her her first Oscar nomination.

The flurry of work and attention was thrilling but terrifying. When Chastain appeared on Broadway in “The Heiress,” an adaptation of the Henry James novella “Washington Square,” the expectations felt crushing. It didn’t help that some theater critics were underwhelmed, including [*Ben Brantley of The Times*](https://www.nytimes.com/2012/11/02/theater/reviews/the-heiress-with-jessica-chastain-at-walter-kerr-theater.html), who said her delivery “sometimes has a flatness that I associate with cold readings of scripts.”

“I’m a sensitive person, and the last time I did theater, it was so much pressure, and all the pressure took the joy out of it for me,” Chastain said.

“In the beginning, when I got all that attention so quickly,” she continued, “it just felt like this isn’t going to last. I felt so scared. It felt so unearned.”

Reviving an 1879 play with a new degree of nuance

Chastain wasn’t eager to return to the stage when she was approached six years ago by Lloyd, an acclaimed director whose minimalist restaging of “[*Cyrano de Bergerac*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/14/theater/cyrano-de-bergerac-review.html)” captivated audiences at the Brooklyn Academy of Music last year.

They met through a mutual friend, James McAvoy, who had worked with Chastain on the indie film “The Disappearance of Eleanor Rigby,” and starred as the title character in Lloyd’s “Cyrano.” Lloyd asked her why she wasn’t doing theater anymore.

“I think my response was, ‘Oh, I’m too scared,’” Chastain said.

Over lunch, he convinced her to reconsider, then asked her to propose a play they could do together. By 2019, they settled on John Webster’s “The Duchess of Malfi” but learned that a version of the play was about to be staged in London.

Then Chastain texted Lloyd — what about “A Doll’s House?”

It seemed exhilarating, and risky. For more than a century, “A Doll’s House” has occupied hallowed ground, revered as thought-provoking theater that made a prescient argument for women’s autonomy. Ibsen’s heroine, Nora, initially seems naïve and dependent on her husband, but she becomes disillusioned with how he controls and belittles her. She eventually leaves him with what the playwright George Bernard Shaw described as the “door slam heard around the world.”

When it made its 1879 debut in Copenhagen, “A Doll’s House” was met with critical acclaim as well as condemnation, including from women. Nora’s decision to abandon her family was considered so shocking that some actresses refused to play her.

Over the decades, the character has come to be seen as one of theater’s most demanding and rewarding roles. Liv Ullmann was nominated for a Tony for her performance in a 1975 Broadway revival. In 1997, the last time “A Doll’s House” was staged on Broadway, Janet McTeer won a Tony for playing Nora. In 2017, the playwright Lucas Hnath won accolades for his brazen sequel, “[*A Doll’s House, Part 2*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/27/theater/a-dolls-house-part-2-review-laurie-metcalf.html),” which explored the premise that Nora (played by Laurie Metcalf, who also won a Tony) returned home 15 years later.

When Chastain and Lloyd decided that they would collaborate on a revival of “A Doll’s House,” they were aware that staging the play now — post-MeToo, post-144 years of theatrical history — required a new degree of nuance. Their goal was to jettison the baggage associated with the “A Doll’s House” and hit reset, Lloyd said. “The idea is to clear away all those expectations.”

They planned to stage it in London in the spring of 2020, using an adaptation by Frank McGuinness. When the pandemic put the project on hold, Lloyd saw an opportunity for a fresh adaptation by a female playwright, and Chastain, who was distraught by Covid’s impact on New York City, proposed moving it to Broadway.

‘It went very intimate very quickly’

Chastain, as it happened, had been thinking about “A Doll’s House” while working on “Scenes From a Marriage," an HBO mini-series inspired by the filmmaker Ingmar Bergman’s exploration of a faltering relationship. (Bergman himself was influenced by “A Doll’s House” and released an adaptation called “Nora” in 1981.)

The TV show, which stars Chastain and Oscar Isaac, flips the gender dynamic of the original, so that Chastain is the partner who feels suffocated by the marriage and leaves her husband — a twist that echoes Ibsen’s plot.

One of the show’s lead writers was Amy Herzog, a playwright who had been obsessed with “A Doll’s House” since she was a teenager and had written a homage to it with her play [*“Belleville.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/03/04/theater/reviews/belleville-by-amy-herzog-at-new-york-theater-workshop.html) She jumped at the chance to work on an adaptation, and early last year, she began writing a version of Ibsen’s play based on a translation by Charlotte Barslund. Herzog and Chastain agreed that Nora should be played as a more ambiguous character.

“She didn’t go into it wanting to play a tragic victim. She went into it wanting to find those darker, subtler colors,” Herzog said of Chastain. “She’s willing to be unlikable, and she’s kind of fearless in exploring all kinds of weird, gnarly stuff.”

Chastain, who rarely speaks about her private life, brought up her own family when she described how society judges women like Nora, who reject marriage and motherhood. “The idea of leaving my children would be horrific, and devastating,” she said. At the same time, she understood and wanted to capture how Nora bristled at the restrictions of her life. “Nora rejects it to become a human being first,” she said.

When rehearsals began in January, Lloyd asked the cast to show up with the script memorized, so that the actors were responding to each other, not reciting lines, from the start. “Some of the discoveries that they made, right from the first week of rehearsal, are still in production today, because they were able to be totally in that moment and be as inventive and spontaneous as possible,” Lloyd said.

On the second day of rehearsal, the actors wore small microphones that rested near their mouths, allowing them to whisper lines and hear each other’s breathing. “It went very intimate very quickly,” said Arian Moayed, who plays Torvald.

Chastain, he said, had a granular approach to the text and was willing to take emotional risks in her performance.

“She has an unbelievable ability to empathize with anything and everything,” Moayed said. “It comes to her with ease.”

Chastain’s performance in “A Doll’s House” begins before the play even starts. On the first night of previews, the audience was still settling in when the curtain rose to reveal Chastain, wearing a simple long, dark dress, her copper hair tumbling down her back, sitting in a wooden chair as the stage spun her in slow, hypnotic circles.

For roughly two hours, with no intermission, she mostly remained front and center, often affixed to her chair, a tangible manifestation of Nora’s paralysis, as she veers from doting to cowering to realizing that she doesn’t know who she is. She delivered some lines under her breath, in hushed, frantic tones and ragged rasps.

Chastain appeared drained after that first public performance, her eyes still wet with tears as she bowed. Earlier, back in the lounge, when asked how it felt to be doing theater now, she thought about it for a moment.

“I don’t have to prove myself as much,” she said. “Ten years ago, I had impostor syndrome, which a lot of women have, you know? And maybe now I feel like, no, no, I’m home.”

PHOTOS: PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY THEA TRAFF FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (AR24-AR25); From top, Jessica Chastain during “A Doll’s House” rehearsal; in her Oscar-winning performance in “The Eyes of Tammy Faye”; with Oscar Isaac in “Scenes From a Marriage.” (PHOTOGRAPHS BY EMILIO MADRID; SEARCHLIGHT PICTURES; JOJO WHILDEN/HBO) (AR25) This article appeared in print on page AR24, AR25.

**Load-Date:** February 26, 2023

**End of Document**



[***As Museums Become Her Ally, Suzanne Lacy Brings Her Activism Inside***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64YR-7YS1-DXY4-X0MV-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** ARTS; design

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**Byline:** Jonathan Griffin

**Highlight:** From Queens, N.Y., to Manchester, England, museums are learning from this artist, who creates spaces where other voices can be raised.

**Body**

From Queens, N.Y., to Manchester, England, museums are learning from this artist, who creates spaces where other voices can be raised.

LOS ANGELES — On a cold day last December, sitting outside her studio in Santa Monica, Calif., the artist [*Suzanne Lacy*](https://www.suzannelacy.com/) talked excitedly about the coming year. In Manchester, England, exhibitions of her work were already open at the [*Whitworth Art Gallery and the Manchester Art Gallery*](https://www.whitworth.manchester.ac.uk/whats-on/exhibitions/currentexhibitions/suzannelacy/). She looked forward to a prestigious fellowship at the University of Manchester in the spring.

Lacy, 76, was also preparing for [*‘‘The Medium Is Not the Only Message,”*](https://queensmuseum.org/2022/02/suzanne-lacy-the-medium-is-not-the-only-message) a survey of her art at the Queens Museum, in New York, opening March 13. The exhibition features work made since the 1970s in what Lacy once termed “new genre public art” — politically engaged projects in which she involves communities in discursive, collaborative workshops and events on ageism, sexual violence, incarceration, immigration and other issues that might result in documentary photographs, video, performance, text, sound recordings, sculptures or — often — all of the above. Progressive institutions like the Queens Museum and the Whitworth are now centering their programs on the kinds of activities she has been doing for years, sometimes as art, sometimes as activism, sometimes as community engagement.

“Especially since Covid, the world seems to be focused on ‘care’,” Lacy told me in February when I returned to her studio — occupied mainly by wooden crates and plan chests that store her art. “Even museums are talking about becoming caring institutions.”

Throughout our conversation, she plied me with chocolate bars from Trader Joe’s. Beneath her kindly demeanor, however, lies a steeliness that comes from years of working at the front lines of political activism. She was born in California’s rural San Joaquin Valley to ***working-class*** parents whom she describes as “ethical rather than political.” She is as comfortable talking to politicians or police officers as she is with teenagers, construction workers or the elderly, but she has the forthright air of someone impatient to get things done.

Then, on Feb. 22, the future of Lacy’s projects — indeed, the future of one of these “caring institutions” — were thrown into question. [*The Guardian reported*](https://www.theguardian.com/education/2022/mar/01/manchester-university-staff-sign-letter-alistair-hudson-whitworth-palestine) that Alistair Hudson, director of the Whitworth and curator of Lacy’s exhibition there, had been “asked to leave his post” in response to an exhibition by the research group Forensic Architecture that Hudson had commissioned with the Manchester International Festival and the University of Manchester.

That exhibition, held last year, included a statement by Forensic Architecture expressing solidarity with Palestine and citing “ethnic cleansing” by Israeli police and settlers. The Whitworth is part of the University of Manchester; the advocacy group [*UK Lawyers for Israel*](https://www.uklfi.com/) criticized the public sector university for failing to remain neutral. As of this writing, Hudson denied that he had been asked by the university to resign, but declined to comment further on the ongoing dispute.

“It’s outrageous for a university to so flagrantly disregard freedom of speech,” Lacy said of the situation. She remains firmly in support of Hudson. [*Two associations*](https://www.internationaleonline.org/opinions/1080_statement_on_the_dismissal_of_alistair_hudson/) of international museum leaders [*signed open letters*](https://cimam.org/news-archive/statement-on-the-forced-resignation-of-alistair-hudson/) to the University of Manchester opposing the attempt to force the director out.

Lacy’s exhibition at the Whitworth is scheduled to run until April 10, but it sits within an ongoing program of community-engaged projects that she views as a collaboration with Hudson. As long as Hudson remains in the post, she intends to continue to fulfill her commitments in Manchester.

In England, artists pledged to boycott the Whitworth if Hudson was removed. When I asked if she would also consider joining the boycott, she pointed out that this would not be so simple as declining to ship a painting. Almost every project of Lacy’s involves a network of collaborators, co-authors, institutional and organizational partners.

“I’m working with human beings whose lives are impacted by my actions, and who have investments equal to my investment,” she said. “So any decision I made would be based on thoughtful conversations with my collaborators.”

For decades, Lacy’s work was little known outside California, where she has long been an influential educator, currently at the University of Southern California where she is a professor at the [*Roski School of Art and Design*](https://roski.usc.edu/). In recent years, however, she has become recognized as a pioneer of “social practice” — a genre of art that, some argue, is so widespread that it almost ceases to be a meaningful category.

[*Catherine Wood,*](https://www.tate.org.uk/research/features/bigger-splash-interview-catherine-wood) senior curator of international art at Tate Modern, London, says that as a result of the social and political shifts of the past few years, “we are coming to a new understanding of all art as social.” She believes the term “social practice” will become less relevant, the way “video art” or “performance art” have been absorbed by the mainstream.

“I just call it art,” says [*Sally Tallant*](https://news.artnet.com/career-stories/queens-museum-sally-tallant-more-just-museum-world-1987272), executive director of the Queens Museum, which has an unusually long history of community engagement. Tallant has wanted to mount an exhibition by Lacy since she joined the museum in 2019. “I don’t believe her influence is recognized on the East Coast,” she says. “There’s such a passion for social practice now, but she’s been doing it for decades.”

While political activism forms the core of her work, Lacy’s methods are less confrontational and antagonistic than one might assume for an artist whose roots lie in the radical feminist performance of the 1970s. (In one 1973 performance, she nailed lamb viscera to a saw horse.)

Lacy is a bridge-builder and a mediator. She rarely puts her own deeply held beliefs at the forefront of her projects, but rather creates safe spaces where others’ voices can be raised. “In the current cultural and political context, protest tends to be the go-to strategy for artists,” Lacy said. “Protest is an important strategy, but there are other ways to make change as well.”

A growing trend in social practice, Lacy said, has been the shift toward art projects aiming to influence public policy — a strategy little discussed in previous years. In Manchester, for example, Lacy’s two exhibitions are part of a longer program titled “What Kind of City? A Manual for Social Change.” The initiative, spearheaded by Hudson and Lacy, aims to address their question: “After Covid, what kind of city can we make together?” Planned workshops around four themes — youth agency, borders, social cohesion, and work prospects for older women — correlate to themes in Lacy’s exhibitions. Manchester residents will use Lacy’s projects as both inspiration and informational resources for talking about how social conditions can be improved in their communities.

For one such project, [*“Uncertain Futures,”*](https://manchesterartgallery.org/exhibitions-and-events/exhibition/suzanne-lacy-uncertain-futures/) currently on view at the Manchester Art Gallery, Lacy and a team of university researchers interviewed 115 local women over the age of 50 — a demographic that often struggles to be heard. Among the concerns they raised were their working prospects after Covid, public policy around retirement and pensions, migration, housing, disability and isolation.

“These older women are often in the position of providing care, while they themselves need care,” Lacy said. At a summit meeting from March 23 to 26, Lacy’s team plans to present its findings to local politicians and policymakers.

When Lacy visited Queens Museum, in 2020, she witnessed the Cultural Food Pantry, which gives out food packages to 500 families a week. (The initiative began in the early months of the pandemic.) She immediately wanted to be involved. “Giving out food is so satisfying,” she said. “Direct service is very important to me. It comes from my ***working-class*** background.”

In her 1982 performance “Freeze Frame: Room for Living Room,” a participatory performance staged in an upscale furniture showroom, different groups of women, from sex workers to disabled women to ex-psychiatric patients and pregnant women, discussed their lives and the topic of survival as it related to their often-intersectional identities. (Intersectionality was not named, still less discussed, at that time.)

The artist will “reactivate” that project by installing furniture in the “sunken living room,” a public space in the atrium of the Queens Museum. Female volunteers from the Cultural Food Pantry — all leaders in their ethnically diverse communities — will take part in the project. Instead of inviting them to talk among themselves as participants did in 1982, Lacy is asking them what they want to learn. Leadership training and English language lessons have been raised so far, but the project is still in development.

Since Lacy’s first major retrospective in 2019 at the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art and the Yerba Buena Center for the Arts, San Francisco, she has found herself working inside museums as never before. In the 1970s and ’80s, she recalled, museums were simply not interested in supporting the kind of work she did. “In the mid parts of my career, I took to the streets,” she said.

Anne Pasternak, director of the Brooklyn Museum, commissioned Lacy in 2013 for one of those projects, [*“Between the Door and the Street,”*](https://www.suzannelacy.com/between-the-door-and-the-street/) when Pasternak was president and creative director of the public-art nonprofit Creative Time. The project had hundreds of women gather on stoops to talk about immigration, labor and poverty and the impact these issues had on women’s lives.

Pasternak said that museums are now not only commissioning such projects by “trailblazing” social practice artists like Lacy, Tania Bruguera, Mel Chin, and Mierle Laderman Ukeles; they have begun to collect and archive them too.

Lacy welcomes this new context for her work. “I need museums to the extent that I want my work embedded in art history,” she said. “I used to think, if my work was written about, if it’s documented, even if I just put it in my archives, it would survive. And I don’t believe that’s the case anymore.” The capacity of museums not just to exhibit but to store, conserve and contextualize her work has become increasingly important.

For her project “Prostitution Notes” (1974-75), Lacy moved through city streets, restaurants and bars “tracking” the lives of sex workers. The annotated drawings that were the project’s main physical outcome sat rolled up in Lacy’s garage for three decades before she framed them for the landmark feminist art survey [*“WACK!”*](https://www.moca.org/exhibition/wack-art-and-the-feminist-revolution) in 2007 at the Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles. The piece then entered the museum’s collection, and will be lent for her Queens Museum exhibition.

Today, museums are under great internal and external pressure to reform. “The neutrality of the museum is a myth,” Hudson asserts, a view that is widely becoming accepted.

Through decades of tireless work — work that was once thought unsuitable for museum exhibition — artists like Lacy are pointing a way forward for arts institutions to be more engaged, more useful, and to abandon the facade of neutrality. Museums, like Lacy’s art, can be vessels for diverse and sometimes conflicting stories.

The Medium Is Not the Only Message

Through Aug. 14, Queens Museum, New York City Building, Flushing Meadows Corona Park, Queens; 718-592-9700; queensmuseum.org.

PHOTOS: Clockwise from top: Suzanne Lacy; an installation view of “Across and In-Between” (2018) in Lacy’s exhibition “What Kind of City? A Manual for Social Change”; a view of Lacy’s “What Kind of City?” featuring the installation “The Oakland Projects” (1991-2001), a collaboration with Julio César Morales and Unique Holland and city agencies to empower local youth; two performance documentations from “The Medium Is Not the Only Message”; and “Freeze Frame: Room for Living Room” (1982). (PHOTOGRAPHS BY YUDI ELA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; SUZANNE LACY AND THE WHITWORTH, UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER; MICHAEL POLLARD; SUZANNE LACY STUDIO; CINDY HONESTO, VIA SUZANNE LACY; F-STOP FITZGERALD, VIA SUZANNE LACY STUDIO) (C16-C17)

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**End of Document**



[***Bringing Some Cool to German Comedy***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6209-K8K1-DXY4-X11X-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** In a country not known for edgy standup comedy, the stand-up Felix Lobrecht has found success by ignoring the rules.

**Body**

In a country not known for edgy standup comedy, the stand-up Felix Lobrecht has found success by ignoring the rules.

BERLIN — In a country where many comedians dress to play a character — a sleeveless pullover for a nerd, a pink tracksuit for a ***working-class*** housewife — Felix Lobrecht’s clothes are all his own.

His gold chains, designer T-shirts and expensive sneakers make the 32-year-old standup look like a rapper, but his swagger onstage is no act. He’s just as confident without a microphone in hand.

“I’m the first cool comedian in Germany,” Lobrecht said in a recent video interview.

In the six years since he started doing standup, Lobrecht has become one of the most famous comedians in Germany by ignoring the comedy scene’s traditional gatekeepers and routes to success.

He has amassed his own following through social media (with nearly 900,000 followers on Instagram) and a [*weekly podcast*](https://open.spotify.com/show/7BTOsF2boKmlYr76BelijW), which is the most popular in the German language (and the only non-English podcast to make it into Spotify’s worldwide top ten). Last year he won the German Comedy Prize, after it switched from a jury to a public vote, and when the dates for his first arena tour were announced, just before Germany went into lockdown last March, tickets sold out overnight.

Success has made Lobrecht rich, and he’s not afraid to show it, something that successful entertainers here often avoid. He wears a big gold watch and likes to talk about his new Mercedes; his carefully curated Instagram makes him look like a pop star.

Yet his roots are more modest: He grew up the eldest of three children, raised by a single father, in an impoverished area of the Neukölln district in Berlin.

“I grew up in Neukölln, and now I wear a Rolex,” said Lobrecht. “That in itself is a hip-hop story.”

Onstage, Lobrecht is a street-smart misanthropist, who speaks in a ***working-class*** Berlin accent and mocks political correctness. To open his latest Netflix special, “Hype,” he riffs about his annoyance at disabled parking spaces; in many routines, he puts on the accents of the first generation Turkish and Arabic immigrants he grew up with.

But the Lobrecht that millions of listeners to his weekly podcast know is progressive, thoughtful and generous. He has supported refugee organizations and groups that help young people get out of far-right gangs and rails against wealth inequality.

Lobrecht dismissed the suggestion that the two sides of his public persona somehow contradict each other, calling them “facets” of his genuine self.

“It’s two sides of the same coin: I did grow up on welfare in Berlin, on the one hand,” he said; “On the other hand, I also did my university studies,” he added. “That also had an influence on me.”

Lobrecht studied political science at college, in Marburg, central Germany, and got involved in the slam poetry scene around that time. Although he found many of his fellow performers pretentious, he said, he started logging time in front of an audience, working on timing and stage presence. (Even as a poet, he was funny.)

The greatest challenge in his transition to standup, Lobrecht said, was to come out and call himself a comedian.

“It was a big step to come out and say ‘I’m a comedian now’ because it has a bad image,” he said. “German comedy at the time — in my eyes at least — wasn’t very good,” he said, before demurring a little: “At least, it wasn’t something that people of my generation really consumed,” he added.

Kawus Kalantar, a standup comedian who has opened for Lobrecht, said “German comedy has reached a tipping point and I think we’re seeing a transformation. But before that, it was just embarrassing.”

Typically, German comedians come up through the rigid system of late-night shows on public TV and comedy festivals. In recent years, though, there has been a shift: In Berlin and other cities, standup clubs are popping up, and TV is losing its power to anoint stars.

“I was lucky — I wasn’t the only one who was tired of how comedy worked in Germany,” said Lobrecht. “And when the chance came, I was ready.”

When he won the comedy prize last year, Lobrecht offered some advice to young comedians. “I want to encourage you not to sign on with agencies too quickly,” he said on live TV. “We were able to do it independently.”

Elizabeth Prommer, a media science professor at the University of Rostock, who has written a book on German comedy, said, “YouTube and the recent podcasting craze have allowed German comedians to be a bit more independent from TV these days, which used to have a real gatekeeping function in the country.”

She added that, while this shift can benefit comedians like Lobrecht, it doesn’t guarantee access to all new comers. Women, for example, are still underrepresented, she said.

“It’s not like Germans had no humor,” said Prommer. “But what’s new now is having young comedians simply talking about their lives, about things they experience walking down the streets of Berlin.”

Lobrecht’s sets hinge on observational humor, meandering riffs and well-timed callbacks. He often laughs at his own jokes, as though he’s telling them for the first time, which gives his shows a sort of intimacy, even when there are thousands in the audience. It’s a style that can feel more like contemporary American standup than the work of his fellow German comics.

“One thing I credit my fans with — and I think it’s the same in American standup — it’s all meant to be funny, it’s not some political speech,” Lobrecht said. “I think you have a certain freedom when people know that.

German audiences, however, don’t always get it. In January, Lobrecht made headlines after making jokes about [*a fire in a German zoo that killed 30 monkeys*](https://open.spotify.com/show/7BTOsF2boKmlYr76BelijW). Bild, a tabloid newspaper, [*accused him of mocking the dead animals*](https://open.spotify.com/show/7BTOsF2boKmlYr76BelijW), and Lobrecht was criticized by animal rights groups.

Although Lobrecht follows American comedians like Bill Burr, Sarah Silverman and Dave Chappelle, he mostly watches them for pleasure, he said, and doesn’t try to copy their techniques.

Looking abroad had raised the standard in German comedy, he said, because young English-speaking and social media-connected viewers now had access to so much more material.

“Today the competition is much fiercer, because everyone is just two clicks from the best stand-up comedy in the world,” he said. In Germany, at least, Lobrecht is a fierce competitor.

PHOTO: Felix Lobrecht has become one of the most famous comedians in Germany by ignoring the traditional routes to success. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Netflix FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** February 12, 2021

**End of Document**



[***A Korean Garment's Evolution***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6568-X3X1-DXY4-X2GK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 10, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section ST; Column 0; Style Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1979 words

**Byline:** By Aileen Kwun

**Body**

With spare, elongated lines and broad shapes that bloom into a voluminous silhouette, the traditional Korean hanbok, made to accommodate movement, is as beautiful as it is functional.

The long-sleeved jacket invites a sense of ritual, with a stately v-shaped neckline and ribboned coat strings that are meant to be tied into a single-looped bow from the wearer's left to right. A wrapped skirt, floor-length, worn high and cinched tightly upon the chest, or trousers, loosefitting with ankle ties that puff each leg up like parachutes, complete the outfit.

The word ''hanbok'' translates to ''Korean clothes,'' and before the introduction of Western styles to Korea, it was simply everyday wear. While period shows depicting this earlier era are common fare on Korean television, the new Apple TV + series ''Pachinko'' is a watershed moment in American television entertainment. The trilingual series, told in Korean, Japanese and English, takes care to portray, in intimate, humanizing detail, such elements of everyday Korean life from the early 20th century.

Hanbok has reflected variations and styles over its more than 2,000-year history: Jacket and skirt hemlines have shortened and lengthened; sleeves have widened, rounded or narrowed over cycles of subtle change. Today, contemporary designers continue to take great inspiration from the garment, yet the most traditional form continues to take cues from the Joseon era, a dynastic period that lasted from the late 14th century to the early 20th century.

'''Hanbok' is a collective term,'' as Kyunghee Pyun, 49, a dress historian and professor at the Fashion Institute of Technology, said, ''just as 'kimono' and 'caftan' each represent a set of clothes, not individual garments.'' Throughout history, she noted, hanboks have been made predominantly by women, and much of the thriving hanbok industry today can be credited to their resilience. ''It was these women as entrepreneurs who created a market for wedding and special-occasion hanbok.''

They have also kept its tradition alive. As Western attire is now everyday wear for Koreans, hanbok-wearing will soon become part of a formal set of customs designated as ''intangible cultural heritage,'' the South Korean Cultural Heritage Administration recently announced.

In Korean culture and among diasporic communities, the garment has become ubiquitous in family photos and gatherings, worn for traditional holiday celebrations such as Seollal (Lunar New Year) and Chuseok (fall harvest); celebratory life events such as weddings, 60th and first birthdays; and funerals.

''Growing up, hanbok was very much this ritualistic costume,'' said Jillian Choi, 37, an art and design consultant whose family immigrated from South Korea to New Jersey in the 1970s. ''My mother had a ritual of unwrapping the hanbok on New Year's Day, laying them out, and teaching us how to put it on and tie the ribbons in that special way. Hanbok was my tangible connection to this special place, this idea of Korea.''

While Ms. Choi, like many Korean American children, grew up wearing hanboks sent from relatives overseas, hanbok boutiques are enduring fixtures in major cities such as Los Angeles, Atlanta and New York, home to some of the largest diasporic Korean communities in the country.

On Western Avenue, in the heart of Los Angeles's Koreatown, Laura Park, 58, has been operating her business, House of LeeHwa, for more than 30 years.

Ms. Park's family history in the artisanal hanbok textile trade traces back to her great-grandparents in North Korea. Her grandmother, a refugee of the Korean War, brought their business to South Korea and passed it down to Ms. Park's mother, who then established a wholesale and retail trade at Gwangjang Market, one of Seoul's oldest shopping arcades filled with shops and stalls selling street food, homewares, handicrafts, textiles and ''market hanbok,'' as off-the-rack ensembles are called.

''When I was young, I grew up playing on the factory floors, playing beneath the machines,'' said Ms. Park, who creates all of her designs with textiles imported from Korea. From its beginnings as a one-woman home operation in 1990, LeeHwa has survived through challenging moments: the Los Angeles riots, the Northridge earthquake and, most recently, closures because of the pandemic.

''I've always felt proud of our business for being woman owned, minority owned and how we came up in our community through word-of-mouth,'' said Ms. Park's daughter, Estella Park Riahi, 31, who helped expand LeeHwa to online retail and ushered it into the social media age.

The store has thrived in recent years, Ms. Park Riahi said, drawing a more diverse clientele who are not of Korean descent but are curious to learn more about the culture. That interest has been bolstered by the popularity of K-pop bands who have worn modernized hanbok ensembles onstage, as well as more traditional, historical styles in photo shoots and press appearances.

The classic semiformal hanbok worn today, made from fine silk and ramie in an array of colors, is largely derived from styles worn by royalty and upper classes in the late Joseon era. During that period, a rich symbolism of ornate patterns, materials, colors and accessories were historically coded to signify gender, marital status, class and rank.

''Nowadays, silk hanbok is very common, but in the late Joseon era, only the royal family and very high-class gentry could wear silk garments,'' said Minjee Kim, 52, a hanbok scholar and dress historian.

Koreans who were not in the upper ranks of society, by contrast, produced their own clothing at home in preindustrial times, using natural dyes and readily available materials such as hemp, linen and cotton. The white hanbok, in particular, has been symbolic for Korean people throughout history, conveying purity as well as solidarity and resistance in times of political strife.

''Up until the Joseon dynasty, there was a state dress code that enforced people to wear a certain style of clothing,'' Ms. Kim said. ''That sort of thing became abolished through Korea's modernization.''

'Sometimes it takes a work of fiction'

As Korea opened its doors to international trade in the late 19th century, an influx of Western styles arrived. After Japan annexed the country in 1910, Koreans experienced a campaign of cultural erasure and material extraction that sought to oppress their heritage in all aspects of daily life, extending to land ownership, language, food and clothing.

''Once you get past statistics and numbers of how many who moved, how people died, how many people were displaced, you drill down to the stories of the people who actually lived,'' said Soo Hugh, the creator and showrunner of ''Pachinko.'' Adapted from Min Jin Lee's novel, the story follows four generations of a resilient immigrant family across Korea, Japan and New York, shining a light on a painful chapter of modern Korean history marked by years of occupation, war and separation.

''Growing up, there are so many blank spaces, wondering how something happened, or not understanding. Sometimes it takes a work of fiction to be able to open up that conversation,'' Ms. Hugh, 44, said. ''Obviously, I am the generation that carries the burden of that sacrifice, and yet so much amnesia as well.''

For much of the first half of the season, the protagonist Sunja, a Korean girl born during the Japanese occupation to humble, ***working-class*** parents in Busan, wears hanboks made from crushed cotton and muslin as she cooks, runs errands and tends her mother's boardinghouse. Rumpled and gently soiled, it's not an outfit for a special occasion. In addition to ensuring historical accuracy, Ms. Hugh noted, ''hanbok made from hemp and cotton moves differently. We wanted to capture that detail as a storytelling tool for our characters, and their economic conditions as well.''

For the show, the costume designer Kyunghwa Chae, 46, who has worked on dozens of South Korean film productions, looked at historical materials -- books and scholarly articles, old Korean films, magazines and archival photos -- and consulted with academics to inform her designs.

In the novel, Ms. Lee writes of how Western-style clothing played a part in the intricate code-switching of this era and how ''the chill against identifiable Koreans was obvious'' for Zainichi -- ethnic Koreans who emigrated to Japan during occupation -- a detail that also unfolds onscreen. As Sunja arrives at her new home in Osaka, Japan, where watchful eyes discern her as the other, she sheds her hanbok jacket and skirt in favor of sweaters and wool coats to blend in. Weeks later, she bowls over in agony when she realizes her sister-in-law has washed her hanbok, erasing the last lingering scents of salty air and seawater of her hometown.

''I wanted to capture that contrast of Sunja's hanbok changing into a completely different style, bit by bit,'' Ms. Chae said. ''You notice her hanbok gradually changing, piece by piece, until she has adopted Japanese or Western-type clothing,'' she added, as an attempt to assimilate into a country where she is unwanted but nonetheless determined to survive.

In a story such as this, where the viewer travels time and place, many small details had to be addressed.

''Clothing is an indulgent conversation in some ways,'' Ms. Hugh said, because the ***working-class*** Koreans were not discussing whether putting on a suit defines them as a Westerner. ''At the same time, it's a really important question of identity, especially in Korea,'' she said.

Ms. Hugh, who was one of only a few Korean American children growing up in Towson, Md., in the 1980s, recalled how wearing hanbok to school for multicultural days could garner unwanted attention -- a feeling of otherness. ''Now, when you read and learn about the history of our clothes, putting on a hanbok feels empowering, and also something that needs to be protected a little bit,'' she said. ''Working on 'Pachinko' has put so much of my past in context.''

With the continuing increase of anti-Asian violence and scapegoating during the pandemic, some Korean Americans have also embraced hanbok as a symbol of cultural pride in the face of xenophobic assaults. At her recent solo exhibition, ''Late Bloomer,'' at Hashimoto Contemporary gallery in Los Angeles, Seonna Hong, 48, displayed two handmade hanboks, ''a homage to my heritage,'' she said. Made from recycled clothes, curtains, canvas, denim jeans and a vintage Butterick sewing pattern she found on Etsy, ''it's a reflection of who I am, in that I'm a patchwork of different cultures and generational experiences.''

While researching the pioneering Fluxus artist Nam June Paik in Miami, where he died in 2006, Ms. Choi, the art consultant, was moved when she came across his final work, ''Ommah'' (Mother), in which a traditional overcoat, called a durumagi, envelopes a looping video of three young Korean American girls who play games while dressed in hanboks.

''It just moved me to know that was his final work,'' Ms. Choi said. ''For me, it symbolizes the lineage of that sadness that is in every Korean because of our very recent, traumatic history that isn't spoken about much, especially in the diaspora, where it's regarded as: 'That was then, that was there.'''

What struck her about watching ''Pachinko,'' she added, is ''how close that past really is, and how much change there has been in such a short period of time: technologically, culturally, geopolitically.'' It is also a stark reminder, she said, of what her own grandmothers wore in their youth, just two generations ago.

''With the surge of global interest in Korean culture, hanbok may just be a trend for a lot of people, but for me, that validation is not necessary to who I am,'' Ms. Choi said. ''This is just who we are -- and it's beautiful to embrace.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/09/style/one-garments-journey-through-history.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/09/style/one-garments-journey-through-history.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: The matrimonial hanbok, above, has a history going back more than 2,000 years. (PHOTOGRAPH BY EMANUEL HAHN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (ST1)

Top, a traditional hanbok that was typically worn by the bride during a ritual where the groom's family accepted her into their home. Above left, the K-pop band Oneus wearing an updated version of hanbok at an album release showcase in Seoul. Above, an 1890 photograph. Left, Minha Kim in ''Pachinko.'' (PHOTOGRAPHS BY EMANUEL HAHN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

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[***What’s at Stake***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66T2-XK71-DXY4-X28Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1704 words

**Byline:** Claire Moses

**Highlight:** Tuesday’s elections will determine the next two years of President Biden’s agenda — and shape the future of democracy.

**Body**

Tuesday’s elections will determine the next two years of President Biden’s agenda — and shape the future of democracy.

To understand the importance and consequences of Tuesday’s midterm elections, I spoke to Astead Herndon, a political reporter who has been covering this election cycle for [*the Times podcast “The Run-Up.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/election-run-up-podcast)

Claire: Hi Astead. I live in Europe, where many people are only now starting to tune into the midterms. How would you explain to them, and others who need a refresher, why this election matters?

Astead: If the Republicans take back the House, it would change the scope of U.S. policy. We know they’d try to stop President Biden’s agenda. A Republican House would hurt Biden’s ability to respond to domestic challenges on his terms, like inflation, and to global crises — Kevin McCarthy, the Republican House leader, has signaled that Republicans might stop approving aid for Ukraine.

We’ve also seen a global rise in fears of democratic collapse. If the U.S. elects lawmakers who [*spread conspiracy theories about elections*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/10/13/us/politics/republican-candidates-2020-election-misinformation.html) and who promise to tear down tenets of democracy, that will embolden autocratic leaders in other countries and weaken the United States’ standing in the world.

These midterms also matter because they could signal the start of an even more divisive era of politics. We should not assume we are at the floor of division — we’re going to get lower.

When you say Republicans would try to block Biden, what could that look like?

If Republicans take over Congress, some members will push their new House speaker to start impeachment proceedings of the president and members of his cabinet like Merrick Garland, the attorney general. Some Republicans have been ready to impeach Biden since he took office. Their complaints are about policy and politics, not accusations of the kinds of abuses of power that have historically been grounds for impeachment. McCarthy has [*tried to minimize*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/28/us/politics/house-republicans-impeachment-biden.html) talk of impeachment lately, seeing it as polarizing, but the hard right rank-and-file will almost certainly press for it.

You’ve been covering politics for years. What do you think we should be paying more attention to?

Democrats are asking their base to rally behind the idea of protecting democracy — that’s what Biden has said. But that base is mostly ***working-class*** Americans and people of color. And many of those people feel like the system has not provided tangible and meaningful change on issues that most affect their day-to-day life — like housing, wages or public safety.

A woman on last week’s episode of “The Run-Up” told us that democracy has never worked for her. She’s borne the brunt of poverty. Her top issue was housing. That’s not what the Democratic Party is talking about. While Biden and Democrats did pass funding related to housing, [*that money was drastically cut*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/08/us/politics/democrats-budget-bill-cuts-infrastructure.html) from the levels that most people who focus on the issue say was necessary to effect lasting change.

I also think that the media has done too little to explain Republicans’ built-in advantages. Their control of legislatures in some battleground states is [*backed by gerrymandering*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/25/us/politics/republican-redistricting-swing-states.html). We recently did an [*episode of the podcast about Wisconsin*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/20/podcasts/run-up-wisconsin-midterm-elections.html), and how Republicans have gerrymandered the state legislature in such a way that they have effectively shut Democrats out of power.

There are so many races that it can be hard to keep track. Which are worth following?

It depends on what matters to you. Let’s say it’s action from the White House on codifying abortion rights into federal law: Look at races where Democratic control of the House hangs in the balance, and Senate races in states like Nevada, Wisconsin and Georgia. If Democrats don’t hold both chambers of Congress, that’s not going to happen.

If your concern is about the strength of democracy, look at state races, like for governor, secretary of state and statehouses — especially with the looming Supreme Court case that could give more power over elections to state legislatures. You can also look at Wisconsin and Arizona, where there are huge stakes, not just for this election but for the Democrats’ ability to win future races. The Republican candidates for governor in those states, Tim Michels in Wisconsin and Kari Lake in Arizona, have been openly hostile toward elements of our election system — including mail-in ballots and early voting — that many Democrats say are necessary for them to have a chance at success.

When might we know some results?

The initial numbers may give us hints of larger trends. In 2016 and 2020, results in Florida gave us good signs of the level of enthusiasm of particular voting blocs. If the Republicans win Florida by a lot, that’ll be a bad sign for Democrats. The margins of Virginia, for example, could tell us whether young, college-educated white voters are going back to Republicans, because they make up a sizable chunk of voters there. But for a lot of results, we will have to wait for the total count, which might take days.

Astead Herndon is a national political reporter who joined The Times in 2018. In high school, he wrote a column for his school newspaper named “Get into Astead’s Head.”

More on the midterms

* The “Run-Up” podcast has put together a guide to the most important issues of the election. [*Listen here*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/podcasts/run-up-midterm-elections.html).

1. Three presidents — Barack Obama, Donald Trump and Biden — [*campaigned in Pennsylvania yesterday*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/us/politics/obama-trump-biden-pennsylvania-midterms.html).
2. Political disputes inside families seem to be reaching a breaking point. In one Arizona household, [*even the mail is divided*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/us/politics/politically-divided-family.html).
3. The cosmetics heir Ronald Lauder is spending big money to [*try to revive New York’s Republican Party*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/06/nyregion/ronald-lauder-zeldin-governor.html) after years of losses.
4. Hundreds of Americans told The Times they agree on one thing: Campaigns must [*stop sending unwanted political text messages*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/technology/political-text-messages-pelosi-trump.html).
5. Take a special midterms edition of [*our news quiz*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/11/04/briefing/04-news-quiz-election.html).

NEWS

War in Ukraine

* World leaders friendly with Vladimir Putin have bought Russia’s coal, oil and gas, helping to finance his war and [*stalling climate progress*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/11/05/climate/putin-russia-climate-change-progress.html).

1. Kyiv is planning for [*the risk of a complete blackout*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/11/05/world/ukraine-war-news-russia-updates) that would require the evacuation of about three million residents.

Sports

* The Houston Astros beat the Philadelphia Phillies [*to win the World Series*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/sports/baseball/houston-astros-world-series.html), adding a clean title to their scandal-tainted 2017 win.

1. The New York City Marathon is today. [*Here’s a preview of the course*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/04/sports/nyc-marathon-route-map-neighborhood.html).

Other Big Stories

* Aaron Carter, who became a teenage sensation in the early 2000s with songs like “I Want Candy,” [*died at 34*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/arts/music/aaron-carter-dead.html).

1. A surge in antisemitic rhetoric has made this fall [*increasingly worrisome*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/04/us/kanye-antisemitism-midterms.html) for American Jews.

* The Times tracked how prominent Republicans [*amplified groundless and often homophobic claims*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/11/05/us/politics/pelosi-attack-misinfo-republican-politicians.html) about the attack on Paul Pelosi.

1. “[*Saturday Night Live*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/06/arts/television/saturday-night-live-amy-schumer.html)” contemplated the midterms and Elon Musk’s takeover of Twitter. Amy Schumer hosted.

FROM OPINION

* A rogue’s gallery of crazy [*is about to be running the House*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/opinion/election-republican-greene-vance.html), Maureen Dowd writes.

1. Think controversial Republican candidates can’t win? [*Just look at Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/06/opinion/politics/republican-midterms.html), Daniel McCarthy says.
2. The new season of “The White Lotus” [*deconstructs American masculinity*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/06/opinion/white-lotus-masculinity.html), Pamela Paul writes.
3. John Hancock and Samuel Adams’s falling out foreshadowed the political debates [*that divide us today*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/opinion/john-hancock-samuel-adams.html), Stacy Schiff says.

The Sunday question: Did the Parkland school shooter deserve the death penalty?

Sentencing the [*guilty, largely remorseless*](https://www.miamiherald.com/opinion/editorials/article267254122.html) Nikolas Cruz to life in prison showed him more compassion than he showed his victims, says The Miami Herald’s editorial board. But seeing a killer put to death [*doesn’t always bring solace*](https://www.nbcnews.com/think/opinion/parkland-shooting-nikolas-cruz-spared-death-penalty-victims-families-m-rcna51719) to victims’ families, Emilia Benton writes for NBC News.

MORNING READS

Gas station sunglasses: Celebrities [*say they’re cool*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/03/style/the-wraparound-renaissance.html).

Slow fashion: These gloves are [*made by hand*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/27/fashion/craftsmanship-omega-gloves-naples-italy.html).

Roku City: The streaming box’s screen saver is the [*subject of fantasies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/02/style/roku-city-screensaver.html).

Sunday routine: An [*astrophysicist plays pool*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/nyregion/jackie-faherty.html).

Advice from Wirecutter: Lock [*sensitive photos on your phone*](https://www.nytimes.com/wirecutter/blog/how-to-lock-down-sensitive-photos/).

BOOKS

Translation: “Shuna’s Journey,” a children’s book famous in Japan for decades, [*is finally available in English*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/02/books/review/hayao-miyazaki-shunas-journey.html).

By the Book: Bono shares the novel that [*helped him grow up*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/03/books/review/bono-books-interview.html).

Threats: [*Eight books*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/02/books/review/books-on-democracy.html) about the decline of democracy.

Our editors’ picks: “Poster Girl,” Veronica Roth’s novel about morality in a surveillance state, and [*eight other titles*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/03/books/review/9-new-books-we-recommend-this-week.html).

Times best sellers: “How Y’all Doing?,” a memoir by the actor Leslie Jordan, who died recently, debuted as [*a paperback nonfiction*](https://www.nytimes.com/books/best-sellers/2022/11/13/paperback-nonfiction/) best seller. See [*all our lists*](https://www.nytimes.com/books/best-sellers/).

THE SUNDAY TIMES MAGAZINE

On the cover: The [*Democrats’ last stand*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/01/magazine/wisconsin-democrats.html) in Wisconsin.

Recommendation: Make Greek [*chickpeas and spinach*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/01/magazine/revithia-me-spanaki.html).

Ethicist: If you raised money after a fire, can [*you spend it on a vacation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/01/magazine/donation-ethics.html)

Eat: [*Pecan tart*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/02/magazine/pecan-tart-recipe.html).

Read [*the full issue*](https://www.nytimes.com/issue/magazine/2022/11/04/the-11622-issue).

THE WEEK AHEAD

What to Watch For

* World leaders will gather in Egypt for [*international climate talks*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/cop27-climate-change-summit.html) that open today.

1. Bessie Hendricks of Iowa, believed to be the oldest person in the U.S., celebrates her 115th birthday tomorrow.
2. Tuesday is Election Day in the U.S.
3. Twitter shares are set to be delisted from the New York Stock Exchange on Tuesday, as Musk takes the company private.
4. Christie’s will auction the [*billion-dollar art collection*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/25/arts/design/christies-auction-paul-allen-art-collection.html) of Paul Allen, the co-founder of Microsoft, on Wednesday and Thursday.
5. The U.S. will release inflation data for October on Thursday morning.
6. Veterans Day is on Friday.

What to Cook This Week

Looking for dishes kids will actually eat? Emily Weinstein asked her colleagues what they feed their own children on weeknights. Kenji López-Alt recommends [*niku udon,*](https://cooking.nytimes.com/recipes/1023569-niku-udon-japanese-beef-noodle-soup) a fast, slurpable Japanese soup. Margaux Laskey suggests [*huli huli chicken*](https://cooking.nytimes.com/recipes/1020347-huli-huli-chicken), noting that her kids “love the salty-sweetness of it.” Genevieve Ko’s pick is [*pasta with pumpkin seed pesto*](https://cooking.nytimes.com/recipes/1023430-pasta-with-pumpkin-seed-pesto), particularly because it’s designed to be made ahead and eaten chilled. Emily has [*more ideas for weekday meals*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/04/dining/what-we-make-for-our-kids.html).

NOW TIME TO PLAY

Here’s a clue [*from the Sunday crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/crosswords/game/daily/2022/11/06):

109 Across: Spiny sea creatures

Here’s [*today’s Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/puzzles/spelling-bee). Here’s [*today’s Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/games/wordle/index.html). After, [*use our bot*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/upshot/wordle-bot.html) to get better.

Thanks for spending part of your weekend with The Times.

Lauren Hard, Lauren Jackson, Ian Prasad Philbrick, Tom Wright-Piersanti and Ashley Wu contributed to The Morning. You can reach the team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](mailto:themorning@nytimes.com).

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing).

PHOTO: Clockwise from top left: Las Vegas, Athens, Ga., and Atlanta this weekend. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Clockwise from top left: Bridget Bennett, Audra Melton, and Nicole Craine for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 6, 2022

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[***News Anchor Turned Gubernatorial Hopeful Now Calls Reporters 'Monsters'***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66T2-YGY1-JBG3-62K3-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 24

**Length:** 1687 words

**Byline:** By Jazmine Ulloa

**Body**

Former friends and colleagues of Ms. Lake, the Republican nominee for governor, say they remember her far differently from the candidate they see today.

One longtime former co-worker in the television news business recalled that Kari Lake detested guns and practiced Buddhism. Another former local news anchor, Stephanie Angelo, who did not work with Ms. Lake but later became close friends with her, described Ms. Lake back then as ''a free spirit'' and ''liberal to the core.''

''Her saying that abortion should be illegal -- absolutely not,'' Ms. Angelo said. ''The Kari I knew would never have said that, and she wouldn't have believed it either.''

But in her run for governor of Arizona, Ms. Lake -- a former local Fox anchor -- has refashioned herself as a protégé of Donald Trump and a die-hard Christian conservative who wields her media expertise as a weapon and has turned her former industry into a foil. In her closing pitch to voters ahead of the election on Tuesday, Ms. Lake, 53, has been campaigning against the press as much as she has against Katie Hobbs, her Democratic rival, riling up audiences against reporters in attendance, whom she calls the ''fake news,'' and pledging to become the media's ''worst nightmare'' if elected.

It's a far cry from the person many journalists she worked with remember.

Seven of Ms. Lake's former colleagues at the local Fox station in Phoenix, where she read the news for more than two decades, and two others who consider themselves her former friends said Ms. Lake had once expressed more liberal views on subjects including guns, drag queens and undocumented immigrants. They said she used to admire Barack and Michelle Obama, and pointed out that she had donated to Mr. Obama's presidential campaign. Some requested anonymity because they did not have permission to speak to the press or feared retaliation from Ms. Lake or her supporters.

During a campaign stop with veterans in Scottsdale, Ariz., on Wednesday, she called reporters ''monsters'' and said, ''Let's defund the press.'' In another rally on Thursday night in Phoenix, she lashed out at ''the media'' more times than she mentioned Ms. Hobbs.

The attacks on her former industry exploit trends that, in recent years, have shown stark declines in Americans' trust in television and newspapers -- and that, most recently, amid bitter partisan fights over local school boards and pandemic restrictions, have even captured increasing charges of bias against local news, long seen as one of the most trusted sources of information.

They are also part of an old playbook: Mr. Trump, a former reality television star, criticized networks over their ratings and media coverage he disliked throughout his time in the White House and his presidential campaigns. At his recent rallies, he still takes time to denounce news stories and the reporters in attendance. Republicans' trust in traditional media continues to drop, with many preferring to rely on a thriving ecosystem of fringe right-wing outlets and partisan fare.

At Ms. Lake's events, some of her loudest applause lines and showers of boos come when she mentions the news industry, even though many of the reporters at her events now increasingly include those from right-wing media who amplify her message. In Scottsdale, many people raised their hands when she asked how many of them consumed little to no ''fake news media.'' In Phoenix, people cheered and whistled when she expressed indifference toward negative coverage of her campaign. She asked them to look at the reporters set up on risers in the back. ''How many of you really don't care what the big news media says?'' she said to applause.

Her supporters tend not to care or believe that she once leaned liberal. Those who watched her newscast often cannot cite specific stories she worked on, but they do recall her charisma and sharp presentation. They now appreciate her TV-polished and combative style.

That includes Jeanine Eyman and her daughter, Joanna, who were waiting in line outside a sports park in Mesa, Ariz., in October to watch Ms. Lake speak at a Trump rally. They said they admired that she was a news insider turned outsider. ''To step down when you don't agree with the politics going on, I think that made a huge statement for what she believes and the person that she is,'' Jeanine Eyman said.

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Before Ms. Lake started her professional journalism career, she interned at the same radio station where Mr. Reagan once worked. She often cites this fact on the trail, along with her admiration for Mr. Reagan, a conservative hero who she said spurred her to register as a Republican as soon as she turned 18.

But she often says now that she left her job as a prominent television news anchor in Phoenix in early 2021, in the middle of the pandemic, when she came to believe the media was pushing a ''biased'' and ''immoral'' agenda by refusing to cover unproven Covid treatments and by repeating talking points from Dr. Anthony Fauci.

She started her campaign for governor with a debut ad that featured her smashing television sets playing newscasts with a sledgehammer. She has since called for the arrest of Mr. Fauci, publicized unproven Covid treatments and fueled Mr. Trump's lies that the 2020 presidential election was ''crooked.''

She has criticized drag queens and surgery for transgender people, and she echoes Mr. Trump's rhetoric against immigrants, promising to finish his border wall and declare an ''invasion'' on the nation's southwestern border. She has presented herself as a staunch opponent of abortion and ''a lifetime member'' of the National Rifle Association. And she has called reporters ''the right hand of the Devil.''

It is a metamorphosis that has shocked former colleagues and others who knew her.

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''You love to smear Republicans,'' Ms. Lake told reporters.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/us/kari-lake-az-journalist-gop.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/us/kari-lake-az-journalist-gop.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Kari Lake during a rally with former president Donald Trump in Mesa, Ariz., last month. (PHOTOGRAPH BY REBECCA NOBLE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A24.

**Load-Date:** November 6, 2022

**End of Document**



[***One Garment’s Journey Through History***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6562-C9D1-JBG3-63Y0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 9, 2022 Saturday 11:47 EST

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**Section:** STYLE

**Length:** 2054 words

**Byline:** Aileen Kwun

**Highlight:** The evolution of the Korean hanbok is a lens into the history of the country, which is now being traced in the series “Pachinko.”

**Body**

With spare, elongated lines and broad shapes that bloom into a voluminous silhouette, the traditional Korean hanbok, made to accommodate movement, is as beautiful as it is functional.

The long-sleeved jacket invites a sense of ritual, with a stately v-shaped neckline and ribboned coat strings that are meant to be tied into a single-looped bow from the wearer’s left to right. A wrapped skirt, floor-length, worn high and cinched tightly upon the chest, or trousers, loosefitting with ankle ties that puff each leg up like parachutes, complete the outfit.

The word “hanbok” translates to “Korean clothes,” and before the introduction of Western styles to Korea, it was simply everyday wear. While period shows depicting this earlier era are common fare on Korean television, the new Apple TV + series “Pachinko” is a watershed moment in American television entertainment. The trilingual series, told in Korean, Japanese and English, takes care to portray, in intimate, humanizing detail, such elements of everyday Korean life from the early 20th century.

Hanbok has reflected variations and styles over its more than 2,000-year history: Jacket and skirt hemlines have shortened and lengthened; sleeves have widened, rounded or narrowed over cycles of subtle change. Today, contemporary designers continue to take great inspiration from the garment, yet the most traditional form continues to take cues from the Joseon era, a dynastic period that lasted from the late 14th century to the early 20th century.

“‘Hanbok’ is a collective term,” as Kyunghee Pyun, 49, a dress historian and professor at the Fashion Institute of Technology, said, “just as ‘kimono’ and ‘caftan’ each represent a set of clothes, not individual garments.” Throughout history, she noted, hanboks have been made predominantly by women, and much of the thriving hanbok industry today can be credited to their resilience. “It was these women as entrepreneurs who created a market for wedding and special-occasion hanbok.”

They have also kept its tradition alive. As Western attire is now everyday wear for Koreans, hanbok-wearing will soon become part of a formal set of customs designated as “intangible cultural heritage,” the South Korean Cultural Heritage Administration recently announced.

In Korean culture and among diasporic communities, the garment has become ubiquitous in family photos and gatherings, worn for traditional holiday celebrations such as Seollal (Lunar New Year) and Chuseok (fall harvest); celebratory life events such as weddings, 60th and first birthdays; and funerals.

“Growing up, hanbok was very much this ritualistic costume,” said Jillian Choi, 37, an art and design consultant whose family immigrated from South Korea to New Jersey in the 1970s. “My mother had a ritual of unwrapping the hanbok on New Year’s Day, laying them out, and teaching us how to put it on and tie the ribbons in that special way. Hanbok was my tangible connection to this special place, this idea of Korea.”

While Ms. Choi, like many Korean American children, grew up wearing hanboks sent from relatives overseas, hanbok boutiques are enduring fixtures in major cities such as Los Angeles, Atlanta and New York, home to some of the largest diasporic Korean communities in the country.

On Western Avenue, in the heart of Los Angeles’s Koreatown, Laura Park, 58, has been operating her business, House of LeeHwa, for more than 30 years.

Ms. Park’s family history in the artisanal hanbok textile trade traces back to her great-grandparents in North Korea. Her grandmother, a refugee of the Korean War, brought their business to South Korea and passed it down to Ms. Park’s mother, who then established a wholesale and retail trade at Gwangjang Market, one of Seoul’s oldest shopping arcades filled with shops and stalls selling street food, homewares, handicrafts, textiles and “market hanbok,” as off-the-rack ensembles are called.

“When I was young, I grew up playing on the factory floors, playing beneath the machines,” said Ms. Park, who creates all of her designs with textiles imported from Korea. From its beginnings as a one-woman home operation in 1990, LeeHwa has survived through challenging moments: the Los Angeles riots, the Northridge earthquake and, most recently, closures because of the pandemic.

“I’ve always felt proud of our business for being woman owned, minority owned and how we came up in our community through word-of-mouth,” said Ms. Park’s daughter, Estella Park Riahi, 31, who helped expand LeeHwa to online retail and ushered it into the social media age.

The store has thrived in recent years, Ms. Park Riahi said, drawing a more diverse clientele who are not of Korean descent but are curious to learn more about the culture. That interest has been bolstered by the popularity of K-pop bands who have worn modernized hanbok ensembles onstage, as well as more traditional, historical styles in photo shoots and press appearances.

The classic semiformal hanbok worn today, made from fine silk and ramie in an array of colors, is largely derived from styles worn by royalty and upper classes in the late Joseon era. During that period, a rich symbolism of ornate patterns, materials, colors and accessories were historically coded to signify gender, marital status, class and rank.

“Nowadays, silk hanbok is very common, but in the late Joseon era, only the royal family and very high-class gentry could wear silk garments,” said Minjee Kim, 52, a hanbok scholar and dress historian.

Koreans who were not in the upper ranks of society, by contrast, produced their own clothing at home in preindustrial times, using natural dyes and readily available materials such as hemp, linen and cotton. The white hanbok, in particular, has been symbolic for Korean people throughout history, conveying purity as well as solidarity and resistance in times of political strife.

“Up until the Joseon dynasty, there was a state dress code that enforced people to wear a certain style of clothing,” Ms. Kim said. “That sort of thing became abolished through Korea’s modernization.”

‘Sometimes it takes a work of fiction’

As Korea opened its doors to international trade in the late 19th century, an influx of Western styles arrived. After Japan annexed the country in 1910, Koreans experienced a campaign of cultural erasure and material extraction that sought to oppress their heritage in all aspects of daily life, extending to land ownership, language, food and clothing.

“Once you get past statistics and numbers of how many who moved, how people died, how many people were displaced, you drill down to the stories of the people who actually lived,” said Soo Hugh, the creator and showrunner of “Pachinko.” Adapted from Min Jin Lee’s novel, the story follows four generations of a resilient immigrant family across Korea, Japan and New York, shining a light on a painful chapter of modern Korean history marked by years of occupation, war and separation.

“Growing up, there are so many blank spaces, wondering how something happened, or not understanding. Sometimes it takes a work of fiction to be able to open up that conversation,” Ms. Hugh, 44, said. “Obviously, I am the generation that carries the burden of that sacrifice, and yet so much amnesia as well.”

For much of the first half of the season, the protagonist Sunja, a Korean girl born during the Japanese occupation to humble, ***working-class*** parents in Busan, wears hanboks made from crushed cotton and muslin as she cooks, runs errands and tends her mother’s boardinghouse. Rumpled and gently soiled, it’s not an outfit for a special occasion. In addition to ensuring historical accuracy, Ms. Hugh noted, “hanbok made from hemp and cotton moves differently. We wanted to capture that detail as a storytelling tool for our characters, and their economic conditions as well.”

For the show, the costume designer Kyunghwa Chae, 46, who has worked on dozens of South Korean film productions, looked at historical materials — books and scholarly articles, old Korean films, magazines and archival photos — and consulted with academics to inform her designs.

In the novel, Ms. Lee writes of how Western-style clothing played a part in the intricate code-switching of this era and how “the chill against identifiable Koreans was obvious” for Zainichi — ethnic Koreans who emigrated to Japan during occupation — a detail that also unfolds onscreen. As Sunja arrives at her new home in Osaka, Japan, where watchful eyes discern her as the other, she sheds her hanbok jacket and skirt in favor of sweaters and wool coats to blend in. Weeks later, she bowls over in agony when she realizes her sister-in-law has washed her hanbok, erasing the last lingering scents of salty air and seawater of her hometown.

“I wanted to capture that contrast of Sunja’s hanbok changing into a completely different style, bit by bit,” Ms. Chae said. “You notice her hanbok gradually changing, piece by piece, until she has adopted Japanese or Western-type clothing,” she added, as an attempt to assimilate into a country where she is unwanted but nonetheless determined to survive.

In a story such as this, where the viewer travels time and place, many small details had to be addressed.

“Clothing is an indulgent conversation in some ways,” Ms. Hugh said, because the ***working-class*** Koreans were not discussing whether putting on a suit defines them as a Westerner. “At the same time, it’s a really important question of identity, especially in Korea,” she said.

Ms. Hugh, who was one of only a few Korean American children growing up in Towson, Md., in the 1980s, recalled how wearing hanbok to school for multicultural days could garner unwanted attention — a feeling of otherness. “Now, when you read and learn about the history of our clothes, putting on a hanbok feels empowering, and also something that needs to be protected a little bit,” she said. “Working on ‘Pachinko’ has put so much of my past in context.”

With the continuing increase of anti-Asian violence and scapegoating during the pandemic, some Korean Americans have also embraced hanbok as a symbol of cultural pride in the face of xenophobic assaults. At her recent solo exhibition, “Late Bloomer,” at Hashimoto Contemporary gallery in Los Angeles, Seonna Hong, 48, displayed two handmade hanboks, “a homage to my heritage,” she said. Made from recycled clothes, curtains, canvas, denim jeans and a vintage Butterick sewing pattern she found on Etsy, “it’s a reflection of who I am, in that I’m a patchwork of different cultures and generational experiences.”

While researching the pioneering Fluxus artist Nam June Paik in Miami, where he died in 2006, Ms. Choi, the art consultant, was moved when she came across his final work, “Ommah” (Mother), in which a traditional overcoat, called a durumagi, envelopes a looping video of three young Korean American girls who play games while dressed in hanboks.

“It just moved me to know that was his final work,” Ms. Choi said. “For me, it symbolizes the lineage of that sadness that is in every Korean because of our very recent, traumatic history that isn’t spoken about much, especially in the diaspora, where it’s regarded as: ‘That was then, that was there.’”

What struck her about watching “Pachinko,” she added, is “how close that past really is, and how much change there has been in such a short period of time: technologically, culturally, geopolitically.” It is also a stark reminder, she said, of what her own grandmothers wore in their youth, just two generations ago.

“With the surge of global interest in Korean culture, hanbok may just be a trend for a lot of people, but for me, that validation is not necessary to who I am,” Ms. Choi said. “This is just who we are — and it’s beautiful to embrace.”

PHOTOS: The matrimonial hanbok, above, has a history going back more than 2,000 years. (PHOTOGRAPH BY EMANUEL HAHN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (ST1); Top, a traditional hanbok that was typically worn by the bride during a ritual where the groom’s family accepted her into their home. Above left, the K-pop band Oneus wearing an updated version of hanbok at an album release showcase in Seoul. Above, an 1890 photograph. Left, Minha Kim in “Pachinko.” (PHOTOGRAPHS BY EMANUEL HAHN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; THE CHOSUNILBO JNS/IMAZINS, VIA GETTY IMAGES; UNIVERSAL IMAGES GROUP, VIA GETTY IMAGES; APPLE) (ST4)

**Load-Date:** April 10, 2022

**End of Document**



[***In Arizona, Kari Lake Worked in Local TV News. Now, She Calls Reporters ‘Monsters.’***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66SW-TCP1-DXY4-X1DH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 5, 2022 Saturday 21:31 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1696 words

**Byline:** Jazmine Ulloa

**Highlight:** Former friends and colleagues of Ms. Lake, the Republican nominee for governor, say they remember her far differently from the candidate they see today.

**Body**

Former friends and colleagues of Ms. Lake, the Republican nominee for governor, say they remember her far differently from the candidate they see today.

One longtime former co-worker in the television news business recalled that Kari Lake detested guns and practiced Buddhism. Another former local news anchor, Stephanie Angelo, who did not work with Ms. Lake but later became close friends with her, described Ms. Lake back then as “a free spirit” and “liberal to the core.”

“Her saying that abortion should be illegal — absolutely not,” Ms. Angelo said. “The Kari I knew would never have said that, and she wouldn’t have believed it either.”

But in her run for governor of Arizona, Ms. Lake — a former local Fox anchor — has refashioned herself as a protégé of Donald Trump and a die-hard Christian conservative who wields her media expertise as a weapon and has turned her former industry into a foil. In her closing pitch to voters ahead of the election on Tuesday, Ms. Lake, 53, has been campaigning against the press as much as she has against Katie Hobbs, her Democratic rival, riling up audiences against reporters in attendance, whom she calls the “fake news,” and pledging to become the media’s “worst nightmare” if elected.

It’s a far cry from the person many journalists she worked with remember.

Seven of Ms. Lake’s former colleagues at the local Fox station in Phoenix, where she read the news for more than two decades, and two others who consider themselves her former friends said Ms. Lake had once expressed more liberal views on subjects including guns, drag queens and undocumented immigrants. They said she used to admire Barack and Michelle Obama, and pointed out that she had [*donated*](https://www.12news.com/article/news/politics/kari-lake-is-running-for-governor-as-a-republican-but-has-also-been-a-registered-democrat/75-550469a9-0665-404c-84b0-7548d5681a41) to Mr. Obama’s presidential campaign. Some requested anonymity because they did not have permission to speak to the press or feared retaliation from Ms. Lake or her supporters.

During a campaign stop with veterans in Scottsdale, Ariz., on Wednesday, she called reporters “monsters” and said, “Let’s defund the press.” In another rally on Thursday night in Phoenix, she lashed out at “the media” more times than she mentioned Ms. Hobbs.

The attacks on her former industry exploit trends that, in recent years, have [*shown stark declines*](https://www.axios.com/2022/07/08/news-republicans-democrats-trust-partisanship) in Americans’ trust in television and newspapers — and that, most recently, amid bitter partisan fights over local school boards and pandemic restrictions, have even captured increasing charges of bias [*against local news*](https://www.seattletimes.com/opinion/local-news-more-trusted-but-challenges-remain/), long seen as one of the most trusted sources of information.

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PHOTO: Kari Lake during a rally with former president Donald Trump in Mesa, Ariz., last month. (PHOTOGRAPH BY REBECCA NOBLE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A24.

**Load-Date:** November 6, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The 50 Best Movies on Netflix Right Now***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68MX-VWT1-JBG3-60SJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 7057 words

**Byline:** Jason Bailey

**Highlight:** There are so many film experiences to choose from on Netflix, let us help you narrow down your choices.

**Body**

There are so many film experiences to choose from on Netflix, let us help you narrow down your choices.

[*Sign up for our Watching newsletter*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/watching) to get recommendations on the best films and TV shows to stream and watch, delivered to your inbox.

The sheer volume of films on [*Netflix*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/netflix) — and the site’s less than ideal interface — can make finding a genuinely great movie there a difficult task. To help, we’ve plucked out the 50 best films currently streaming on the service in the United States, updated regularly as titles come and go. And as a bonus, we link to more great movies on Netflix within many of our write-ups below. (Note: Streaming services sometimes remove titles or change starting dates without giving notice.)

Here are our lists of the [*best TV shows on Netflix*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/best-tv-shows-netflix.html), the [*best movies on Amazon Prime Video*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/best-movies-amazon-prime.html) and the best of [*everything on Hulu*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/best-movies-shows-hulu.html) and [*Disney Plus*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/best-tv-shows-movies-disney-plus.html).

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/BV_nssS6Zkg)]

‘American Gangster’ (2007)

The director Ridley Scott teamed his brother Tony’s favorite leading man, Denzel Washington, with his own frequent collaborator Russell Crowe for this crime epic and watched the sparks fly. Washington is electrifying as Frank Lucas, the real-life 1970s-era Harlem drug kingpin; Crowe balances Washington’s furious energy with reactive repose as the lawman who persuades Lucas to inform on his associates. The leisurely pace may put off those looking for a slam-bang action movie, but Scott’s handling of the give-and-take relationship between his leads is gripping, and his reproduction of New York in the ’70s is remarkable.

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/70060009)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/OZ9Gp6Qc8LQ)]

‘American Graffiti’ (1973)

Between his debut feature “THX 1138” and the seismic sensation of “Star Wars,” George Lucas made a pit stop in the genre of coming-of-age comedy-drama with this teen-centered smash, which he co-wrote and directed. Set entirely on the last night of high school, circa 1962, “Graffiti” tells several stories of seniors standing on the precipice of “real life” and not sure where to go next. The prescience of the casting is stunning — it’s filled with soon-to-be-stars, including Richard Dreyfuss, Harrison Ford, Ron Howard, Paul Le Mat, Mackenzie Phillips, Suzanne Somers and Cindy Williams — the period music is delightful and the one-crazy-night vibes are immaculate.

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/70019013)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/99k3u9ay1gs)]

‘American Sniper’ (2014)

Early in his career, Clint Eastwood might well have played a character like Chris Kyle, the Navy SEAL marksman with over 160 confirmed kills in the Iraq war; in those days, such a film would probably have vibrated with jingoism. But the film Eastwood directed late in his career is more complicated than that, light on suspenseful battle sequences and focusing instead on the psychological burdens of killing for one’s country, and the toll that takes on fighters returning to the uncertainties of home. Eastwood’s confident direction keeps “Sniper” from bogging down into red state/blue state dichotomies, while showcasing the considerable gifts of its star, Bradley Cooper, who was nominated for an Oscar for his work as Kyle. (Netflix’s “[*All Quiet on the Western Front*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81260280)” is a similarly complicated war drama.)

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/80013871)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/N_QksSzK7sI)]

‘The Mule’ (2018)

Clint Eastwood starred in (for the first time in six years) and directed this mash-up of character drama and road movie, based on the [*true story*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/15/magazine/the-sinaloa-cartels-90-year-old-drug-mule.html) of a 90-year-old veteran and great-grandfather who became a drug mule. Eastwood’s fictionalized protagonist makes this career shift because of hard times, financial and emotional; he has lost his business and his family has turned away from him, for good reason. It’s a complicated character, likable and even empathetic while simultaneously amoral, and Eastwood seems to enjoy exploring those contradictions (and how they intersect with his own). The fine supporting cast includes Bradley Cooper, Laurence Fishburne, Andy Garcia, Michael Peña and Dianne Wiest.

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81035551)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/BdmOjfGTUzQ)]

‘Closer’ (2004)

In 1971, the director Mike Nichols scored one of his greatest critical and commercial successes with “Carnal Knowledge,” a savagely funny and brutally candid account of the war between the sexes, as seen through the broken relationships of four people. In 2004, near the end of his career, Nichols revisited the subject matter with a similar cast makeup, adapting the play “Closer” by Patrick Marber into a tough four-hander of sexual desire and emotional betrayal. Jude Law, Clive Owen, Natalie Portman and Julia Roberts display some of their best screen acting to date, playing a full range of ruthlessness, cruelty, sensitivity and brokenness. It’s a challenging movie, but a great one. (Nichols and Roberts would re-team three years later for “[*Charlie Wilson’s War*](https://www.netflix.com/title/70060021),” also on Netflix.)

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/70011210)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/JLSQBAXIKtk)]

‘The Sugarland Express’ (1974)

Steven Spielberg’s first theatrical release (after the astonishing made-for-TV movie “Duel”) is based on a true story and vibrates with verisimilitude, filling out scenes with authentic locations and colorful supporting characters, often played by local nonactors. But it’s also, essentially, a two-hour chase scene, executed with breathless bravado by a director who was already a master craftsman, choreographing his automotive ballets as large-scale slapstick. “Sugarland” refuses to paint its Texas characters in broad strokes, so the flaws of the antiheroes are weighed equally with the decency of the lawmen. And this may be the finest performance by Goldie Hawn, who funnels her persona (with its unquestionable warmth and charisma) into a genuine and singular character.

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/70001767)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/mG0Xr7wcO8g)]

‘Ocean’s Eleven’ (2001)

The Oscar-winning Steven Soderbergh brings together a jaw-dropping ensemble — including George Clooney, Matt Damon, Brad Pitt, Andy Garcia, Don Cheadle, Bernie Mac and Julia Roberts — for this sly, funny remake of the 1960 “Rat Pack” caper, investing the new work with a “[*seismic jolt of enthusiasm*](https://www.nytimes.com/2001/12/07/movies/film-review-for-the-new-rat-pack-it-s-a-ring-a-ding-thing.html).” Soderbergh keeps the basic story (a gang of con artists robs several Las Vegas casinos simultaneously) and the “all-star cast” hook. But he also updates the story to acknowledge Sin City’s current, family-friendly aesthetic and invests the heist with enough unexpected twists and turns to keep audiences guessing. (Netflix is streaming the follow-ups “[*Ocean’s Twelve*](https://www.netflix.com/title/70011211)” and “[*Ocean’s Thirteen*](https://www.netflix.com/title/70058024),” as well as the Clooney-Pitt reunion “[*Burn After Reading*](https://www.netflix.com/title/70098606).”)

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/60021783)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/kA244xewjcI)]

‘Past Lives’ (2023)

The playwright Celine Song makes her feature filmmaking debut (and was nominated for the best original screenplay Oscar) with this [*astonishing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/01/movies/past-lives-review.html) story of love, loss and the passage of time. Greta Lee is resplendent as Nora, whose family moves from Korea to the United States when she’s a child, leaving behind her best friend Hae Sung. Years later, she and Hae Sung (played as an adult by Teo Yoo) reconnect virtually, raising the specter of an adult relationship; years after that, they meet again in person, and ponder what could have been, a trickier proposition now that Nora is married to Arthur (John Magaro). Song’s writing is keenly observed, displaying a deft understanding of the what-if questions that can keep us up at night.

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81700118)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/fZ_JOBCLF-I)]

‘The LEGO Movie’ (2014)

A film based on the LEGO toy line sounded, at first glance, like the crassest kind of commercial moviemaking. But the directors Phil Lord and Christopher Miller are masters of making engaging entertainment out of terrible-sounding ideas (their credits include the “Jump Street” movies), and “LEGO” ingeniously turns its heavily branded high concept into a giddy meta-analysis of the entire concept of imagination and play (and uses it as an excuse to host a jaw-dropping assortment of pop-culture characters). Throw in an eerie, prescient subplot concerning the villainous “President Business,” and you’ve got one of the smartest, funniest family movies in recent memory.

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/70289949)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/zPYuV_jGk7M)]

‘Starship Troopers’ (1997)

The director Paul Verhoeven pulled one of the great bait-and-switch deals of the modern blockbuster era with this sci-fi and action hybrid, which lured in viewers with the promise of laser-toting heroes vaporizing giant bug creatures. It delivered that action, but then surrounded it with a merciless satire, in which a futuristic authoritarian government uses propaganda and jingoism to convince its youth to die cheerfully for the flag. His young, pretty cast — including Denise Richards, Casper Van Dien, Neil Patrick Harris and Dina Meyer — plays the material absolutely straight, which somehow renders it especially disturbing.

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/1181616)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/r9vv9Ztt3GI)]

‘The Addams Family’ (1991)

The notion of dusting off old television shows and turning them into big feature films with contemporary stars was still relatively novel in 1991, when Barry Sonnenfeld directed this big-screen blow up of the darkly funny 1960s sitcom. And it works, thanks in no small part to the leading performances of Anjelica Huston and Raul Julia, who go at the roles of Morticia and Gomez Addams with gusto, playing up both their cheerful morbidity and their gothic sensuality. And Sonnenfeld (who went on to direct “Men in Black”) finds the right cockeyed comic-strip look and sensibility for the movie. Also, keep an eye out for Christina Ricci, sharp and memorable in one of her first roles as the deadpan daughter Wednesday.

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/217258)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/STuHQ5HpmEE)]

‘Ali’ (2001)

Will Smith nabbed his first Academy Award nomination for his masterly turn as Muhammad Ali in this robust biopic. Eschewing the cradle-to-grave approach of too many such projects to focus on the key decade of 1964 to 1974, “Ali” adroitly dramatizes the champ’s transformation from gifted young fighter to political figure as he loses his hard-earned title for refusing to fight in Vietnam and becomes the focus of controversy for his conversion to Islam. The director Michael Mann exchanges his customarily sleek and contemplative style for something earthier and more emotional; our critic predicted, “his [*overwhelming love of its subject*](https://www.nytimes.com/2001/12/25/movies/film-review-master-of-the-boast-king-of-the-ring-vision-of-the-future.html) will turn audiences into exuberant, thrilled fight crowds.” (For more Oscar-nominated drama, try “[*1917*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81140931),” “[*Awakenings*](https://www.netflix.com/title/268371)” and “[*Mudbound*](https://www.netflix.com/title/80175694).”)

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/60021792)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/Le-J-9IPlT4)]

‘Field of Dreams’ (1989)

Kevin Costner crafts one of his finest performances in this clever but tender drama from the director Phil Alden Robinson, which was nominated for the best picture Oscar. Costner plays Ray Kinsella, a child of the ’60s who settles down on an Iowa corn farm but finds himself hearing voices and seeing visions — all of which give him the unorthodox advice of plowing under some of his corn and building a baseball diamond. What happens next is an unlikely mix of magical realism and genuine emotion, bolstered by splashes of real sports history and thinly-veiled roman à clef. It sounds like a mess, but Robinson and his peerless cast never step wrong — and its closing scenes are guaranteed to turn on the waterworks. (Sports film fans will also enjoy “[*Rudy*](https://www.netflix.com/title/60002332)” and the Costner-fronted “[*Draft Day*](https://www.netflix.com/title/70298434).”)

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/499612)

‘Between the Temples’ (2024)

The prickly, knotty humanism and ’70s vibe of the director Nathan Silver and his writing partner C. Mason Wells, wielded promisingly in their [*2017 indie “Thirst Street,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/19/movies/thirst-street-review.html) comes to full flower in this often warm and occasionally uncomfortable comedy-drama. Jason Schwartzman stars as a recent widower, unable to fulfill his duties as a cantor at an upstate New York synagogue. But he’s unexpectedly re-energized by helping his elementary school music teacher (Carol Kane) prepare for her very belated bat mitzvah. Schwartzman is marvelously morose, putting across the character’s pain and mourning without asking for sympathy, while Kane is a firecracker, juicing every scene with the kind of electrifying unpredictability that’s always made her an M.V.P. in supporting roles. (If you like this kind of nuanced comedy-drama, try the Oscar-winning “[*Beginners*](https://www.netflix.com/title/70148804).”)

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81971767)

‘Psycho’ (1960)

Alfred Hitchcock revolutionized the horror movie and reinvented himself with this wildly influential (and still plenty scary) hit. After a series of handsomely mounted, star-studded, full color, on-location thrillers like “North by Northwest” and “To Catch a Thief,” the master filmmaker chose to upend expectations by making a stripped-down black-and-white chiller on a B-movie budget. He cast mostly lesser-known actors, save for the leading lady Janet Leigh, then shocked audiences by killing her off at the end of the first act. That murder in a motel shower would become one of the most iconic single sequences in all of cinema; the rest of the picture is nearly as frightening. (Classic movie fans will also enjoy “[*Midway*](https://www.netflix.com/title/60030182),” “[*Rooster Cogburn*](https://www.netflix.com/title/919537)” and “[*The Guns of Navarone*](https://www.netflix.com/title/60000061).”)

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/879522)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/JQaeUz7K83w)]

‘Uncle Buck’ (1989)

Two years after their celebrated collaboration on “Planes, Trains and Automobiles,” the writer and director John Hughes and the comedian John Candy reunited for this rough-and-tumble comedy. Candy is the title character, the black sheep of a well-to-do nuclear family who is brought in as a last-choice babysitter when the parents leave town for a medical emergency. Candy’s Buck at first seems like a rehash of his “Planes, Trains” character, a vulgarian chatterbox hilariously out of his element. But Hughes’s savvy script slowly reveals that Buck is wiser than he seems, and Amy Madigan lends welcome support as his best girl. Hughes was so taken by the performance of little Macaulay Culkin that he wrote the kid his own vehicle — “Home Alone.” (Hughes’s “[*The Breakfast Club*](https://www3.stage.netflix.com/title/330210)” is also on Netflix, as is the similarly beloved “[*The Jerk*](https://www.netflix.com/title/651726).”)

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/1077530)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/CMt1ZhJqGpg)]

‘Pedro Páramo’ (2024)

This adaptation of Juan Rulfo’s 1955 novel is the feature directorial debut of Rodrigo Prieto, who, via his collaborations with Spike Lee, Oliver Stone, Greta Gerwig and (frequently) Martin Scorsese, has become one of the best cinematographers of our time. It is, unsurprisingly, a beautifully photographed movie (Prieto and Nico Aguilar share cinematography credit), filled with astonishing compositions and a surplus of mood. The narrative is haunted by ghosts, dreams and memories. The dialogue is alternately wry and poetic, trafficking in a deadpan magical realism, involving its bustling cast of colorful characters in a circular story, with events revisited via shifting perspectives and time frames. It doesn’t all land, as the picture’s loose ends and shaggy running time occasionally get away from the filmmaker. But if it’s messy, it’s also mesmerizing, and marks Prieto as a talent to keep watching, wherever he may go.

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81322606)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/2ilzidi_J8Q)]

‘Goodfellas’ (1990)

Martin Scorsese tells the true story of Henry Hill, an average kid whose idolatry of the neighborhood gangsters made him an errand boy, then a low-level thief, then an architect of the [*1978 Lufthansa heist*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/20/nyregion/details-of-new-york-mob-life-emerge-in-1978-lufthansa-robbery-trial.html?timespastHighlight=1978,Lufthansa,heist) — before he lost it all in a haze of drugs and deception. Scorsese’s exhilaratingly expert use of first-person perspective makes the viewer less an observer than an accomplice, along for the jet-fueled ride to the top, and the cocaine-dusted binge to the bottom. Our critic called it “[*breathless and brilliant*](https://www.nytimes.com/1990/09/19/movies/review-film-a-cold-eyed-look-at-the-mob-s-inner-workings.html).” (Scorsese’s “[*The Age of Innocence*](https://www.netflix.com/title/60011002)” and “[*The Irishman*](https://www.netflix.com/title/80175798)” are also on Netflix.)

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/70002022)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/PpAhjOvQVj0)]

‘Heat’ (1995)

Al Pacino and Robert De Niro, twin titans of their acting generation, had never shared the screen before the writer and director Michael Mann put them on opposite sides of the law in this moody, thrilling cops-and-robbers story from 1995 (they appeared in separate sequences of “The Godfather Part II”). And he gives that matchup the proper weight: By the time it arrives, halfway into this expansive, three-hour movie, we’re expecting fireworks, and we get them. But the best surprise is that there’s so much more to “Heat” than The Big Scene — it features a cool-as-a-cucumber heist scene, a heart-stopping shootout on the streets of Los Angeles, multiple meditations on the nature of obsession, stylish cinematography, and a deep bench of jaw-dropping supporting players. That scene, though. It’s really something. (The similarly sprawling crime drama “[*The Place Beyond the Pines*](https://www.netflix.com/title/70241757)” is also on Netflix.)

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/70020509)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/tWKCEXd0plA)]

‘Spa Night’ (2016)

Eighteen-year-old David Cho (Joe Seo) lives a life of quiet servitude; though a handsome high school senior, he has few friends and few ambitions, spending most of his time working in the Koreatown restaurant of his immigrant parents. But his world is upended when the restaurant goes under, forcing him to re-evaluate how he feels about his family, his future and most important, himself. [*Andrew Ahn*](http://www.npr.org/2015/10/06/440549964/spa-hookups-korean-parents-and-coming-out-on-screen-q-a-with-filmmaker-andrew-ah)’s debut feature grapples with homosexuality, financial insecurity and immigrant culture, but it is first and foremost an intense and unflinching character study, with Ahn’s camera keeping his protagonist in tight close-ups that convey his aching discomfort with the world around him, and within his own skin. It’s a subtle picture, quietly observational in style, but operatic in emotion.

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/80098290)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/kpebJezzK30)]

‘Watcher’ (2022)

The haunted, melancholy visage of Maika Monroe, so well used in “It Follows” and “Longlegs,” gets a workout in this deliberately paced, unnervingly crafted thriller from the director Chloe Okuno. Monroe stars as Julia, who accompanies her husband, Francis (Karl Glusman), to Bucharest, Romania, for a career opportunity. He’s working all the time, so she’s a stranger in a strange land, and Okuno nails the specific, aching solitude of being alone in a crowd where you don’t even speak the language — and the feeling that you’re being watched and followed. The picture’s tension comes from the commonplace, and Okuno uses the simplest of tools (rumbling on the soundtrack, knocks on doors, sudden movements, incoming texts) to build dread and unease. Most of all, she offers a gutsy female interpretation of the male gaze, a story explicitly about being watched, by men, and all of the dangers that can represent.

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81586244)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/BNfYuUKyXBU)]

‘Power’ (2024)

“This film requires curiosity, or at least suspicion,” the director, Yance Ford, explains in the voice-over that begins this documentary meditation on policing in the United States. His narration is quiet and searching, the voice of a man who would not presume to know the solution to our current predicament, but knows we’re in one. With the help of the editor Ian Olds, Ford examines the origins of municipal policing, challenging assumptions both social and historical, and digging into the systemic issues that prevent effective law enforcement and hinder accountability for those who abuse it. Artfully manipulating archival footage and sound, with pointed juxtapositions and a haunting score, “Power” is a thought-provoking picture whose implications have grown even grimmer in the half-year since its release. (For more fascinating nonfiction, try “[*The Life and Death of Marsha P. Johnson*](https://www.netflix.com/title/80189623),” “[*Descendant*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81586731)” and “[*Sr.*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81644889)”)

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81416254)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/IzMpOvKxXdM)]

‘Smokey and the Bandit’ (1977)

“Smokey” opened the same weekend as “Star Wars,” and for several years thereafter, it was nearly as influential, prompting a score of good ol’ boy car chase extravaganzas. But none of them managed to touch “Smokey” and its unique blend of practical stunts (the director, Hal Needham, was a stunt man before he turned to directing); corn-pone comedy (carried primarily by Jackie Gleason as bile-spewing Sheriff Buford T. Justice); and star power, provided by Needham’s best buddy, Burt Reynolds, and the leading lady, Sally Field. (The lesser but still enjoyable “[*Smokey and the Bandit Part II*](https://www.netflix.com/title/70000816)” is also on Netflix.)

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/975578)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/5Ny631yQ-DM)]

‘Do the Right Thing’ (1989)

Spike Lee wrote, directed and co-starred in this drama of racial tensions on the rise during the hottest day of the summer. Lee sets his story on one block in Brooklyn, as a minor conflict in the neighborhood pizzeria escalates into a full-scale uprising, but it’s no mere polemic; he populates that block with richly drawn characters, filling the frame with such vibrancy and humor that when the violence begins, it’s like a kick in the gut. Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee, Samuel L. Jackson, Giancarlo Esposito, John Turturro and Rosie Perez are among the four-star cast, while Danny Aiello, the pizzeria owner, was nominated for an Oscar. Our critic called it, simply, “[*one terrific movie*](https://www.nytimes.com/1989/06/30/movies/review-film-spike-lee-tackles-racism-in-do-the-right-thing.html).” (For more Spike Lee, stream “[*Da 5 Bloods*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81045635)” or “[*She’s Gotta Have It*](https://www.netflix.com/title/60034929).”)

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/448860)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/2GfBkC3qs78)]

‘Black Hawk Down’ (2001)

The journalist Mark Bowden wrote about the 1993 United States military raid in Mogadishu, Somalia, in his 1999 nonfiction book of the same name. That book took its title from the downing of two American helicopters that raised the stakes of the mission, and this film adaptation from the director Ridley Scott dramatizes that harrowing episode and the battle that followed with horrifying immediacy and visceral terror. Scott manages, as few filmmakers have, to capture the feeling of helplessness that armed conflict can provoke and the camaraderie that becomes the foot soldier’s last hope. Marshaling a large cast of up-and-comers (including Ewan McGregor, Josh Hartnett, Eric Bana and Tom Hardy) and first-rate character actors (Sam Shepard, Tom Sizemore, and Zeljko Ivanek), Scott comes up with one of the most powerful war films of recent years.

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/60022056)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/Ur_DIHs92NM)]

‘Pride &amp; Prejudice’ (2005)

Jane Austen adaptations aren’t terribly hard to come by these days, but the filmmaker Joe Wright (making his feature directorial debut) rendered his “[*sumptuous*](https://www.nytimes.com/2005/11/11/movies/marrying-off-those-bennet-sisters-again-but-this-time-elizabeth-is-a.html)” adaptation of Austen’s classic novel into something new and noteworthy. He takes an earthy, borderline erotic approach to the material, eschewing the starchiness and formality of many a period drama to focus on the timeless quality of its attractions and frustrations. And he gets a big boost in the endeavor from its stars Keira Knightley and Matthew MacFadyen, who tune in to the picture’s specific sensuality with gusto. (For a very different kind of Knightley performance, stream “[*Everest*](https://www.netflix.com/title/80046309).”)

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/70032594)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/gF3gZicntIw)]

‘Rebel Ridge’ (2024)

The accomplished genre stylist Jeremy Saulnier (“Green Room”) writes, directs and edits this muscular small-town action picture, which plays like a 21st-century riff on “First Blood” with a generous helping of “Reacher” thrown in. Aaron Pierre rarely speaks above a whisper — and doesn’t have to — as a former Marine and martial arts expert who is harassed and (via civil asset forfeiture) basically robbed by the deputies of a corrupt sheriff (a wonderfully scuzzy Don Johnson). Saulnier’s tense set pieces are like rubber bands that are ready to snap, and he gives the action and social commentary equal weight and precision.

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81157729)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/SWSDQfJQhUg)]

‘Parasite’ (2019)

The South Korean director [*Bong Joon Ho*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/30/movies/bong-joon-ho-parasite.html), who previously smuggled trenchant class commentary into genre movies like “[*The Host*](https://www.nytimes.com/2007/03/09/movies/09host.html)” and “[*Snowpiercer*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/27/movies/in-snowpiercer-the-train-trip-to-end-all-train-trips.html),” takes a more direct route with this story of a household of grifters who smooth-talk their way into the home of a clueless upper-class family. What begins as a clever con comedy turns into something much darker (and bloodier), a “[*brilliant and deeply unsettling*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/10/movies/parasite-review.html)” examination of privilege and power, orchestrated by a filmmaker working at the top of his craft; the results were thrilling enough to win not only the [*Palme d’Or at Cannes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/25/movies/cannes-film-festival-winners-parasite.html), but the [*first best picture Oscar*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/09/movies/parasite-movie-oscars-best-picture.html) for a film not in English. (Bong’s “[*Okja*](https://www.netflix.com/title/80091936)” is also on Netflix.)

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81221938)

‘The Piano Lesson’ (2024)

After the Oscar-winning hit “Fences,” which he directed and starred in, and “Ma Rainey’s Black Bottom” ([*also on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81100780)), which he produced, Denzel Washington made his next August Wilson adaptation a family affair, handing over the directorial reins to his son Malcolm, while son John David Washington plays the leading role. The entire ensemble (which also includes Danielle Deadwyler, Erykah Badu, Ray Fisher, Corey Hawkins, Samuel L. Jackson and Michael Potts) is excellent, conveying the long-held resentments and entitlements of lived-in relationships, and director Washington keeps the intensity that makes it play onstage, while augmenting it with cinematic touches that strengthen the text and heighten the drama.

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81267043)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/wtVSWnofryc)]

‘I Used to Be Funny’ (2024)

Rachel Sennott fronts this narratively and tonally tricky examination of a young woman in free fall. Sam (Sennott) is an occasional stand-up comic whose last day job, nannying a young firecracker named Brooke (Olga Petsa), ended badly. The writer and director Ally Pankiw takes her time (perhaps a bit too much) revealing exactly what happened there, but it took a toll on Sam, who has become a withdrawn recluse, barely able to crack the jokes that used to come so freely. Pankiw’s script perceptively captures how funny people use deflection and gallows humor to minimize the pains of their past, and Sennott, quickly becoming one of our most captivating young actors (thanks to electrifying turns in “Shiva Baby,” “Bodies Bodies Bodies,” and “Bottoms”), is terrific. (Sennott is also terrific in her breakthrough film “[*Shiva Baby*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81343677).”)

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81784468)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/ZYu8axSs9qw)]

‘Middle of Nowhere’ (2012)

Ava DuVernay won the directing award at the 2012 Sundance Film Festival for this sensitive, thoughtful and moving drama. Our critic Manohla Dargis noted, “[*she wants you to look*](https://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/12/movies/middle-of-nowhere-directed-by-ava-duvernay.html), really look, at her characters,” seeing past the clichés and assumptions of so many other movies, as she tells the story of Ruby (Emayatzy Corinealdi), a young nurse whose husband (Omari Hardwick) is in prison. Ruby dutifully visits, and keeps a candle burning at home, but when a kind bus driver (David Oyelowo) takes a shine to her, she begins to question her choices and allegiances. Corinealdi is a marvelous presence, playing the role with empathy and complexity, and the considerable charisma of Oyelowo — who would team up again with DuVernay for “Selma” — makes her dilemma all the more difficult. (DuVernay’s “[*13TH*](https://www.netflix.com/title/80091741)” is also on Netflix.)

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/um/title/70227944)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/UW1LQbtRuAM)]

‘Y Tu Mamá También’ (2002)

It sounds like the setup for an ’80s sex comedy: Two horny teenage boys take an impromptu road trip and talk a seductive older woman into coming along. But the director, [*Alfonso Cuarón*](https://www.nytimes.com/2002/03/17/movies/film-comedy-of-a-sexual-provocateur.html) (“[*Roma*](https://www.netflix.com/title/80240715),” also on Netflix), frames their story partly through the unexpected but effective lens of class and political struggle, constructing a delicate film with much to say about masculinity, poverty and mortality. And then it’s sexy, on top of that. Our critic called it “[*fast, funny, unafraid of sexuality and finally devastating*](https://www.nytimes.com/2002/03/15/movies/film-review-the-empty-ambitions-of-macho-teenagers.html).”

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/60023237)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/JCUdy1nUqrg)]

‘Melancholia’ (2011)

The first half of this “[*excursion from the sad to the sublime*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/11/movies/lars-von-triers-melancholia-review.html) by way of the preposterous” is a virtuoso portrait of social awkwardness and inappropriateness, as a bride (a stunning Kirsten Dunst) struggles and fails to overcome her crippling depression at her wedding reception. Her family and friends are an assemblage of human triggers far more distressing to her than the crisis of the second half, in which it’s learned that a rogue planet is on a collision course with Earth, and our protagonist discovers that when you’ve spent your life feeling like the world is ending, the event itself can produce a strange calm. The writer and director Lars von Trier (“Breaking the Waves”) tells this dark story with bleak humor and operatic flourishes, as well as a deep empathy for the women at its center.

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/70184165)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/MYzFieit8dI)]

‘The Meyerowitz Stories (New and Selected)’ (2017)

Everyone in the Meyerowitz family has an ax to grind, from the aging sculptor father worried about his legacy (Dustin Hoffman) to his current, perpetually inebriated wife (Emma Thompson) to his adult children (Elizabeth Marvel, Adam Sandler and Ben Stiller), who have spent their lives trying to please their father and are all screwed up because of it. The writer and director Noah Baumbach conveys their insecurities slyly, via their skittish interactions with their father and one another, and he makes their tribulations both wittily specific and richly universal. It’s a dryly funny and surprisingly moving serio-comic drama; our critic praised its “[*near-perfect balance*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/11/movies/the-meyerowitz-stories-review-noah-baumbach.html) between engagement and discomfort.” (“[*Marriage Story*](https://www.netflix.com/title/80223779),” which Baumbach also wrote and directed, and “[*Barbie*](https://www.netflix.com/title/80157969),” which he co-wrote, are also on Netflix.)

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/80174434)

‘Woman of the Hour’ (2024)

Anna Kendrick makes an impressive directorial debut in this fictionalized account of the serial killer [*Rodney Alcala*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/24/us/rodney-alcala-dead-dating-game.html), who — in the midst of a yearslong spree of sexual assaults and murders — appeared as one of the bachelors on “The Dating Game” in 1978. Kendrick also stars as Sheryl, the bachelorette who appeared opposite him (and chose him from three finalists) on that game show. To the credit of the screenwriter Ian McDonald, “Woman” is less interested in this monster than his victims, who are seen in flashbacks and flash-forwards, and in Sheryl, who becomes an avatar for the fears and frustrations of the “liberated woman” of the era. Our critic praised Kendrick’s ability to balance “the buoyant goofiness of a TV game show with [*a menacing undertone*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/17/movies/woman-of-the-hour-review.html).”

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81728818)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/nMWHBUTHmf0)]

‘The Other Side of the Wind’ (2018)

In 1970, Orson Welles gathered a group of friends and hangers-on in his home to make a low-budget independent film about an aging filmmaker (played, as a mixture of Welles and himself, by the director John Huston) throwing a birthday party as his current film is crumbling. But Welles was commenting on the art and industry he’d spent his life working in, and more often than not, being frustrated by. Welles spent the last 15 years of his life trying and failing to complete the film; more than thirty years after that, it was finally finished by his fellow filmmakers, from their memories and Welles’s notes. It’s a haphazard, imperfect piece of work (“[*a haunted film*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/01/movies/the-other-side-of-the-wind-review-orson-welles.html) that at times entrances and delights and at times offends and embarrasses,” Manohla Dargis wrote), but it vibrates with the kind of life and energy that Welles captured so well. (Morgan Neville’s documentary “[*They’ll Love Me When I’m Dead*](https://www.netflix.com/title/80124722)” entertainingly tracks the picture’s long, tortured history.)

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/80085566)

‘The Teachers’ Lounge’ (2023)

Carla Nowak (Leonie Benesch) is a new sixth-grade teacher who finds out exactly how fragile her sense of trust and idealism are in this harrowing drama from the director Ilker Catak. An atmosphere of suspicion and paranoia pervades this German school, thanks to a series of petty thefts that have teachers and students alike side-eyeing each other. Carla entraps the seemingly clear culprit and immediately regrets it. Catak, who wrote the screenplay with Johannes Duncker, squeezes the classroom and faculty spaces like a vice, expertly building operatic tension and discomfort (Marvin Miller’s gripping score does much of the work) out of everyday stress, seemingly careening toward an inevitable, violent conclusion; “I wish it had all worked out differently,” Carla says near the end, and by that point, you’re likely to agree. (For more acclaimed international drama, stream “[*Dheepan*](https://www.netflix.com/title/80058879)“ or “[*Grave of the Fireflies*](https://www.netflix.com/title/557010).”)

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81725559)

‘Will &amp; Harper’ (2024)

In 2021, Harper Steele, a former head writer of “Saturday Night Live,” sent an email to her longtime friend and collaborator Will Ferrell to reintroduce herself to him as a transgender woman. Ferrell wanted to support his friend, and he also had some questions, so the two went on a cross-country road trip, the kind that Steele used to take all the time as an aficionado of mediocre beer and dive bars, places she might find harder to navigate as her true self. As directed by Josh Greenbaum (“Barb and Star Go to Vista Del Mar”), “Will &amp; Harper” is a potent combination of comedy road movie — the pair can’t resist doing bits everywhere they go — and affectionate snapshot of a warm, durable friendship. The results, per our critic, are “both thought-provoking and [*a whole lot of fun*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/27/movies/will-and-harper-will-ferrell-harper-steele-netflix.html).”

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81760197)

‘His Three Daughters’ (2024)

Carrie Coon, Natasha Lyonne and Elizabeth Olsen are tremendous — carving out distinct and nuanced characters while deftly balancing a group dynamic — in this wrenching yet moving familial comedy-drama from the writer and director Azazel Jacobs. They play the title characters, who’ve assembled in the close quarters of the apartment where their father (Jay O. Sanders) is dying; their long-simmering conflicts and resentments boil over as they spend their days waiting for his last breaths, and handling the logistics that will follow. Jacobs masterfully intermingles laughs and pathos, and his actors convey their long histories with the subtlest dialogue inflections and physical gestures. “It’s a hard, painful setup,” Manohla Dargis writes, “but also [*absurdly funny, intimate and human*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/19/movies/his-three-daughters-review.html).” (“[*You Hurt My Feelings*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81687143)” and “[*Friends with Money*](https://www.netflix.com/title/70043945)” are similarly poignant yet funny.)

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81733310)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/d0tfOlP7OYA)]

‘Carol’ (2015)

Patricia Highsmith’s lesbian romance novel “[*The Price of Salt*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/15/movies/solving-the-many-mysteries-of-what-became-carol.html),” originally written under the pseudonym Claire Morgan, is sensitively and intelligently adapted by the director Todd Haynes into this companion to his earlier masterpiece “Far From Heaven.” Cate Blanchett is smashing as a suburban ’50s housewife who finds herself so intoxicated by a bohemian shopgirl (an enchanting [*Rooney Mara*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/01/movies/rooney-mara-wears-her-provocative-part-well-in-carol.html)) that she’s willing to risk her entire comfortable existence in order, just once, to follow her heart. Our critic said it’s “[*at once ardent and analytical, cerebral and swooning*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/20/movies/review-carol-explores-the-sweet-science-of-magnetism.html).” (Make it a lesbian-romance double-feature with “[*The Incredibly True Adventure of Two Girls in Love*](https://www.netflix.com/title/60036492) [*.*](https://www.netflix.com/title/60036492)”)

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/80058700)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/aPzvKH8AVf0)]

‘Logan Lucky’ (2017)

As the director of the [*“Ocean’s” trilogy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2007/06/08/movies/08ocea.html), [*Steven Soderbergh*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/10/movies/logan-lucky-steven-soderbergh-interview.html) honored the classic heist movie aesthetic: sleek, classy and star-studded. And then he set out to subvert those conventions with this ***working-class*** heist comedy, in which a minor character describes its central job as “Ocean’s 7-Eleven.” The players are familiar (the safecracker, the computer whiz, the sexy girl, the brains of the operation), but they’re done with salty fun and earthy humor. You’ll never say “cauliflower” the same way again. Our critic called it “gravity-defying” and “[*ridiculously entertaining*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/16/movies/review-logan-lucky-steven-soderbergh-and-his-motley-band-of-thieves.html).”

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/80175621)

‘Godzilla Minus One’ (2023)

On the eve of the franchise’s 70th anniversary (and coinciding with the current, popcorn-friendly American iteration of the character), Toho studios released this throwback to the pointed political commentary and sociological subtext of its original entry. In Japan, the “Godzilla” movies were never just about a giant lizard wrecking models of their cities; it was explicitly a story about the effects of the atomic bomb, and here, the writer and director Takashi Yamazaki also connects the events of his narrative to Japan’s mournful national mood in the aftermath of World War II. Both thrilling and thoughtful, “Minus One” keeps “[*bringing blockbuster brio to heel*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/11/30/movies/godzilla-minus-one-review.html) with a sometimes heavy heart,” our critic wrote.

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81767635)

‘Four Daughters’ (2023)

In 2015, two of Olfa Hamrouni’s four daughters disappeared into the world of Islamic extremism. The director [*Kaouther Ben Hania*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/26/movies/four-daughters-review.html?timespastHighlight=Kaouther,Ben,Hania) could have told their story as a standard documentary, intermingling talking heads with archival footage and the like. Instead, she stages re-creations and dramatizations of central moments in these splintering relationships, casting actors as the departed daughters to act alongside the two daughters who remain, and with Hamrouni involved in some scenes and directing an actor playing her in others. It sounds gimmicky, but Ben Hania’s approach becomes a powerful method of grappling with the mistakes of the past. (“[*Procession*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81513706)” is a similarly powerful example of filmmaking as therapy.)

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81735326)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/0woo8y3GGZk)]

‘Mister Organ’ (2023)

The New Zealand journalist David Farrier has carved out an unusual niche for himself, making documentaries about fringe figures who at first seem to be jokey oddities but later reveal disturbing dimensions and shadowy back stories. His previous feature, “Tickled,” took him into the bizarre world of Competitive Endurance Tickling, and the mysterious figure bankrolling it; this time, an investigation into predatory parking practices puts him in the sights of a con artist named Michael Organ. And that’s when things really get strange. As with “Tickled,” Farrier’s latest begins like a human interest story and turns into something closer to a thriller, as the peculiarities of this unstable personality reveal themselves, often unnervingly. Farrier is a solid anchor for this strange journey, proving unflappable (and capable of finding the gallows humor) in even the most extreme of circumstances. (Documentary fans should also seek out “[*Daughters*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81760652)” and “[*Dick Johnson Is Dead*](https://www.netflix.com/title/80234465).”)

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81737399)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/YGvX7ma7Xnk)]

‘El Conde’ (2023)

Pablo Larraín, who directed “Jackie” and “Spencer,” delivers his most unconventional riff on the biopic yet with this [*stylized hybrid*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/14/movies/el-conde-review.html?timespastHighlight=%E2%80%98El,Conde%E2%80%99?timespastHighlight=%E2%80%98El,Conde%E2%80%99) of dark comedy, social commentary and gore-heavy horror. The premise is delicious, positing that the Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet (Jaime Vadell) was, in fact, a vampire who faked his own death and went into hiding in the country. The razor-sharp script, by Larraín and the Chilean playwright Guillermo Calderón, ruminates on the parasitic nature of capitalism with wit and intelligence. The cleverness of the narration (which not only tells the story but wryly comments on it) is topped only by the reveal of who is voicing it. Ed Lachman’s black-and-white cinematography stuns, and Larraín injects the proceedings with genre thrills and bleak laughs. (For more hybrid horror, try “[*The Dead Don’t Die*](https://www.netflix.com/title/80244534).”)

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81590652)

‘Wallace and Gromit: Vengeance Most Fowl’ (2024)

Fans of Aardman Animation have been understandably skeptical of this new feature adventure from the studio’s signature characters, a cheerful inventor and his faithful canine companion; it’s their first vehicle since 2008, and the first since the death in 2017 of [*Peter Sallis,*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=80A-jfuTxFk) who voiced Wallace for all those years. But the stop-motion duo hasn’t missed a beat. Ben Whitehead steps into the role of Wallace beautifully, the script (a direct sequel to the Oscar-winning short “The Wrong Trousers”) is clever and inventive, and the filmmakers offer up gentle laughs, clever mechanics, and a good chase — in other words, everything you want from a Wallace and Gromit movie. It’s a cracking good time. (Aardman’s “[*Wallace and Gromit: The Curse of the Were-Rabbit*](https://www.netflix.com/title/70021655)” and “[*Chicken Run: Dawn of the Nugget*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81223025)” are also on Netflix.)

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81351936)

‘Stamped From the Beginning’ (2023)

The Oscar-winning documentarian Roger Ross Williams adapts the National Book Award-winner [*by Ibram X. Kendi*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/06/arts/ibram-x-kendi-antiracism.html) into a thought-provoking rumination on the myths and realities of American history. Diving into the knotty legacies of Blackness, whiteness and white supremacy, Williams brilliantly and incisively juxtaposes archival materials with contemporary insights from an array of scholars, authors and activists. The brisk, 91-minute running time leaves little room for throat-clearing; the results are blunt, provocative and pointed. (For more acclaimed documentary filmmaking, stream “[*The Remarkable Life of Ibelin*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81759420)” and “[*CHAOS: The Manson Murders*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81482892?source=35).”)

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81321341)

‘Rustin’ (2023)

Bayard Rustin was not the most famous figure of the 1963 March on Washington — that was the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who delivered one of the most quoted pieces of modern oratory at its climax — but Rustin dreamed it up and made it happen. He was a fascinating figure, a driven civil rights organizer who was also openly gay (at a time when that was, to put it mildly, frowned upon) former Communist (ditto). “Rustin” wisely takes its cues from Selma, centering on a single, earth-shattering event, rather than attempting to summarize an entire life from cradle to grave. The director, George C. Wolfe, bracingly gets into the weeds, compellingly dramatizing the logistics of organizing, recruiting and raising both money and awareness for an event of this magnitude. And Colman Domingo, a valuable utility player for years now, shines big and bright in the “[*galvanic title performance*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/11/16/movies/rustin-review-civil-rights-biopic.html#:~:text=Whatever%20its%20flaws,%20%E2%80%9CRustin%E2%80%9D,does%20Domingo&amp;#39;s%20fantastically%20alive%20turn.).” (For more on the subject, check out the excellent documentary “[*Brother Outsider: The Life of Bayard Rustin*](https://www.netflix.com/title/70139371).”)

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81111528)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/Od2NW1sfRdA)]

‘Guillermo del Toro’s Pinocchio’ (2022)

This new twist on the classic tale from the Oscar-winning del Toro (who co-directed with Mark Gustafson) is, to be clear, not for the tiny ones — it’s set in Fascist-era Italy and takes several period-appropriate dark turns, while exploring the running theme of the inevitability of death. But older kids, not to mention imaginative adults, will find much to embrace here. The voice performances are terrific (with Ewan McGregor, Christoph Waltz and Tilda Swinton the standouts), the set pieces are jaw-dropping (particularly the staggering whale sequence) and the stop-motion animation is gorgeously detailed, an appropriate match of subject and form — the film itself looks as lovingly handcrafted as Geppetto’s woodwork. (For more darker-than-average family fun, try “[*Matilda*](https://www.netflix.com/title/70033005)” or “[*Kubo and the Two Strings*](https://www.netflix.com/title/80099365).”)

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/80218455)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/5UrCaXLBN30)]

‘13 Going on 30’ (2004)

This likably goofy and endlessly charming romantic comedy is, essentially, a gender-swapped remake of the beloved “Big,” this time with Jennifer Garner as a 13-year-old whose birthday wish to be “30 and flirty and thriving” unexpectedly comes true. Garner is warm and endearing, a loose-limbed wonder at capturing the awkward gawkiness of a teen trapped in an ill-fitting body, while recent Oscar nominee Mark Ruffalo finds just the right mixture of confusion and sweetness as her childhood friend who’s become quite the babe.

[*Watch on Netflix*](https://www.netflix.com/title/60034573)

PHOTO: Janet Leigh, who is murdered in “Psycho” in the unforgettable shower scene. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Paramount Pictures FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 5, 2025

**End of Document**



[***Trucker Ousts Power Broker In New Jersey***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6410-JDD1-JBG3-6466-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

Mr. Sweeney, the second most powerful lawmaker in New Jersey and a Democrat, lost his bid for re-election to Edward Durr, a driver for a furniture chain.

For nearly a decade, Stephen M. Sweeney, the second most powerful lawmaker in New Jersey, seemed truly unassailable. He boasted deep ties to the most feared political power broker in the state and unyielding support from the influential building trade unions. Four years ago, the state's teachers' union spent more than $5 million to unseat him. He won by 18 points.

This year, his challenger was Edward Durr, a truck driver for Raymour & Flanigan, a furniture chain, who had never before held office. His campaign video was shot on a smartphone.

Yet Mr. Sweeney, the State Senate president and a Democrat, was ousted in a shocking political upset by Mr. Durr, a Republican, as voters opted for a political unknown in a result that immediately rattled the political moorings of the state. Voters also nearly ousted Gov. Philip D. Murphy; the governor narrowly won re-election over his Republican challenger, Jack Ciattarelli, leading by 1.6 percentage points.

But it was Mr. Sweeney's loss that was perhaps best emblematic of the predicament facing Democrats in suburban, exurban and rural communities.

The Associated Press called the race on Thursday morning, as Mr. Durr maintained a 2,298-vote lead over Mr. Sweeney with all precincts counted.

Though Mr. Sweeney's district in the southwestern part of the state has never been deeply blue like the northeastern counties, it has reliably elected a Democrat since its creation in 1973, save for one year when the Democratic incumbent switched parties.

Mr. Sweeney held a vise grip on the district, largely composed of blue-collar suburbs just south of Camden and poorer, rural areas, thanks to powerful allies and a decidedly moderate record, playing up his background as an ironworker and union leader.

But as support for Democrats eroded in the suburbs and evaporated in rural areas in both New Jersey and Virginia, Mr. Sweeney found himself facing a surge in Republican voters and a loss in support from the ***working-class*** backing he had so often relied on; being a Democratic lawmaker during an era of coronavirus lockdowns, mandates in schools and dysfunction in Washington was enough to erode what was once unshakable backing.

In Gloucester County, Catherine Biasiello, 70, said she is a registered Democrat who voted for Mr. Durr because she is unhappy with the state's high tax rate, and because she disapproves of the state's closure of public schools during the pandemic.

Ms Biasiello, 70, who lives in West Deptford, said Mr. Sweeney ''could have stepped up'' to oppose the school shutdowns but did not. ''He could have influenced the governor,'' she said.

Mr. Sweeney's loss amounts to a seismic restructuring of political power and influence, leaving a substantial vacuum in the State Legislature; he had held the post of senate president, with the ability to set the legislative agenda, for nearly 12 years.

In the Trump era, Republicans were seen as doomed to a permanent minority in New Jersey, as voters' deep contempt for the former president was strong enough to turn the long-held Republican suburbs blue; Democrats flipped four House seats in the 2018 midterm elections.

But the surprising defeat of Mr. Sweeney, coupled with Mr. Murphy's slim margin of victory and unexpectedly tight races involving popular rising Democratic stars in the state like Vin Gopal, a state senator from Monmouth County, reveals a Republican Party that seems to be marching back to relevance.

Mr. Ciattarelli's efforts and spending led the way, allowing lesser candidates like Mr. Durr, who lives in a house next to his mother in southern New Jersey, to gather momentum.

Mr. Durr told news outlets that he had spent $153 on his campaign, but financial disclosure reports indicate he spent roughly $2,200 on his race. His meager campaign included the 80-second campaign video, where he accentuated his ***working-class*** roots with an opening scene of his stepping down from his truck cab, and ending with his riding away on a motorcycle. His victory was announced on the same day Mr. Durr was on a shift driving his truck.

With barely any attention given to the race, Mr. Durr remained largely unvetted and unknown to the general public. On Thursday, old posts on social media by the candidate began circulating, including one reflecting support for ''both sides'' of the violent racist rally in Charlottesville, Va., in 2017 and another condemning Islam and disparaging the Prophet Muhammad.

Mr. Durr did not respond to several requests for an interview. But in an impromptu news conference outside of his house on Thursday, Mr. Durr nodded to an electorate he saw as angry.

''It didn't happen because of me,'' he said. ''I'm nobody. I'm absolutely nobody. I'm just a simple guy. It was the people. It was a repudiation of the policies that have been forced down their throats.''

Mr. Durr then took his three pit bulls on a walk.

His campaign, which largely consisted of his video, lawn signs and door knocking, projected more grievance than platforms, taking issue with the coronavirus policies of Mr. Murphy and claiming Mr. Sweeney ''sat by and watched.'' He also focused on the state's high cost of living.

''The Senate president has spent 20 years in Trenton: higher taxes, increasing debt, and a rising cost of living,'' Mr. Durr says in his video.

Mr. Sweeney, in a statement released on Thursday, did not concede.

''The results from Tuesday's election continue to come in, for instance there were 12,000 ballots recently found in one county,'' Mr. Sweeney said. ''While I am currently trailing in the race, we want to make sure every vote is counted. Our voters deserve that, and we will wait for the final results.''

Democrats, of course, still maintain single-party control over the entire state government, but Mr. Sweeney's loss nonetheless shocked the forces that have long controlled Trenton.

Rarely did a governor's priority reach the floor without Mr. Sweeney's approval.

In the first two years of Mr. Murphy's term, before the pandemic settled in, Mr. Sweeney served as an obstacle to the governor's expansive progressive agenda, further burnishing his moderate Democratic bona fides by pushing back on increases in budget spending and a plan to tax the wealthy. While Mr. Murphy was largely able to come to an agreement with Mr. Sweeney and enact his agenda, the Senate president was often the most powerful counter force in a state controlled by Democrats.

''He was able to impose his will on legislation,'' said Joe Vitale, a Democratic state senator. ''He was a force of nature. So it will be a loss for those of us who respect him and support him.''

Mr. Sweeney was closely allied with George E. Norcross, an insurance executive and powerful power broker whose stranglehold on southern New Jersey politics lead many to see him as a shadow governor. The two remained close during both Mr. Murphy's administration and former Gov. Chris Christie's eight years. Without Mr. Sweeney at the helm of the Senate, and with other Democratic losses in the southern part of the state, Mr. Norcross may no longer possess the ironclad control to shape state policy, though he still counts numerous legislators as allies.

In an interview, Mr. Norcross described Mr. Sweeney as ''the Lyndon Johnson of the State Legislature'' who ''brought order to the chaos.'' He said the sudden swelling of Republican turnout and independents' anger ''happened with such warp speed, that there was nothing that could have been anticipated or done, because it's not like we didn't have the money available to do it.''

He added that the Democratic Party will need to change, both in the state and around the country, to win back voters.

''The Democratic Party is going to have to, and candidates for office are going to have to, redefine themselves as fiscally responsible legislators and ones that are going to spend government money wisely and not recklessly as is portrayed,'' Mr. Norcross said. ''They can't be defined as wanting to defund police or socialist.''

Mr. Sweeney's loss sets up a wide open race for his successor. Nicholas Scutari, a Democratic state senator from northern New Jersey, is seen as a possible candidate to replace Mr. Sweeney in the senate leadership. Troy Singleton, a Democratic state senator from southern New Jersey, also has been mentioned as a possible replacement, among many other candidates.

Ed Dobzanski, 56, a union truck driver from Gibbstown, N.J., said he voted for Mr. Sweeney because of the Senate president's long support for trade unions, but he thought his rival's victory reflects a public desire for change.

''I think this is a backlash of the same people being in the same positions a long time,'' he said. ''People just wanted change, they are tired of career politicians.''

Jon Hurdle contributed reporting from West Deptford Township, N.J.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/04/nyregion/stephen-sweeney-durr-nj-election.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/04/nyregion/stephen-sweeney-durr-nj-election.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Stephen M. Sweeney, the president of the New Jersey State Senate, was ousted by a Republican truck driver. (PHOTOGRAPH BY THE PRESS OF ATLANTIC CITY, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS) (A12)

**Load-Date:** November 5, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Can a Brazilian Pop Star Crack the U.S. Market? Anitta Says Yes.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:655N-81W1-DXY4-X3NW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 7, 2022 Thursday 09:23 EST

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**Section:** ARTS; music

**Length:** 1943 words

**Byline:** Carolina Abbott Galvão

**Highlight:** In the past decade, the singer has earned fame and the respect of some of Brazil’s most lauded musical elders. Now she’s taking aim at new audiences but hoping to hold on to her roots.

**Body**

In the past decade, the singer has earned fame and the respect of some of Brazil’s most lauded musical elders. Now she’s taking aim at new audiences but hoping to hold on to her roots.

[*“Meiga e Abusada,”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IBl4O2exar4) the 2013 song that first catapulted the Brazilian singer Anitta to fame, begins with a Lady Gaga sample and a cool assertion. “I get everything I want,” she sings in Portuguese. “But it was so easy to control you.”

In the song’s music video, partly filmed in Las Vegas, Anitta frolics around the desert in a cropped plaid shirt, drinks champagne and hits casinos in a limo. It’s a declaration of her prowess made all the more brazen by its timing: Only a couple of months before its release, it had felt like nothing would ever happen for her.

“I’m a pessimistic person,” [*Anitta*](https://anitta.com.br/en/) said in a recent interview, speaking in Portuguese. That’s partly because the odds were never strictly in her favor. “Growing up, my father would say, ‘We’re poor, you can’t study the arts,’” she said. “He thought I’d need a plan B.”

She didn’t. Since putting out her first album at age 20, Anitta has gone on to become one of Brazil’s biggest pop stars. In the past decade, she has released four studio albums, performed at the 2016 Olympic opening ceremony and racked up numerous Latin Grammy nominations. Anitta got her start singing in Rio de Janeiro’s favelas, and success eventually followed her to the rest of South America, where a string of Spanish-language hits featuring stars like J Balvin and [*Maluma*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/12/style/maluma-clothing-line-fashion.html) cemented her status as one of the region’s top performers.

The United States market feels like the final frontier. This month, Anitta will perform at both weekends of the Coachella festival. On April 12, her new trilingual album “Versions of Me” — her first since signing with Warner Records in 2021, and her first international LP — arrives. A solo female pop artist from Brazil has never become a star in North America, but Anitta’s team and label are intent on making it happen — and it shows. Featuring tracks produced by established hitmakers including Ryan Tedder, Stargate, and Andrés Torres and Mauricio Rengifo (who produced “Despacito”), the album’s sleek hooks, taut melodies and glossy production signal a clear attempt at breaking her in America.

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/hFCjGiawJi4)]

Speaking via video chat from her house in Miami in late February, Anitta was barefaced on the couch, dressed in an orange Versace T-shirt. She looked tired, but her posture was flawless. “I got back yesterday from Rio and I was exhausted. I’d been working Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday without a break,” she said, petting her sleepy Italian greyhound, Plínio. (He had great posture, too.)

Born Larissa Machado in Rio de Janeiro’s ***working-class*** Honório Gurgel neighborhood, Anitta, 29, first rose to fame after she posted a video of herself singing into a can of deodorant. Her stage name, a homage to a character she’d long admired from an old Brazilian TV show, “Presença de Anita,” came later. In the series, she explained, Anita would say that she wanted to wake up a different person every day: “She could be romantic, sensual, intelligent and crazy all at once.” Anitta likes playing with that idea too.

“People have always wanted to define women: Is she the marrying type? Is she the type that likes to go out?” she added. “But I can be both things, right?”

Anitta made a name for herself performing at parties around Rio’s favelas. Funk carioca, or [*baile funk*](https://lens.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/12/19/photographing-favela-funk/), a vibrant rhythm that emerged in Rio de Janeiro’s predominantly Black ***working-class*** neighborhoods in the 1980s, is the soundtrack of choice at these gatherings, where sound systems often blast the genre’s signature tamborzão beat. “I started bothering everyone and asking if I could sing at their events, the proibidas,” Anitta said.

Proibida is Portuguese for prohibited. In the early 2000s, the police — who deemed these bailes (dance parties) breeding grounds for gang violence — began violently sweeping events in Rio’s favelas under the guise of public safety. While the genre now plays in some of the country’s wealthiest neighborhoods and in clubs popular with arty crowds in London and Berlin, its creators, especially those who haven’t yet risen to fame, are still marginalized.

At the height of the moral panic around baile funk, even stars like Anitta didn’t walk away unscathed. When she performed at the Olympic opening ceremony in 2016 alongside the national icons Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil, critics lashed out against her inclusion in the event, dismissing her as a “favelada.”

“Prejudice hurts,” Anitta said. “But what artists like Caetano, Marisa Monte, Djavan and Bethânia have always told me is that they were the Anitta of their time,” she said, referring to Maria Bethânia and other Brazilian stars who are mostly over 70 (Monte, the youngest of the group, is in her 50s). “Everyone told them they were bums and now they’re icons.”

Veloso, one of the country’s most revered singer-songwriters who has collaborated with the singer in the past, praised her in an email. “Anitta is so competent, sincere, direct and likable,” he wrote. “She has captured the zeitgeist in such an impressive way.”

In the mid-2000s, M.I.A. and Diplo began to export funk carioca out of Brazil through songs like “Baile Funk One” and a documentary, “[*Favela on Blast*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pGmQHmaiYvI),” but the genre never made it to the pop charts. Anitta still believes it has the potential to go global, though. And while her new album experiments with a range of styles — the Gaga-inspired electro-pop of “[*Boys Don’t Cry*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PkzJgGZBFDg),” the rollicking reggaeton of “Gata” — “Versions of Me” never completely severs ties with her roots.

Still, she knows success often takes time. “The main things are patience and persistence,” she said. “We have to do it step by step.”

Ryan Tedder, the frontman for the band One Republic who has written hits for Beyoncé and Taylor Swift, agreed to executive produce Anitta’s project halfway through their first studio session. “She’s easily the hardest working person I’ve ever worked with,” he said by phone. “She does not have an off switch.”

Tom Corson, co-chairman and chief operating officer at Warner Records, agreed: “Anitta has what it takes to be a global superstar.” The plan? “Obviously we want hit records,” Corson said. “And we’d like to see her as a unique force within the U.S. and global market, toggling back and forth between languages.” The obvious comparison is Shakira.

While “Versions of Me” is above all, an international project, Tedder and Anitta were both adamant that Brazilian rhythms had to be a part of it. “I didn’t want to disenfranchise her Brazilian fan base from what she’s already built,” he said.

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/9r2_tj0K3yA)]

For “[*Faking Love*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9r2_tj0K3yA)” — a baile funk-inspired track featuring the American rapper Saweetie — Anitta and Tedder flew the Brazilian producers Tropkillaz to Los Angeles for a session. “The rhythmic movement of an actual funk beat doesn’t use what’s called quantization,” Tedder said, referring to software that makes beats line up perfectly. “You have to program it in with natural human swing.” It took him several tries before he could get it right; Anitta sat and listened until she knew they’d found the one.

Anitta is aware that when it comes to her work, she is a perfectionist first. For years, she has worked with a speech therapist to minimize her accent, and even as she was putting the finishing touches on her album, she was rerecording parts of tracks. Would it matter if she sang in English with a strong accent? It shouldn’t, but it does, she said. “I realized that if I spoke slower in meetings or with an accent, people would respect me less,” she said, recalling how she felt when she started doing business in America.

Things are different in her personal life, but it’s hard to completely relinquish control when she has lived the bulk of it under a microscope. Anitta, who is bisexual, kept key aspects of her identity — including her sexuality — hidden from the Brazilian press for years. “It was complicated because it was all very taboo at the time,” she said. “Lots of singers weren’t out, and I don’t judge them because I know people really came after me.”

It was only after a bodyguard had to chase down someone who took a picture of her kissing a woman at a party that she realized she wanted to stop hiding. “My mom has known that I kiss girls since I was 13, why should I care what other people think?” she said in a second interview, throwing both of her hands up in exasperation as she slouched down on a hotel room couch in Los Angeles.

Politically, aspects of Anitta’s life have long been scrutinized too. The singer was [*criticized in 2018*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/24/world/americas/brazil-election-jair-bolsonaro.html) when she didn’t outright condemn Brazil’s far-right president Jair Bolsonaro during the early stages of his campaign. But she maintains there’s a reason for that. “I was having my religious initiation,” she said. In Candomblé, which mixes Yoruba, Fon and Bantu beliefs, initiations typically require people to remain secluded for around 21 days: “I had no way of contacting the outside world.”

When it became clear Anitta would have to say something, she called a friend, the lawyer, journalist and political commentator Gabriela Prioli, and asked for help. “I didn’t understand anything. I didn’t know what a congressman does or what a councilman does,” she said. “I’m not ashamed to say it because most Brazilians don’t.”

In the end, Anitta found the conversation so helpful she decided to start broadcasting political education classes with Prioli on her [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/anitta/), which she hopes to resume ahead of this year’s elections. While she won’t endorse a candidate, Anitta now firmly opposes Bolsonaro. In late March, when lawyers representing the president’s party petitioned Brazil’s supreme electoral court to stop artists from making “political demonstrations” in their sets, Anitta encouraged other performers to defy them. “To my friends who want to speak out: I’ll pay your fine,” she said in an Instagram story.

Bolsonaro and Anitta occasionally even butt heads on social media, where the singer boasts 61 million followers on Instagram alone. “He knows his conservative supporters don’t like me, so he uses my name to draw attention to himself,” she said.

Her follower count will likely only grow in the coming months. Popularized by the “paso de Anitta” — Spanish for Anitta’s dance move — her TikTok hit “[*Envolver*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hFCjGiawJi4)” is the first song by a Brazilian artist to enter the Top 10 on Spotify’s global chart. In late March, it hit No. 1 there.

Anitta’s upcoming Coachella performance on the festival’s main stage marks another first for a Brazilian artist.

“I don’t want to think about it,” she said. “It makes me anxious.” But she is thinking about it.

Anitta said rehearsals for the show are happening in Rio, where she’s training with one Brazilian and one American choreographer. (“I wanted to combine both cultures.”) And after that? “I’ve only planned my life until Coachella,” she said half-jokingly.

“I’m not going to overthink things,” she said. That’s how music becomes formulaic. “I know what I want to do: if things work out, great,” she added. “If they don’t, that’s also great.” She wasn’t always this way. “But I’ve accomplished so much more than I ever thought I would. If I fell asleep now and woke up at 40, I’d still feel like I’d done what I set out to do.”

PHOTOS: Top, the Brazilian singer Anitta. Her trilingual album “Versions of Me” is her first release as part of a major deal in North America. Above, Anitta performed in Miami in February. “The main things are patience and persistence,” she said. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY NATALIA MANTINI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; JOHN PARRA/GETTY IMAGE)

**Load-Date:** April 23, 2022

**End of Document**



[***American Stories, Coast to Coast; The Shortlist***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65G6-FG01-DXY4-X0TH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 17, 2022 Tuesday 00:32 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 1134 words

**Byline:** Jean Chen Ho

**Highlight:** From California’s Central Valley to the Texas-Mexico border to rural North Carolina, fiction anchored by a strong sense of place.

**Body**

Chelsea Bieker, the author of the novel “Godshot,” returns with another bold, uncanny ode to California’s Central Valley. In the 11 stories in HEARTBROKE (277 pp., Catapult, $26), we meet sex workers and raisin farmers, miners and addicts. “Godshot”’s Officer Geary pops up now and again in the collection, asking pesky questions of Bieker’s narrators, a number of whom become unwitting (or at least unwilling) accessories to murder. Violence is everywhere in “Heartbroke,” where an abusive father or husband seems the rule rather than the exception. And the women — the wives, mothers and sisters — are often narcissistic and manipulative. Resentful guardians treat their wards with abject indifference. Babies and children go missing: kidnapped, taken from unfit parents by social services or having run away from home.

The title story is one of several that circle a man named Pretty, whose vulnerabilities and foibles are revealed through tender letters from his mother as she recounts a litany of maternal regrets. In “Cadillac Flats,” Pretty is a timid teenager whose desire hasn’t yet hardened into entitlement. He thinks his older cousin Jackie is a fool for telling him “real men smoked cigarettes, men got their due from whatever woman they pleased,” but it takes a literal gunshot to awaken him to the theater of masculinity and his eventual role in it. Though he staggers off intact, the version of Pretty who dances with glee in blue suede shoes all but vanishes.

Years later, what remains of him in “Keep Her Down” is only the subject of listless musing between his ex-wives, Baby and Jan. Their unlikely friendship is built on the shared experience of having survived Pretty, each one “dragged through the mire of her own devotion, then scorned, beaten and spit on.” The reader encounters this Pretty first: the archetype of the angry, reproachful man so ubiquitous in “Heartbroke.” But as his story deepens, Pretty becomes something else entirely.

Bieker offers an unsentimental view of the hardscrabble lives of the white ***working class*** in a less romanticized region of California. In “Raisin Man,” a father tells his son, “God came down and ran His mighty hand on the land, blessed this place.” The boy retorts: “My ma says it’s the deepest hole in hell.” Bieker’s lucid, compassionate prose makes room for both visions, and more.

A thousand-plus miles due southeast, a different valley dazzles the senses. The characters in Fernando A. Flores’s VALLEYESQUE (193 pp., MCD x FSG Originals, paper, $16) exist in a surrealist rendering of the Texas-Mexico border, where they float into and out of bizarre dreamscapes as if passing through a police checkpoint, or the customs counter. Which is to say, reality is subjective and the rules for safe crossing are often arbitrary. In this exuberantly strange story collection, Flores asks: Whose reality? What rules?

Absurdist logic reigns in “Valleyesque.” The invention of breakfast tacos topped with pre-shredded American cheese is deemed “an authentic experience that’s better, faster than the real thing.” When possums gentrify your hometown and underestimate your ambition, there’s nothing to do but leave the border and never look back. A struggling novelist finds solace in his “Nostradamus baby” made of human earwax. Flores writes with a sublime comic sensibility.

“Nocturne From a World Concave” is a standout in the collection. In Ciudad Juárez, a terminally ill Frédéric Chopin marks his last days in a shabby apartment near the market square. The renowned composer, or “Papá Chopin,” as the children in the street call him, is the avuncular curmudgeon of Plaza Bonifacio. After an unsuccessful attempt to recover his confiscated Pleyel piano, Chopin is detained by a pair of handsomely dressed goons. They pull a luchador mask over his head — the eyes and mouth sewn shut — and throw him in a pickup truck. In that private, darkened room, under the shroud, Chopin thinks of his dead mother, buried only a week ago. What happens next is hard to explain: Chopin enters a feverish grief fantasy involving a half-naked king, a castle under mournful enchantment and a sickly, hairless girl in an emerald gown.

At last, the Pleyel piano. Chopin sits down to play. Flores’s prose here soars and dips, taking on a haunting, poetic register: “Don’t forget us, distant yesterdays and impossible tomorrows, whales under moonlight, blood upon clear, green waters, don’t forget.” The lyrical improvisation lifts the spell on the castle, like magic. It transports the reader, too.

Traveling even farther east, Erica Plouffe Lazure examines the vicissitudes of small-town life in eastern North Carolina in her debut collection, PROOF OF ME (212 pp., New American Press, paper, $17). Each of the book’s five sections delves into a family or community in the fictional crossing of Mewborn. Written with deep emotional intelligence, these are indelible portraits of people seeking grace in all the wrong places.

Within each section are discrete but linked stories, many of which are succinct vignettes that telegraph a character’s complex interiority in a few short pages. It’s the longer pieces, however, that allow Lazure’s characters to fully breathe. In “Shad Daze,” Noah Saunders brings his girlfriend home to meet the family during Mewborn’s Shad Festival in April, when the herring make “their seasonal upstream runs on the Neuse,” the local river. Years back, his sister, Sissy, had been crowned the Shad Queen “in her knockout days … rail-thin and red-haired, her smile saucy and come-hither.” Her affair with an older man scandalized the town, however, and Sissy’s pageant title was rescinded. Noah doesn’t communicate with his family much, and there’s little love between him and Sissy these days, though they were once close. The siblings even shared a best friend, Knox, who died from an accidental drug overdose two years ago. In spare, bright prose, Lazure deftly reveals how grief penetrates and takes hold of a family and irrevocably splinters a whole community.

The characters in “Proof of Me” gossip about their neighbors, betray their spouses in large and small ways, and spend more time at Duck’s Tavern than they should. They’re also the same people who care for an aging parent or abandoned niece without complaint and lie without blinking to spare a friend’s feelings. Some may flee Mewborn — for Philadelphia, Boston, San Francisco or as far away as Bodh Gaya, India — to seek other fortunes. Still, when North Carolina’s rural landscape calls, these prodigal sons and daughters inevitably answer. Lazure’s sensitive portrayal of this specific American locale deserves the attention of readers from all over the map.

Jean Chen Ho is a doctoral candidate at the University of Southern California and the author of “Fiona and Jane.”

PHOTOS

**Load-Date:** May 24, 2022

**End of Document**



[***What the Mullet Means Now; On Beauty***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65G6-TTV1-JBG3-6003-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 17, 2022 Tuesday 10:41 EST

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**Section:** T-MAGAZINE

**Length:** 1073 words

**Byline:** Megan Bradley

**Highlight:** The subversive hairstyle has found its way to runways and red carpets once again. But is there anyone left to shock?

**Body**

Lil Nas X caused a stir, as he is wont to do, when he arrived on the red carpet at MTV’s Video Music Awards last fall wearing a lavender hybrid outfit — half pantsuit and half off-the-shoulder gown — by Atelier Versace. The aim, explained the rapper, was to telegraph “a mix of masculine and feminine energy.” Furthering this idea was his hair: a mullet styled in a Jheri curl, a few wavy locks skimming his collarbone. The look drew comparisons to those of Rick James and Little Richard, while also harking back to a longer and rather colorful history.

There’s evidence of the mullet — which is characterized by hair closely shorn everywhere except at the back of the head, where it is left longish — appearing in ancient Assyria, Egypt and Greece. Greek texts suggest the style was particularly popular with warriors; no doubt the longer strands kept their necks warm while the bangs ensured they could see clearly and, indeed, there’s something helmet-like about the style. In Homer’s “Iliad,” for instance, the Abantes, a faction of spearmen, are described as having “hair long at the back.” Depictions of the Greek gods also confirm that the mullet was a style of the time: the Apollo Belvedere, a second-century Roman sculpture, portrays Apollo with hair tied at the top and ringlets flowing down his neck. And in certain Indigenous populations, including tribes of the Western United States like the Blackfoot and Crow, long hair has long symbolized power and a connection with the divine, and a version of the mullet — the front spiked with materials like grease and the back long and sometimes braided — is considered a traditional style.

That in the 19th century, men of the Nez Perce tribe of the Pacific Northwest who wore their hair long in the back faced pressure from Christian missionaries to abandon the style in favor of something more “civilized” tells us about the evils of cultural erasure, but also about conformity more broadly. In much of the Western world, mullets have largely been seen as a thwarting, whether one celebrated or feared, of convention. Take David Bowie, who wore chalky white makeup, psychedelic jumpsuits and a coiffed orange mullet to debut his otherworldly alter ego Ziggy Stardust in 1972. Not long after this glamorous alien emerged came a more ***working-class*** punk subculture for which rebellion was a raison d’être. And as much as torn clothes, safety pins, chains and piercings — the stuff of “confrontation dressing,” as Vivienne Westwood called it — the mullet played a large part in the aesthetics of the movement. For one, the ragged style was purposefully ugly. “It was meant to be a shock to society,” says the hairstylist Guido Palau, who was a mullet-wearing member of the punk scene of 1970s Dorset, England. “You’d walk down the road and people would cross over to avoid you,” he says. “It caused such havoc.”

In the ’80s and early ’90s, slightly softer versions suffused the broader culture via the era’s dreamboat celebrities (Lionel Richie, Andre Agassi, the members of Duran Duran) before crossing over into cheesy territory on the heads of Billy Ray Cyrus and Michael Bolton. But the cut retained its edge in the queer community. The gender-bending musicians Joan Jett, Patti Smith and Prince all sported the style, which was copied by many of their fans. “Queer people probably weren’t going to a mainstream salon, because that’s not a space where you were comfortable,” says Rachael Gibson, the London-based hair and beauty editor who runs an Instagram account called [*the Hair Historian*](https://www.instagram.com/thehairhistorian). “But by nature of being a do-it-yourself thing, it became a powerful statement of being an outsider.” Still, a decade or so later, the hairstyle, by then a tragic mark of trying too hard, fell out of style in a big way.

Perhaps, the mullet elicited such strong reactions because it refuses to be any one thing, sitting at the midpoint between long and short, masculine and feminine and tasteful and tacky. But if an inability to categorize causes discomfort in some, this sort of in-betweenness is just what some are looking for, especially at a time when gender and taste both feel, rightfully and crucially, so fluid. No wonder, then, that over the last five years the mullet has experienced a relative resurgence. Pop culture mainstays like Rihanna, who frequently returns to the style, and Miley Cyrus, whose choppy version has become a sort of signature, have brought the mullet back and cemented it as cool once again. It appeared in a multitude of fall 2022 runway shows, including Junya Watanabe’s ready-to-wear, in which models walked with seemingly haphazardly dyed versions, as well as punk leather jackets, and at Stella McCartney’s, which featured shaggier takes reminiscent of ’70s rockers. Palau is responsible for the mullets seen at Alexander McQueen spring 2022 show, some bleached and spiked in overt references to Bowie. The hairstylist recalls that the brand’s namesake founder was particularly fond of the style. “He loved the sense of play,” says Palau, “the short and long together.”

Play, yes, but what about power? Gen Z has made it especially clear that there’s a lot to fight back against. “Whether [it’s] the consciousness of climate change that they’ve been born into, then spending two years online and now a war going on, they recognize the world as extreme,” says Moya Luckett, a media historian and professor of celebrity culture at N.Y.U., who has noticed more frequent and more radical experimentation in her students’ looks in the past few years. “They’re interested in pushing buttons and boundaries.” At the same time, this generation recognizes that we’re in a postmodern era in which no one look is entirely in or out, or even all that likely to get a big reaction. It would be difficult to find someone who crosses the street to avoid a mullet in 2022. As Palau sees it, “It’s quite hard to shock people with your hair now because there are so many shocking things in the world.” The kids know, too, that aesthetics’ political potential only goes so far. But the mullet is a start, a gesture, a promise. And at a bare minimum, the style, often summed up as “business in the front, party in the back,” is pretty perfect for Zoom meetings.

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BETTMANN/GETTY IMAGES (APOLLO BELVEDERE STATUE); MICHAEL OCHS ARCHIVES/GETTY IMAGES (DAVID BOWIE); ANGELA WEISS/AGENCE FRANCE- PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES (LIL NAS X); VIA GUIDO PALAU (ARINA BESEDINA))

**Load-Date:** May 22, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Stephen Sweeney, N.J. Senate President, Loses to Republican Truck Driver***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:640V-40B1-JBG3-63R9-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 4, 2021 Thursday 19:40 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1516 words

**Byline:** Nick Corasaniti and Tracey Tully

**Highlight:** Mr. Sweeney, the second most powerful lawmaker in New Jersey and a Democrat, lost his bid for re-election to Edward Durr, a driver for a furniture chain.

**Body**

Mr. Sweeney, the second most powerful lawmaker in New Jersey and a Democrat, lost his bid for re-election to Edward Durr, a driver for a furniture chain.

For nearly a decade, [*Stephen M. Sweeney*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/10/nyregion/steve-sweeney-durr-nj-election.html), the second most powerful lawmaker in [*New Jersey*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/03/nyregion/murphy-wins-nj-governor.html), seemed truly unassailable. He boasted deep ties to the most feared political power broker in the state and unyielding support from the influential building trade unions. Four years ago, the state’s teachers’ union [*spent more than $5 million to unseat him*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/26/nyregion/nj-teachers-union-wages-costly-war-against-powerful-democrat.html). He won by 18 points.

This year, his challenger was Edward Durr, a truck driver for Raymour &amp; Flanigan, a furniture chain, who had never before held office. [*His campaign video*](https://twitter.com/kerpen/status/1455899165230354448?s=20) was shot on a smartphone.

Yet [*Mr. Sweeney*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/10/nyregion/steve-sweeney-durr-nj-election.html), the State Senate president and a Democrat, was ousted in a shocking political upset by Mr. Durr, a Republican, as voters opted for a political unknown in a result that immediately rattled the political moorings of the state. Voters also nearly ousted Gov. Philip D. Murphy; the governor [*narrowly won re-election*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/03/nyregion/murphy-wins-nj-governor.html) over his Republican challenger, Jack Ciattarelli, leading by 1.6 percentage points.

But it was Mr. Sweeney’s loss that was perhaps best emblematic of the predicament facing Democrats in suburban, exurban and rural communities.

The Associated Press called the race on Thursday morning, as Mr. Durr maintained a 2,298-vote lead over Mr. Sweeney with all precincts counted.

Though Mr. Sweeney’s district in the southwestern part of the state has never been deeply blue like the northeastern counties, it has reliably elected a Democrat since its creation in 1973, save for one year when the Democratic incumbent switched parties.

Mr. Sweeney held a vise grip on the district, largely composed of blue-collar suburbs just south of Camden and poorer, rural areas, thanks to powerful allies and a decidedly moderate record, playing up his background as an ironworker and union leader.

But as support for Democrats eroded in the suburbs and evaporated in rural areas in both [*New Jersey*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/10/nyregion/steve-sweeney-durr-nj-election.html) and Virginia, Mr. Sweeney found himself facing a surge in Republican voters and a loss in support from the ***working-class*** backing he had so often relied on; being a Democratic lawmaker during an era of coronavirus lockdowns, mandates in schools and dysfunction in Washington was enough to erode what was once unshakable backing.

In Gloucester County, Catherine Biasiello, 70, said she is a registered Democrat who voted for Mr. Durr because she is unhappy with the state’s high tax rate, and because she disapproves of the state’s closure of public schools during the pandemic.

Ms Biasiello, 70, who lives in West Deptford, said Mr. Sweeney “could have stepped up” to oppose the school shutdowns but did not. “He could have influenced the governor,” she said.

Mr. Sweeney’s loss amounts to a seismic restructuring of political power and influence, leaving a substantial vacuum in the State Legislature; he had held the post of senate president, with the ability to set the legislative agenda, for nearly 12 years.

In the Trump era, Republicans were seen as doomed to a permanent minority in New Jersey, as voters’ deep contempt for the former president was strong enough to turn the long-held Republican suburbs blue; Democrats flipped four House seats in the 2018 midterm elections.

But the surprising defeat of Mr. Sweeney, coupled with Mr. Murphy’s slim margin of victory and unexpectedly tight races involving popular rising Democratic stars in the state like Vin Gopal, a state senator from Monmouth County, reveals a Republican Party that seems to be marching back to relevance.

Mr. Ciattarelli’s efforts and spending led the way, allowing lesser candidates like Mr. Durr, who lives in a house next to his mother in southern New Jersey, to gather momentum.

Mr. Durr told news outlets that he had spent $153 on his campaign, but financial disclosure reports indicate he spent roughly $2,200 on his race. His meager campaign included the 80-second campaign video, where he accentuated his ***working-class*** roots with an opening scene of his stepping down from his truck cab, and ending with his riding away on a motorcycle. His victory was announced on the same day Mr. Durr was on a shift driving his truck.

With barely any attention given to the race, Mr. Durr remained largely unvetted and unknown to the general public. On Thursday, old posts on social media by the candidate began circulating, including one [*reflecting support for “both sides”*](https://twitter.com/edwarddurr1/status/897479070065328130?s=20) of the violent racist rally in Charlottesville, Va., in 2017 and another [*condemning Islam and disparaging the Prophet Muhammad.*](https://twitter.com/edwarddurr1/status/1168522758332080128?s=20)

Mr. Durr did not respond to several requests for an interview. But in [*an impromptu news conference*](https://twitter.com/EllieRushing/status/1456309200947142663) outside of his house on Thursday, Mr. Durr nodded to an electorate he saw as angry.

“It didn’t happen because of me,” he said. “I’m nobody. I’m absolutely nobody. I’m just a simple guy. It was the people. It was a repudiation of the policies that have been forced down their throats.”

Mr. Durr then [*took his three pit bulls*](https://twitter.com/EllieRushing/status/1456311396908548104) on a walk.

His campaign, which largely consisted of his video, lawn signs and door knocking, projected more grievance than platforms, taking issue with the coronavirus policies of Mr. Murphy and claiming Mr. Sweeney “sat by and watched.” He also focused on the state’s high cost of living.

“The Senate president has spent 20 years in Trenton: higher taxes, increasing debt, and a rising cost of living,” Mr. Durr says in his video.

Mr. Sweeney, in a statement released on Thursday, did not concede.

“The results from Tuesday’s election continue to come in, for instance there were 12,000 ballots recently found in one county,” Mr. Sweeney said. “While I am currently trailing in the race, we want to make sure every vote is counted. Our voters deserve that, and we will wait for the final results.”

Democrats, of course, still maintain single-party control over the entire state government, but Mr. Sweeney’s loss nonetheless shocked the forces that have long controlled Trenton.

Rarely did a governor’s priority reach the floor without Mr. Sweeney’s approval.

In the first two years of Mr. Murphy’s term, before the pandemic settled in, Mr. Sweeney served as an obstacle to the governor’s expansive progressive agenda, further burnishing his moderate Democratic bona fides by pushing back on increases in budget spending and a plan to tax the wealthy. While Mr. Murphy was largely able to come to an agreement with Mr. Sweeney and enact his agenda, the Senate president was often the most powerful counter force in a state controlled by Democrats.

“He was able to impose his will on legislation,” said Joe Vitale, a Democratic state senator. “He was a force of nature. So it will be a loss for those of us who respect him and support him.”

Mr. Sweeney was closely allied with George E. Norcross, an insurance executive and powerful power broker whose stranglehold on southern New Jersey politics lead many to see him as a shadow governor. The two remained close during both Mr. Murphy’s administration and former Gov. Chris Christie’s eight years. Without Mr. Sweeney at the helm of the Senate, and with other Democratic losses in the southern part of the state, Mr. Norcross may no longer possess the ironclad control to shape state policy, though he still counts numerous legislators as allies.

In an interview, Mr. Norcross described Mr. Sweeney as “the Lyndon Johnson of the State Legislature” who “brought order to the chaos.” He said the sudden swelling of Republican turnout and independents’ anger “happened with such warp speed, that there was nothing that could have been anticipated or done, because it’s not like we didn’t have the money available to do it.”

He added that the Democratic Party will need to change, both in the state and around the country, to win back voters.

“The Democratic Party is going to have to, and candidates for office are going to have to, redefine themselves as fiscally responsible legislators and ones that are going to spend government money wisely and not recklessly as is portrayed,” Mr. Norcross said. “They can’t be defined as wanting to defund police or socialist.”

Mr. Sweeney’s loss sets up a wide open race for his successor. Nicholas Scutari, a Democratic state senator from northern New Jersey, is seen as a possible candidate to replace Mr. Sweeney in the senate leadership. Troy Singleton, a Democratic state senator from southern New Jersey, also has been mentioned as a possible replacement, among many other candidates.

Ed Dobzanski, 56, a union truck driver from [*Gibbstown, N.J.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/10/nyregion/steve-sweeney-durr-nj-election.html), said he voted for Mr. Sweeney because of the Senate president’s long support for trade unions, but he thought his rival’s victory reflects a public desire for change.

“I think this is a backlash of the same people being in the same positions a long time,” he said. “People just wanted change, they are tired of career politicians.”

Jon Hurdle contributed reporting from West Deptford Township, N.J.

PHOTO: Stephen M. Sweeney, the president of the New Jersey State Senate, was ousted by a Republican truck driver. (PHOTOGRAPH BY THE PRESS OF ATLANTIC CITY, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS) (A12)

**Load-Date:** November 10, 2021

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[***Is It OK to Take a Law-Firm Job Defending Climate Villains?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66C4-DGT1-DXY4-X0YC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 11, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section MM; Column 0; Magazine Desk; Pg. 18; THE ETHICIST

**Length:** 1316 words

**Byline:** By Kwame Anthony Appiah

**Body**

The magazine's Ethicist columnist on whether taking a corporate law job means abandoning your values.

I come from a ***working-class*** family. I have worked very hard in school and graduated college with little debt, so when I was given the opportunity to attend an elite law school, I took it -- along with a $150,000 price tag. Some people may scorn me for such a decision, but this was my dream school, and I saw it as a ticket to an echelon of society and opportunity that was otherwise entirely barred to me.

While I entered law school hoping to work in the public interest, I now face the reality of paying back my loans. I took an internship at a big law firm where I am paid very well, and I've been invited to work for them once I graduate. The salary would be enough for me to pay off my loans, help my family and establish a basic standard of living for myself -- plus maybe own a house or even save for retirement, which would be impossible for me on a public-interest or government salary.

But the firm's work entails defending large corporations that I'm ethically opposed to, including many polluters and companies that I feel are making the apocalyptic climate situation even worse. Even if I only stay at the firm for a short time to pay off my loans, I would be helping in these efforts for some time.

Basically, I feel torn between two value systems. The first is the value system of my parents, which prizes hard work and self-sufficiency. My parents are very proud of me for working in a high-level job that allows me to support myself. The second is my own personal moral code -- the little idealist within me who wants me to drop the corporate angle in order to help as many people as I can, even if it results in a difficult life for me.

I know it is selfish to take this corporate job. But is it unforgivable? Will defending polluters, even for a short time in a junior position, be a permanent black mark on my life? Name Withheld

Congratulations on your achievements thus far -- and on asking hard questions about how to use the skills and the qualifications you're acquiring. Decisions like the one you face are complicated. You will have been taught in law school that everyone accused of a serious crime is entitled to legal counsel. The situation is different when it comes to civil cases and to corporate defendants. (The details here vary with the types of cases and with jurisdictions.) But corporations are generally required to represent themselves with properly licensed lawyers, in both civil and criminal proceedings. And the principle remains that representing a malefactor isn't, ipso facto, an act of malefaction.

Now, we're rightly concerned when corporations do damage to the environment, and so to humanity as a whole. But it's hard to see how the world would be improved if such corporations couldn't find legal advice and representation. Is a corporation really going to behave better if it doesn't know what the law is? More than that, the world would most likely be made worse if corporations could only find lawyers who were indifferent to the wrongs their clients were doing. As with criminal defense, we need lawyers who will work diligently for people and associations whether they approve of them or not. Your job, whatever your feelings about your clients, would be to give them what they're entitled to. That includes effective and committed legal advice and guidance; it does not include helping them to break the law or lie to the authorities. Indeed, you have a duty, as an officer of the court, to tell them they can't do these things and to refuse to assist them in doing so.

Even if what your clients are doing is legal, you may still feel uncomfortable supplying guidance and representation, because the activities shouldn't be legal. We ought to have laws and regulations that treat the climate crisis with full seriousness, and we don't. Refusing to take the corporate-law job does disconnect you from the wrongs these clients do but wouldn't deprive them of legal assistance. After all, the firm isn't going to stop serving them if you decline to join it. But you don't suggest that your career choice will make a difference to what these clients do. You simply don't want to be involved in helping them to do it. That's why you speak specifically of a ''black mark'' on your life.

I'm not sure that this form of moral accounting makes much sense, though. Again, for an adversarial legal system to function justly, there have to be lawyers who are willing to serve clients they disapprove of. If that's a demerit, it has to appear on somebody's moral scorecard. But surely it can't be both good that somebody does it and a demerit for the person who has done it. (You can regret having to do something as part of your job, even if that something isn't itself wrong.) And, on the bright side, not all of your clients are likely to be evildoers; your company will also be doing some pro bono work for people you may actively enjoy working for.

Some analysts, notably those associated with the effective-altruism movement, might even suggest that the high-paying track could be the morally best one for you to take. In the earning-to-give approach -- explored in the philosopher Peter Singer's book ''The Most Good You Can Do'' -- people with the requisite skills may set out to earn lots of money and give a great deal of it to humanitarian causes, helping the world more than they would have had they devoted themselves directly to doing good. You might, in this scenario, pay off those loans, help your family and then, as a richly remunerated partner, give a big chunk of your earnings to saving lives in the developing world or supporting causes that will advance climate security and justice. You'll have passed up the low-paying job at the public-interest center, but your generous donations will fund three such positions. If your aim were simply to help as many people as you can, you might conclude, after a careful assessment, that going for the big paycheck was the right thing to do.

Still, one party who matters here is you. Selfishness isn't a matter of taking your interests and those of your loved ones into account; it's a matter of giving those interests more weight than they deserve. Getting money to escape debt and help your family is a perfectly reasonable aim, consistent with being an ethically admirable person. But so is taking satisfaction in your work. If much of your time is spent in the service of corporate nogoodniks, you may well end up being unhappy. That's not a choice you can be obliged to make. On the other hand, if you do become a partner in a firm like the one at which you're interning, you may be able to change the balance of cases that the firm accepts. Or you could plan on switching jobs later to better align your livelihood with your values, defending the environment rather than those who ill use it. It's altogether possible that your having worked at the high-paying law firm will give you valuable insight into how corporate polluters operate.

The calculus here involves all these conflicting considerations. Whichever way you go, I suspect, you will be able to do good. Your letter suggests that the ''little idealist'' within you won't be taking early retirement; staying on the course you're now on doesn't mean that you'll forget about the causes that matter.

Kwame Anthony Appiah teaches philosophy at N.Y.U. His books include ''Cosmopolitanism,'' ''The Honor Code'' and ''The Lies That Bind: Rethinking Identity.'' To submit a query: Send an email to [*ethicist@nytimes.com*](mailto:ethicist@nytimes.com); or send mail to The Ethicist, The New York Times Magazine, 620 Eighth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10018. (Include a daytime phone number.)Kwame Anthony Appiah teaches philosophy at N.Y.U. His books include ''Cosmopolitanism,'' ''The Honor Code'' and ''The Lies That Bind: Rethinking Identity.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/06/magazine/law-firm-job-ethics.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/06/magazine/law-firm-job-ethics.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by Tomi Um FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Eric Adams, Mayor-Elect; New York Today***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:640J-YF31-DXY4-X43H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 3, 2021 Wednesday 05:33 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1522 words

**Byline:** James Barron

**Highlight:** Adams claimed an overwhelming victory and called for unity: “Today we take off the intramural jersey and we put on one jersey — team New York.”

**Body**

Good morning. Eric Adams, who found a place in New York City’s political consciousness as a reform-minded police officer more than 20 years ago, was elected mayor. And scroll down to meet some deep-sea look-alikes that could scare you — unless you like sharks.

Adams claimed victory as New York City’s second Black mayor — he will take office 32 years after the first, [*David Dinkins*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/24/nyregion/david-dinkins-dead.html) — and immediately called for unity.

“Today we take off the intramural jersey and we put on one jersey — team New York,” he declared during his victory celebration. He said his administration would focus on the communities of color and the poor and ***working-class*** New Yorkers who helped send him to City Hall.

[*Adams*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/02/us/elections/eric-adams-victory-speech-transcript.html), the Brooklyn borough president since 2014, will face monumental tests as New York addresses the continuing consequences of the coronavirus pandemic. There are persistent problems, like homelessness and affordable housing, and new ones, like an economy [*redefined by remote work*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/29/nyregion/remote-work-coronavirus-pandemic.html). Adams will also be under pressure to drive down the crime rate and build jails in each borough after closing the Rikers Island complex, a move he said that he supported during the campaign.

Adams acknowledged the challenges, referring to a “three-headed crisis” — “Covid, crime and economic devastation” — in his victory speech. But he also said it was neighborhoods like those in southeast Queens, where he grew up, that needed his attention as mayor.

“New York has chosen one of its own,” he said. “I am you.”

Adams’s victory will send a center-left administration to City Hall after eight years under Mayor Bill de Blasio, who tried to steer a more populist, leftward course — and the new political landscape will be complex. Brad Lander, elected New York City’s comptroller on Tuesday, appears to be to Adams’s left on several issues, among them policing.

But Albany, a perennial concern for mayors, looks less fraught than when de Blasio and Andrew Cuomo were sparring partners. Adams and Gov. Kathy Hochul, who replaced Cuomo in August and joined his victory celebration on Tuesday, have promised to have a productive relationship.

The Associated Press called Adams’s victory minutes after polls closed. He defeated Curtis Sliwa, who ran as a Republican presenting his main qualifications as the decades he has spent patrolling the subways and leading the Guardian Angels, the beret-wearing vigilante group he founded.

Sliwa conceded the race, saying he pledged support to Adams “if we’re going to coalesce.”

How they voted

Adams, the son of a ***working-class*** single mother, carried a framed photograph of her under his arm when he voted in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn on Tuesday. Sliwa took one of his cats to his polling place on the Upper West Side.

But Gizmo — who lives with Sliwa, Sliwa’s wife, Nancy, and 16 other rescue cats — was denied entry. Sliwa, already angry about Gizmo, became angrier when election officials told him to take off a red jacket with his name on it, an apparent violation of electioneering regulations. “Arrest me,” Sliwa shouted.

Then his ballot jammed in the scanner, and the device had to be repaired. And then an election worker used an expletive while asking him to leave.

In other New York City races

* Manhattan district attorney — [*The winner was Alvin Bragg*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/11/02/nyregion/nyc-election-live-updates#alvin-bragg-elected-manhattan-district-attorney-becoming-first-black-person-to-lead-the-office), the Democratic nominee. A former federal prosecutor, he will inherit the high-profile investigation into former President Donald J. Trump and his family business.
* City comptroller — [*Brad Lander*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/11/02/nyregion/nyc-election-live-updates#brad-lander-nyc-comptroller), a Democrat and a three-term City Councilman from the Park Slope neighborhood of Brooklyn, defeated Daby Carreras, who ran as a far-right Republican aligned with the Trump wing of the G.O.P.
* City Council — [*Shahana Hanif, a Bangladeshi American, became the first Muslim woman*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/11/02/nyregion/nyc-election-live-updates#shahana-hanif-muslim-city-council) elected to the City Council. She won a district that covers Park Slope, Kensington and parts of central Brooklyn.

New Jersey governor

The incumbent governor, Philip D. Murphy, was narrowly trailing a relatively obscure Republican challenger, Jack Ciattarelli, and when the vote-counting ended for the night the race was too close to call. A mainstream liberal with ties to the White House, Mr. Murphy is now staking his hopes for victory on a strong performance in several solidly Democratic areas where votes were slow to report.

Mr. Ciattarelli appeared to benefit from robust turnout in rural and conservative-leaning areas of the state while making inroads in denser areas such as Bergen County, the populous suburb of New York City.

It’s going to be a sunny day with temps in the low 50s. In the evening, expect some clouds and temps in the high 30s.

In effect until tomorrow (Diwali).

Other New York news

* Decades after his wife’s disappearance — and just weeks after he was convicted of murder in another woman’s death — [*Robert Durst was indicted in White Plains on a single count of second-degree murder*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/01/nyregion/robert-durst-murder-charge.html).

Readying replica relatives of “Jaws”

A megalodon, a giant relative of the great white shark that ranks as the biggest predator fish of all time, has arrived on the Upper West Side. It is a fearsome fish so big it could eat a whale. It has lots of extremely sharp incisors that could do what extremely sharp incisors do.

This one is not real, and it has landed in a landlocked spot between Central Park West and Columbus Avenue.

It is a fiberglass-and-epoxy replica in a workshop at the [*American Museum of Natural History*](https://www.amnh.org/). The last live megalodon was seen some 3.6 million years ago by whatever creatures avoided its giant jaws. If the heart-pounding theme from a certain Steven Spielberg movie is not already running through your head, this is when it might well start.

The replica has been built for [*an exhibition that is scheduled to open next month*](https://www.amnh.org/exhibitions/sharks). It is 27 feet long, and it is just the head, the only part of the megalodon that visitors will see once the exhibition is installed. The whole megalodon would have been 50 feet long, too big for the gallery the curators have in mind for it.

Still, it is high on the fear factor. “When people come to an exhibition on sharks, they expect to be terrified, like on a roller coaster,” said [*Lauri Halderman*](https://www.linkedin.com/in/lauri-halderman-b13163), the museum’s vice president for exhibition. “Well, great whites are nothing compared to what we’ve got.”

The megalodon and other replicas are being finished in the museum’s workshop, a warren of dusty rooms that is more art studio than biology lab. Seeing great whites and hammerheads there is like seeing the Queen Mary II in dry dock. The sharks are up in the air, on pedestals, to be shaped, sanded and painted.

On a recent morning, Jason Brougham was playing shark periodontist, gluing in rows of replica teeth made on a 3-D printer. They will stay in the replica megalodon’s mouth longer the real ones did. Some megalodon teeth fell out and new ones grew in as often as twice a month.

The inevitable question for Halderman and [*John Sparks*](https://www.amnh.org/research/staff-directory/john-s.-sparks), a curator in the museum’s department of ichthyology, was: Have you seen “Jaws”?

Sparks said he saw it when it first came out. “That was terrifying,” he said.

Halderman said it was filmed when she was in high school. “I wasn’t into horror films,” she said. She finally saw it last year, a work assignment in preparation for the exhibition.

What we’re reading

* Restaurants in New York, from the budget-friendly to the high end, [*are preparing for a Thanksgiving rush, New York Magazine reports.*](https://www.grubstreet.com/2021/11/how-nyc-restaurants-are-gearing-up-for-thanksgiving.html)

1. The Radio City Music Hall Christmas show opens on Friday. Some of the people who put on the show are [*upset that the Covid protocols do not match those at Broadway theaters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/02/arts/dance/radio-city-christmas-spectacular-covid-rules.html).
2. Intercollegiate golf was born in 1896 when Yale swept Columbia. [*Earlier this month, after 125 years, Columbia finally got its rematch.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/31/sports/golf/yale-columbia-ivy-league.html)

Afternoon break

Dear Diary:

I was on Riverside Drive between 89th and 88th Streets, heading home after shopping for groceries at the Food Emporium on Broadway. It was a quiet weekend afternoon and not many people were around, so I decided to take a break in the middle of the sidewalk.

I dropped the plastic shopping bags I was carrying on the ground, inhaled the cool fall air coming off the Hudson River and looked upward.

There, a brilliant blue sky was framed by shining golden leaves. As I looked around, I realized that the leaves on all of the trees on the drive and in Riverside Park had turned to gold.

I had just pulled out my phone to take a photo of the view and was punching in my mother’s email address to send her the picture when I heard a man’s voice behind me.

“It’s beautiful, huh?” he said.

“Yeah,” I said, turning to look at him.

He smiled and quickly walked off. I again owned the view.

— Aiko Setoguchi

Illustrated by Agnes Lee. [*Send submissions here*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/how-to-submit-to-metropolitan-diary.html) and [*read more Metropolitan Diary here*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/metropolitan-diary).

Glad we could get together here. See you tomorrow. — J.B.

P.S. Here’s today’s [*Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/crosswords/game/mini) and [*Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/puzzles/spelling-bee). [*You can find all our puzzles here*](https://www.nytimes.com/crosswords).

Melissa Guerrero, Emma Grillo, Rick Martinez and Olivia Parker contributed to New York Today. You can reach the team at [*nytoday@nytimes.com*](mailto:nytoday@nytimes.com).

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PHOTO: “New York has chosen one of its own,” Eric Adams said on election night. “I am you.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY James Estrin/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 3, 2021

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[***Will One Small Shift Fix the Polls in 2022? (Wonkiness: 8/10)***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66S6-CGF1-JBG3-61MJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 2, 2022 Wednesday 05:00 EST

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**Section:** UPSHOT

**Length:** 1640 words

**Byline:** Nate Cohn

**Highlight:** The potential improvement is based on the idea that voters are less likely to recall voting for a losing candidate.

**Body**

The potential improvement is based on the idea that voters are less likely to recall voting for a losing candidate.

The great polling misfire of the 2020 election wasn’t just about how Trump supporters were less likely to respond to political surveys.

It was also about the failure of pollsters’ usual statistical adjustments to fix the problem.

After all, some demographic groups — like Hispanic voters — invariably respond to surveys at lower rates than others. Usually, pollsters just adjust for it, most often by “weighting” respondents from underrepresented groups to represent their share of the population. In 2020, the problem was that weighting didn’t do the trick. Even if a poll had the right number of Republicans or ***working-class*** whites, it still understated Donald J. Trump’s support against Joe Biden.

But this cycle, one weighting technique that didn’t do the job in 2020 might just be a little more powerful this time around.

That technique is called weighting by recalled vote choice. That term is a fancy way to say having the right number of people who say they voted for a candidate, like Mr. Trump or Mr. Biden, in the last election.

Not every pollster weights on recalled vote. The Times/Siena poll doesn’t. But based on Times/Siena data, weighting on recalled vote seems a lot likelier to shift a poll toward Republicans than two years ago, even if Trump supporters are no more likely to take surveys.

What’s changed? In 2020, Times/Siena respondents showed more voters reporting they voted for Mr. Trump four years earlier than the actual 2016 result. Now, our respondents are likelier to report voting for Mr. Biden than the actual 2020 result. As a consequence, weighting on recalled vote would now shift Times/Siena polls toward the right, since we would need to give additional weight to Mr. Trump’s 2020 supporters to match the 2020 tally.

If that’s a little confusing, here’s a concrete example:

In our final poll of Pennsylvania in 2020, voters who recalled backing Mr. Trump in 2016 outnumbered those who recalled backing Hillary Clinton by four percentage points, even though Mr. Trump won Pennsylvania by less than one point in 2016. If we had adjusted our poll to match the 2016 result, we would have needed to give more weight to Mrs. Clinton’s former supporters, shifting our already-too-Democratic poll result further to the left.

This year, the pattern is reversed: In our recent Pennsylvania poll, voters who said they recalled voting for Mr. Biden outnumbered those who backed Mr. Trump by four points, compared with Mr. Biden’s actual one-point victory. If we had adjusted our poll to match the 2020 results, we would have given more weight to the voters who said they backed Mr. Trump, shifting our results to the right (if you’re curious, John Fetterman would have led by three points in our recent Senate poll of Pennsylvania, 48 percent to 45 percent, rather than by 5.5 points).

Nowadays, many pollsters weight on recalled vote choice. If their underlying data looks similar to ours, the decision to weight on past vote might do a lot to shift those polls to the right compared with the last cycle. This effect of recalled vote weighting might wind up improving the accuracy of the polling averages, even as the underlying data quality remains unchanged.

Should we weight on recalled vote choice?

If you’re a reader of this newsletter, you probably know that I [*remain concerned*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/01/upshot/polling-2022-midterms.html) about the possibility that the polls — including our own polls — are still biased toward the Democrats.

So you might be surprised that we’re not weighting on recalled vote. It’s certainly tempting: In fact, weighting on recalled vote would have moved seven of our eight recent House and Senate polls to the right, by an average of around two percentage points:

Senate races:

* Pennsylvania: D+6 (our result) —&gt; D+3 (result if we had weighted by recalled vote)

1. Nevada: Even —&gt; R+3
2. Georgia: D+3 —&gt; D+2
3. Arizona: D+6 —&gt; D+9 (notice the exception here)

House races:

* Kansas 3: D+14 —&gt; D+12

1. Pa. 8: D+8 —&gt; D+6
2. Nevada 1: Even —&gt; R+3
3. N.M. 2: D+1 —&gt; R+1

If I had to bet, I’d guess those recall-weighted numbers come closer to the final results than our reported numbers. I imagine a lot of you are thinking the same thing.

Nonetheless, I’m not convinced that this is a good practice — at least for us.

The biggest reason: There’s longstanding evidence that voters are less likely to recall voting for the losing candidate, and more likely to recall voting for the winner ([*this is one of my earliest polling-nerd memories*](http://mysterypollster.com/2004/10/the_bush_landsl/)).

The shift in our data is consistent with this pattern: Mr. Trump won the 2016 election, thus he outperformed the final result on recalled 2016 vote in 2020 polling; Mr. Biden won the 2020 election, thus he’s the one now outperforming. This suggests weighting on recalled vote will bias a poll against the party that won the last election, all else being equal.

This isn’t just a theoretical proposition: The partisanship of the people who refuse to tell us whom they supported last time around offers evidence that this is playing out in the Times/Siena poll. In our recent wave of congressional polling, nearly 10 percent of validated 2020 voters didn’t tell us whom they supported last time around. As a group, these voters are registered Republicans by a two-to-one margin, 48 percent to 25 percent. They disapprove of Mr. Biden by an even greater margin, 61 percent to 26 percent. This is certainly consistent with the possibility that an important and disproportionate sliver of Trump 2020 voters would prefer not to recall or divulge their vote.

I would find it hard to embrace something that would have unequivocally made our results even worse in 2020, no matter what our 2022 data showed. This evidence makes it very hard for me to justify weighting on recalled vote — even if I think the results look better that way.

There’s also an important practical challenge: What’s the right target? It’s easy enough to say that it should match the 2020 election, but that’s really not quite so clear. It’s entirely possible that Mr. Trump ought to lead on recalled vote with the likely electorate, if Republicans enjoy the usual midterm turnout advantage. Or maybe it’s the other way around, if Democrats benefit from demographic change or an influx of new registrants. And what about the voters who don’t seem to provide accurate information — like the folks who won’t tell us whom they supported or those who say they voted, even though they don’t have a track record of doing so. It’s messy.

Nonetheless, pollsters have been using recalled vote more and more over the last few years, and it’s easy to see why.

Initially, these pollsters tended to have less-than-industry-standard data collection practices. For these pollsters, recalled vote choice was a bludgeon: a way to hammer even the worst data into the ballpark of the actual results. You could probably get a plausible poll result for West Virginia using a sample of New York City residents this way.

But increasingly, it’s not just lower-quality pollsters weighting on recalled vote. Many reputable ones are also employing the measure.

Part of the justification: Some pollsters believe the measure is less biased than it used to be. They think partisan polarization and even Mr. Trump’s election denial campaign mean that voters are much likelier to say whom they supported the last time around. You can literally see the signs of this if you drive around rural America right now (the Trump signs are still everywhere).

But the bigger factor is that many pollsters remain deeply concerned about overstating Democratic support. The Democratic-leaning recalled vote results look like a sign of a recurring problem; weighting looks like a solution.

Or put differently: As reputable pollsters have grown to doubt their data, they’ve taken up the crutches used by the pollsters who never had much cause to trust their data in the first place.

I think this is understandable, especially if a pollster is finding a larger gap on recalled vote than what we found here. It’s easy for me to stand on principle when the effect is two points, but I might be singing a different tune if we found the Democratic Senate candidate Tim Ryan up three points in Ohio with Mr. Biden leading the recalled vote (Mr. Trump won the state by eight points).

Interestingly, our friends at Siena College are among those higher-quality pollsters using recalled vote in 2022. They’ve been using it in their state polling with Spectrum News in states like Ohio, Wisconsin, Florida and Texas (they would like us to weight the Times/Siena polls this way, too, even if I’m stubborn about it). And they’re not alone. The CNN/SSRS polls in Wisconsin and Pennsylvania do it. There are Ipsos polls weighting by it. Just about every campaign pollster I talk to nowadays seems to be doing it as well. And that’s on top of the pollsters who have been doing it for a while, like Emerson College.

Unfortunately, this methodological debate is hard to resolve. It’s entirely possible that recalled vote will help cancel out a Democratic bias. It just won’t be clear whether that choice yielded a representative sample — whether a hypothetical perfect poll of America would show no bias on recalled vote — or whether it created a new, rightward bias that canceled out other biases.

And even if it is unbiased this time, there will be no way to know whether it will be unbiased in the future. After all, it would have hurt the Times/Siena polls in 2020.

What is fairly clear, though, is many pollsters using recalled vote weighting might show more favorable results for Republicans in 2022 than they did in 2020, even if their underlying data remains just as biased toward Democrats. It tends to reduce the risk of another 2020-like polling error.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Ryan Carl FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 2, 2022

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[***Cooking Up a New Gay Neighborhood***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66S6-1121-JBG3-611V-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Byline:** By Erik Piepenburg

**Body**

Restaurants, kitchen classes and gardening are key parts of an effort to create an L.G.B.T.Q. district that can help lift the area's economy.

LAKEWOOD, Ohio -- If you're building an entertainment center in sports-crazy Northeast Ohio, it makes sense to go heavy on athletics. That was clear when the Fieldhouse, a 30,000-square-foot complex, opened last weekend in this suburb that shares a border with Cleveland.

Thousands of people turned out to scale an outdoor climbing wall, sign up for fitness classes and wander a gymnasium where youth and adult sports leagues will compete.

But there were signs of a detour from the sports playbook: On Saturday night, the gym hosted a show headlined by the ''RuPaul's Drag Race'' stars Monét X Change and Trinity the Tuck.

A few hours earlier, about 25 people of all ages gathered at a small community garden a few blocks away to pull radishes and other vegetables from the dirt to help put the garden to sleep before winter. Overseen by Food Strong, a local nonprofit that promotes better nutrition, the garden is where the Fieldhouse's three restaurants will get some of their vegetables come spring.

During a break from raking, Chelsea Brennan, 55, a transgender woman who did electrical installation at the Fieldhouse, said that being able to garden with other L.G.B.T.Q. people is one reason she plans to move to Lakewood from a small town an hour south.

''Finally I feel like I'm part of a community instead of being an outcast,'' she said.

The Fieldhouse is just the first phase of a much larger effort by private developers and local governments to build a complex of businesses and services that cater to L.G.B.T.Q. people -- and attract them to visit or settle here. In effect, they aim to provide the hub for a brand-new gay neighborhood, at a time when many traditional gay enclaves -- from Chelsea in Manhattan to the Castro in San Francisco -- have lost much of that identity to gentrification and assimilation.

Unlike those intentionally segregated urban neighborhoods, which blossomed in the years after the 1969 Stonewall uprising, this one is based on what its developers think locals need and will support in this solidly ***working-class*** city. That means amenities that are affordable and appeal to families, with an emphasis on food.

The entire development, called Studio West 117, is scheduled to be completed in 2025 at an estimated cost of $100 million in private and public funds. Straddling Lakewood and Cleveland, it will include a hotel, shops and health clinic, much of it on the former site of a concert hall where Nine Inch Nails played its first gigs. Studio West's partners include the Greater Cleveland Food Bank, which will provide fresh vegetables and pantry items for people in need, and the LGBT Community Center of Greater Cleveland, which offers services to seniors and young people.

The developers -- Daniel Budish (gay and 36) and Betsy Figgie (straight and 51), both presidents of separate tax-credit consulting firms -- are betting that the project will help boost the economy of Cleveland, one of the nation's poorest large cities.

They also want this gay neighborhood, as they call it, to provide a home for an L.G.B.T.Q. community that has long been scattered.

''The best and most significant way to generate resources for our community is with foot traffic that supports small businesses,'' said Mr. Budish, the son of Armond Budish, the executive of Cuyahoga County, home to Lakewood and Cleveland. ''Having seen the way that there are neighborhoods that actively draw gay support, it was important for me, given my skill set, to do large-scale projects that benefit our community.''

He and Ms. Figgie say that so far, they have personally invested more than a combined $6 million in Studio West 117. An additional $12 million has come from various sources, including money from the State of Ohio and the federal Small Business Administration, and tax incentives from the City of Lakewood, a community where Pride flags are prevalent.

It's too early to tell if the area can sustain an entertainment center large enough to birth a neighborhood. The project will have competition for gay dollars from Columbus, where the L.G.B.T.Q. scene is bigger and, thanks to Ohio State University, younger -- a reason many Clevelanders think nothing of driving two hours to see its drag shows or take in one of the country's biggest Pride parades.

Still, Cleveland's mayor, Justin Bibb, sounded optimistic that the Fieldhouse could be a real boon for his city.

''A lot of the talk has been about this becoming a first-in-the-nation for queer urban development that's generating jobs and revenue and prioritizing positive social change and a commitment to social justice,'' he said in an interview. ''I couldn't be happier.''

Daniel B. Hess and Alex Bitterman -- husbands and the editors of the 2021 book ''The Life and Afterlife of Gay Neighborhoods'' -- said that what's happening in Cleveland looks markedly different from the places that gay forebears fashioned, not that they would have been disappointed.

''Those people were pioneers, and they were building gay neighborhoods out of absolute necessity to survive and to preserve their own unique subcultural identity,'' said Dr. Bitterman, a professor of architecture at Alfred State College, in Western New York. ''They were doing that with the long-term hope that people wouldn't have to run away to Manhattan or the Castro to be accepted, that eventually they could live in places like Cleveland and be who they are, where they are.''

Dr. Hess, a professor of urban and regional planning at the University at Buffalo, said L.G.B.T.Q. millennials and Gen Zers are looking to support activities and areas that welcome people regardless of sexual orientation and gender. So it's no surprise, he said, that plans for a new gay neighborhood would kick off with gardening and other community center-style events, and showcase food.

The three restaurants that were supposed to open last weekend weren't quite ready, but that didn't stop the Fieldhouse from previewing their menus. At an outdoor patio that opened onto a dining room, visitors scarfed down burgers with goat cheese from the area's Mackenzie Creamery ($13, fries included).

Families shared wood-fired pizzas, including a pepperoni number called the Flirt ($12), from the pizzeria Eat Me! (The other spots are a gastro pub called Muze and a rooftop bar, Trellis.)

On Saturday afternoon in the Fieldhouse's intimate demonstration kitchen, Theo Croffoot-Suede, a 15-year-old transgender boy, watched as the drag queen Plenty O'Smiles iced cookies. Theo gripped his piping bag and squeezed just so, slowly filling in a pumpkin-shaped cookie with orange icing, careful to stay within a white outline.

An avid home baker of éclairs, Theo said he had traveled from Columbus with his mother, Kim Croffoot-Suede, for the cookie-decorating class because it sounded like ''a really good way to intersect baking and being with people who care about me.''

''Being transgender has made me realize how important it is to feel like you have a community,'' he said, adding, ''I like to go to places where there are people who think I'm a human person.''

Earlier in the day, the group from the community garden made their way to the same kitchen for a salsa-making class taught by Chelsea Huizing, the Fieldhouse's assistant general manager. Ms. Huizing, who is pansexual and goes by Ox, showed students how to safely chop peppers, and explained why chives, but not kale, would be great for salsa.

As the class ended, Joe Makse, 38, who is bisexual, packed a plastic container with his handmade sweet-and-spicy salsa, a blend of peaches, cabbage, tomato, garlic, onions and fresh lemon balm. ''I like to broaden my horizons when it comes to cooking,'' he said.

Each student got a paper copy of the recipe, which calls for canned corn and tomatoes -- the assumption being that not everyone in the class might be able to afford, or even find, fresh vegetables, said Sara Continenza, Food Strong's executive director, who described herself as ''a straight ally.''

It's not a small consideration: Ms. Huizing, 36, said it's essential that the Fieldhouse attracts blue-collar people, which means there can't be sticker shock when learning a culinary skill or enjoying a meal.

''Are there some L.G.B.T.Q. people in Cleveland who can spend 50 bucks a night on dinner? Sure, but not in my circles,'' she said. ''I want people to think, 'I can handle my bill.'''

Dr. Hess said he was glad that ''this world of food and sustainability and community gardens'' was happening in the Midwest ''rather than Miami or West Hollywood, where it would have gotten lost in the shuffle.''

He added, ''It can make a difference in a city like Cleveland.''

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/28/dining/cleveland-restaurants-kitchens-gay-neighborhood.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/28/dining/cleveland-restaurants-kitchens-gay-neighborhood.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Opening weekend at the Fieldhouse in Lakewood, Ohio, with ''RuPaul's Drag Race'' stars and locals. (D1)

Opening weekend at the Fieldhouse featured drag performances inside a new gymnasium. Right, Sara Continenza, center, worked at a community garden run by the nonprofit Food Strong

she's the executive director. Below right, Chelsea Brennan, center, a transgender woman who has done electrical work for the Fieldhouse, helping clear the garden for the winter. Below, the Columbus drag queen Plenty O'Smiles led a cookie-decorating class.

Above, the Fieldhouse menu featured burgers and, in the foreground, tater bravas: Yukon Gold potatoes with red pepper aioli and green onions. Right, Jeffery Thompson III, 12, was one of several young students in a salsa-making class held in the Fieldhouse's demonstration kitchen. Far right, from top: Theo Croffoot-Suede, 15, decorated cookies in the class led by Plenty O'Smiles

and Chelsea Huizing is the assistant general manager of the Fieldhouse and one of its culinary educators. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DANIEL LOZADA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (D4) This article appeared in print on page D1, D4.

**Load-Date:** November 2, 2022

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[***Top Democrats Question Their Party’s Strategy as Midterm Worries Grow***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66S2-3BC1-JBG3-60PM-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** Leading lawmakers and strategists are openly doubting the party’s kitchen-sink approach, saying Democrats have failed to unite around one central message.

**Body**

Leading lawmakers and strategists are openly doubting the party’s kitchen-sink approach, saying Democrats have failed to unite around one central message.

Top Democratic officials, lawmakers and strategists are openly second-guessing their party’s campaign pitch and tactics, reflecting a growing sense that Democrats have failed to coalesce around one effective message with enough time to stave off major losses in the House and possibly decisive defeats in the tightly contested Senate.

The criticisms by Democrats in the final days of the [*midterm elections*](https://www.nytimes.com/news-event/2022-midterm-elections) signal mounting anxiety as Republicans hammer away with attacks over the economy and public safety. For weeks, Democrats have offered a scattershot case of their own, accusing their opponents of wanting to gut abortion rights, shred the social safety net and shake the foundations of American democracy.

Yet as the country struggles with high gas prices, record inflation and economic uncertainty, some Democrats now acknowledge that their kitchen-sink approach may be lacking.

Even among the kibitzing chorus, there’s little agreement over exactly what could cost the party control of Congress. In areas where victory depends on high Black voter turnout, Democrats worry that they are not mobilizing that constituency. Others say there has been too much focus on abortion rights and too little attention on worries about crime or the cost of living. And across the country, Democrats point to an inadequate economic message and an inability to effectively herald their legislative accomplishments.

“The truth is, Democrats have done a poor job of communicating our approach to the economy,” said Representative Elissa Slotkin, a Democrat from Michigan who is in one of this year’s most competitive races. “I have no idea if I’m going to win my election — it’s going to be a nail biter. But if you can’t speak directly to people’s pocketbook and talk about our vision for the economy, you’re just having half a conversation.”

Ms. Slotkin is far from alone in her criticism.

Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont has [*sounded alarm bells*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/19/us/politics/bernie-sanders-midterms-stops.html) that Democrats are struggling to motivate ***working-class*** voters. Former President Barack Obama, who is traveling the country to campaign in some of the tightest races for Senate and governor, urged Democrats not to be “a buzz kill” by making people feel as if they were “walking on eggshells” when it came to issues like race and gender.

And [*several prominent Democrats*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/24/us/politics/democrats-midterms-economy.html) have worried that their party has not fully acknowledged the pain of rising prices — or effectively pointed the finger at Republicans over the higher costs.

“If Republicans are going to attack on inflation, you should turn to them and say, ‘What the hell have you done?’ The answer is nothing,” said Senator Bob Casey, Democrat of Pennsylvania. “And I think Democrats should talk about that more.”

Asked last week whether it was too late to adopt such an approach, Mr. Casey added, “We’ve got to hustle and do it quick.”

While many of the party’s Senate candidates are outpacing President Biden’s underwater approval rating, which is below his national average in several key swing states, strategists warn that there are limits to how much candidates can defy this year’s political gravity — no matter their message.

Some Democrats believe that time has simply run out for any significant shift in strategy that could change the fundamental dynamics of the race.

In Wisconsin, the focus of the campaigns for both Senate and governor have shifted to crime after tens of millions of dollars of Republican attacks.

Only in recent weeks have Democrats tried to fight back, promoting Gov. Tony Evers’s efforts to direct funding to law enforcement agencies.

“It’s late in the game,” said David Bowen, a Democratic state assemblyman from Milwaukee. “Especially as you get bogged down into what is the proper strategy to use in some of these races.”

In the final stretch of the race, top Democrats, including Mr. Biden and Mr. Obama, are emphasizing economic concerns, accusing Republicans of wanting to gut the [*social safety net*](https://www.cnn.com/videos/politics/2022/10/30/barack-obama-ron-johnson-social-security-ndwknd-vpx.cnn). At the same time, they are issuing [*stark warnings*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/01/us/politics/biden-speech-trump-maga.html) about the threats some Republicans pose to the [*democratic process*](https://www.usnews.com/news/politics/articles/2022-10-28/barack-obama-gets-a-midterm-do-over-to-help-boost-democrats), with [*election deniers*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/10/13/us/politics/republican-candidates-2020-election-misinformation.html) on the ballot in critical races around the country.

“If there was an asteroid headed toward Earth — it’s going to land in like two weeks — if you went into the Republican caucus and said, ‘What do you want to do?’ They’d say, ‘We need a tax break for the wealthy,’” Mr. Obama said over the weekend in Wisconsin as he criticized Senator Ron Johnson, a Republican. “That’s their only economic policy.”

As president, Mr. Obama saw his party suffer [*heavy midterm losses*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/07/us/politics/what-follows-a-shellacking-at-the-polls.html). But this year, he is regarded by many Democrats as their most powerful surrogate by far. The problem, some say, is that there is only one of him.

“If he were running in every state, we’d win every Senate race, but he’s a once-of-a-generation talent,” said Representative Ro Khanna, Democrat of California, adding that watching the former president’s remarks should be required “homework” for the party. “He shouldn’t be the only one delivering the basic economic message. We should have 20, 30 people capable of doing that and doing that around the country.”

Mr. Khanna, who said that Mr. Biden also understood the urgency of those issues, questioned whether the “consultant class” had grasped the potency of that message in time, amid an intense focus on abortion rights and on protecting democracy. Both of those are important, Mr. Khanna said, but prioritizing them should not come at the expense of pocketbook matters.

“Consultants, they looked at it, said, ‘Well, we’re down on the economy, well, maybe we shouldn’t talk about it,’” he said. “That’s a mistake! No, we need to press our case.”

Democrats have spent nearly $320 million on ads focused on abortion rights, more than 10 times as much as the $31 million they have spent on spots about inflation, according to data from AdImpact, a media tracking firm. They have spent nearly $140 million on crime ads.

Representative Troy A. Carter Sr. of Louisiana, who [*defeated a left-wing rival*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/24/us/troy-carter-election-results.html) to win a special election last year, said he worried that the party’s accomplishments weren’t breaking through. He judges the message by his “barbershop guys” — who, he said, have not heard much about the party’s work lowering the cost of insulin, championing the child tax credit or providing assistance to historically Black colleges and universities.

“We have not done as good a job as we could or we should communicating with the American people,” he said last week outside a campaign event in Atlanta for Senator Raphael Warnock of Georgia. “I know that from my barbershop discussions.”

That concern was echoed by others, who worry that Black voters haven’t been sufficiently motivated to vote.

“Only thing I’m worried about is African American turnout,” said former Gov. Ed Rendell, Democrat of Pennsylvania. “I’m worried that it won’t be as strong as we need.”

Finger-pointing is typically reserved for the days and weeks after the election. The fact that it’s coming with a week left to go underscores how Democratic hopes have fallen since the summer, when the party [*seemed to be outrunning political history*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/24/us/politics/democrats-house-majority.html). For two decades, the president’s party has lost seats in the midterm elections, as voters have expressed their discontent with the party in power.

This year, Democrats have tried to frame the election not as a referendum on an unpopular Mr. Biden but as a choice between two very different visions for America, an argument the president made before a gathering of Pennsylvania Democrats last week.

That is not an easy case for Democrats to make. For months, Republicans have slammed their opponents with a far simpler message: The economy is bad, worries about crime and immigration are rising and the party in control is to blame.

Gov. Brian Kemp of Georgia, a Republican, described the midterms as “a pocketbook election.”

“Democrats around the country, the last two weeks in the campaign, have now started talking about violent crime and going after street gangs,” Mr. Kemp told supporters after a campaign stop in the Atlanta suburbs on Tuesday. “I can’t imagine what’s woken them up.”

For weeks, much of the intraparty critique has centered on whether Democrats made a mistake by leaning too heavily in their messaging on the backlash to the Supreme Court’s decision overturning Roe v. Wade. Since June, when that ruling arrived in Dobbs v. Jackson Women’s Health Organization, some Democrats hoped they could overcome economic anxieties and the pull of history with promises of preserving abortion rights and castigating Republican extremism.

“I definitely think that we weren’t wrong by focusing on Dobbs when it happened, because it was so earth-shattering,” said Chuck Rocha, a Democratic strategist who focuses on Latino voters. “The question should have been: Could we have done that and packaged together economic populism along with the Dobbs decision? I think we are closing with the best we can do.”

But, he said, there are “so many headwinds.”

Maya King contributed reporting from Lawrenceville, Ga.

Maya King contributed reporting from Lawrenceville, Ga.

PHOTOS: Abortion rights supporters prepared for an event last month in Madison, Wis., hosted by Gov. Tony Evers, a Democrat running for re-election. Many voters have changed their focus to the economy. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HAIYUN JIANG/THE NEW YORK TIMES); Former President Barack Obama rallied with Democrats in Michigan on Saturday. He and President Biden have increasingly emphasized economic concerns, but critics say it may be too late. (PHOTOGRAPH BY EMILY ELCONIN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A18) This article appeared in print on page A1, A18.

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[***As Pennsylvania Senate Race Tightens, Oz Sharpens Attacks on Fetterman***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66BN-K161-DXY4-X4H9-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Trip Gabriel

**Body**

Dr. Mehmet Oz is trying to revive his campaign against Lt. Gov. John Fetterman with a pair of pointed attack lines, including about his rival's policies on felons.

SPRINGFIELD, Pa. -- Dr. Mehmet Oz, trailing in the polls and still contending with an image as an out-of-touch, carpetbagging elitist, is seeking to reboot his Senate campaign in Pennsylvania in the final sprint to November.

In recent weeks, Dr. Oz has sharpened his attacks against his Democratic rival, Lt. Gov. John Fetterman, blasting him for his initial refusal to debate and claiming that Mr. Fetterman was trying to conceal the extent of the damage done by a stroke in May.

He has enlisted help from prominent Republicans, campaigning with Senator Patrick J. Toomey and, on Thursday, bringing in Nikki Haley, the former United Nations ambassador and South Carolina governor, for a town-hall-style event. On Tuesday, he even appeared to distance himself from his political benefactor, former President Donald J. Trump, by suggesting that he would have rejected Mr. Trump's false claims that the 2020 election was rigged.

The Senate race in Pennsylvania is one of the most closely watched in the country. Its outcome could not only determine which party controls the chamber after the fall elections but illustrate just how firm of a grasp Mr. Trump has on his voters in 2022. Mr. Trump endorsed Dr. Oz and has held two rallies for him in recent months, but how deep Dr. Oz's support runs among ***working-class*** Trump supporters in the state remains a question mark.

In addition to mocking Mr. Fetterman's stroke recovery last week by listing bogus ''concessions'' he would make in a potential debate, Dr. Oz has been attacking his opponent as soft on crime, hitting him in particular over his support for ''second chances'' for felons as the head of the state's Board of Pardons.

On Thursday afternoon, at the event with Ms. Haley, Dr. Oz enacted a ''mock debate'' in which he interrogated an absent Mr. Fetterman, asking, ''Why do you believe that life sentences aren't right even in cases of murder?''

Speaking in the suburban Philadelphia community of Springfield, he recalled his years as a medical student at the University of Pennsylvania as he continued to criticize Mr. Fetterman on crime. ''I lived in West Philly,'' Dr. Oz said. ''I could walk to school. It wasn't a problem. I can't make that walk today. You can't either.''

Dr. Oz has sought to put his campaign on a more aggressive footing as polls show a tightening race. Mr. Fetterman's double-digit lead in the polls at midsummer has shrunk to single digits in two surveys late last month. One reason may be that some independent voters are breaking for Dr. Oz. He led in late August with those voters in the two surveys -- by 10 percentage points in a Susquehanna Polling and Research survey and by 12 points in an Emerson College Poll.

Christopher Nicholas, a Republican consultant in the state, said there was a model of how a Republican candidate wins a statewide race in purple Pennsylvania.

''You run to the right of Democrats on social issues, especially in the western part of the state, which helps you get conservative Democrats,'' Mr. Nicholas said. ''You hold your Republican base, and you get close to 60 percent of the independents.''

The challenge for Dr. Oz is coalescing that Republican base.

Both recent polls showed him winning only 77 to 78 percent of Republican voters, compared with Mr. Fetterman winning close to nine out of 10 Democrats. Some in the crowd at a Trump rally in May booed Dr. Oz, reflecting the views of certain Republicans that he is not conservative enough.

While the response to Dr. Oz at the former president's rally on Saturday was largely more receptive, some jeers of ''RINO,'' a conservative insult meaning Republican in Name Only, could be heard.

Barney Keller, a spokesman for Dr. Oz, said the latest public polling predated the campaign's messaging ''about Fetterman dodging debates.'' Mr. Keller added that internal polling showed Dr. Oz ''fully consolidating Republicans and making excellent progress'' with independents and some Democrats.

The Fetterman campaign has found itself in the unusual position of playing defense after seeming to get the better of Dr. Oz for months with social-media attacks about his New Jersey mansion and penchant for ''crudités.''

On Wednesday, Mr. Fetterman, who acknowledges ongoing ''auditory'' and language issues since his stroke, agreed to debate Dr. Oz after weeks of needling criticism by Dr. Oz and his allies. Mr. Fetterman said he would debate Dr. Oz in mid- to late October, with details to be worked out. He said there was no recent precedent in Pennsylvania for debates in September, dismissing an Oz attack that he had ducked a debate this week proposed by a Pittsburgh TV station.

''But let's be clear, this has never really been about debates for Dr. Oz,'' Mr. Fetterman said in a statement. ''This whole thing has been about Dr. Oz and his team mocking me for having a stroke because they've got nothing else.''

Since returning to the campaign trail on Aug. 12, Mr. Fetterman has kept a light schedule of appearances, greeting supporters on rope lines after short speeches but avoiding open questions from attendees or from the news media. He and his campaign have attributed his verbal stumbles in speeches and one-on-one interviews to ''auditory processing'' issues in his brain, which are common in stroke survivors. He has said that he may use a closed-caption monitor in the debate to make sure he does not miss any words.

During the Republican primary, Dr. Oz seemed to contort himself, downplaying or disavowing some liberal views from earlier in his life -- on abortion, guns -- to curry favor with conservative voters. He scraped out a primary victory by fewer than 1,000 votes, aided by the Trump endorsement.

Now, with the general election in full stride after Labor Day, Dr. Oz may be trying to resume his earlier ideological shape as he seeks out independents and conservative Democrats.

The votes of suburban women in particular will be crucial in an election in which Democrats have gained fresh energy since the Supreme Court overturned Roe v. Wade. The Emerson College survey found that abortion access ranked five points higher as an issue for Pennsylvania voters than it did nationwide.

Recently, Dr. Oz struck a mainstream conservative position on abortion, describing himself as ''pro-life with the three usual exceptions, especially the health of the mother, but incest and rape as well.''

But his effort to distance himself from the fringe on the issue has been complicated. A recording surfaced recently from a primary event in which Dr. Oz suggested that life began at conception and any attempt to end a pregnancy was the same as murder. ''It's, you know, it's still murder if you were to terminate a child, whether their heart's beating or not,'' he said in the recording.

Andy Reilly is a Pennsylvania member of the National Republican Committee whose home is in Delaware County, where Dr. Oz's Thursday event took place. Mr. Reilly said it was crucial -- and within reach -- for Dr. Oz to improve on Mr. Trump's low share of suburban voters in 2020, which cost him victory in the state.

''For Republicans to win in Pennsylvania, they don't need to win the suburbs, but they need to compete,'' Mr. Reilly said.

The Oz campaign's attacks on Mr. Fetterman and crime have been another attempt to appeal to suburban and female voters. As lieutenant governor, Mr. Fetterman leads the Board of Pardons, where his advocacy has helped increase the number of felons leaving prison with commutations or pardons.

The Oz campaign and its allies have called Mr. Fetterman ''dangerously liberal on crime,'' as one television ad puts it, and have criticized him for statements he has made in the past, including that ''we could release a third of our inmates and not make anyone less safe.''

Mr. Fetterman has said that he was repeating a statement that a former Republican-appointed state corrections secretary made to him.

A spokesman for Mr. Fetterman said that the candidate proved his dedication to fighting violent crime while mayor of Braddock, Pa., where he began his political rise.

''Dr. Oz lives in a mansion on a hill. What does he know about confronting crime?'' said the spokesman, Joe Calvello. ''John Fetterman has actually done it, and done it successfully. So he's not going to be taking pointers from a guy who just moved here and has absolutely no understanding of the problems facing Pennsylvania.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/08/us/politics/pennsylvania-senate-oz-fetterman.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/08/us/politics/pennsylvania-senate-oz-fetterman.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Dr. Mehmet Oz at a rally on Saturday with former President Donald J. Trump in Wilkes-Barre, Pa. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HANNAH BEIER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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**End of Document**



[***Pioneers Shaped New York's Cultural Landscape***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66JM-S8W1-DXY4-X1JC-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; Movies, Performing Arts/Weekend Desk; Pg. 16; ART REVIEW

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**Byline:** By Deborah Solomon

**Body**

A show at David Nolan recalls an era when the Madison Avenue galleries were more about art than money -- and female dealers shaped the scene.

Artists may strive for immortality, but art dealers would be foolish to do so. They tend to be forgotten over time. A fascinating show at the David Nolan Gallery, ''Mad Women: Kornblee, Jackson, Saidenberg, and Ward, Art Dealers on Madison Avenue in the 1960s,'' tries to reverse the process of erasure by taking us back to an intrepid moment in American art when a constellation of female art dealers rose to prominence. The ''mad'' in the title refers not to their mental states but rather to their addresses on or off Madison Avenue, in the gilded heart of the Upper East Side.

That neighborhood, where Nolan itself recently relocated, on the fourth floor of a townhouse, is not exactly revolutionary turf. As a gallery district, the Upper East Side is the good-taste enclave where art is seen and sold -- not made. Its marble townhouses, with their intimately scaled rooms and grand curving staircases, feel removed from the lives of artists, who tend to settle in ***working-class*** neighborhoods that offer lower rents and industrial-size spaces.

But, over the years, the Upper East Side has had its share of art-dealer provocateurs, and the current exhibition at Nolan attempts to pay homage to four. Eleanor Ward (1911-1984), the most prominent of the group, might not seem to satisfy the Mad Avenue prerequisite: Her Stable Gallery was initially located in an abandoned horse stable on Seventh Avenue, at 58th Street, and served as the site in the mid-50s of the spirited group shows known as the Stable Annuals. But she soon left the West Side for a ground-floor space at 33 East 74th Street, where she demonstrated her prescient taste when she gave Andy Warhol his first show in New York in his wonder year of 1962.

At the time, there was little money to be earned in the field of American art, and it helped to be well-to-do if you wanted to nurture unknown artists. Martha Jackson (1907-1969), an heiress from Buffalo, N.Y., ran her gallery out of the top floor of her townhouse at 32 East 69th Street. She died early and left a major collection to the Albright-Knox Art Gallery, her estimable hometown museum.

Jill Kornblee (1920-2004) was a well-liked New York native who became known in the '60s, when she opened a lively gallery at 58 East 79th Street. The critic David Bourdon described her as an intense personality who once confronted him after he whizzed through a show, asking: ''Were you here to look at the art or did you just stop by?'' ''Both,'' he replied.

Finally, Eleanore B. Saidenberg (1911-1999), who moved her gallery around before settling at 1018 Madison near 78th Street, feels less urgent than the others. While her fellow dealers risked their careers on the American avant-garde, Saidenberg focused on European modernists (Picasso, Klee, Dubuffet) whom others had already championed with fervor.

The exhibition at David Nolan skimps on inside intelligence. There is no printed catalog or scholarly handout. There are no wall labels; one must make do with a paper checklist. In place of a coherent story line, the show offers sentimental vibes, especially in the spacious lobby, which features a quaint display of old gallery posters. Take a few minutes to look; they leave you pleasantly haunted, suddenly alert to the vanished history that lies just beneath the surface of every square inch of New York.

Fortunately, the 40 works in the exhibition, most of which once hung on the walls of the show's four honorees, are too powerful for mere nostalgia. Most date from the early or middle '60s, that fecund period in American art when a radical movement seemed to erupt every time someone asked, ''What's new?'' All at once, artists were advancing the colliding orthodoxies of Abstract Expressionism, Pop Art and Minimalism. Or none of the above. Many works here blur categories, combining things that supposedly didn't go together, especially abstraction and figuration.

Where, for starters, does Alex Katz fit in? An alum of the Stable Gallery, he is represented in the current exhibitionâ€Œ by ''February'' (1963), an all-gray, poetic painting of a tall window in an empty room. Rendered in unfussy, big-brush strokes, it somehow captures with taut precision the glint of light on a windowsill.

Nonagenarian artists are clearly in. Rosalyn Drexler, now 95, is a relatively recent inductee to the Pop-art pantheon. Here, she contributes ''Cigarette Smoking May Be Hazardous to Your Health'' (1967), a small, glossy, orange-on-black painting in which a man and a woman, shown in profile and facing each other from different corners of the canvas, light up for a smoke. Are they lovers? Impossible to know. Drexler deserves credit for adding a whiff of romantic plot to the deadpan blankness of Pop Art. (And Jill Kornblee deserves credit for having given her a one-woman show as early as 1964.)

Also noteworthy is an early Jim Dine -- ''Car Crash'' (1959-1960), which according to its provenance was once owned by Frank Stella, who is most decidedly not an art dealer, but never mind. The painting is a large-scale, squarish, predominantly black canvas, with two pairs of actual woolen pants wadded up on the surface. A smattering of little white crosses -- presumably first-aid signs -- rise out of the darkness like ambulances glimpsed at night. ''Car Crash'' feels veiled and dreamlike compared to Andy Warhol's car wreck scenes, which came a few years later and pictured American car culture at its most horrific.

Warhol weighs in here with an uncharacteristically quiet entry. ''Untitled (Dollar Bill),'' is a black-on-white silk-screen that stands only six inches tall. It proves, among other things, that money can be cute. Also in the too-small-to-fail category is an untitled sculpture by John Chamberlain that captures him as a deft miniaturist, dispensing with his usual crush of car fenders in favor of snippets of metal that twist and turn like paper scraps caught in a gust of wind.

Finally, the Southern California contingent is well-represented thanks again to Martha Jackson's efforts. Billy Al Bengston's ''Erroll'' (1961) is an unmistakably L.A. painting in which concentric squares of luminous blue could pass for swatches of sky. In the center, a small insignia that variously resembles sergeant's stripes or a surfboard decal keeps things from becoming too ethereal.

â€ŒIn the end, there is probably no easy way to explain how so many women ended up as important art dealers in the postwar era. Which is not to suggest that female artists prospered in turn. In the pre-feminist '50s and '60s, most female dealers made little effort to end the routine exclusion of female artists from the mainstream art scene. Rather, their goal was to seek out first-rate artists regardless of their gender.

This was certainly true, at any rate, of the dealers who became the stuff of legend. Too far south for this exhibition, Edith Halpert of the Downtown Gallery opened the first commercial gallery in Greenwich Village, in 1926. Paula Cooper holds the distinction of having opened the first commercial gallery in SoHo, in 1968. Peggy Guggenheim and her Art of This Century were all-essential during World War II, when the European Surrealists fled to Manhattan and provided the local scene with a caffeine jolt of French culture.

In recent years, there has been a flurry of exhibitions paying tribute to female art dealers, perhaps most ambitiously at the Jewish Museum, where Edith Halpert was the subject of an absorbing show in 2019. Just last December, Martha Jackson was honored in a show (''Wild and Brilliant'') organized by the Hollis Taggart Gallery.

The current group show at the Nolan Gallery, in taking on four dealers, has probably taken on too much, resulting in an effort that at times feels scrappy and thin. But there is certainly room for more scholarship on New York's more valiant gallerists. Female art dealers are often conjured in books about the postwar era in dopey anecdotes and observations from their male counterparts. Typically, a recent book on Warhol quotes the art dealer Ivan Karp describing Eleanor Ward, Martha Jackson and three of their colleagues as ''five menopausal maidens.''

The social phenomenon that allowed women to claim a position of enduring influence as art dealers in postwar New York remains a mostly overlooked subject, not least of all by the women themselves. They were too busy living their lives to stop and chronicle them.

Mad Women: Kornblee, Jackson, Saidenberg, and Ward, Art Dealers on Madison Avenue in the 1960s

Through Oct. 22, David Nolan Gallery, 24 East 81st Street, Upper East Side, (212) 925-6190; [*www.davidnolangallery.com*](http://www.davidnolangallery.com).

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/06/arts/design/david-nolan-female-art-dealers-madison-avenue.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/06/arts/design/david-nolan-female-art-dealers-madison-avenue.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: A show at David Nolan Gallery that focuses on female art dealers includes, from top: Rosalyn Drexler's ''Cigarette Smoking May Be Hazardous to Your Health'' (1967)

''February'' by Alex Katz (1963)

and ''Erroll'' by Billy Al Bengston (1961). (PHOTOGRAPHS BY GARTH GREENAN GALLERY

PETER BLUM GALLERY

FRANKLIN PARRASCH GALLERY, NEW YORK)

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**End of Document**



[***Brazil Rejects Bolsonaro and Brings Back 'Lula'***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66RS-2NN1-DXY4-X408-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Length:** 1689 words

**Byline:** By Jack Nicas

**Body**

Brazilians voted out their far-right leader, Jair Bolsonaro, after a single term and replaced him with former President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva.

BRASÍLIA -- Voters in Brazil on Sunday ousted President Jair Bolsonaro after just one term and elected the leftist former President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva to replace him, election officials said, a rebuke to Mr. Bolsonaro's far-right movement and his divisive four years in office.

The victory completes a stunning political revival for Mr. da Silva -- from the presidency to prison and back -- that had once seemed unthinkable. It also ends Mr. Bolsonaro's turbulent time as the region's most powerful leader. It was the first time an incumbent president failed to win re-election in the 34 years of Brazil's modern democracy.

For years, he attracted global attention for policies that accelerated the destruction of the Amazon rainforest and exacerbated the pandemic, which left nearly 700,000 dead in Brazil, while also becoming a major international figure of the far right for his brash attacks on the left, the media and Brazil's democratic institutions.

More recently, his efforts to undermine Brazil's election system drew particular concern at home and abroad, as well as worldwide attention to Sunday's vote as an important test for one of the world's largest democracies.

Without evidence, Mr. Bolsonaro criticized the nation's electronic voting machines as rife with fraud and suggested he might not accept a loss, much like former President Donald J. Trump. Many of his supporters vowed to take to the streets at his command.

Yet in the hours after the race was called, far-right lawmakers, conservative pundits and many of Mr. Bolsonaro's supporters had recognized Mr. da Silva's victory. By 11 p.m. local time, Mr. Bolsonaro had not spoken publicly.

It was not all quiet. Truckers in the heart of Brazil's central farming region started fires and tried to block a main highway important for the agriculture industry, according to videos posted on social media and local news reports.

Mr. da Silva won with the narrowest margin of victory for that same period, signaling the deep divide that he will confront as president. He won 50.90 percent of the vote, versus Mr. Bolsonaro's 49.10 percent, with 99.97 percent of the votes counted Sunday night.

''I will govern for 215 million Brazilians, and not just for those who voted for me,'' Mr. da Silva said in his victory speech Sunday night, reading from pages held by his new wife, whom he married this year. ''There are not two Brazils. We are one country, one people, one great nation.''

Mr. da Silva, 77, a former metalworker and union leader with a fifth-grade education, led Brazil during its boom in the first decade of the century, leaving office with an 80 percent approval rating.

But years after he left office, the authorities revealed a vast government kickback scheme that had flourished during his administration. He was convicted on corruption charges and spent 580 days in prison.

Last year, the Supreme Court threw out those convictions, ruling that the judge in his cases was biased, though he was never cleared of any wrongdoing. Still, he was allowed to run for president and voters rallied behind the man known simply as ''Lula.''

The scandal made him a flawed candidate, and a sizable portion of Brazil still views Mr. da Silva as corrupt. But the strong opposition to Mr. Bolsonaro and his far-right movement was enough to carry Mr. da Silva back to the presidency.

''He's not the solution to every problem. But he's our only hope,'' said Stefane Silva de Jesus, a 30-year-old librarian, after she cast her ballot for Mr. da Silva in Rio de Janeiro.

Mr. da Silva's victory pushes Brazil back to the left, extending a string of leftist victories across Latin America that were fueled by a wave of anti-incumbent backlash. Six of the region's seven largest countries have now elected leftist leaders since 2018.

A left-wing firebrand who for decades made his name as a champion of the poor, Mr. da Silva now confronts significant challenges. Brazil faces environmental threats, rising hunger, a sputtering economy and a deeply divided population.

His central pitch to voters was that he would lift up the ***working class***, which he said had been forgotten in the four years under Mr. Bolsonaro. In his speech on Sunday, he promised to fight against discrimination and for equality.

''That's the only way we'll be able to build a country for all, an egalitarian Brazil whose priority is the people who need the most,'' he said. ''A Brazil with peace, democracy and opportunity.''

Mr. da Silva's specific plans, however, have been vague.

His stump speech revolved around expanding services for the poor, including more social welfare payments, a higher minimum wage and programs to feed and house more people. To pay for it, he said, he would raise taxes on the rich but also simply increase government spending.

How much he will be able to get done is unclear.

Mr. Bolsonaro's right-wing party holds the most seats in Congress and a powerful centrist bloc controls both the House and Senate; the country faces worse economic conditions than during Mr. da Silva's first administration; and the interventionist policies of Mr. da Silva's handpicked successor as president led Brazil into a recession in 2014 from which it has still not fully recovered.

His election, however, will most likely be good news for the health of the Amazon rainforest, which is vital to the fight against climate change. Mr. Bolsonaro championed industries that extract the forest's resources while slashing funds and staffing for the agencies tasked with protecting it. As a result, deforestation soared during his administration.

Mr. da Silva has a much better track record on protecting the forest, reducing deforestation while president. He campaigned on a promise to eradicate illegal mining and logging and said he would push farmers to use areas of the forest that had already been cleared.

On Sunday, voting at polling stations went smoothly -- but, for many voters, getting there did not. Across Brazil, federal highway agents stopped hundreds of buses carrying voters to the polls and questioned people, including in regions largely supportive of Mr. da Silva.

The elections chief said his agency's initial investigation found that the stops had delayed the buses, but that they had all still reached their intended polling stations. No voters were blocked from casting their ballots, he said.

Mr. da Silva's victory was in part thanks to a broad coalition, from communists to centrists, as the Brazilian electorate sought stability after Mr. Bolsonaro's volatile term, which was marked by clashes with the courts, a pandemic that killed more people than anywhere but the United States, and frequent attacks on the left, the media, academics, health professionals and the nation's democratic institutions.

Mr. Bolsonaro, 67, has faced a variety of investigations in the Supreme Court and Congress, including for his statements attacking the election system, his handling of the pandemic and his potential involvement in disinformation operations.

So far, he has avoided any consequences from those inquiries, in part because of his immunity as president. After he leaves office on Jan. 1, those investigations could gain steam.

Mr. Bolsonaro has also had much of his activity as president shielded from government-transparency laws because his administration effectively classified many records for up to 100 years, including his vaccine status.

Mr. da Silva has vowed to declassify those records once president. ''When we lift the carpet, you're going to see the rot underneath,'' he said at Friday's debate.

Last year, Mr. Bolsonaro told his supporters there were only three outcomes to the election: He wins, he is killed or he is arrested. He then added, ''Tell the bastards I'll never be arrested.''

That sort of rhetoric raised alarms that Mr. Bolsonaro would not accept the results. He was one of the last world leaders to recognize President Biden's victory in 2020, repeating Mr. Trump's false claims that the election was stolen, including just two days before his first meeting with Mr. Biden earlier this year.

On Sunday, federal auditors inspected 601 polling stations to verify that their vote counts were accurately reflected in the national tally. The audit found no errors.

There is no credible evidence of fraud in Brazil's electronic voting machines since they were introduced in 1996. Yet Mr. Bolsonaro has questioned the system for years.

Earlier this year, his criticism of the system took on new gravity when Brazil's military joined in. Leaders of the armed forces pushed election officials for changes to the system, rattling a country that suffered under a military dictatorship from 1964 to 1985.

But eventually military and election officials agreed to a change to some tests of the voting machines on Election Day, and military leaders have since suggested they are satisfied with the system's security.

In recent weeks, military leaders also said privately that they would not support any efforts by Mr. Bolsonaro to challenge the results.

In the week leading up to the election, Mr. Bolsonaro largely stopped talking about the voting machines and began claiming other kinds of fraud. His campaign said that many radio stations had played far more ads from Mr. da Silva, which would violate election laws. But the evidence the campaign produced was incomplete and flawed, and Brazil's elections chief quickly dismissed the complaint.

On Friday, in an interview after the final debate, Mr. Bolsonaro was asked directly whether he would accept the vote's results, regardless of outcome.

''There's no doubt,'' he said. ''Whoever gets more votes, takes it. That's democracy.''

Flávia Milhorance and Ana Ionova contributed reporting from Rio de Janeiro, André Spigariol from Brasília, and Laís Martins from São Paulo.Flávia Milhorance and Ana Ionova contributed reporting from Rio de Janeiro, André Spigariol from Brasília, and Laís Martins from São Paulo.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/30/world/americas/lula-election-results-brazil-bolsonaro.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/30/world/americas/lula-election-results-brazil-bolsonaro.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva in São Bernardo do Campo, Brazil, on Sunday. Known simply as Lula, he faces a sputtering economy. (PHOTOGRAPH BY VICTOR MORIYAMA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A1)

Reactions to Brazil's election on Sunday: Above, supporters of President Jair Bolsonaro in Brasília

left, supporters of his challenger, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, in São Bernardo do Campo. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DADO GALDIERI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

VICTOR MORIYAMA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A7) This article appeared in print on page A1, A7.

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[***These Cooks, Waiters and Casino Workers Could Swing the Senate***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66RT-YGR1-JBG3-64TT-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** Hospitality workers enjoy unusual clout in Nevada, where the powerful Las Vegas culinary union is rallying members to tip close races.

**Body**

Hospitality workers enjoy unusual clout in Nevada, where the powerful Las Vegas culinary union is rallying members to tip close races.

Follow our [*live coverage of the 2022 midterm elections*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/11/09/us/election-updates-results) for the latest news and updates.

LAS VEGAS — Carlos Padilla walked to his pickup truck with a shoulder bag full of campaign literature and an agenda for shaping the future of the country. It was 20 days before the midterm elections, and Mr. Padilla, a pastry chef, was on his way out of the headquarters of the [*Culinary Workers Union 226*](https://www.culinaryunion226.org/).

The meeting he’d just attended was part business session, part political rally. There were energizing chants (“2-2-6!” “We vote, we win!”) and speeches from politicians pleading for the support of the 400 assembled servers, cooks, bussers and guest room attendants. Like Mr. Padilla, all would spend the rest of the day knocking on voters’ doors in a city that has long been an electoral pivot in this swing state, and beyond.

Even in the world of organized labor, hospitality workers have never been much of a force. But campaign visits to the union hall by presidential candidates — Barack Obama, Hillary Clinton, Joe Biden — over the years attest to this local’s unusual brand: [*political power*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/12/us/politics/nevada-caucus-2020-culinary-union.html).

The source of that power is the union’s 60,000 members, who work in the restaurants, bars, casinos and hotels that drive the economies of Las Vegas and Reno. Thanks to union-negotiated contracts, they enjoy job security and financial stability that are uncommon in hospitality businesses. Wages for members of the local average $26 per hour, according to union officials, and rise every year. The jobs come with health insurance, free training for career advancement and even help in making a down payment on a home.

Mr. Padilla, 53, is among the hundreds of members who take paid leaves of absence from their jobs (another contract provision) to campaign for candidates the union supports.

“I’m a 29-year union member,” Mr. Padilla said. “Anything they’ve ever asked me to do to help, I’ve done.”

The local — often referred to by members simply as Culinary, or 226 — hasn’t always prevailed in this swing state’s races. But its diverse membership includes constituencies that political professionals believe hold the keys to power. About 55 percent of members are women, and 45 percent are immigrants. The average member is a 44-year-old Latina.

Canvassing expertise is another big advantage. The union’s army of hospitality workers has already knocked on more than 750,000 doors this campaign season, according to union leaders, who believe they can tip the election in favor of the largely Democratic slate they’re currently supporting. Many candidates are fighting for their political lives, most notably Senator Catherine Cortez Masto, who is in a [*tight race*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/31/us/politics/democrats-republicans-senate-election-polls.html) against the Republican challenger Adam Laxalt that could determine which party controls the Senate.

Asked how they would counteract the union’s ability to turn out voters, [*Mr. Laxalt’s campaign*](https://www.adamlaxalt.com/) responded with a statement blaming Democrats for inflation and high gasoline prices. “I will fight for lower taxes,” it read, “and I will fight against government shutdowns and mandates that put workers out of a job.”

One exception to the union’s Democratic tilt was its endorsement of Brian Sandoval, a Republican, in his 2014 re-election campaign for governor. Mr. Sandoval broke with his party on issues important to the union, like immigration reform and the Affordable Care Act.

No Republicans in the state legislature voted for two recent union-backed, pandemic-related bills — one that provides workplace protections for hospitality workers, and one that [*guarantees their right*](https://www.culinaryunion226.org/news/press/culinary-union-applauds-the-nevada-legislature-for-the-passage-of-senate-bill-386-right-to-return) to return to their old jobs.

Founded in 1935, the union established itself by recruiting workers from elsewhere to take jobs in this burgeoning desert city. Its ranks grew alongside Nevada’s gambling industry, not always harmoniously. One strike, which began in 1991 at the Frontier casino-hotel, lasted [*more than six years*](https://lasvegassun.com/news/1998/feb/01/nations-longest-strike-comes-to-an-end/).

Jim Manley, a political consultant who was an aide to former [*Senator Harry Reid*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/28/us/politics/harry-reid-dead.html), said the union became impossible to ignore in 2008, when it helped Mr. Obama beat John McCain by 12 percentage points in Nevada, even though Mr. McCain was from neighboring Arizona.

Today, the hospitality industry is Nevada’s biggest private employer, and union members are entrenched in the state’s power structure. [*Jacky Rosen*](https://www.rosen.senate.gov/), Nevada’s junior senator, is a former union member and Caesar’s Palace server.

Next week’s elections will be the first since the death last December of Mr. Reid, a political brawler whose close relationship with the union was mutually beneficial. “The question is whether the Reid machine is as effective as it was in the past,” Mr. Manley said.

To win in a [*midterm election*](https://www.nytimes.com/news-event/2022-midterm-elections) that seems to favor Republicans, Nevada Democrats need the union to drive up Democratic voter turnout in Clark County, which includes Las Vegas, said [*Jon Ralston*](https://thenevadaindependent.com/author/jon-ralston), a veteran Nevada political journalist.

“It’s that simple,” he wrote in a text message, adding that the union “has the bodies and experience to do it.”

Mr. Padilla started as a pastry chef at Treasure Island, a casino and hotel, nearly 30 years ago, after moving to Las Vegas from Flagstaff, Ariz. He became interested in union work when his brother-in-law, an iron worker, took him to a rally. “Turned out it was Culinary that was holding this rally,” he said. “I was in awe.”

In the past two years, Mr. Padilla has spent more time canvassing than baking bread and pastries. In the run-up to the 2020 elections, when he was laid off from his job because of pandemic shutdowns, the union paid him to canvass door-to-door.

He then moved temporarily to Georgia, where he joined other hospitality workers helping [*Raphael Warnock*](https://warnockforgeorgia.com/) win a tight runoff election that gave Democrats a one-vote Senate majority. (Union officials said canvassers would likely return to Georgia if the [*current Senate race*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/10/14/us/walker-warnock-debate-georgia) goes to a runoff.)

“The people we elected are the people who helped us keep our health insurance and unemployment benefits during Covid,” Mr. Padilla said. “We help the people who help us.”

He brought a similar message to voters in October as he canvassed in a ***working-class*** neighborhood on the north side of town. It was in the district of [*Representative Steven Horsford*](https://horsford.house.gov/), a former head of [*the Culinary Academy of Las Vegas*](https://www.theculinaryacademy.org/), a school for hospitality workers run by the union.

One voter, Deborah Gallacher, told Mr. Padilla that she didn’t know yet if she would vote this year, but that Mr. Horsford “has knocked on my door. I voted for him every time he’s been on the ticket.”

Mr. Padilla responded, “It’s time again.”

He worked alongside Rocio Leonardo, 30, a room cleaner at Aria Resort &amp; Casino. Ms. Leonardo, who moved to Las Vegas from Guatemala as a child, also campaigned in 2020, although she is not a citizen and can’t vote. “I do this because it feels like something positive for my children,” she said.

Ms. Leonardo approached a house with Marine Corps and prisoner of war flags hanging from the garage. She knocked twice on the door, as dogs barked ominously. The woman who finally came to the door was on a phone call and looked upset — until she saw Ms. Leonardo’s union T-shirt.

“I’m Culinary, too,” she said. “You’ve got my vote.”

Walking away, Ms. Leonardo marked the woman as “not home” in the voter database on her smartphone, so a campaign worker would return to make sure she voted.

Such persistence, while often tedious in practice, has delivered results.

Electing allies to public office strengthens the union’s hand when negotiating on behalf of its members, said [*Ted Pappageorge*](https://www.culinaryunion226.org/union/officers/ted-pappageorge), the union’s secretary-treasurer. “We don’t do union stuff so we can win in politics,” he said. “We do politics so we can win in union contracts.”

The union is especially motivated this election cycle, Mr. Pappageorge said, because the five-year contracts with employers for the vast majority of its Las Vegas members will expire next year. “We’re going to have really difficult negotiations,” he said. “We think we may have strikes.”

The union is also pushing local politicians to support a program to combat the fast-rising cost of housing. Last year, Ms. Leonardo said landlords raised the monthly rent for the house she shares with her husband and four children to $1,400 a month, from $900.

“I thought it was a typo,” she said.

Mr. Padilla, a father of three, brings up housing costs with as many voters as he can. When landlords raised his rent by $400 last year, he said they told him, “There’s no law in Nevada that says they can’t raise the rent as much as they want.”

During a brief break from canvassing, he shook his head in dismay. “I take this election seriously because of that,” he said. “There’s always a fight.”

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PHOTOS: Top, members of the Culinary Workers Union heard political speeches at the Las Vegas headquarters last month. Above, Representative Susie Lee, who is in a tight re-election battle, addressed members during a recent visit to the union hall. She was introduced by Senator Jacky Rosen (far right), a former union member and Caesar’s Palace server. Left, Barack Obama spoke at the union hall before the Nevada Democratic presidential caucuses in 2008, during his first run for the White House. The union endorsed him. Bottom, Carlos Padilla canvassed with Rocio Leonardo. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SAEED RAHBARAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; OZIER MUHAMMAD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page D2.

**Load-Date:** November 9, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Clinton, Obama and DeSantis Lend Star Power to Tight N.Y. Races***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66RM-4YR1-JBG3-63N4-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Luis Ferré-Sadurní

**Highlight:** A high-profile display of Republican and Democratic efforts illustrates how many of the state’s races have become unexpectedly close, including the governor’s race.

**Body**

A high-profile display of Republican and Democratic efforts illustrates how many of the state’s races have become unexpectedly close, including the governor’s race.

Follow our live coverage of the [*2022 midterm elections*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/11/10/us/election-updates-midterms-results) for the latest news and updates.

HEMPSTEAD, N.Y. — New York’s status as [*a battleground state*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/11/nyregion/house-elections-new-york.html) was cemented over the weekend as a star-studded lineup of the country’s top Democrats and Republicans descended on the state.

Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida visited Long Island on Saturday night; hours earlier, former President Bill Clinton was [*the star attraction*](https://www.cnn.com/2022/10/29/politics/biil-clinton-new-york-sean-patrick-maloney) at a rally in Rockland County. And on the airwaves, former President Barack Obama [*lent his voice*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aLmOaE6A_FU) in support of Gov. Kathy Hochul, a Democrat facing an unexpectedly stiff challenge from Representative Lee Zeldin, a Republican.

In a sign of how close the governor’s race has gotten, the Democratic Governors Association filed paperwork in recent days to form a super PAC in New York that will prop up Ms. Hochul on TV and try to stave off losses further down the ballot. After watching from the sidelines for months, the group will now join prominent labor groups in rushing to start spending on behalf of Ms. Hochul in the race’s final days, as [*concerned Democrats scramble*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/27/nyregion/hochul-governor-zeldin-democratic.html) to ensure that their base turns out to vote.

The high-profile display of Democratic force amounted to the type of last-minute intervention that traditionally plays out in swing states, not a liberal state like New York, underscoring just how vulnerable Democrats believe they have become in this election cycle.

Indeed, Ms. Hochul and Mr. Zeldin are each entering the final stretch with [*about $6 million in their war chests*](https://nypost.com/2022/10/28/lee-zeldin-kathy-hochul-both-have-6m-for-final-campaign-dash/), the campaigns said on Friday, a surprisingly leveled playing field given that the governor significantly outpaced Mr. Zeldin in fund-raising during much of the race. Ms. Hochul, who has raised nearly $50 million since she entered the race, and spent much of it, said she raised $3.37 million in the last three-week filing period. Mr. Zeldin reported raising slightly more — $3.6 million.

Mr. DeSantis’s hastily organized appearance in Suffolk County — the rally for Mr. Zeldin, which [*drew thousands of people,*](https://twitter.com/bcuza/status/1586500511435354112) was planned one day in advance — was a reflection of the party’s renewed bullishness in a state that hasn’t elected a Republican governor in 20 years.

“You need someone to just go and clean house in Albany,” Mr. DeSantis, a presidential hopeful, told thousands of mostly white supporters at a raucous rally at a parking lot on Long Island that was one of the largest campaign events of the governor’s race. He railed against Covid-19 mandates, crime, inflation and illegal immigration, before concluding that Mr. Zeldin’s potential victory would amount to “the 21st century version of the shot heard ’round the world.”

Earlier in the day, the Hochul campaign sought to show off its own firepower by unveiling Mr. Obama’s [*radio ad*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aLmOaE6A_FU), where he tells listeners that “the stakes could not be higher” in the governor’s race, which polls suggest Ms. Hochul is leading, even as Mr. Zeldin [*has surged*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/18/nyregion/hochul-zeldin-poll-governor.html) in recent weeks.

Mr. Clinton emerged in the Hudson Valley to deliver a [*nearly half-hour speech*](https://www.cnn.com/2022/10/29/politics/biil-clinton-new-york-sean-patrick-maloney) attacking the Republican Party while campaigning with Representative Sean Patrick Maloney, a top Democrat and longtime friend of Mr. Clinton’s who is locked in an unexpectedly close contest to retain his House seat.

And on Sunday, Jill Biden, the first lady, was scheduled to speak at a fund-raiser for Mr. Maloney in Westchester, before traveling to Long Island for a phone banking event with Ms. Hochul.

The Democratic Governors Association had not initially planned to spend on the race, but as polls have tightened and the Republican Governors Association began dumping $2 million into a pro-Zeldin super PAC, the Democrats decided to act. A spokesman for the D.G.A., David Turner, did not say how much it planned to spend.

“Republican super PACs have spent a record amount of nearly $12 million to insert an election-denying, abortion-banning, MAGA Republican who would make New York less safe by rolling back laws to take illegal guns off the street,” Mr. Turner said. “The D.G.A. is taking nothing for granted, and won’t sit idly by.”

Republicans are doubling down on the newfound enthusiasm around Mr. Zeldin: On Monday, he will campaign in Westchester alongside Gov. Glenn Youngkin of Virginia, a Republican who won in an upset victory last year.

As early voting kicked off on Saturday, Ms. Hochul has begun to significantly scale up her campaigning: She was expected to make at least 14 campaign appearances this weekend. She cast her ballot in Buffalo, her hometown, on Saturday morning before traveling to Rochester and Syracuse, all Democratic-leaning bastions in upstate.

On Sunday morning, she gave brief remarks at four Black churches in Nassau County on Long Island, [*an increasingly competitive battleground*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/28/nyregion/democrats-abortion-long-island-congress.html) where polls suggest Mr. Zeldin has made significant inroads in recent weeks. Amid concerns that she [*may be struggling to animate Black voters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/28/nyregion/black-voters-kathy-hochul.html), one of the most reliable Democratic constituencies, Ms. Hochul was joined by Hazel Dukes, the head of the New York State N.A.A.C.P., who introduced Ms. Hochul to churchgoers at the church stops on Sunday.

“She’s comfortable with all of us,” Ms. Dukes told Black congregants at Antioch Baptist Church, highlighting her ***working-class*** roots and record on public safety and investments in public education. “In her soul and in her heart, she cares about the least of us.”

At Union Baptist Church, the Rev. Dr. Sedgwick Easley told churchgoers that it was “important that in minority communities like ours, our people go out to the polls and vote.”

When it was her turn to talk, Ms. Hochul made no mention of her commitment to protecting the state’s strict abortion rights, [*one of the pillars of her campaign*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/24/nyregion/governor-kathy-hochul-abortion-rights.html). Instead, she emphasized her initiatives to strengthen gun laws and fight crime, including legislation she passed earlier this year to tighten the state’s contentious bail laws, a constant target of Mr. Zeldin’s attacks.

“Having guns is not the answer. We have to stand up to that radical idea that this should become the wild West,” Ms. Hochul said. “We’re not going there. Donald Trump won’t take us there. His surrogate running for governor won’t take us there, because I am the firewall. You are the firewall.”

Later, Ms. Hochul joined an array of Democratic elected officials from Long Island for a rally [*with hundreds of union workers*](https://twitter.com/luisferre/status/1586775774870257665), before traveling to southeast Queens to campaign with Mayor Eric Adams for the first time in the general election.

Mr. Adams and the governor spoke to a crowd of several hundred people who gathered inside a shopping mall; some were union workers, but many of them were local residents who said they had received emails and fliers about the rally. Praising Ms. Hochul’s response to the pandemic and warning of the consequences of not voting, Mr. Adams said: “We cannot say on the Wednesday after Election Day, ‘we wish we had voted.’”

Several attendees said they had already cast their ballot early for Ms. Hochul, including Robert Manigault, 70 a retired postal clerk who is Black and cited his experience during the civil rights era as one of the reasons for his vote.

“I feel that she’s going to take us places,” he said. “I feel the Republicans are going to take us backward. I’ve been there and I don’t like it.”

Later in the day, in an unannounced campaign stop, Mr. Zeldin visited Borough Park in Brooklyn, where he was greeted by hundreds of residents from the Orthodox and Hasidic community, a small but powerful voting contingent he has actively courted.

Mr. Zeldin received a far larger reception on Saturday night in his hometown, Suffolk County, a Republican stronghold he has represented in Congress since 2015. Standing in front of a red tour bus emblazoned with his campaign’s slogan — “Save Our State” — he spoke to an audience that sported MAGA hats and appeared as familiar with Mr. Zeldin as they were curious about Mr. DeSantis visiting the small hamlet of Hauppauge.

Mr. Zeldin said that the state’s conditions were leading New Yorkers to continue to move to Florida, “seeing that their money will go further, they’ll feel safer, they’ll live life freer, and that’s why New York leads the entire nation in population loss.”

“For the next 10 days, there is no way that Kathy Hochul will be able to replicate the energy and momentum that we have,” Mr. Zeldin added.

In the crowd, Laura Ortiz, 52, said she supported Mr. Zeldin because of his focus on public safety, saying her house in Lindenhurst was one of 13 houses on her street that were recently robbed in a spree that also saw one residence set on fire.

“I know what it feels like to be violated,” said Ms. Ortiz, who was wearing a headband with a pair of American flags that bounced on springs each time she moved. “I don’t want to see anyone get hurt.”

Nicholas Fandos, Christine Sampson and Ellen Yan contributed reporting.

Nicholas Fandos, Christine Sampson and Ellen Yan contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: Gov. Kathy Hochul, a Democrat, has scaled up her campaigning: She was expected to make at least 14 appearances this weekend, including in Syracuse, N.Y., above, after she voted in Buffalo. (PHOTOGRAPH BY BENJAMIN CLEETON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida, left, at a hastily organized rally on Long Island that drew thousands of people for Representative Lee Zeldin, right, the Republican challenger to Ms. Hochul. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JOHNNY MILANO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A10.

**Load-Date:** November 10, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Mad for Art: A Look Back and Up the Avenue at Women Gallerists; Art Review***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66JF-TTW1-DXY4-X0C2-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** ARTS; design

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**Byline:** Deborah Solomon

**Highlight:** A show at David Nolan recalls an era when the Madison Avenue galleries were more about art than money — and female dealers shaped the scene.

**Body**

A show at David Nolan recalls an era when the Madison Avenue galleries were more about art than money — and female dealers shaped the scene.

Artists may strive for immortality, but art dealers would be foolish to do so. They tend to be forgotten over time. A fascinating show at the David Nolan Gallery, [*“Mad Women: Kornblee, Jackson, Saidenberg, and Ward,*](https://www.davidnolangallery.com/exhibitions/mad-women) Art Dealers on Madison Avenue in the 1960s,[*”*](https://www.davidnolangallery.com/exhibitions/mad-women)tries to reverse the process of erasure by taking us back to an intrepid moment in American art when a constellation of female art dealers rose to prominence. The “mad” in the title refers not to their mental states but rather to their addresses on or off Madison Avenue, in the gilded heart of the Upper East Side.

That neighborhood, where Nolan itself recently relocated, on the fourth floor of a townhouse, is not exactly revolutionary turf. As a gallery district, the Upper East Side is the good-taste enclave where art is seen and sold — not made. Its marble townhouses, with their intimately scaled rooms and grand curving staircases, feel removed from the lives of artists, who tend to settle in ***working-class*** neighborhoods that offer lower rents and industrial-size spaces.

But, over the years, the Upper East Side has had its share of art-dealer provocateurs, and the current exhibition at Nolan attempts to pay homage to four. [*Eleanor Ward*](https://www.nytimes.com/1984/01/07/obituaries/eleanor-ward-is-dead-at-72-dealer-for-new-us-artists.html) (1911-1984), the most prominent of the group, might not seem to satisfy the Mad Avenue prerequisite: Her Stable Gallery was initially located in an abandoned horse stable on Seventh Avenue, at 58th Street, and served as the site in the mid-50s of the spirited group shows known as the Stable Annuals. But she soon left the West Side for a ground-floor space at 33 East 74th Street, where she demonstrated her prescient taste when she gave Andy Warhol his first show in New York in his wonder year of 1962.

At the time, there was little money to be earned in the field of American art, and it helped to be well-to-do if you wanted to nurture unknown artists. [*Martha Jackson*](https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1969/07/05/78385700.html?pageNumber=19)(1907-1969), an heiress from Buffalo, N.Y., ran her gallery out of the top floor of her townhouse at 32 East 69th Street. She died early and left a major collection to the Albright-Knox Art Gallery, her estimable hometown museum.

[*Jill Kornblee*](https://www.nytimes.com/2004/02/07/arts/jill-kornblee-84-art-dealer.html) (1920-2004) was a well-liked New York native who became known in the ’60s, when she opened a lively gallery at 58 East 79th Street. The critic David Bourdon described her as an intense personality who once confronted him after he whizzed through a show, asking: “Were you here to look at the art or did you just stop by?” “Both,” he replied.

Finally, [*Eleanore B. Saidenberg*](https://www.nytimes.com/1999/08/20/arts/e-b-saidenberg-88-art-dealer.html) (1911-1999), who moved her gallery around before settling at 1018 Madison near 78th Street, feels less urgent than the others. While her fellow dealers risked their careers on the American avant-garde, Saidenberg focused on European modernists (Picasso, Klee, Dubuffet) whom others had already championed with fervor.

The exhibition at David Nolan skimps on inside intelligence. There is no printed catalog or scholarly handout. There are no wall labels; one must make do with a paper checklist. In place of a coherent story line, the show offers sentimental vibes, especially in the spacious lobby, which features a quaint display of old gallery posters. Take a few minutes to look; they leave you pleasantly haunted, suddenly alert to the vanished history that lies just beneath the surface of every square inch of New York.

Fortunately, the 40 works in the exhibition, most of which once hung on the walls of the show’s four honorees, are too powerful for mere nostalgia. Most date from the early or middle ’60s, that fecund period in American art when a radical movement seemed to erupt every time someone asked, “What’s new?” All at once, artists were advancing the colliding orthodoxies of Abstract Expressionism, Pop Art and Minimalism. Or none of the above. Many works here blur categories, combining things that supposedly didn’t go together, especially abstraction and figuration.

Where, for starters, does Alex Katz fit in? An alum of the Stable Gallery, he is represented in the current exhibition‌ by “February” (1963), an all-gray, poetic painting of a tall window in an empty room. Rendered in unfussy, big-brush strokes, it somehow captures with taut precision the glint of light on a windowsill.

Nonagenarian artists are clearly in. Rosalyn Drexler, now 95, is a relatively recent inductee to the Pop-art pantheon. Here, she contributes “Cigarette Smoking May Be Hazardous to Your Health” (1967), a small, glossy, orange-on-black painting in which a man and a woman, shown in profile and facing each other from different corners of the canvas, light up for a smoke. Are they lovers? Impossible to know. Drexler deserves credit for adding a whiff of romantic plot to the deadpan blankness of Pop Art. (And Jill Kornblee deserves credit for having given her a one-woman show as early as 1964.)

Also noteworthy is an early Jim Dine — “Car Crash” (1959-1960), which according to its provenance was once owned by Frank Stella, who is most decidedly not an art dealer, but never mind. The painting is a large-scale, squarish, predominantly black canvas, with two pairs of actual woolen pants wadded up on the surface. A smattering of little white crosses — presumably first-aid signs — rise out of the darkness like ambulances glimpsed at night. “Car Crash” feels veiled and dreamlike compared to Andy Warhol’s car wreck scenes, which came a few years later and pictured American car culture at its most horrific.

Warhol weighs in here with an uncharacteristically quiet entry. “Untitled (Dollar Bill),” is a black-on-white silk-screen that stands only six inches tall. It proves, among other things, that money can be cute. Also in the too-small-to-fail category is an untitled sculpture by John Chamberlain that captures him as a deft miniaturist, dispensing with his usual crush of car fenders in favor of snippets of metal that twist and turn like paper scraps caught in a gust of wind.

Finally, the Southern California contingent is well-represented thanks again to Martha Jackson’s efforts. Billy Al Bengston’s “Erroll” (1961) is an unmistakably L.A. painting in which concentric squares of luminous blue could pass for swatches of sky. In the center, a small insignia that variously resembles sergeant’s stripes or a surfboard decal keeps things from becoming too ethereal.

‌In the end, there is probably no easy way to explain how so many women ended up as important art dealers in the postwar era. Which is not to suggest that female artists prospered in turn. In the pre-feminist ’50s and ’60s, most female dealers made little effort to end the routine exclusion of female artists from the mainstream art scene. Rather, their goal was to seek out first-rate artists regardless of their gender.

This was certainly true, at any rate, of the dealers who became the stuff of legend. Too far south for this exhibition, [*Edith Halpert of the Downtown Gallery*](https://thejewishmuseum.org/index.php/exhibitions/edith-halpert-and-the-rise-of-american-art) opened the first commercial gallery in Greenwich Village, in 1926. [*Paula Cooper*](https://www.paulacoopergallery.com/) holds the distinction of having opened the first commercial gallery in SoHo, in 1968. Peggy Guggenheim and her [*Art of This Century*](https://www.guggenheim-venice.it/en/art/in-depth/peggy-guggenheim/art-of-this-century/)were all-essential during World War II, when the European Surrealists fled to Manhattan and provided the local scene with a caffeine jolt of French culture.

In recent years, there has been a flurry of exhibitions paying tribute to female art dealers, perhaps most ambitiously at the Jewish Museum, where Edith Halpert was the subject of an absorbing show in 2019. Just last December, Martha Jackson was honored in a show ([*“Wild and Brilliant”*](https://www.hollistaggart.com/exhibitions/131-wild-and-brilliant-the-martha-jackson-gallery-and-post-war-art/)) organized by the Hollis Taggart Gallery.

The current group show at the Nolan Gallery, in taking on four dealers, has probably taken on too much, resulting in an effort that at times feels scrappy and thin. But there is certainly room for more scholarship on New York’s more valiant gallerists. Female art dealers are often conjured in books about the postwar era in dopey anecdotes and observations from their male counterparts. Typically, a recent book on Warhol quotes the art dealer Ivan Karp describing Eleanor Ward, Martha Jackson and three of their colleagues as “five menopausal maidens.”

The social phenomenon that allowed women to claim a position of enduring influence as art dealers in postwar New York remains a mostly overlooked subject, not least of all by the women themselves. They were too busy living their lives to stop and chronicle them.

Mad Women: Kornblee, Jackson, Saidenberg, and Ward, Art Dealers on Madison Avenue in the 1960s

Through Oct. 22, David Nolan Gallery, 24 East 81st Street, Upper East Side, (212) 925-6190; [*www.davidnolangallery.com*](http://www.davidnolangallery.com).

PHOTOS: A show at David Nolan Gallery that focuses on female art dealers includes, from top: Rosalyn Drexler’s “Cigarette Smoking May Be Hazardous to Your Health” (1967); “February” by Alex Katz (1963); and “Erroll” by Billy Al Bengston (1961). (PHOTOGRAPHS BY GARTH GREENAN GALLERY; PETER BLUM GALLERY; FRANKLIN PARRASCH GALLERY, NEW YORK)

**Load-Date:** October 6, 2022

**End of Document**



[***As Pennsylvania Senate Race Tightens, Oz Sharpens Attacks on Fetterman***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66BH-6P81-JBG3-60TM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Byline:** Trip Gabriel

**Highlight:** Dr. Mehmet Oz is trying to revive his campaign against Lt. Gov. John Fetterman with a pair of pointed attack lines, including about his rival’s policies on felons.

**Body**

Dr. Mehmet Oz is trying to revive his campaign against Lt. Gov. John Fetterman with a pair of pointed attack lines, including about his rival’s policies on felons.

SPRINGFIELD, Pa. — Dr. Mehmet Oz, trailing in the polls and still contending with an image as an out-of-touch, carpetbagging elitist, is seeking to reboot his Senate campaign in Pennsylvania in the final sprint to November.

In recent weeks, Dr. Oz has sharpened his attacks against his Democratic rival, Lt. Gov. John Fetterman, blasting him for his initial refusal to debate and claiming that Mr. Fetterman was trying to conceal the extent of the damage done by a stroke in May.

He has enlisted help from prominent Republicans, campaigning with Senator Patrick J. Toomey and, on Thursday, bringing in Nikki Haley, the former United Nations ambassador and South Carolina governor, for a town-hall-style event. On Tuesday, he even appeared to distance himself from his political benefactor, former President Donald J. Trump, by suggesting that he would have rejected Mr. Trump’s false claims that the 2020 election was rigged.

The Senate race in Pennsylvania is one of the most closely watched in the country. Its outcome could not only determine which party controls the chamber after the fall elections but illustrate just how firm of a grasp Mr. Trump has on his voters in 2022. Mr. Trump endorsed Dr. Oz and has held two rallies for him in recent months, but how deep Dr. Oz’s support runs among ***working-class*** Trump supporters in the state remains a question mark.

In addition to [*mocking Mr. Fetterman’s stroke recovery*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/31/us/politics/fetterman-health-oz-pennsylvania.html) last week by listing bogus “concessions” he would make in a potential debate, Dr. Oz has been attacking his opponent as soft on crime, hitting him in particular over his support for “second chances” for felons as the head of the state’s Board of Pardons.

On Thursday afternoon, at the event with Ms. Haley, Dr. Oz enacted a “mock debate” in which he interrogated an absent Mr. Fetterman, asking, “Why do you believe that life sentences aren’t right even in cases of murder?”

Speaking in the suburban Philadelphia community of Springfield, he recalled his years as a medical student at the University of Pennsylvania as he continued to criticize Mr. Fetterman on crime. “I lived in West Philly,” Dr. Oz said. “I could walk to school. It wasn’t a problem. I can’t make that walk today. You can’t either.”

Dr. Oz has sought to put his campaign on a more aggressive footing as polls show a tightening race. Mr. Fetterman’s double-digit lead in the polls at midsummer has shrunk to single digits in two surveys late last month. One reason may be that some independent voters are breaking for Dr. Oz. He led in late August with those voters in the two surveys — by 10 percentage points in a [*Susquehanna Polling and Research survey*](https://www.realclearpolitics.com/docs/2022/Topline-PAStatewide-Aug2022.pdf) and by 12 points in an [*Emerson College Poll*](https://emersoncollegepolling.com/pennsylvania-2022-fetterman-holds-four-point-lead-over-oz-for-us-senate-shapiro-leads-mastriano-by-three/).

Christopher Nicholas, a Republican consultant in the state, said there was a model of how a Republican candidate wins a statewide race in purple Pennsylvania.

“You run to the right of Democrats on social issues, especially in the western part of the state, which helps you get conservative Democrats,” Mr. Nicholas said. “You hold your Republican base, and you get close to 60 percent of the independents.”

The challenge for Dr. Oz is coalescing that Republican base.

Both recent polls showed him winning only 77 to 78 percent of Republican voters, compared with Mr. Fetterman winning close to nine out of 10 Democrats. Some in the crowd at a Trump rally in May booed Dr. Oz, reflecting the views of certain Republicans that he is not conservative enough.

While the response to Dr. Oz at the former president’s rally on Saturday was largely more receptive, some jeers of “RINO,” a conservative insult meaning Republican in Name Only, could be heard.

Barney Keller, a spokesman for Dr. Oz, said the latest public polling predated the campaign’s messaging “about Fetterman dodging debates.” Mr. Keller added that internal polling showed Dr. Oz “fully consolidating Republicans and making excellent progress” with independents and some Democrats.

The Fetterman campaign has found itself in the unusual position of playing defense after seeming to get the better of Dr. Oz for months with [*social-media attacks about his New Jersey mansion*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/07/magazine/dr-oz-pennsylvania-senate-race.html) and penchant for “crudités.”

On Wednesday, Mr. Fetterman, who acknowledges ongoing “auditory” and language issues since his stroke, agreed to debate Dr. Oz after weeks of needling criticism by Dr. Oz and his allies. Mr. Fetterman said he would debate Dr. Oz in mid- to late October, with details to be worked out. He said there was no recent precedent in Pennsylvania for debates in September, dismissing an Oz attack that he had ducked a debate this week proposed by a Pittsburgh TV station.

“But let’s be clear, this has never really been about debates for Dr. Oz,” Mr. Fetterman said in a statement. “This whole thing has been about Dr. Oz and his team mocking me for having a stroke because they’ve got nothing else.”

Since returning to the campaign trail on Aug. 12, Mr. Fetterman has kept a light schedule of appearances, greeting supporters on rope lines after short speeches but avoiding open questions from attendees or from the news media. [*He and his campaign have*](https://www.politico.com/news/2022/09/07/fetterman-to-politico-i-will-debate-oz-00055301)attributed his verbal stumbles in speeches and one-on-one interviews to “auditory processing” issues in his brain, which are common in stroke survivors. He has said that he may use a closed-caption monitor in the debate to make sure he does not miss any words.

During the Republican primary, Dr. Oz seemed to contort himself, downplaying or disavowing some liberal views from earlier in his life — on abortion, [*guns*](https://www.politifact.com/factchecks/2022/apr/15/dave-mccormick/n-pa-senate-run-dr-oz-casts-self-pro-second-amendm/) — to curry favor with conservative voters. [*He scraped out a primary victory*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/03/us/elections/pennsylvania-senate-oz-mccormick.html?smid=url-share) by fewer than 1,000 votes, aided by the Trump endorsement.

Now, with the general election in full stride after Labor Day, Dr. Oz may be trying to resume his earlier ideological shape as he seeks out independents and conservative Democrats.

The votes of suburban women in particular will be crucial in an election in which Democrats have gained fresh energy since the Supreme Court overturned Roe v. Wade. The Emerson College survey found that abortion access ranked five points higher as an issue for Pennsylvania voters than it did [*nationwide*](https://emersoncollegepolling.com/midterm-ballot-tightens-as-abortion-access-motivates-voters-plurality-of-voters-disapprove-of-bidens-handling-of-brittney-griner-detainment/).

Recently, Dr. Oz struck a mainstream conservative position on abortion, describing himself as “pro-life with the three usual exceptions, especially the health of the mother, but incest and rape as well.”

But his effort to distance himself from the fringe on the issue has been complicated. [*A recording*](https://www.thedailybeast.com/dr-oz-says-abortion-is-still-murder-at-any-stage-of-pregnancy) surfaced recently from a primary event in which Dr. Oz suggested that life began at conception and any attempt to end a pregnancy was the same as murder. “It’s, you know, it’s still murder if you were to terminate a child, whether their heart’s beating or not,” he said in the recording.

Andy Reilly is a Pennsylvania member of the National Republican Committee whose home is in Delaware County, where Dr. Oz’s Thursday event took place. Mr. Reilly said it was crucial — and within reach — for Dr. Oz to improve on Mr. Trump’s low share of suburban voters in 2020, which cost him victory in the state.

“For Republicans to win in Pennsylvania, they don’t need to win the suburbs, but they need to compete,” Mr. Reilly said.

The Oz campaign’s attacks on Mr. Fetterman and crime have been another attempt to appeal to suburban and female voters. As lieutenant governor, Mr. Fetterman leads the Board of Pardons, where his advocacy has helped increase the number of felons leaving prison with commutations or pardons.

The Oz campaign and its allies have called Mr. Fetterman “dangerously liberal on crime,” as one television ad puts it, and have criticized him for statements he has made in the past, including that “we could release a third of our inmates and not make anyone less safe.”

Mr. Fetterman has said that he was repeating a statement that a former Republican-appointed state corrections secretary made to him.

A spokesman for Mr. Fetterman said that the candidate proved his dedication to fighting violent crime while mayor of Braddock, Pa., where he began his political rise.

“Dr. Oz lives in a mansion on a hill. What does he know about confronting crime?” said the spokesman, Joe Calvello. “John Fetterman has actually done it, and done it successfully. So he’s not going to be taking pointers from a guy who just moved here and has absolutely no understanding of the problems facing Pennsylvania.”

PHOTO: Dr. Mehmet Oz at a rally on Saturday with former President Donald J. Trump in Wilkes-Barre, Pa. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HANNAH BEIER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Forgiving Debt Won't Help the Left***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65F3-2XD1-JBG3-616P-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 1005 words

**Byline:** By Jeff Maurer

**Body**

Democrats have an image problem. We're seen as the party of urban elites -- pampered, overeducated dweebs, soft-handed dandies who ride scooters without embarrassment and name our pets after jazz musicians. Effete, self-important twerps sipping kombucha in the open-floor-plan office of some start-up -- ''CRYSP, the app that provides a bespoke celery experience,'' maybe. And I can talk like this because I'm one of these dorks.

I'm worried that Democrats aren't factoring this reality into the debate about student loans. Joe Biden campaigned on forgiving up to $10,000 in student debt, but Chuck Schumer and Elizabeth Warren want to forgive up to $50,000, and the Bernie Sanders wing of the party -- which seems to think that adding the words ''for all'' to a program is the height of policy wonkery -- wants universal forgiveness.

There's a strong case for forgiving some of the roughly $1.6 trillion in student debt held by the government. Often, a person from a poor family will take out loans to build his or her future. We may lament our culturewide obsession with college degrees -- why, we could ask, does a B.A. in philosophy of Pokémon give you the inside track to a much-coveted internship at CRYSP? -- but it's the world we live in. Easing the burden for someone who took that path makes sense.

But that's not the only type of person who takes out student loans. High-status professionals often take out loans in their work-yourself-to-death 20s so that they can obtain another degree in order to get a high-paying job to fund their midlife-crisis 40s. There are also degree dilettantes, people who go to grad school just because they're young and lost and that CRYSP internship turned out to not be the rocket ship to success that they hoped it would be. Once again: I'm speaking from experience.

Loan forgiveness should try to separate the deserving from the ... let's say less deserving. From a fairness standpoint, that seems obvious. And from a Democratic Party messaging standpoint, that seems absolutely crucial. I've spent my career dealing with messaging and narratives, and I may have never encountered a more explosive ''confirm the worst stereotypes about Democrats'' land mine than the one that the left wing of the party is trying to get us to step on with student loans.

Prominent nerds at left-leaning think tanks like the Brookings Institution and the Progressive Policy Institute believe that student-loan forgiveness with no cap and no means testing would mostly go to the well-off. I think they're right, though you can also find lefty wonks who disagree. What's crucial from an electoral standpoint is that most people don't give a bucket of pig lips about what a bunch of eggheads think. People form their own opinions; there's no Excalibur of White Papers that will convince all in the land of your fitness to rule.

Most people know that not everyone who took out loans is a hardscrabble, ***working-class*** striver. And for all the debate about the exact financial profile of people who would get relief, 87 percent of American adults don't have federal student loans.

How did Democrats get to a place where a big election-year priority is something that this 87 percent of Americans presumably don't care about? We might as well campaign on getting Fine Young Cannibals back together or reforming the rules of international cricket.

It gets worse: Student loan forgiveness would increase inflation. The impact would be small, but good luck explaining that to people -- the first rule of speechwriting is that the second you utter the phrase ''as a percentage of the Federal Reserve inflation target,'' you've lost. This will be seen as a giveaway to rich professionals that hurts the working poor.

Conservatives will have a field day with this. Prepare to meet the Person Who Got the Stupidest Degree in America, because that person will be on Fox News more than pundits who exude an ''angry cheerleading coach'' vibe. The case study will be some tragic dweeb who took out $400,000 in loans to get a Ph.D. in intersectional puppet theory from Cosa Nostra Online College and who wrote his dissertation about how ''Fraggle Rock'' is an allegory for the Franco-Prussian War. I can picture Tucker Carlson putting on his confused cocker spaniel puppy face and asking the poor sap, ''Why do Democrats want to forgive every last penny of your student loans?''

Are we trying to foment populism? Are we trying to affirm the stereotype that Democrats serve the needs of educated elites and ignore everyone else? I am completely aware that no matter what, Republicans will portray us as fancy little Fauntleroys ensconced in our twee nursery of upper-middle-class desires, deaf to the needs of the struggling masses. But it's very important to me that this caricature not be true.

As someone who cares about the progressive project, I am begging Democrats to make means testing or a meaningful cap (or both) part of this policy. Focus the relief on low-income strivers and keep the money in the budget for other priorities, including higher education reform, which is the root cause of the loan problem. Retain the hope that maybe, possibly, something that could be called Build Back Better could be resurrected and passed and include something focused on those most in need of help with their student loans.

And don't let the notion that Democrats are singularly focused on the needs of pampered, navel-gazing pipsqueaks who won't drink coffee brewed using fewer than 26 steps be indelibly burned into people's brains.

Jeff Maurer (@JeffMightBWrong), a former speechwriter for the E.P.A. and former senior writer for ''Last Week Tonight With John Oliver,'' writes the newsletter I Might Be Wrong.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/10/opinion/democrats-student-debt-relief.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/10/opinion/democrats-student-debt-relief.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY HELEN H. RICHARDSON/DENVER POST, VIA GETTY IMAGES)

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[***Stand by Your Man? On TV, as in Life, There Are Alternatives***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6724-VV31-JBG3-60XY-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** As norms around marriage and divorce have evolved over the decades, so have their depictions on television, mostly recently in series like “George &amp; Tammy,” “Better Things” and “The Split.”

**Body**

As norms around marriage and divorce have evolved over the decades, so have their depictions on television, mostly recently in series like “George &amp; Tammy,” “Better Things” and “The Split.”

On Jan. 26, 1992, Hillary Clinton gave [*an interview to “60 Minutes.”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-UqKNgrwK8E) Gennifer Flowers, a cabaret singer, had recently told a tabloid about her longtime affair with Bill Clinton, then a candidate for president. Seated on a sofa next to her husband, Hillary, prim in a blazer and headband, asserted her independence.

“I’m not sitting here, some little woman standing by my man like Tammy Wynette,” she said to the interviewer.

Wynette, by then a country music legend with a tinseled string of No. 1 songs, was, as she expressed it in [*an open letter*](https://apnews.com/article/15c018e09e0bbdb0a20cd5609773d741), as angry as she could be. “Mrs. Clinton, you have offended every woman and man who love that song,” she wrote. “I believe you have offended every true country music fan and every person who has ‘made it on their own.’”

This was, of course, the great irony of the situation. Clinton, on that cream sofa, did stand by her man. She is still standing by. And despite what her oeuvre might suggest, Wynette, who came to Nashville as a single mother and later obtained two further divorces and one annulment, did not.

[*Wynette’s history*](https://www.nytimes.com/1998/04/08/arts/tammy-wynette-country-singer-known-for-stand-by-your-man-is-dead-at-55.html) — musical, marital — is revived in [*“George &amp; Tammy,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/01/arts/television/george-tammy-review-were-gonna-hold-on-until-we-dont.html) a limited series, airing on Showtime, which stars Jessica Chastain as Wynette and Michael Shannon as her third husband, the country star George Jones. In its nuanced depiction of marriage and divorce, “George &amp; Tammy” is one of several recent shows — the HBO remake of [*“Scenes From a Marriage,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/09/arts/television/review-scenes-from-a-marriage.html) [*“Fleishman Is in Trouble,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/04/arts/television/fleishman-is-in-trouble-claire-danes-jesse-eisenberg.html) “[*Better Things,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/28/arts/television/better-things-final-season-review.html) [*“The Split”*](https://www.hulu.com/series/the-split-5d1de53d-d263-48b9-b44c-75410ef9b9f4) — rethinking and complicating the representation of how a marriage ends and what might come after.

“Every time we change the shape of what family looks like, it is exciting,” said Abi Morgan, speaking of her writing for “The Split,” a drama about a family of London divorce lawyers that ended a three-season run earlier this year. “Because we then open up our ideals.”

The first divorced main character to appear on scripted television was most likely Vivian Vance’s Vivian Bagley, in “The Lucy Show,” which debuted in 1962. The show’s source material, Irene Kampen’s novel “Life Without George,” centered on two divorced women, but despite that — and despite Ball’s real-life split from Desi Arnaz — her character was rendered as a widow, a move thought to invite more sympathy. Carol Brady of “The Brady Bunch” was possibly divorced, but the show, which began in 1969, the same year that California adopted no-fault divorce, never directly addressed her status. Mary Richards, the lead character of “The Mary Tyler Moore Show,” was originally pitched as divorced, but the network insisted on a broken engagement instead.

Yet as the women’s liberation movement expanded and the divorce rate rose, divorced women became more common onscreen as well as off, with creators eager to plumb both the narrative potential and the socioeconomic impact of divorce. “Nineteen-seventies television was really interested in exploring social issues,” said [*Annie Berke*](https://annieberke.com/), the author of “Their Own Best Creations: Women Writers in Postwar Television.” “And divorce was a social issue.”

Why were there so few divorced male protagonists, beyond the sad sacks of “The Odd Couple”? Perhaps because divorce represented lower economic hurdles for male characters, who were presumably already in the work force and had long enjoyed lives outside the home. The potential for new experiences is minimized.

Besides, divorced men are often seen as less sympathetic. (Want sympathy? Write a widower.) If women are taught to desire marriage, the conventional wisdom goes, a wife must have had a good reason to want to end one. And if the marriage is ended for her, then she seems even more deserving of compassion. Men’s liberation carries less social heft.

In the ’70s and early ’80s, divorced and divorcing women became the heroines of numerous situation comedies such as “One Day at a Time,” “It’s a Living,” “Alice,” “Maude” and “Rhoda,” a “Mary Tyler Moore” spinoff. In these shows, which center on ***working-class*** and middle-class urban women, divorce often constitutes a financial and social injury that a heroine or sidekick weathers with heart and pluck.

In the early 2000s, a new kind of divorced woman emerged. From Charlotte of “Sex and the City” (which debuted in 1998) up through “The Starter Wife” (2007-8) and “Girlfriends’ Guide to Divorce” (2014-18), portrayals of divorce became more glamorous, more privileged. In shows that included divorce as a major plot point, splits offered women a chance to reinvent themselves, though their emancipation was often narrowly focused on luxury lifestyle choices and their pursuit of new partners. These shows divorce women not only from their spouses but also from broader political concerns. (One fulcrum show: “Designing Women,” which ended in 1993, included one divorced character, Annie Potts’s Mary Jo, who had an active investment in women’s liberation, and another, Delta Burke’s Suzanne, who did not.)

[*Suzanne Leonard*](https://www.simmons.edu/academics/faculty/suzanne-leonard), a professor of English at Simmons University and the author of “Wife, Inc.: The Business of Marriage in the Twenty-First Century,” sees such shows as exemplars of postfeminism or “choice feminism,” an ideology in which any choice a woman makes is seen as potentially empowering. “There was a lot of discussion during the second-wave feminist movement about the financial consequences of divorce,” she said. “And those consequences become really glossed over.”

This focus on women’s personal emancipation continued in shows like “The Marvelous Mrs. Maisel,” whose heroine becomes a comedian only after a split; “Grace and Frankie,” about frenemies whose lives are enlarged after they divorce their husbands; and “The Good Wife,” in which a politician’s wife flowers professionally (and reveals her own questionable ethics) once her marriage ends.

But in the past half decade, more series have begun to explore both signatories of a divorce decree. (Men’s liberation? Your time is now.) Sharon Horgan (“Catastrophe”) created [*“Divorce,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/07/arts/television/review-divorce-sarah-jessica-parker.html) which ran on HBO from 2016 to 2019, before her own marriage ended. But even then she was determined to show both sides of the split. She was interested, she said in a recent phone interview, “in exploring a sort of flip-flop in terms of who you were rooting for or who had it worse and which character wishes they could go back.”

“Divorce” and its contemporaries — “Fleishman Is in Trouble,” [*“The Affair,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/10/arts/television/the-affair-on-showtime-stars-dominic-west-and-ruth-wilson.html) “Scenes From a Marriage” — suggest that divorce is not necessarily calamity or deliverance. (The comedy “The New Adventures of Old Christine,” whose heroine was presumably just as messy before her divorce as after, is an arguable forerunner.) Divorce, these shows argue, will solve some problems but not necessarily others, and it will rarely mean the definite end of a relationship, particularly if there are children involved.

“This is the secret that no one will say: Once you love a person, you don’t stop loving them,” Abe Sylvia, the creator of “George &amp; Tammy” said. “You may have a lot of rage and a lot of anger, but that’s all coming from that kernel of connection that’s actually locked in.”

“George &amp; Tammy” depicts divorce as necessary, a consequence of George’s alcoholism. But the legal decree doesn’t sever the connection between the two of them, who remain intermittently enmeshed, both personally and professionally. And divorce doesn’t liberate Tammy. Her subsequent marriage, to the songwriter and producer George Richey (Steve Zahn), is represented as being much worse. The problems that afflict Tammy before her divorce — a hard-charging work ethic that will eventually compromise her health, the fierceness of her attachments — dog her after.

“This empowerment people find in a third act? I think it’s a lie,” Sylvia said. “All of us are carrying along the baggage of all of our relationships at all times. George and Tammy were just honest about it.”

[*The divorce rate has fallen in recent years,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/12/02/upshot/the-divorce-surge-is-over-but-the-myth-lives-on.html) partly because the marriage rate has as well. ([*According to the last census*](https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/dvs/national-marriage-divorce-rates-00-20.pdf), there are 5.1 marriages per 1,000 Americans and 2.3 divorces.) At the same time, some corners of the culture seem to think traditional family structures need saving — witness, for example, [*the TikTok videos*](https://i-d.vice.com/en/article/wxne5z/housewives-on-tiktok) valorizing housewife life or the Republican rhetoric decrying[*no-fault divorce*](https://theweek.com/feature/briefing/1015726/are-republicans-coming-for-no-fault-divorce). And yet, divorce can offer an opportunity to rethink those structures in healthy ways, as can its representations.

“There are many ways to be a family,” Orna Guralnik, a psychoanalyst and the star of Showtime’s unscripted series [*“Couples Therapy,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/05/arts/television/couples-therapy-showtime-review.html) said in a recent phone interview. “A husband and wife in a particular kind of marriage is just one option.”

Some older shows have suggested alternative family structures. In “The Golden Girls,” which began in 1985, Dorothy’s divorce from Stan precipitates her new living arrangements. “Kate &amp; Allie,” which began the year before, presents a beautiful fantasy in which two divorced women and their kids are able to share an entire West Village brownstone. More recently, in “Better Things” and “The Split,” divorced women create rich, meaningful lives without necessarily seeking new partnerships.

In “Better Things,” which wrapped up earlier this year, Pamela Adlon plays Sam, a single mother and working actress whose biography overlaps with Adlon’s own. With three growing daughters, a vibrant group of friends and a mother who lives across the street, Sam’s life is, if anything, too full.

“There’s nothing missing,” Adlon said in a recent phone interview.

Going into the show’s third season, she remembered fielding press questions about whom Sam might pair with, which made Adlon more determined to have Sam stay single. “That’s when I realized how important it was to stay the course and mirror my life and the life of a lot of other women, who never do reconstitute a family,” she said.

This is, of course, one of the great gifts of television, that it can reflect back to us our own lives while also opening the possibility of new ones. The finale of “The Split,” for example, emphasizes the relationships between Nicola Walker’s Hannah and her family instead of pushing her toward a new partner.

Morgan shot two endings, one of which did suggest a romantic future for Hannah. “But actually, I felt deflated when I watched it,” she said. “I thought of all my girlfriends who had gone through divorce, and somehow I was reiterating something by saying, ‘You’re only complete by having another relationship.’”

Morgan isn’t against love, she clarified, or marriage. She has been with her husband, the writer Jacob Krichefski, for 22 years. But she believes in envisioning other forms of love, partnership and family.

“People always want happy endings,” she said. “We’re just changing the idea of what a happy ending is.”

PHOTOS: Top, “George &amp; Tammy,” with Michael Shannon and Jessica Chastain, offers a nuanced depiction of marriage and divorce. Above from left, Thomas Haden Church and Sarah Jessica Parker played two sides of the central conflict in “Divorce.” Pamela Adlon did not want to pair off her alter ego in “Better Things.” (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DANA HAWLEY/SHOWTIME; CRAIG BLANKENHORN/HBO; SUZANNE TENNER/FX); Mary Tyler Moore, foreground, and Valerie Harper in “The Mary Tyler Moore Show.” Moore’s character was coming off a broken engagement at the start of the show. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CBS) This article appeared in print on page C6.

**Load-Date:** December 12, 2022

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[***What's a Japanese Mobster to Do in Retirement? Join a Softball Team.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67JK-4331-DXY4-X215-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 2492 words

**Byline:** By Ben Dooley, Hisako Ueno and Shiho Fukada

**Body**

The members of the Ryuyukai have done nearly 100 years of hard time. Now they're just looking to stay out of trouble.

To hear more audio stories from publications like The New York Times, download Audm for iPhone or Android.

On paper, the Ryuyukai were the most fearsome team in Japanese softball. A sort of mutual aid society for retired gangsters, the club had racked up nearly a century of hard time. The manager had been a top mob consigliere; the relief pitcher, who took the field in hot pink shoes, had once been sent to kill him.

But on a cloudless day last March, these hardened ex-cons met their match: the Parent-Teacher Association of Nakanodai Elementary School. The P.T.A. showed no mercy, hitting pitch after pitch out of the scruffy park in suburban Tokyo. Midway through the game, the scorekeeper stopped counting.

Losing is nothing new for Japan's iconic gangsters, the yakuza. For over a decade, they have been suffering one defeat after another.

As late as the 1990s, yakuza numbered around 100,000. Their businesses -- scams, gambling and prostitution rackets -- were illegal, but the groups themselves were not. Fan magazines chronicled their exploits, sandwiching interviews with top bosses between organizational charts and brothel reviews. The groups had business cards and listed addresses. They gave Halloween candy to children and distributed relief supplies after disasters.

But today's yakuza are a shell of what they once were. The same demographic forces wearing down other Japanese industries have also hit organized crime. An aging population has made it hard to find young recruits -- more Japanese gangsters are in their 70s than in their 20s -- and has diminished the once-thriving demand for the yakuza's services.

Society, too, has become less tolerant of them. The authorities have carried out a relentless legal assault on the criminal underworld. Crime is both less profitable and riskier: In 2021, a court sentenced the head of the most violent syndicate to death, a first that sent shock waves through the mob's executive class.

All of that has made crime a less attractive career option. Over the last decade, the yakuza's rolls have plummeted by nearly two-thirds, to 24,000.

Many have struggled to reintegrate. Tattoos, missing fingers and long criminal records limit job opportunities and make it difficult to fit in. Japanese laws discouraging business with the yakuza effectively stop them from taking care of necessities like opening a bank account, getting a phone plan or renting an apartment until they can prove they've been out of the yakuza for five years.

Yuji Ryuzaki, the softball team's manager, established the Ryuyukai in 2012 to help his former colleagues build a new life.

Mr. Ryuzaki had quit the yakuza in the early 2000s. During his 72 years, he has been a member of a nationally ranked high school baseball team, a Buddhist priest, a model and an actor. He had sold jewels, imported luxury goods from Hong Kong and worked as a beautician. And he had -- of course -- been a top executive in a Tokyo affiliate of the Yamaguchi-gumi, Japan's largest mob organization.

The Yamaguchi-gumi is based in Mr. Ryuzaki's hometown, Kobe, a port city in western Japan, where his father ran a temple. He'd known gangsters as long as he could remember: He'd seen yakuza tattoos on his friends' parents and on people in local bathhouses.

In college, a low-ranking tough had beaten up one of Mr. Ryuzaki's friends. In retaliation, Mr. Ryuzaki kidnapped the man and buried him up to his neck in dirt. Mr. Ryuzaki got a beating in return, he said, but the gangsters were impressed by his mettle and signed him up.

Over the decades, he largely stayed behind the scenes. He didn't look like a stereotypical yakuza. He was afraid of needles, so he had never been tattooed. He had managed to keep all of his fingers. His first conviction was for getting mixed up in an argument at Tokyo Disneyland, he said. Not very yakuza.

The idea for the softball team sprang from a chance encounter with Katsuei Hirasawa, a member of Parliament from a ***working-class*** Tokyo neighborhood where yakuza were once a part of the social fabric. Mr. Hirasawa had long known Mr. Ryuzaki by reputation, he said during a recent interview, adding that the ex-yakuza had ''contributed to a lot of social causes'' locally.

The anti-yakuza laws of recent years were well intentioned but ''discriminatory,'' Mr. Hirasawa said, arguing that they pushed people toward recidivism. Softball could help prevent that, he said, by keeping idle hands busy while building discipline and a sense of community.

Ryuyukai membership offered more tangible benefits, too. Mr. Ryuzaki and an associate, Takeshi Takemoto, worked to put the team's members up in housing and connect them with the kind of tough, temporary employment -- construction, road work, sewer maintenance -- that pays a living wage and doesn't ask too many questions.

For years, their efforts drew little notice. Then photos of the team showed up in a couple of weekly tabloids. Journalists started getting in touch. There was even talk of turning their story into a movie.

Mr. Ryuzaki was clearly enjoying the spotlight. He wanted to show the world that gangsters were people, too, he said. And he didn't hate the free publicity.

''We're not hurting anyone, so why not?''

'Pulled Back In'

The season got off to a slow start. One team was a no-show. Another delivered a clobbering that rivaled the P.T.A.'s. The Ryuyukai didn't seem to mind: They showed up early each time to practice their fielding and smoke.

While some teams played with near military precision, the Ryuyukai were clearly there to have fun. When a player fumbled an easy ground ball or stopped running halfway to second base, Mr. Ryuzaki jokingly cursed him out in a salty yakuza patois.

In the club's early days, some teams were intimidated by the former gangsters, Mr. Ryuzaki said. Umpires hesitated to call strikes and outs against them.

They worked on blending in. Mr. Ryuzaki traded the club's black uniforms for gray and electric pink, hoping to project a friendlier image. The league's director praised the team for helping to clean up the field after games. One year, they even won a league championship, cementing their position as part of the scene.

''In sports there are rules,'' the captain of another team said after a close loss. ''As long as everyone follows them, it's not a problem.''

Not every player on the Ryuyukai was a yakuza. There were a few broad-shouldered ringers in their 20s; a college friend of one of Mr. Ryuzaki's employees, who cowered when he made an error; and a group of older men who owed unspecified ''favors'' to Mr. Ryuzaki and Mr. Takemoto.

For those who had been gangsters, though, the team's rules were clear: New members must prove they have quit the yakuza.

The process of leaving can be difficult; traditionally, it cost a finger joint. Nowadays, members can buy their freedom or sometimes just request early retirement for something as prosaic as a bad back. The announcement is faxed to gang offices around the country. Some of the Ryuyukai's members carry a photo of the document on their phones, as proof of their excommunication.

But over the course of the season, it became clear that the team's story -- and the line between in and out of the mob -- was not so straightforward.

Joining the yakuza wasn't like getting a normal job, Mr. Takemoto said after one game. He himself had studied to be a schoolteacher and been a car salesman before he started dealing drugs for a gang in the northern city of Sapporo in his 30s. His ex-wife had even worked for the police.

''Being a salesman was tough,'' he said. Being a yakuza, on the other hand, was electrifying: ''No one is apathetic about joining.''

Mr. Takemoto loved the lifestyle. Money. Danger. Fast cars. It was hard to leave that behind. For him, quitting took over two decades in prison and a prosecutor's warning that he was about to spend the rest of his life there.

Masahiko Tsugane, who heads reintegration efforts at the Tokyo branch of the National Center for Removal of Criminal Organizations, noted the increasingly blurred boundaries between yakuza and civilians as gangs work around the new laws.

He's skeptical of mutual aid efforts by former gangsters. People who really want out need to make a clean break, he said: ''Otherwise, they'll just get pulled back in.''

The center has a program to help ex-yakuza find work. In Tokyo last year, no one applied.

''I've only got eight fingers. Who's going to hire me?'' Mr. Takemoto said during an interview in his spacious walk-up apartment, which is owned by his girlfriend. Ex-colleagues in dark glasses and black suits glowered from a photo in a Disney frame.

Mr. Ryuzaki believes it's unrealistic to expect people to completely sever ties to their old lives. Socially, it would be difficult to turn down an invitation to a wedding or a funeral, he said.

He himself has kept one foot firmly in gangland. Yakuza bosses call him frequently, asking for advice or for help smoothing over a conflict. The police, too, sought him out for updates on gang activity.

Mr. Ryuzaki didn't see a problem with his mob contacts. Or with the yakuza at all.

Like most of his colleagues, he saw the yakuza -- and himself -- as chivalrous, modern-day Robin Hoods, outsiders looking out for the little guy and dispensing justice when the authorities can't, or won't.

''I never did anything that bad,'' he said during an interview in his apartment on the top floor of an old high-rise. One wall was covered with luxury handbags he rents out to women who work in hostess clubs, and a sign in the bathroom instructed visitors to relieve themselves ''prison style.''

As he spoke, two older men in tracksuits and chains busied themselves ironing his shirts and straightening up.

Mr. Ryuzaki described himself as an ''economic yakuza,'' specializing in real estate shakedowns. It was all in his forthcoming autobiography, ''Necessary Evil,'' he said.

Much of his current work, he admitted, existed in a gray zone. He made high-interest loans and exploited loopholes in import laws. After one softball game, he pulled three blueberry-sized precious stones out of a bag and handed them to Mr. Takemoto, who inspected them with a jeweler's loupe. They were imported from Southeast Asia, he explained -- one of their many sidelines.

Both men have been arrested several times since leaving their gangs, but nothing has stuck. Mr. Ryuzaki insisted that the police were just out to get them.

''They want to take what's gray and claim it's black,'' he said.

'Nothing Good'

In July, the Ryuyukai won their first game. Their opponents were a group of drinking buddies who called themselves ''The Secret Club.'' Mr. Ryuzaki was delighted by the victory but worried about his team's next opponent: another P.T.A., this one widely acknowledged to be the strongest team in the league.

On the day of that game, Mr. Takemoto brought Popsicles for everyone. The P.T.A. brought its A-game, scoring six runs in the first inning.

Afterward, Mr. Ryuzaki and Mr. Takemoto held court in their favorite postgame haunt, an old-fashioned coffee shop that served pork cutlets and spaghetti. The elderly owner wore a thin black bow tie, and the television above the counter was often tuned to the horse races, one of Japan's few forms of legal gambling.

Despite their complaints about the anti-yakuza laws, Mr. Ryuzaki and Mr. Takemoto maintain a seemingly opulent lifestyle. Mr. Takemoto wore a jewel-encrusted watch that he said had cost nearly $30,000. Members of the softball team regularly ferried the men around in luxury sedans.

The team sorted itself into a rigid hierarchy, with the former bosses on top. At lunch, players would sometimes stand in front of Mr. Ryuzaki and bow deeply, rice bowls lifted in both hands before them, as they shouted out their thanks to him for picking up the tab. On one rainy day, a man with a large black umbrella trailed Mr. Takemoto around the softball field, ensuring he stayed dry.

The ex-cons on the team clung to a flashy gangster image that belied their current living conditions. They wore sequined baseball hats. Loud colors. Tinted glasses. Everything branded (especially Louis Vuitton.) At one game, Mr. Ryuzaki handed out pink Christian Dior face masks. No one questioned their authenticity.

But their former lifestyles had left behind deeper scars than the occasional stab wound. A team stalwart, Masao, dropped out of school at 16 and spent years bouncing from gang to gang.

After his third prison sentence, he had a revelation. ''Going to jail after 50 is a waste,'' he said. ''Nothing good happens there.''

Masao, who asked that his surname be withheld, is covered in tattoos and missing a finger he cut off after leaving one of the gangs. No one asked him to, he said, but he did it anyway, hoping his old associates would let him be. The bone didn't separate cleanly, though, and he ended up rushing to a hospital. His former bosses never got the finger; in the hubbub it ended up in a convenience store trash can.

He had gotten hooked on meth and still had a hard time resisting its pull. But the softball team had helped him stay clean, he said, and Mr. Takemoto had found him an apartment and a job. During the season, he was helping to service a water main.

Drug addiction was a particularly pernicious problem for many of the former gang members. Not everyone escaped it. In July, one team member killed himself after struggling with withdrawal.

At his wake in August, Mr. Ryuzaki and other team members greeted a stream of men in dark suits who had come to pay their respects. Many of them, Mr. Ryuzaki said, were active yakuza.

'Bad Habits'

The Ryuyukai's season ended on a humid October afternoon with a 15-0 loss. The opposing team's pitcher, a rare woman in the league, fired balls over the plate with a ferocity that made the Ryuyukai's players jump back.

One of those pitches struck Masao. He jokingly demanded a payoff. The pitcher bowed deeply and blushed.

At lunch afterward, Mr. Ryuzaki couldn't stop coughing. He needed treatment for lung disease after years of smoking. He huffed on an inhaler and cleared his throat.

He seemed unruffled by the loss. Or a season with just two wins. Covid had stopped the players from practicing. They would get their title back someday. And besides, winning wasn't the point.

''People have to stay busy or they fall back into bad habits,'' he said, picking at a plate of stir-fried ginger pork.

The conversation stopped, and everyone, as if at an invisible signal, got up to leave.

There was a chill in the air and no more softball until spring.

''Who wants to go bowling?'' Mr. Ryuzaki asked.

They all jumped in their cars and drove to the lanes.

Audio produced by Jack D'Isidoro.Audio produced by Jack D'Isidoro.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/08/world/asia/japan-yakuza.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/08/world/asia/japan-yakuza.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Once a yakuza boss, Yuji Ryuzaki, top foreground, put together the Ryuyukai softball team to help ex-colleagues build new lives. Masao, left, says the team helps him stay off drugs. Above, Takeshi Takemoto paid a price in fingers.

Mr. Ryuzaki at home in Tokyo, at left, with his business partner. Although he has put his mob days behind him, he admits his current line of work falls into a gray area. At right, shopping with employees who are also members of the Ryuyukai. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SHIHO FUKADA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A11.

**Load-Date:** February 15, 2023

**End of Document**



[***An Uneasy Actor Now Wears a Crown***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6655-7FD1-DXY4-X550-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** Section AR; Column 0; Arts and Leisure Desk; Pg. 10

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**Byline:** By Jeremy Egner

**Body**

A string of critically acclaimed roles has made him many British actors' favorite actor. It has also lifted him from hardscrabble roots to a seat on the Iron Throne.

WINSHILL, England -- On a blindingly sunny June afternoon, Paddy Considine whipped his sedan through a ***working-class*** neighborhood in this suburb in the West Midlands, pointing out the stolid taverns, churches and council houses that combine to cast the long shadows of his childhood.

There was the gospel hall where he and his friends sang hymns when they weren't ''getting kicked out for fighting about.'' The pub where men from his estate pursued nightly oblivion. The post office where his tempestuous father ''tossed a wheelie bin through the front window'' during one of his frequent swerves into rage, a moment Considine memorialized in his bleakly beautiful 2011 film, ''Tyrannosaur.''

He pulled to a stop in front of a pale gray two-family house and pointed to an upstairs window. It was his old bedroom, and he told a story about a kid desperate to show the world he had more to offer than it might think.

''I'd run home after school and then put the music on and stand in the window, dancing to Adam and the Ants, so the parents would see me and look up,'' he said. ''It wasn't like I was a show-off. I just wanted to be seen.''

He looked at me with a grin that was equal parts affable and intense. ''There's a difference, you know,'' he said.

Over a two-decade career in film, TV and the occasional blockbuster play, Considine has thrived within that difference. He has crafted performances that demand to be seen, partly because they forgo performative pyrotechnics in favor of a palpable, at times unsettling sense of the real. The fact that he hasn't had what you might call a signature role hasn't kept him from becoming many British actors' favorite actor.

''I just believe him,'' said Olivia Colman, a longtime admirer. ''You sort of look into his eyes, and he's feeling it all, and he means it all.''

Considine's profile is more modest in America, but it might not stay that way: Beginning on Aug. 21, he will be dancing in his largest window yet. That's when ''House of the Dragon,'' the long-awaited ''Game of Thrones'' prequel series, lands on HBO. A family melodrama with all the violence, sex and power-lust one would expect from a tale set in Westeros, the series seeks to recapture the magic that made the original a global phenomenon before it stumbled to its polarizing conclusion in 2019.

The story, based on ''Fire & Blood,'' a spinoff novel by the saga's mastermind, George R.R. Martin, is set nearly 200 years before the events of ''Game of Thrones.'' It involves an earlier battle for the Iron Throne, one that threatens to crater the Targaryen clan long before their combustible descendant Daenerys Targaryen (Emilia Clarke) arrives in the original series.

At the heart of it all is Considine, who stars as King Viserys, the ruler whose decisions and frailties set into motion much of the conflict and carnage to come.

It is a surprising bit of casting, at first glance. After arriving as an eccentric thug in the 1999 film ''A Room for Romeo Brass,'' Considine has made his name mostly in small-bore dramas playing emotionally conflicted men who feel it all, and then some: a grieving immigrant father in ''In America''; a religious zealot ex-con in ''My Summer of Love''; a murderously vengeful veteran in ''Dead Man's Shoes.''

While he has appeared in franchises (''The Bourne Ultimatum''), genre series (the Stephen King adaptation ''The Outsider'') and surprising detours before (the goofball cop comedy ''Hot Fuzz''), a dragon epic did not seem like the most natural fit.

''If you look at the body of his work and the type of movies that he does, it doesn't necessarily lend itself to a big HBO franchise like this,'' said Matt Smith, who stars in ''House of the Dragon'' as Viserys's belligerent brother, Daemon. ''But I think he's got good taste, and I think he realized the part was really interesting.''

Considine, 48, is a man of multitudes and paradoxes. An acclaimed actor, he nonetheless struggles with attacks of insecurity to the point that he considered leaving projects like ''Hot Fuzz'' because he felt he was flailing. He has an unmistakable toughness, but what makes it captivating is the sensitivity that bleeds through.

Ryan Condal, one of the ''House of the Dragon'' showrunners, said that Considine imbued Viserys, a relatively passive character in the script, ''with a bit of Paddy's ***working class*** background.''

''What Paddy brought to it was Targaryen-ness, this fierceness,'' he said. But as the other showrunner, Miguel Sapochnik, noted: ''He wears his insecurities on his sleeve.''

This combination has already won over the toughest ''Thrones'' fan of all: Martin, who said Considine's Viserys surpasses the one in the book.

''Every once in a while, an actor or the writers will take a character in a somewhat different direction that is better,'' Martin said. ''And I look at it and I say, 'Damn, I wish I had written it that way.'''

Considine admits that he was flattered to be asked to lead such an enormous undertaking, which will almost certainly result in more people seeing him than ever before. But what drew him in were the same things he seeks in all his roles, qualities that his past and predisposition help him depict with rare delicacy.

''There was just conflicts in him; there was pain in him,'' he said. ''There was stuff for me to do.''

CONSIDINE SPENDS MOST OF HIS TIME far from the show-business fray. He lives with his wife of 20 years, Shelley, and their three children in the town of Burton-on-Trent, near where he grew up, located roughly 110 miles northwest of London. It helps him avoid having to glad-hand industry types or audition for roles, which he loathes because he's terrible at it, he said.

While Considine is generally immune to Hollywood cliché, he certainly looked the part when we first met. Sitting inside a coffee shop in a posh village near his home, he was wearing black on black with dark glasses, and he spent the first 20 minutes talking about his rock band, called Riding the Low. He knew how it all came across.

''I know ... an actor with a band,'' he said.

But the reality is, he has been playing music for longer than he's been acting, and the band is no mere vanity project: In June, they played Glastonbury Festival, and their latest record included a cameo by Considine's musical hero, Robert Pollard of Guided by Voices.

As for the glasses, they contain special lenses to treat Irlen syndrome, a disorder that is believed to affect the brain's ability to process visual information. (Much of the science and medical community is skeptical about the affliction, but Considine and many others say the lenses changed their lives.) Generally funny and easygoing in conversation, Considine said this condition, along with a mild form of Asperger's he was diagnosed with in his 30s, contributed to a reputation for aloofness as a young actor.

''I couldn't concentrate or focus on you, so I'd have to look away,'' he said. ''It led to this behavior of me going within myself and being slightly unapproachable.''

But he is used to being misunderstood -- even as a boy in Winshill, Considine had a reputation that preceded him. But it wasn't his own.

He grew up with a brother and four sisters in one of the few two-parent households in his social circle. His mother, Pauline, was a natural nurturer who temporarily took in kids from around the council estate when things got rough at their own homes. ''I'd go downstairs and there'd be, like, a six-foot punk lying on the sofa under a blanket, with a big red mohawk,'' Considine said.

His father was another matter. An Irish alcoholic with a depressive streak, Martin Considine was known as a brawler with a quick temper, and was given to staying in bed until the afternoon, ''watching 'Raging Bull' over and over again,'' Considine said.

''I grew up with a lot of labels on me when I was a kid, just because of the reputation mainly of my father,'' he said.

For a while, he lived up to them, alienating his teachers by being an uninterested student and a class clown. But when he signed on to a school production of ''Grease,'' it was transformative in more ways than one. When he opened his mouth to sing ''Greased Lightning'' in the first rehearsal, he discovered a robust voice he didn't know he had. On opening night, everyone else discovered something, too.

''It changed the entire school's perception of me,'' he said. ''The teachers perceived me differently, the students. And I thought, this is powerful.''

At 16, Considine began a drama program but ''didn't really learn that much, and I just left,'' he said. (He eventually got a photography degree.) But he struck up a fortuitous friendship there with Shane Meadows, a fellow Midlander with similar tastes in music and film. Several years later, Meadows cast Considine in ''Romeo Brass,'' which won both men acclaim.

Higher-profile roles followed in films like the Factory Records chronicle ''24 Hour Party People'' (2002) and the melancholy immigrant tale ''In America'' (2003). Then came ''Dead Man's Shoes,'' a nervy, lo-fi riff on a slasher picture that stars Considine, in a frightening but grounded performance, as an ex-soldier stalking his brother's former tormentors.

The film is still revered in Britain -- nearly everyone I talked to about Considine mentioned it -- though the actor long ago tired of discussing it. (''Part of me wants to die'' when people bring it up, he said, but he has made his peace with it.)

That indelible performance indirectly enabled Considine to subvert it, to change perceptions again. He met Simon Pegg and Edgar Wright on the awards circuit for ''Dead Man's Shoes'' -- it and their film ''Shaun of the Dead'' were both released in Britain in 2004 -- and the result was a part as a doofus detective in ''Hot Fuzz.''

''Meeting Paddy in person was a revelation; he was incredibly warm and funny,'' Wright wrote in an email. ''We knew he had a comic presence that hadn't been fully unleashed yet.''

''Hot Fuzz'' was where Considine met Colman, a co-star, who went on to lead his first feature as a director, ''Tyrannosaur.'' The film, which he also wrote, tells a grueling but powerful story about a splenetic widower (Peter Mullan) who befriends a devout woman (Colman) trapped in an abusive marriage.

For Colman, then known primarily for comedy and TV, the wrenching performance opened new dramatic opportunities that eventually led to an Oscar for the 2018 film ''The Favourite.''

''He sort of directly changed the trajectory of my career,'' she said.

For Considine, it offered a chance to revisit his upbringing via the means that had allowed him to escape it. As we drove around Winshill, he pointed out landmarks that had inspired scenes in the film.

''I think 'Tyrannosaur' was just a love letter and an apology to my parents,'' he told me. ''It was me just trying to make sense of some of the things I grew up with.''

CONSIDINE STARTED ACTING long before he became an actor.

As an insecure kid cowed by a chaotic home and by other parents who ''shut doors in my face'' because of the sins of his father, he learned to perform confidence and swagger. ''I had to create a sort of carapace to be able to protect myself,'' he said.

That armor never entirely went away -- he still dusts it off for premieres and red carpets. Neither did the insecurity. As his career blossomed, it became both the thing that made acting a misery, at times, as well as a force pushing him to go deeper into performances that dazzled his contemporaries.

''In England, I think a lot of actors feel the same way about Paddy,'' Smith said. ''We hold him in very high regard.''

Tony Pitts (''All Creatures Great and Small''), a friend of Considine's and past co-star, called him ''the male actor that most male actors want to be.''

Considine is choosy about his parts -- it's hard to find an outright stinker on his IMDb page. Friends say this derives from the fact that acting can take a profound psychic toll on him, so he has to be invested in a role to accept it.

''Paddy's not one to just pitch up and say the lines,'' Pitts said. ''I've seen him when he's been at the point where he said, 'I don't think I want to act again.'''

Wright calls Considine ''Mr. 11th Hour'' because that's when he ''had to be talked out of leaving'' both ''Hot Fuzz'' and a later comedy, ''The World's End,'' over a crisis of confidence about his comic chops. ''This was, of course, ridiculous,'' Wright said. ''It just shows me he cares, maybe too much.''

Considine went through something similar in ''The Ferryman,'' Jez Butterworth's 2017 drama set during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. It was Considine's first play, and he took it on as a kind of trial-by-fire apprenticeship because he felt limited by his lack of formal acting training, even after numerous series and films. ''I was running out of places to hide, and I was running out of enthusiasm for it, too,'' he said.

He found stage acting terrifying. His self-doubt reached a crisis point during the initial run, at London's Royal Court Theater, and then again when ''The Ferryman'' moved to Broadway -- both times Sam Mendes, the director, helped him through it. (Reviewing the Broadway production, The Times said Considine gave ''a superb, anchoring performance.'') The actor now says ''The Ferryman'' was ''a game-changer,'' in terms of his comfort with his craft.

That comfort wasn't always apparent on ''House of the Dragon,'' however. Considine said he based the physically ailing Viserys partly on his mother, who went through multiple amputations resulting from diabetes before dying of a heart attack. Colleagues said watching him inhabit the role sometimes bordered on concerning.

''He turns himself inside out in his performance, and that metamorphosis is sometimes really painful to watch,'' said Olivia Cooke, who stars as Alicent Hightower, a woman close to Viserys. ''We spoke about it, and the only way he can access his performance, sometimes, is to go to such a horrid and painful place.''

Sapochnik said that when Considine struggles with material or anything else, ''his default is anger.'' Directing him involved ''helping to work through that, being patient about it, sometimes saying to him, 'Mate, calm down,''' he explained. ''But also then seeing how he brought that into Viserys.''

At the same time, his co-stars, from old hands like Smith to relative newcomers like Emily Carey, who plays a younger version of Alicent, roundly praised Considine as a funny, warm and supportive colleague and collaborator. The person he is hardest on is himself.

''It sounds like I'm a miserable sod, but I have a good time doing these things, as well,'' Considine said. ''It's just that when I perform in any way, I have these challenges in front of me again.''

What keeps him going are the flashes of transcendence. He mentioned one late-season monologue Viserys gives before his family that ''touched a bit of old Hopkins,'' as in Sir Anthony, one of his acting heroes.

''The moments where you are fully in it, all that goes -- all that awareness, all that self-observation, all that stuff, that inner critic,'' Considine said. ''That horrible stuff just falls off you. And that's ultimately what I'm searching for.''

And to the extent that any of that horrible stuff is linked to his past, he's learning to let some of that fall off him, too, as achievements mount and the passing years bring distance and perspective.

''That kid in the window, he hasn't got to die, but it can't keep dominating your life,'' he said. ''You've got to explore other things, and 'Game of Thrones' is part of that.''

''Who would've thought that kid would end up playing a [expletive] king?'' he added. ''Who would've ever conceived that I would be a king in anything?''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/10/arts/television/paddy-considine-house-of-the-dragon-king-viserys.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/10/arts/television/paddy-considine-house-of-the-dragon-king-viserys.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: ''I grew up with a lot of labels on me when I was a kid, just because of the reputation mainly of my father,'' said the actor Paddy Considine. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MAX MIECHOWSKI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (AR10-AR11)

Above, Paddy Considine, who plays King Viserys Targaryen, in ''House of the Dragon.'' Below from left, the actress Milly Alcock, Considine and Miguel Sapochnik, one of the showrunners. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY OLLIE UPTON/HBO) (AR11)

**Load-Date:** August 14, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Will Climate Action Happen Now?; The Morning Newsletter***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64KF-3G51-DXY4-X244-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1762 words

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**Highlight:** More Democrats are focusing on it.

**Body**

More Democrats are focusing on it.

Politicians, journalists and activists all like to use the phrase “last, best chance” when talking about the climate. As in: The Glasgow climate conference is the world’s last, best chance to avoid terrible climate destruction. Or: The U.S. now faces its last, best chance to address the climate crisis.

It’s a catchy phrase. But it’s a flawed idea.

The ravages of climate change are not a binary, on-or-off issue. Many problems, like increased flooding, wildfires, heat waves and severe storms, have already begun. How much worse they get will be shaped by how aggressively the world acts to slow climate change — both now and in the future. Immediate action can have a larger impact, scientists say, yet future action will not be irrelevant.

“The reason I push back against the ‘last, best hope’ frame is that we need to realize that addressing climate change is simultaneously urgent and a long game,” Nat Keohane, the president of the Center for Climate and Energy Solutions, told me. “We need to greatly accelerate the transition to a low-carbon economy, and it is going to take decades.”

It’s true that many experts feel a particular urgency about climate legislation — but the reason is more political than scientific: If Congress does not pass a bill to slow carbon emissions over the next few months, it may not do so for years.

‘Make or break’

In the U.S. today, only one of the two major political parties is worried about climate change — the Democratic Party. Republicans in Congress have opposed almost every major effort to combat change in the 21st century. So have the last two Republican presidents, George W. Bush and Donald Trump. Some Republicans say they support certain climate policies, like a carbon tax, but they tend to do so only when the policies are theoretical, not when they are up for a vote.

This opposition is different from the approach taken by many other conservative parties around the world. But there is no sign that Republicans will change their stance anytime soon.

If the U.S. is going to act on the climate in the foreseeable future, it will almost certainly need to be through a Democratic bill, passed along partisan lines in Congress and signed by a Democratic president.

Right now, such a bill is conceivable. Democrats control both chambers of Congress as well as the White House. After 2022, however, Democrats may need to wait years before being in control again. Republicans are [*very likely*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/02/us/politics/midterm-election-polls.html) to retake the House in the midterm elections. In the Senate, where small, rural states have a lot of power, Republicans enjoy a built-in advantage.

More broadly, the Democratic Party has been losing ***working-class*** votes for years and does not seem focused on reversing the trend. Many Democratic politicians continue to favor a socially liberal agenda, with positions that are at least somewhat to the left of public opinion on religion, guns, crime, abortion, immigration, affirmative action and American history, among other issues.

The agenda is [*strongly supported by the college graduates*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/04/briefing/democrats-election-working-class-voters.html) who run and shape the Democratic Party — but not shared by many ***working-class*** voters. And college graduates remain a minority of the electorate, which helps explain why Democratic candidates struggle in so many states and congressional districts, [*including racially diverse ones*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/29/briefing/new-york-mayors-race-ranked-choice-democrats.html).

Together, these political forces mean that the next few months present a rare chance to pass major climate legislation. “This is a make-or-break moment on the climate crisis,” said Jamal Raad, executive director of the climate advocacy group Evergreen Action.

Seven of seven

At [*President Biden’s news conference*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/19/us/politics/biden-press-conference.html) on Wednesday, he said that he now wanted to split his Build Back Better legislative agenda into at least two pieces. The climate provisions appear to have more solid Democratic support than proposals on taxes, health care and other issues. ([*Here’s the latest on the Capitol Hill negotiations*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/us/politics/manchin-democrats.html), from The Times’s Emily Cochrane.)

Just listen to Senator Joe Manchin, the most prominent Democratic opponent of Biden’s full plan: “The climate thing is one that we probably can come to an agreement much easier than anything else,” he said this month. Manchin does not favor all of Biden’s climate proposals, but he favors many, and it’s not hard to envision a compromise, as Eric Levitz of New York magazine [*has explained*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2022/01/democrats-manchin-build-back-better-deficit.html).

My colleagues Coral Davenport and Lisa Friedman [*report*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/climate/build-back-better-climate-change.html) that a growing number of congressional Democrats favor prioritizing the climate provisions, given the stakes. Coral and Lisa also write: “The New York Times asked each of the 50 Senate Republicans if he or she would support just the climate provisions in the Build Back Better Act if they were presented in a stand-alone bill. None said they would.”

Those climate provisions are ambitious enough to make a difference, many scientists believe. They would cost about $555 billion over 10 years, or about one quarter as much as Biden’s full plan. Among the main components:

* The largest pot of money would subsidize wind, solar and nuclear power, making them less expensive for companies, communities and households.

1. Many consumers would receive a rebate of $7,500 on an electric vehicle — and another $4,500 if union workers in the U.S. assembled the car. Consumers could also receive subsidies for solar panels and energy-efficient appliances.
2. The bill would finance research into technology that would capture carbon after it has been emitted, rather than allowing it to contribute to the greenhouse effect.

During the 2020 campaign, Biden and many other Democrats vowed to do everything they could to slow climate change and reduce its damaging consequences. The next few months will determine if they succeed. As Keohane says, the “last, best chance” notion is closer to the truth now than it usually is.

Related: Last year was [*Earth’s fifth hottest on record*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/10/climate/2021-hottest-year.html), my colleague Raymond Zhong explains. The seven hottest years, by a significant margin, have been the last seven.

THE LATEST NEWS

The Virus

* Hospitalizations have leveled off in most of the U.S., [*as these charts show*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/01/21/us/covid-hospitalizations.html).

1. The U.S. promised tutoring to help students recover from virtual school. Much of the tutoring [*will be virtual, too*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/21/us/online-tutoring-stimulus-funding.html).
2. Nearly all of NBC’s Olympics announcers will [*cover the Beijing Winter Games remotely*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/01/20/world/omicron-covid-vaccine-tests/nbcs-play-by-play-coverage-for-the-beijing-olympics-will-be-mostly-remote).

Politics

* The U.S. military knew that bombing Syria’s largest dam could kill thousands — [*but in 2017, it went ahead anyway*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/us/airstrike-us-isis-dam.html).

1. Congressional Democrats urged Biden to overhaul the criteria for drone strikes, [*citing “repeated civilian casualties.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/us/politics/democrats-biden-civilian-casualties.html)
2. The Supreme Court let the Texas abortion law [*stay in effect for now*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/us/politics/texas-abortion-law-supreme-court.html), rejecting a request for quick action.
3. Secretary of State Antony Blinken and Russia’s foreign minister, Sergey Lavrov, are meeting in Geneva, part of the [*U.S. push to to avert a war in Ukraine*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/01/21/world/russia-us-ukraine).
4. Eric Adams is converting his first paycheck as New York City mayor [*into cryptocurrency*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/nyregion/eric-adams-bitcoin-cryptocurrency.html).

Other Big Stories

* Meat Loaf, the larger-than-life singer and actor, [*has died*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/21/arts/music/meat-loaf-dead-marvin-lee-aday.html). His “Bat Out of Hell” was one of the best-selling albums of all time.

1. A report found that [*the retired Pope Benedict XVI*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/world/europe/benedict-germany-sexual-abuse.html) had failed to act against abusive priests earlier in his career, when he was an archbishop.
2. Intel will [*spend $20 billion on new factories*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/21/technology/intel-to-invest-at-least-20-billion-in-new-chip-factories-in-ohio.html) to make more chips in the U.S. and alleviate shortages.
3. Federal prosecutors [*dropped their case*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/science/gang-chen-mit-china-initiative.html) against an M.I.T. professor accused of hiding his ties to China.
4. The Nazis planned the “final solution” 80 years ago. [*It took 90 minutes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/world/europe/lake-wannsee-germany-holocaust-final-solution-antisemitism.html).

Opinions

The state of American politics is [*making us sick*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/21/opinion/trump-politics-mental-health.html), says Michelle Goldberg.

[*Restoring normalcy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/opinion/joe-biden-presidency.html) is more important to Biden’s fate than passing laws, Matthew Yglesias writes.

MORNING READS

“It girl”: A painter, writer and muse of Picasso [*talks about life at 100*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/19/style/francoise-gilot-it-girl.html).

Gen Z: Young people want [*more sustainable period products*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/well/sustainable-period-products.html).

Teen pilot: She flew around the world solo in 155 days. [*And she’s 19*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/world/europe/zara-rutherford-plane-pilot.html).

Modern Love: A daughter starts her marriage as [*her mother’s ends*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/21/style/modern-love-married-divorced-mother-please-cry.html).

Advice from Wirecutter: An elegant wine glass that’s [*not too expensive*](https://www.nytimes.com/wirecutter/reviews/libbey-all-purpose-wine-glass-review/).

Lives Lived: Hardy Kruger left war-ravaged Germany to pursue an acting career. As one critic said, he “helped Germany create a new image for itself in the world” in movies like “Flight of the Phoenix” and “A Bridge Too Far.” He [*died at 93*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/movies/hardy-kruger-dead.html).

ARTS AND IDEAS

‘Passion and pain’

At first blush, Jasper Johns’s 1961 painting “In Memory of My Feelings — Frank O’Hara” is a cold sea of gray. It would fit the artist’s reputation, the Times critic Jason Farago writes: “Saturnine, wily, elegant, reserved. The master of withholding.”

In reality, the painting bursts with emotion, as Jason explains in a [*new installment of the “Close Read” series*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/01/16/arts/design/jasper-johns-memory-of-my-feelings.html), in which Times writers guide you through great works of art.

Some clues are hidden in the paint; others come from the details of Johns’s life, friendships and heartbreak. With its meaning revealed, Jason writes, the work “delivers a roundhouse of passion and pain.”

The piece is at the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York through February, part of a retrospective Johns exhibit. (It is normally at the Museum of Contemporary Art Chicago.) If you go, Jason encourages you to spend a little extra time with this painting — particularly the lower-right quadrant.

For more: Check out the [*full “Close Read” series*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/arts/close-read.html).

PLAY, WATCH, EAT

What to Cook

The secret to easy homemade pizza? [*French bread*](https://cooking.nytimes.com/recipes/1022846-pesto-and-mozzarella-french-bread-pizza) — store-bought is fine.

What to Read

Times editors recommend [*11 new books*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/books/review/11-new-books-we-recommend-this-week.html), including novels from Noah Hawley and the debut author Xochitl Gonzalez.

What to Watch

“[*A Hero*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/05/movies/a-hero-review.html),” the latest film from the Oscar winner Asghar Farhadi, follows a good Samaritan who comes under suspicion.

Late Night

The hosts looked back at [*Biden’s first year*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/21/arts/television/jimmy-fallon-president-biden.html).

Take the News Quiz

[*Test your knowledge*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/01/21/briefing/news-quiz-biden-speech-microsoft-video-games.html) of this week’s headlines.

Now Time to Play

The pangram from yesterday’s Spelling Bee was amicably. Here is today’s puzzle — or you can [*play online*](https://www.nytimes.com/puzzles/spelling-bee).

Here’s [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/crosswords/game/mini), and a clue: Attack with vigor (six letters).

If you’re in the mood to play more, find [*all our games here*](https://www.nytimes.com/crosswords).

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you on Monday. — David

P.S. Edward VIII became king of England [*86 years ago*](https://www.nytimes.com/1936/01/21/archives/new-king-41-years-old-adopts-name-edward-in-signing-notice-to.html). He abdicated the throne less than a year later.

Here’s [*today’s front page*](https://static01.nyt.com/images/2022/01/21/nytfrontpage/scan.pdf).

“[*The Daily*](https://www.nytimes.com/thedaily)” is about Novak Djokovic. “[*The Ezra Klein Show*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/21/opinion/ezra-klein-podcast-ron-klain.html)” features Biden’s chief of staff.

Claire Moses, Ian Prasad Philbrick, Tom Wright-Piersanti, Ashley Wu and Sanam Yar contributed to The Morning. You can reach the team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](mailto:themorning@nytimes.com).

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing).

PHOTO: The Camp and Woosley fires burning in Los Angeles in 2018. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Planet Labs PBC FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***What Growing Up on a Farm Taught Me About Humility***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:675H-HJK1-JBG3-61WG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 25, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 14; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 2172 words

**Byline:** By Sarah Smarsh

**Body**

Cold days are better for killing animals. Warmer months demand time in the wheat fields. Plus, heat and sun quickly turn meat rancid.

On my family's farm in rural Kansas, we did our butchering in the fall and winter, when the work drew no flies.

On gray afternoons, I would get home from school -- after an hourlong bus ride on muddy roads -- to see a large, pink carcass hanging near the cinder block farmhouse where I lived with my grandparents.

Grandpa would have already shot a bullet through the heifer's brain, drained her blood, cut off her feet with a handsaw and begun to peel away her skin. Then, having hooked two of her legs with a steel spreader connected to the long arm of our tractor, he would have used hydraulic controls to lift the heavy creature -- who, not two hours prior, grazed in the pasture and huddled against the north wind with her family -- and sliced her underbelly from anus to neck.

We would spend the evening in the butchering shed -- a small barn next to the house with a garage door, a bloodstained concrete floor and a rosebush growing up its south wall. Grandpa did the carving. Grandma stood at the grinder making hamburger. My job was to weigh the meat on a metal scale, wrap it in white butcher paper and label it with a marker. More often than not, friends and family pitched in and left with steaks for their deep freezers. Grandpa saved the heart and liver, which he pickled in a jar in our icebox.

This was an average day for me, growing up. During those formative years, witnessing death did not desensitize me to the plight of our fellow animals. Rather, life on the farm in general strengthened my reverence for the more-than-human world, which so plainly dictated our lives. While we opened and closed the gates that trapped farm animals, we were often at their mercy.

On winter mornings when we would have preferred a warm bed, we crouched in the snow and pulled a breech calf into the world before sunrise. We were aware each day, when we entered the pasture to check the water in the stock tank, that even the smallest of the Charolais cattle could beat us in a fight. We had friends who had been trampled or gored by bulls, and Grandpa told the story of an area farmer who, years before, slipped on a patch of ice while inside one of his pens, hit his head and was eaten by hogs.

On Sundays at the little Catholic church down the dirt road from our house, we stared up at Jesus' bleeding, hanging body and listened to the sermons about man's dominion over the earth. But in our bones we knew it was the other way around.

Our humility was not just the result of doing hard, undervalued work. It was also the result of being undervalued people.

Even as a child, I understood that families like mine, poor rural farmers, were low in the pecking order. Television shows and movies portrayed us as buffoons and hicks, always the butt of the joke. Our presumed incivility, and even monstrousness, was suggested in conversations, often to laughter, by humming the banjo tune from the 1972 film ''Deliverance,'' present in many VHS collections during my 1980s childhood. ''Squeal like a pig,'' some jokers continued -- a reference to that film's infamous rape scene.

We didn't need those cues to know that society held us in low esteem, though. All we had to do was look at our bank accounts.

We worked the land and killed animals so that others would eat, so that we would afford propane for the winter, and so that the rich, rigged industry we supplied grain to would become a little richer.

The profound humility instilled in me by my upbringing left no room in my worldview for exceptionalism of any sort. It also left me troubled by the ways that most humans calculate the value of things -- animals, plants, land, water, resources, even other people -- according to hierarchies that suit their own interests.

More than once, while wrapping meat, I sliced my finger on the sharp edge of the butcher paper. There was nothing special about my blood. It was red just like the pigs' and the cows'. It was clear to me that there was nothing special about me or my family, either, doing that most essential work of feeding others. Nothing special but also nothing lesser.

From there, near the bottom of the proverbial social ladder -- where women drove tractors and people of all races lived in single-wide trailers -- I began to see through the many false narratives of supremacy that govern our society. That men are better than women. That white people are better than everyone else. That the rich are better than the poor. Even, yes, that human beings are better than animals.

\*

The experiences of my early life left me forever in mind of the animals that society consumes and the workers who spend their lives among them. It also left me rageful toward industries that devalue both. In some ways, my professional mission to champion the exploited and expose the powerful -- as a journalist, an author and an advocate for social justice -- can be traced back to lessons I learned on the farm.

Unfortunately, farms like ours -- and the ancient, intimate tradition of husbandry into which I was born -- have been disappearing for decades, forced out of business by policies that favor large industrial operations.

Today an estimated 99 percent of the meat in the United States comes from factory farms, barbaric places that leverage the selfish, amoral paradigm of human supremacy for immense capitalist gain. Industrialized agriculture has made meat, eggs, milk, leather, cheese, wool and other animal goods readily, cheaply available to the modern consumer but at a terrible cost -- both to the animals, who endure savage cruelty, and to the low-wage laborers, many of whom are immigrants of color, who suffer injuries to body and spirit.

This likely isn't news to you. The details of this dark business, while partly obscured by ag-gag laws, are widely documented, yet they remain underdiscussed. The torturous treatment of animals at the hands of multibillion-dollar monopolies is among the greatest horrors being committed on this planet.

In comparison, our small farm was as humane as any enterprise raising animals for slaughter might be. And while we lived in poverty, according to many definitions, it was a fortune and privilege to grow up with a big garden, with cows and pigs and chickens.

Subsistence through modest land ownership historically has been refused to people of color, stolen from Indigenous peoples and made economically unfeasible for poor folks of all stripes, who set off for cities in order to survive.

Whereas most Americans today have no direct contact with the animals they eat, I carried their manure on my boots. Thus, long before I learned about the industry that delivers chicken tenders and bacon strips to the masses, I had an aversion to factory-farmed products. The beef was too gray. The chicken smelled wrong. The egg yolks were too pale.

Ironically, our culture associates eco-consciousness with higher socioeconomic status, as though greater wealth denotes greater character. But in my experience, environmental impacts are most keenly felt and understood by the poor and unheard.

In fact, as I have climbed out of poverty and into a class of highly educated, financially comfortable liberals, I have found that for all their supposed interest in justice and claims of being on the right side of history, most of my peers give little thought to animal suffering in their eating decisions.

Of course, wealth and class play a role in what food and products you can afford. Socioeconomic barriers to values-based eating choices undeniably exist, particularly in urban areas cut off from healthy food options. But one doesn't have to afford expensive grass-finished beef or frozen patties engineered from pea protein to make effective food decisions, and white male chief executives didn't invent plant-based living. Bougie restaurants serving charcuterie boards sure as hell didn't invent local venison salami, which we made from the deer we hunted.

To be certain, many middle-class and affluent consumers far removed from agricultural work have learned about the problems of factory farming, including its contribution to climate change, and altered their habits. I applaud their important efforts. For some people, though, working near the bottom of the class ladder provides not just knowledge but a knowing, and that knowing deserves respect.

As a young adult, I lived in poverty and faced food insecurity. These conditions limited my choices, but they did not negate my affection for the earth. I grew up driving a farm truck with wheat kernels on the floor of the cab and an ''Eat beef'' license plate on the front bumper. I knew people maimed by farm machinery and disabled by agricultural chemicals. Regarding the conditions of farm animals and farmworkers, I had no option but to understand.

For me, there is no taste of meat without bodily memory -- the heat of a newborn calf in my cold arms, the smell of the mother's cascading excrement, the danger of her heavy hooves. I could see the cows on our farm from my upstairs bedroom window and the pigs and chickens from our front door.

My early proximity to animals did not cause my empathy for them, I suspect, so much as it starkly revealed it. To be sure, similar experiences did not make animal rights activists out of most of the people in my farming community. But in general, I observed more environmentally conscious behaviors among the rural working poor than in other socioeconomic spaces I've inhabited.

Maybe it was because minimizing waste and reusing and repairing old things were economic necessities. Or perhaps it was because carbon-spewing air travel was an unaffordable luxury. Or maybe it was because they had no choice but to look into a cow's eyes before they killed her.

I do not wish to valorize the ***working class*** or demonize those who are better off. Both groups vote in droves for politicians who cater to massive agricultural corporations, the fossil fuel lobby and other powerful entities that destroy our planet.

But guilt for crimes committed against other species and against the earth is not equally shared. Wealthy corporations and the governments beholden to them, choosing profit over sustainability and moral decency, created and fortified the food systems with which the average individual has little choice but to engage.

Navigating those systems today, while living again in rural Kansas after years in cities, I now eat eggs from my neighbor's hens and, about once a month, chicken, beef or bison raised and slaughtered down the road. At other times, living without access to such food or means to afford it, I went without eating animal products for years at a time. I haven't consumed dairy in more than a decade, but for those who do, the particular devastation of family dairies makes local milk and cheese much harder to come by.

Still, I am part of the problem. I ate fast-food hamburgers well into my 20s, and my home almost certainly contains products that were tested on animals. My cat eats canned meat from factory farm byproducts, and I'm wearing mass-produced leather sneakers as I type this.

I am sympathetic to the argument that any consumption of animal products is unethical and unnecessary. Realistically, however, the urgent problem for our time is not whether they will be consumed but how.

While it is important that consumers from all socioeconomic backgrounds care about the earth and its creatures, ultimately only policy has the power to restrain the agriculture industry's worst abuses. I am heartened by long-term legal efforts to extend personhood to other animal species and, more immediately, by the New Jersey senator and famous vegan Cory Booker's new legislation to make slaughterhouse practices more humane. In a more perfect world, future farm bills would somehow rebuild the nearly four million small farms lost to urbanization and industrialization since the 1930s, allowing future generations the closeness to animals that engenders awareness.

My family, squeezed out like so many others, had to sell our fifth-generation farm more than 20 years ago. I was a first-generation college student by then, working toward a more comfortable life.

No education, however, would surpass the one I received in the butchering shed, where I held a bleeding muscle with my bare hands and placed it on the scale. Today, when I look at that scale -- now an antique on display in my kitchen -- I give thanks for those who worked and those who died so that I may eat.

Sarah Smarsh is the author of ''Heartland: A Memoir of Working Hard and Being Broke in the Richest Country on Earth.''

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**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page SR14.

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[***Helping Kids Has to Be Bipartisan***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:656W-XK71-DXY4-X0RS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 22; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 1028 words

**Byline:** By Samuel Hammond

**Body**

The expiration of the child tax credit expansion late last year sent an estimated 3.7 million children back into poverty and undermined the financial security of millions more. With the rising cost of living squeezing family budgets, the expiration of the credit could not have been more poorly timed.

Research has shown that the program, which provided families with monthly payments worth $250 to $300 per child, led to dramatic declines in food insecurity and helped parents offset the costs of school closures.

Democrats tried to extend the program on their own, but the effort fell to an intraparty squabble. There is the possibility of a new approach -- and one that has a surprisingly strong chance of working. Democrats can work with Republicans on a bipartisan child tax credit expansion as the most viable path forward. A similar approach worked for infrastructure, and there are plenty of reasons to believe it can work again.

A key obstacle to the Democrats' attempt to expand the child tax credit alone was Senator Joe Manchin's insistence that the monthly child benefit include a work requirement. Democrats chose not to compromise on that condition; they also ignored the option of expanding the program on a bipartisan basis. If persuading Mr. Manchin was hard, the thinking was, then convincing 10 or more Republicans to cross the aisle would surely be impossible.

But that assumption may be wrong. Consider that in 2021 Senator Mitt Romney released a child benefit proposal of his own, the Family Security Act. That proposal was more generous than the child credit from President Biden and earned praise from across the political spectrum, including an array of conservative policy analysts and thought leaders. The proposal also inspired conservative interest in child benefits more generally, from Senator Josh Hawley's Parent Tax Credit to the proposal for a Family Income Supplemental Credit from American Compass, a conservative think tank.

When it looked likely that the child tax credit would expire at the end of December, several Republican senators expressed interest in working with Democrats on a stopgap measure. Senator Susan Collins, for instance, said that she was ''open to proposals that would support working families and reduce childhood poverty'' and that she looked forward ''to working with colleagues of both parties on bipartisan solutions.''

Bipartisan appetite for expanding the child tax credit is nothing new. During negotiations over the American Rescue Plan in 2021, Senate Republicans voted unanimously for a proposal from Senators Marco Rubio and Mike Lee to increase the child tax credit to $3,500 for children 18 and younger and to $4,500 for children younger than 6. The credit would be available only to the lowest income families to the extent that it offset their payroll taxes, creating a de facto work requirement. Despite sacrificing the simplicity and universality of a true child allowance, an expansion along those lines would produce significant benefits for children in poverty and provide greater tax relief in total dollar terms for ***working-class*** and middle-class families than the Biden credit. It also suggests that cost is not the main barrier to reaching a compromise.

Maintaining the child tax credit's connection to work or earnings nevertheless remains a sticking point for most Republicans. To that end, designing the credit to rapidly phase in eligibility with earnings would serve to strengthen the child tax credit's work incentive, helping to expand the labor supply and the credit's bipartisan appeal simultaneously.

The focus could then be put on preserving an unconditional benefit for young children, say below age 6. Parents of young children have higher average poverty rates and greater upfront expenses, including child care.

An unconditional child benefit for infants is unlikely to face serious Republican opposition. Fears about work disincentives are simply much less relevant for parents of newborns. Senator Bill Cassidy has even proposed letting new parents pull forward $5,000 in child credits to help offset the huge expenses associated with pregnancy, which often include unpaid time off from work. And with the Supreme Court preparing to rule on a major abortion case, Republican interest in providing flexible resources to new parents only stands to grow.

Democrats may be unwilling to move off their ideal proposal, but some historical perspective is warranted. In 2016, Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign proposed expanding the child tax credit for young children to $2,000 with a 45 percent phase-in. Reports hailed the proposal as a serious effort to tackle deep poverty, citing an analysis from the liberal Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. The only thing preventing Democrats from advancing an identical proposal on a bipartisan basis today is their expectations for more.

An ideal compromise would therefore combine a larger credit -- and strong work incentive -- for parents of school-aged children with a robust monthly benefit for those caring for infants and toddlers. A deal along these lines would still have a large impact on child poverty, only now with the all-important benefit of bipartisan political support.

Enacting an unconditional benefit for all children remains a worthy aspiration. But given that the most likely outcome is now no expansion at all, failure to consider creative compromises makes the perfect the enemy of the good. The popularity of the bipartisan infrastructure package provides a template for how to move forward.

Helping American families raise the next generation should not be a partisan issue. But while Democrats are in the legislative driver's seat, it's up to them to make it a bipartisan one.

Samuel Hammond (@hamandcheese) is the director of poverty and welfare policy at the Niskanen Center.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/12/opinion/democrats-republicans-child-tax-credit.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/12/opinion/democrats-republicans-child-tax-credit.html)

**Graphic**

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[***Is It OK to Take a Law-Firm Job Defending Climate Villains?; The Ethicist***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66B3-61W1-JBG3-63RB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 6, 2022 Tuesday 16:01 EST

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**Section:** MAGAZINE

**Length:** 1320 words

**Byline:** Kwame Anthony Appiah

**Highlight:** The magazine’s Ethicist columnist on whether taking a corporate law job means abandoning your values.

**Body**

The magazine’s Ethicist columnist on whether taking a corporate law job means abandoning your values.

I come from a ***working-class*** family. I have worked very hard in school and graduated college with little debt, so when I was given the opportunity to attend an elite law school, I took it — along with a $150,000 price tag. Some people may scorn me for such a decision, but this was my dream school, and I saw it as a ticket to an echelon of society and opportunity that was otherwise entirely barred to me.

While I entered law school hoping to work in the public interest, I now face the reality of paying back my loans. I took an internship at a big law firm where I am paid very well, and I’ve been invited to work for them once I graduate. The salary would be enough for me to pay off my loans, help my family and establish a basic standard of living for myself — plus maybe own a house or even save for retirement, which would be impossible for me on a public-interest or government salary.

But the firm’s work entails defending large corporations that I’m ethically opposed to, including many polluters and companies that I feel are making the apocalyptic climate situation even worse. Even if I only stay at the firm for a short time to pay off my loans, I would be helping in these efforts for some time.

Basically, I feel torn between two value systems. The first is the value system of my parents, which prizes hard work and self-sufficiency. My parents are very proud of me for working in a high-level job that allows me to support myself. The second is my own personal moral code — the little idealist within me who wants me to drop the corporate angle in order to help as many people as I can, even if it results in a difficult life for me.

I know it is selfish to take this corporate job. But is it unforgivable? Will defending polluters, even for a short time in a junior position, be a permanent black mark on my life? Name Withheld

Congratulations on your achievements thus far — and on asking hard questions about how to use the skills and the qualifications you’re acquiring. Decisions like the one you face are complicated. You will have been taught in law school that everyone accused of a serious crime is entitled to legal counsel. The situation is different when it comes to civil cases and to corporate defendants. (The details here vary with the types of cases and with jurisdictions.) But corporations are generally required to represent themselves with properly licensed lawyers, in both civil and criminal proceedings. And the principle remains that representing a malefactor isn’t, ipso facto, an act of malefaction.

Now, we’re rightly concerned when corporations do damage to the environment, and so to humanity as a whole. But it’s hard to see how the world would be improved if such corporations couldn’t find legal advice and representation. Is a corporation really going to behave better if it doesn’t know what the law is? More than that, the world would most likely be made worse if corporations could only find lawyers who were indifferent to the wrongs their clients were doing. As with criminal defense, we need lawyers who will work diligently for people and associations whether they approve of them or not. Your job, whatever your feelings about your clients, would be to give them what they’re entitled to. That includes effective and committed legal advice and guidance; it does not include helping them to break the law or lie to the authorities. Indeed, you have a duty, as an officer of the court, to tell them they can’t do these things and to refuse to assist them in doing so.

Even if what your clients are doing is legal, you may still feel uncomfortable supplying guidance and representation, because the activities shouldn’t be legal. We ought to have laws and regulations that treat the climate crisis with full seriousness, and we don’t. Refusing to take the corporate-law job does disconnect you from the wrongs these clients do but wouldn’t deprive them of legal assistance. After all, the firm isn’t going to stop serving them if you decline to join it. But you don’t suggest that your career choice will make a difference to what these clients do. You simply don’t want to be involved in helping them to do it. That’s why you speak specifically of a “black mark” on your life.

I’m not sure that this form of moral accounting makes much sense, though. Again, for an adversarial legal system to function justly, there have to be lawyers who are willing to serve clients they disapprove of. If that’s a demerit, it has to appear on somebody’s moral scorecard. But surely it can’t be both good that somebody does it and a demerit for the person who has done it. (You can regret having to do something as part of your job, even if that something isn’t itself wrong.) And, on the bright side, not all of your clients are likely to be evildoers; your company will also be doing some pro bono work for people you may actively enjoy working for.

Some analysts, notably those associated with the effective-altruism movement, might even suggest that the high-paying track could be the morally best one for you to take. In the earning-to-give approach — explored in the philosopher Peter Singer’s book “The Most Good You Can Do” — people with the requisite skills may set out to earn lots of money and give a great deal of it to humanitarian causes, helping the world more than they would have had they devoted themselves directly to doing good. You might, in this scenario, pay off those loans, help your family and then, as a richly remunerated partner, give a big chunk of your earnings to saving lives in the developing world or supporting causes that will advance climate security and justice. You’ll have passed up the low-paying job at the public-interest center, but your generous donations will fund three such positions. If your aim were simply to help as many people as you can, you might conclude, after a careful assessment, that going for the big paycheck was the right thing to do.

Still, one party who matters here is you. Selfishness isn’t a matter of taking your interests and those of your loved ones into account; it’s a matter of giving those interests more weight than they deserve. Getting money to escape debt and help your family is a perfectly reasonable aim, consistent with being an ethically admirable person. But so is taking satisfaction in your work. If much of your time is spent in the service of corporate nogoodniks, you may well end up being unhappy. That’s not a choice you can be obliged to make. On the other hand, if you do become a partner in a firm like the one at which you’re interning, you may be able to change the balance of cases that the firm accepts. Or you could plan on switching jobs later to better align your livelihood with your values, defending the environment rather than those who ill use it. It’s altogether possible that your having worked at the high-paying law firm will give you valuable insight into how corporate polluters operate.

The calculus here involves all these conflicting considerations. Whichever way you go, I suspect, you will be able to do good. Your letter suggests that the “little idealist” within you won’t be taking early retirement; staying on the course you’re now on doesn’t mean that you’ll forget about the causes that matter.

Kwame Anthony Appiah teaches philosophy at N.Y.U. His books include “Cosmopolitanism,” “The Honor Code” and “The Lies That Bind: Rethinking Identity.” To submit a query: Send an email to [*ethicist@nytimes.com*](mailto:ethicist@nytimes.com); or send mail to The Ethicist, The New York Times Magazine, 620 Eighth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10018. (Include a daytime phone number.)

Kwame Anthony Appiah teaches philosophy at N.Y.U. His books include “Cosmopolitanism,” “The Honor Code” and “The Lies That Bind: Rethinking Identity.”

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by Tomi Um FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 28, 2022

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[***Democrats Have an Image Problem. Please Don’t Make It Worse.; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65DN-FW71-JBG3-64SR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 10, 2022 Tuesday 22:18 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1008 words

**Byline:** Jeff Maurer

**Highlight:** With the debate over student loans, are we trying to confirm the stereotype that Democrats serve the needs of educated elites and ignore everyone else?

**Body**

Democrats have an image problem. We’re seen as the party of urban elites — pampered, overeducated dweebs, soft-handed dandies who ride scooters without embarrassment and name our pets after jazz musicians. Effete, self-important twerps sipping kombucha in the open-floor-plan office of some start-up — “CRYSP, the app that provides a bespoke celery experience,” maybe. And I can talk like this because [*I’m one of these dorks*](https://imightbewrong.substack.com/p/everyone-hates-the-educated-left?s=w).

I’m worried that Democrats aren’t factoring this reality into the debate about student loans. Joe Biden campaigned on forgiving up to $10,000 in student debt, but Chuck Schumer and Elizabeth Warren want to forgive up to $50,000, and the Bernie Sanders wing of the party — which seems to think that adding the words “for all” to a program is the height of policy wonkery — wants universal forgiveness.

There’s a strong case for forgiving some of the roughly $1.6 trillion in student debt held by the government. Often, a person from a poor family will take out loans to build his or her future. We may lament our culturewide obsession with college degrees — why, we could ask, does a B.A. in philosophy of Pokémon give you the inside track to a much-coveted internship at CRYSP? — but it’s the world we live in. Easing the burden for someone who took that path makes sense.

But that’s not the only type of person who takes out student loans. High-status professionals often take out loans in their work-yourself-to-death 20s so that they can obtain another degree in order to get a high-paying job to fund their midlife-crisis 40s. There are also degree dilettantes, people who go to grad school just because they’re young and lost and that CRYSP internship turned out to not be the rocket ship to success that they hoped it would be. Once again: I’m speaking from experience.

Loan forgiveness should try to separate the deserving from the … let’s say less deserving. From a fairness standpoint, that seems obvious. And from a Democratic Party messaging standpoint, that seems absolutely crucial. I’ve spent my career dealing with messaging and narratives, and I may have never encountered a more explosive “confirm the worst stereotypes about Democrats” land mine than the one that the left wing of the party is trying to get us to step on with student loans.

Prominent nerds at left-leaning think tanks like the Brookings Institution and the [*Progressive Policy Institute*](https://thenationaldesk.com/news/americas-news-now/biden-open-to-broad-student-debt-cancellation-reports-say) believe that student-loan forgiveness with no cap and no means testing would mostly go to the well-off. I think they’re right, though you can also find lefty wonks who [*disagree*](https://rooseveltinstitute.org/publications/student-debt-cancellation-is-progressive/). What’s crucial from an electoral standpoint is that most people don’t give a bucket of pig lips about what a bunch of eggheads think. People form their own opinions; there’s no Excalibur of White Papers that will convince all in the land of your fitness to rule.

Most people know that not everyone who took out loans is a hardscrabble, ***working-class*** striver. And for all the debate about the exact financial profile of people who would get relief, 87 percent of American adults don’t have federal student loans.

How did Democrats get to a place where a big election-year priority is something that this 87 percent of Americans presumably don’t care about? We might as well campaign on getting Fine Young Cannibals back together or reforming the rules of international cricket.

It gets worse: Student loan forgiveness would [*increase inflation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/06/business/economy/student-loan-pause-inflation.html). The impact would be small, but good luck explaining that to people — the first rule of speechwriting is that the second you utter the phrase “as a percentage of the Federal Reserve inflation target,” you’ve lost. This will be seen as a giveaway to rich professionals that hurts the working poor.

Conservatives will have a field day with this. Prepare to meet the Person Who Got the Stupidest Degree in America, because that person will be on Fox News more than pundits who exude an “angry cheerleading coach” vibe. The case study will be some tragic dweeb who took out $400,000 in loans to get a Ph.D. in intersectional puppet theory from Cosa Nostra Online College and who wrote his dissertation about how “Fraggle Rock” is an allegory for the Franco-Prussian War. I can picture Tucker Carlson putting on his confused cocker spaniel puppy face and asking the poor sap, “Why do Democrats want to forgive every last penny of your student loans?”

Are we trying to foment populism? Are we trying to affirm the stereotype that Democrats serve the needs of educated elites and ignore everyone else? I am completely aware that no matter what, Republicans will portray us as fancy little Fauntleroys ensconced in our twee nursery of upper-middle-class desires, deaf to the needs of the struggling masses. But it’s very important to me that this caricature not be true.

As someone who cares about the progressive project, I am begging Democrats to make means testing or a meaningful cap (or both) part of this policy. Focus the relief on low-income strivers and keep the money in the budget for other priorities, including higher education reform, which is the root cause of the loan problem. Retain the hope that maybe, possibly, something that could be called Build Back Better could be resurrected and passed and include something focused on those most in need of help with their student loans.

And don’t let the notion that Democrats are singularly focused on the needs of pampered, navel-gazing pipsqueaks who won’t drink coffee brewed using fewer than 26 steps be indelibly burned into people’s brains.

Jeff Maurer ([*@JeffMightBWrong*](https://twitter.com/jeffmightbwrong?lang=en)), a former speechwriter for the E.P.A. and former senior writer for “Last Week Tonight With John Oliver,” writes the newsletter [*I Might Be Wrong*](https://imightbewrong.substack.com/).

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**Load-Date:** May 11, 2022

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[***In Cleveland, They’re Cooking Up a Gay Neighborhood From Scratch***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66R5-PSK1-JBG3-61PG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 28, 2022 Friday 00:29 EST

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**Section:** DINING

**Length:** 1676 words

**Byline:** Erik Piepenburg

**Highlight:** Restaurants, kitchen classes and gardening are key parts of an effort to create an L.G.B.T.Q. district that can help lift the area’s economy.

**Body**

Restaurants, kitchen classes and gardening are key parts of an effort to create an L.G.B.T.Q. district that can help lift the area’s economy.

LAKEWOOD, Ohio — If you’re building an entertainment center in sports-crazy Northeast Ohio, it makes sense to go heavy on athletics. That was clear when the Fieldhouse, a 30,000-square-foot complex, opened last weekend in this suburb that shares a border with Cleveland.

Thousands of people turned out to scale an outdoor climbing wall, sign up for fitness classes and wander a gymnasium where youth and adult sports leagues will compete.

But there were signs of a detour from the sports playbook: On Saturday night, the gym hosted a show headlined by the “[*RuPaul’s Drag Race*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/rupauls-drag-race)” stars [*Monét X Change*](https://www.monetxchange.com/) and [*Trinity the Tuck*](https://www.trinitythetuck.com/).

A few hours earlier, about 25 people of all ages gathered at a small community garden a few blocks away to pull radishes and other vegetables from the dirt to help put the garden to sleep before winter. Overseen by [*Food Strong*](https://www.foodstrong.org/), a local nonprofit that promotes better nutrition, the garden is where the Fieldhouse’s three restaurants will get some of their vegetables come spring.

During a break from raking, Chelsea Brennan, 55, a transgender woman who did electrical installation at the Fieldhouse, said that being able to garden with other L.G.B.T.Q. people is one reason she plans to move to Lakewood from a small town an hour south.

“Finally I feel like I’m part of a community instead of being an outcast,” she said.

The Fieldhouse is just the first phase of a much larger effort by private developers and local governments to build a complex of businesses and services that cater to L.G.B.T.Q. people — and attract them to visit or settle here. In effect, they aim to provide the hub for a brand-new gay neighborhood, at a time when many traditional gay enclaves — from Chelsea in Manhattan to the Castro in San Francisco — have [*lost much of that identity*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/03/us/lgtbq-neighborhoods-nyc-houston.html) to gentrification and assimilation.

Unlike those intentionally segregated urban neighborhoods, which blossomed in the years after the [*1969 Stonewall uprising*](https://www.nytimes.com/topic/subject/stonewall-rebellion), this one is based on what its developers think locals need and will support in this solidly ***working-class*** city. That means amenities that are affordable and appeal to families, with an emphasis on food.

The entire development, called [*Studio West 117*](https://studiowest117.com/), is scheduled to be completed in 2025 at an estimated cost of $100 million in private and public funds. Straddling Lakewood and Cleveland, it will include a hotel, shops and health clinic, much of it on the former site of a concert hall where [*Nine Inch Nails*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/24/arts/music/nine-inch-nails-trent-reznor.html) [*played its first gigs*](https://www.cleveland.com/entertainment/2022/09/down-in-it-in-cleveland-reliving-nine-inch-nails-memorable-northeast-ohio-shows.html). Studio West’s partners include the [*Greater Cleveland Food Bank*](https://www.greaterclevelandfoodbank.org/), which will provide fresh vegetables and pantry items for people in need, and the [*LGBT Community Center of Greater Cleveland*](https://lgbtcleveland.org/), which offers services to seniors and young people.

The developers — Daniel Budish (gay and 36) and Betsy Figgie (straight and 51), both presidents of separate tax-credit consulting firms — are betting that the project will help boost the economy of Cleveland, one of the nation’s [*poorest large cities*](https://www.news5cleveland.com/news/local-news/we-are-happy-to-see-cleveland-improving-cleveland-is-no-longer-the-poorest-big-city-in-u-s).

They also want this gay neighborhood, as they call it, to provide a home for an L.G.B.T.Q. community that has long been scattered.

“The best and most significant way to generate resources for our community is with foot traffic that supports small businesses,” said Mr. Budish, the son of Armond Budish, the executive of [*Cuyahoga County*](https://cuyahogacounty.us/), home to Lakewood and Cleveland. “Having seen the way that there are neighborhoods that actively draw gay support, it was important for me, given my skill set, to do large-scale projects that benefit our community.”

He and Ms. Figgie say that so far, they have personally invested more than a combined $6 million in Studio West 117. An additional $12 million has come from various sources, including money from the State of Ohio and the federal Small Business Administration, and tax incentives from the City of Lakewood, a community where Pride flags are prevalent.

It’s too early to tell if the area can sustain an entertainment center large enough to birth a neighborhood. The project will have competition for gay dollars from Columbus, where the L.G.B.T.Q. scene is bigger and, thanks to Ohio State University, younger — a reason many Clevelanders think nothing of driving two hours to see its drag shows or take in [*one of the country’s biggest Pride parades.*](https://travel.usnews.com/features/top-pride-parades-and-celebrations-in-the-us)

Still, Cleveland’s mayor, Justin Bibb, sounded optimistic that the Fieldhouse could be a real boon for his city.

“A lot of the talk has been about this becoming a first-in-the-nation for queer urban development that’s generating jobs and revenue and prioritizing positive social change and a commitment to social justice,” he said in an interview. “I couldn’t be happier.”

Daniel B. Hess and Alex Bitterman — husbands and the editors of the 2021 book “[*The Life and Afterlife of Gay Neighborhoods*](https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007/978-3-030-66073-4)” — said that what’s happening in Cleveland looks markedly different from the places that gay forebears fashioned, not that they would have been disappointed.

“Those people were pioneers, and they were building gay neighborhoods out of absolute necessity to survive and to preserve their own unique subcultural identity,” said Dr. Bitterman, a professor of architecture at Alfred State College, in Western New York. “They were doing that with the long-term hope that people wouldn’t have to run away to Manhattan or the Castro to be accepted, that eventually they could live in places like Cleveland and be who they are, where they are.”

Dr. Hess, a professor of urban and regional planning at the University at Buffalo, said L.G.B.T.Q. millennials and Gen Zers are looking to support activities and areas that welcome people regardless of sexual orientation and gender. So it’s no surprise, he said, that plans for a new gay neighborhood would kick off with gardening and other community center-style events, and showcase food.

The three restaurants that were supposed to open last weekend weren’t quite ready, but that didn’t stop the Fieldhouse from previewing their menus. At an outdoor patio that opened onto a dining room, visitors scarfed down burgers with goat cheese from the area’s [*Mackenzie Creamery*](https://mackenziecreamery.com/) ($13, fries included).

Families shared wood-fired pizzas, including a pepperoni number called the Flirt ($12), from the pizzeria [*Eat Me!*](https://studiowest117.com/eatmepizza/) (The other spots are a gastro pub called [*Muze*](https://studiowest117.com/muze/) and a rooftop bar, [*Trellis*](https://studiowest117.com/trellis/).)

On Saturday afternoon in the Fieldhouse’s intimate demonstration kitchen, Theo Croffoot-Suede, a 15-year-old transgender boy, watched as the drag queen [*Plenty O’Smiles*](http://www.plentyocookies.com/about) iced cookies. Theo gripped his piping bag and squeezed just so, slowly filling in a pumpkin-shaped cookie with orange icing, careful to stay within a white outline.

An avid home baker of éclairs, Theo said he had traveled from Columbus with his mother, Kim Croffoot-Suede, for the cookie-decorating class because it sounded like “a really good way to intersect baking and being with people who care about me.”

“Being transgender has made me realize how important it is to feel like you have a community,” he said, adding, “I like to go to places where there are people who think I’m a human person.”

Earlier in the day, the group from the community garden made their way to the same kitchen for a salsa-making class taught by Chelsea Huizing, the Fieldhouse’s assistant general manager. Ms. Huizing, who is pansexual and goes by Ox, showed students how to safely chop peppers, and explained why chives, but not kale, would be great for salsa.

As the class ended, Joe Makse, 38, who is bisexual, packed a plastic container with his handmade sweet-and-spicy salsa, a blend of peaches, cabbage, tomato, garlic, onions and fresh lemon balm. “I like to broaden my horizons when it comes to cooking,” he said.

Each student got a paper copy of the recipe, which calls for canned corn and tomatoes — the assumption being that not everyone in the class might be able to afford, or even find, fresh vegetables, said Sara Continenza, Food Strong’s executive director, who described herself as “a straight ally.”

It’s not a small consideration: Ms. Huizing, 36, said it’s essential that the Fieldhouse attracts blue-collar people, which means there can’t be sticker shock when learning a culinary skill or enjoying a meal.

“Are there some L.G.B.T.Q. people in Cleveland who can spend 50 bucks a night on dinner? Sure, but not in my circles,” she said. “I want people to think, ‘I can handle my bill.’”

Dr. Hess said he was glad that “this world of food and sustainability and community gardens” was happening in the Midwest “rather than Miami or West Hollywood, where it would have gotten lost in the shuffle.”

He added, “It can make a difference in a city like Cleveland.”

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PHOTOS: Opening weekend at the Fieldhouse in Lakewood, Ohio, with “RuPaul’s Drag Race” stars and locals. (D1); Opening weekend at the Fieldhouse featured drag performances inside a new gymnasium. Right, Sara Continenza, center, worked at a community garden run by the nonprofit Food Strong; she’s the executive director. Below right, Chelsea Brennan, center, a transgender woman who has done electrical work for the Fieldhouse, helping clear the garden for the winter. Below, the Columbus drag queen Plenty O’Smiles led a cookie-decorating class.; Above, the Fieldhouse menu featured burgers and, in the foreground, tater bravas: Yukon Gold potatoes with red pepper aioli and green onions. Right, Jeffery Thompson III, 12, was one of several young students in a salsa-making class held in the Fieldhouse’s demonstration kitchen. Far right, from top: Theo Croffoot-Suede, 15, decorated cookies in the class led by Plenty O’Smiles; and Chelsea Huizing is the assistant general manager of the Fieldhouse and one of its culinary educators. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DANIEL LOZADA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (D4) This article appeared in print on page D1, D4.

**Load-Date:** November 2, 2022

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[***To Help Children, Democrats Are Going to Have to Reach Across the Aisle; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:656P-8S01-JBG3-62SG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 12, 2022 Tuesday 10:06 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1031 words

**Byline:** Samuel Hammond

**Highlight:** A bipartisan child tax credit expansion may actually be within reach.

**Body**

The expiration of the child tax credit expansion late last year [*sent*](https://www.npr.org/2022/04/08/1091418380/child-tax-credit-return-inflation-food-gas-prices) an estimated 3.7 million children back into poverty and undermined the financial security of millions more. With the rising cost of living squeezing family budgets, the expiration of the credit could not have been more poorly timed.

[*Research*](https://www.povertycenter.columbia.edu/news-internal/2021/child-tax-credit-research-roundup) has shown that the program, which provided families with monthly payments worth $250 to $300 per child, led to dramatic declines in food insecurity and helped parents offset the costs of school closures.

Democrats tried to extend the program on their own, but the effort fell to an intraparty squabble. There is the possibility of a new approach — and one that has a surprisingly strong chance of working. Democrats can work with Republicans on a bipartisan child tax credit expansion as the most viable path forward. A similar approach worked for infrastructure, and there are plenty of reasons to believe it can work again.

A key obstacle to the Democrats’ attempt to expand the child tax credit alone was Senator Joe Manchin’s insistence that the monthly child benefit include a work requirement. Democrats chose not to compromise on that condition; they also ignored the option of expanding the program on a bipartisan basis. If persuading Mr. Manchin was hard, the thinking was, then convincing 10 or more Republicans to cross the aisle would surely be impossible.

But that assumption may be wrong. Consider that in 2021 Senator Mitt Romney released a child benefit [*proposal*](https://www.romney.senate.gov/romney-offers-path-provide-greater-financial-security-american-families/) of his own, the Family Security Act. That proposal was more generous than the child credit from President Biden and earned praise from across the political spectrum, including an array of conservative policy analysts and thought leaders. The proposal also inspired conservative interest in child benefits more generally, from Senator Josh Hawley’s Parent Tax Credit to the proposal for a [*Family Income Supplemental Credit*](https://americancompass.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/American_Compass-The_Family_Income_Supplemental_Credit-2021Feb18.pdf) from American Compass, a conservative think tank.

When it looked likely that the child tax credit would expire at the end of December, several Republican senators expressed interest in working with Democrats on a stopgap measure. Senator Susan Collins, for instance, [*said*](https://thehill.com/homenews/senate/586856-collins-open-to-negotiating-overhaul-of-child-tax-credit-set-to-expire/) that she was “open to proposals that would support working families and reduce childhood poverty” and that she looked forward “to working with colleagues of both parties on bipartisan solutions.”

Bipartisan appetite for expanding the child tax credit is nothing new. During negotiations over the American Rescue Plan in 2021, Senate Republicans [*voted*](https://www.congress.gov/amendment/117th-congress/senate-amendment/1381/actions?r=1&amp;s=a) unanimously for a proposal from Senators Marco Rubio and Mike Lee to increase the child tax credit to $3,500 for children 18 and younger and to $4,500 for children younger than 6. The credit would be available only to the lowest income families to the extent that it offset their payroll taxes, creating a de facto work requirement. Despite sacrificing the simplicity and universality of a true child allowance, an expansion along those lines would produce significant benefits for children in poverty and provide greater tax relief in total dollar terms for ***working-class*** and middle-class families than the Biden credit. It also suggests that cost is not the main barrier to reaching a compromise.

Maintaining the child tax credit’s connection to work or earnings nevertheless remains a sticking point for most Republicans. To that end, designing the credit to rapidly phase in eligibility with earnings would serve to strengthen the child tax credit’s work incentive, helping to expand the labor supply and the credit’s bipartisan appeal simultaneously.

The focus could then be put on preserving an unconditional benefit for young children, say below age 6. Parents of young children [*have*](https://www.niskanencenter.org/why-young-families-should-be-first-in-line-for-the-child-tax-credit/) higher average poverty rates and greater upfront expenses, including child care.

An unconditional child benefit for infants is unlikely to face serious Republican opposition. Fears about work disincentives are simply much less relevant for parents of newborns. Senator Bill Cassidy has even proposed letting new parents pull forward $5,000 in child credits to help offset the huge expenses associated with pregnancy, which often include unpaid time off from work. And with the Supreme Court preparing to rule on a major abortion case, Republican interest in providing flexible resources to new parents only stands to grow.

Democrats may be unwilling to move off their ideal proposal, but some historical perspective is warranted. In 2016, Hillary Clinton’s presidential campaign [*proposed*](https://www.brookings.edu/blog/social-mobility-memos/2016/10/13/clintons-child-tax-credit-proposal-a-good-start-on-helping-low-and-middle-income-families/) expanding the child tax credit for young children to $2,000 with a 45 percent phase-in. Reports [*hailed*](https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2016/10/11/13237160/hillary-clinton-child-tax-credit) the proposal as a serious effort to tackle deep poverty, citing an analysis from the liberal Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. The only thing preventing Democrats from advancing an identical proposal on a bipartisan basis today is their expectations for more.

An ideal compromise would therefore combine a larger credit — and strong work incentive — for parents of school-aged children with a robust monthly benefit for those caring for infants and toddlers. A deal along these lines would still have a large impact on child poverty, only now with the all-important benefit of bipartisan political support.

Enacting an unconditional benefit for all children remains a worthy aspiration. But given that the most likely outcome is now no expansion at all, failure to consider creative compromises makes the perfect the enemy of the good. The popularity of the bipartisan infrastructure package provides a template for how to move forward.

Helping American families raise the next generation should not be a partisan issue. But while Democrats are in the legislative driver’s seat, it’s up to them to make it a bipartisan one.

Samuel Hammond ([*@hamandcheese*](https://twitter.com/hamandcheese?ref_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Eserp%7Ctwgr%5Eauthor)) is the director of poverty and welfare policy at the Niskanen Center.

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[***A Cathedral of Sound***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67PF-G8C1-DXY4-X0MS-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Madeleine Schwartz

**Body**

Among the casualties of the historic fire at Notre Dame were the building's centuries-old acoustics. Now experts are modeling ways to revive them.

To hear more audio stories from publications like The New York Times, download Audm for iPhone or Android.

When I visited Notre Dame in the spring of 2021, the whole space seemed to be ringing. The sounds were coming not from the cathedral's chorus or its organs but from the workers rushing to repair the building, much of which was destroyed by a fire in April 2019. Everywhere were scaffolds, fences, white sheets. I struggled to remember what the building once looked like. My eye was drawn up toward the vaults. In the nave were three holes, where the spire fell.

Much of the cathedral's restoration, projected to be completed in 2024, will address these large holes. They affect not just the structure of the building but also something that cannot be seen: the acoustics. ''Notre Dame has lost about 20 percent of its acoustics,'' says Mylène Pardoen, who is co-director of the acoustics team working on Notre Dame -- under the aegis of the French Ministry of Culture and the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (C.N.R.S.), a research organization from whose ranks specialists have been drawn for the restoration. The holes caused a measurable decline in the glorious resonances that gave the building its unique sound. Of Notre Dame, Victor Hugo once wrote that its sounds were ''fraught with such benediction and such majesty, that they soothed this ailing soul.''

Every space has its own sonic fingerprint. Sit up and say something out loud. If you're sitting in a room, the sound will bounce off a bookshelf and scatter -- or off a plaster wall, and its return will be clearer. In a larger space, the sound might linger. Your voice, your pitch and your words might be the same, but what you hear will be different. When you listen to a performance or a speech, what you hear isn't just the voice, researchers will tell you. It's the space.

Historical preservationists have become more attuned to the importance of sound, recognizing that we have never experienced the world only through our eyes. Sounds that may be unusual to us once marked time and habits for our ancestors; they can bring us closer to the past, rendering history immediately, sensorially present.

Preservationists note that many major monuments, for all their visual splendor, were built to please our ears. ''The experience of the space of worship brought together all the senses, sight and hearing,'' says Bissera Pentcheva, an art historian at Stanford University who, with Jonathan Abel, has studied the sound of the Hagia Sophia in Istanbul. ''But so much of art history has not been interested in the acoustics.''

In recent years, technological advances have made it easier to objectively capture a building's acoustics. Brian Katz, who was based in New York working as an acoustic consultant for buildings, now works as a researcher in Paris and runs the Notre Dame acoustics group with Pardoen. Katz had an important asset for approaching the restoration of Notre Dame: the only detailed acoustic measurements of the inside of the cathedral, made in 2015. ''It was not meant to be used in such an important kind of study,'' he says. But it did offer a way to test if it was possible to simulate the cathedral's sonic qualities.

After the fire, Notre Dame couldn't be traversed on foot safely. So Katz and his colleagues tied a microphone to a sewer pipe inspection robot and drove it through the burned cathedral. Comparing that measurement with the one from 2015 revealed that the space had lost a noticeable amount of its reverberation, a measure of how long sound takes to fade away in an environment. The holes in the ceiling were not the only reason; other changes, like the fact that the building was now totally empty -- emptied of pews, art and people -- affected the sound, too.

Katz then created a computer model that ''has all of the material properties of everything at that time and gives the same kind of reverberation and sound quality of the cathedral.'' If changes are proposed, he can modify the model to understand their effects on the acoustics.

To test the acoustics of the space at different points in the cathedral's history, he and his team examined how a performance of ''Viderunt Omnes,'' by the French composer Pérotin, would have sounded. Pérotin was part of the Notre Dame school of composition, which developed contemporaneously with the building of the cathedral in the 12th and 13th centuries. The Notre Dame school was polyphonic, and in an organum like ''Viderunt Omnes,'' you might hear a chant embroidered with more colorful upper voices. These florid moments illuminate the chanted prayer, like golden margins on a piece of vellum.

To understand the interplay between the song and the historical acoustics, the group brought in experienced medieval singers to perform in an echo-free chamber. They have been testing the ornate lines of ''Viderunt Omnes'' in relation to the complex acoustics of the vaulted cathedral, which at the time of the song's earliest known performance, in 1198, was yet to be completed. The height of the Gothic vaults would have allowed this polyphonic music to soar. The lower notes reverberate warmly, while the higher notes disappear more quickly in the space, allowing the audience to better hear the song's complex music.

For much of Notre Dame's history, religious life was cut off from the secular world. Laypeople were separated from services by a large rood screen and would not have understood what was being said. Katz explains that for them, the words maybe didn't matter as much. The prayer would have been in Latin, not French. Worshipers were expected to succumb to the voices, to be enveloped in their ceremonial mystery.

Any change in a space can have a large effect on sound. Despite the size of the cathedral, or perhaps because of it, ''a very small change in some material, since it is propagated over hundreds of square meters, can have more of an effect than you would imagine,'' Katz says. In comparing acoustical measurements from 2015 with ones taken in 1987, Katz found that even though the cathedral had not undergone any major alterations, the acoustics had changed. The likely culprit turned out to be a carpet strip that had been added to reduce the noise of footfall from tourists visiting during Mass. ''That installation of the carpeting reduced the reverberation time a noticeable amount over that period,'' he says. ''This was remarked by the organist and the choir.''

The properties of materials like these will shape the sound of the cathedral when it is restored. ''In the stone, you know, are they considering different quarries? Are they considering different materials?'' Katz says. ''Are they considering different finishes? And all of those things could have an impact -- is it a rough, porous stone, or is it more of a polished stone?''

In studying sound, researchers are not trying to make an exact copy but hoping to understand how a space functions. ''There's no perfect acoustics'' for a space, Katz says, ''but every action or every use has its ideal acoustics.'' As he explains: ''If I want to hear the singing of the clergy doing polyphonic music, as they did in the Middle Ages, there is an acoustic that's best suited to that. If I then go forward to when the preacher is now preaching in a language known by the public, and I want to be able to understand it, that's going to require a different acoustics.''

Even as researchers seek to reproduce an acoustical environment, some may use the opportunity to try to improve it. One such researcher is Angelo Farina, who teaches applied acoustics at the University of Parma and who, with colleagues, has made what he calls ''acoustical photographs'' of some 100 places, including churches and theaters, around the world. Farina, along with the researchers working on Notre Dame, is part of a project called ''The Past Has Ears,'' which seeks to understand how sound and architecture interact.

In the 1990s, Farina made a recording of the Venetian opera house La Fenice by firing a blank pistol in the space. A short while later, the opera house burned down for the third time. (The opera house's name translates to ''The Phoenix.'' This is not an accident.) Suddenly, he had a valuable tool: one that could be used to understand not only what a restored space should look like but also how it should sound. He had noticed that the acoustics of the original space made it difficult for the orchestra and singers to communicate. The audience loved listening to the concerts, but the performers were unhappy. When the opera house was rebuilt, he advocated addressing this issue, and eventually, slits were made to allow sound to pass from the pit to the stage. The singers could now hear what the musicians were playing.

Katz is looking to see if similar kinds of improvements can be integrated into the restoration of Notre Dame. ''The most recent 'before' is not necessarily the best 'before' in terms of acoustics,'' he says. According to Katz, the Notre Dame acoustics team and colleagues at the C.N.R.S. have conducted a series of interviews with current and past users of the cathedral, including ''the priests, the organist, the engineers, the singers, basically everybody who has a vested interest in the acoustics of this space over, I'd say, the past 50 years.''

Of course, not everyone wants the same thing, especially in a space with so many conflicting uses. In the survey on the acoustic experience of Notre Dame, respondents commented on the building's unique sound. But the reverberation, which made listening to concerts a particularly moving experience, could create confusion and stress among the singers. They complained about not being able to hear one another and needing more time to rehearse when they performed in the cathedral. As Katz and his colleagues note, acoustic parameters may be objective, but what matters to us in the acoustics of a building evolves over its long history. This meaning has as much to do with the sound itself as with the question of whose history, or whose past, we are trying to restore.

Many of Notre Dame's 12 million annual visitors have a precise memory of what they saw, what they felt, what they experienced inside the space -- memories that shape their idea of what the cathedral is. But Notre Dame has been worked and reworked over the course of its 900-year history, each time changing in architectural and political significance. At times, it has been a symbol of the French church; at others, a symbol of the French monarchy. Today it is seen both as a centerpiece of French heritage and as an important draw for the tourism-dependent economy.

Almost every decision about the restoration of the cathedral has prompted an outcry because it is so difficult to agree on which cathedral to restore. The most recent version, which was heavily altered by the 19th-century architect Eugène Viollet-le-Duc? A more distant past? Or should the focus be a restoration that brings the fire into the building's history?

Katz's counterpart, Mylène Pardoen, who runs the other half of the acoustics research group, uses sound to better understand the history of a building. Pardoen calls herself a ''soundscape archaeologist,'' which means that she tries to hear the past. Her work consists of investigating what a moment in time would have sounded like and finding modern equivalents that allow us to experience it as accurately as possible. She combines individual recordings into what she calls ''sound frescoes'' in order to recreate the acoustic environments of particular spaces. She hopes that her sound frescoes of Notre Dame, which will most likely be experienced through an app when the cathedral reopens, will help visitors appreciate and understand its history in a new way.

Though the decision was made to restore the cathedral to how it looked before the fire -- including Viollet-le-Duc's iconic spire -- Pardoen's project will span the building's nearly 900-year history, in a kind of auditory excavation, an archaeology of sound. For Notre Dame, she is creating eight soundscapes that capture different periods in the life of the cathedral, among them: 1170, when the choir was first being built; the beginning of the 13th century, when the full building was completed; and the present era. These moments represent turning points in the building's history, and the combined soundscapes will illustrate this history in a new way. The cathedral had both holy and secular uses. Among the sounds a person might have heard across Notre Dame's various eras were the noises of the Parisian ***working class***. There were even prostitutes soliciting inside, who, Pardoen told me, would click their tongues to attract customers -- a sharp noise she demonstrated the first time we met. We may see Notre Dame as an eternal monument, but she hears it as a place that is always changing.

Many of the sounds she collects come from Guédelon, a castle about two hours south of Paris where she has been working to capture what a construction site like Notre Dame's would have sounded like. Guédelon looks like a normal French castle, but it's new: The site was created in the late 1990s by a group of medievalists who wanted to see what it would take to build a castle using 13th-century techniques. The space is populated by carpenters, painters, blacksmiths, all dressed in period garb. Recording these workers has helped Pardoen understand the sounds that would have surrounded the cathedral during the many phases of its construction.

Every detail of that work would have shaped Notre Dame's sound. In Guédelon, Pardoen talked with the workers to understand how their materials would have shaped the auditory environment. As a blacksmith and his colleague pounded on a metal knife with two hammers, Pardoen and her associate recorded the movement, watching as the two men communicated via the din of their tools. In the background, in front of the castle, a man was walking in a large round wooden structure that looked something like a hamster wheel. Pardoen explained that this is known as the ''squirrel cage'' and would have been used in the 13th century as a kind of crane for large construction sites. She moved on to record a man in a green tunic as he hammered together a wooden scaffolding.

At Notre Dame, Pardoen hopes to provide a portal to the past by creating an archive of what she calls ''immaterial heritage'' -- the noises and gestures of artisans who once built the cathedral and whose expertise, passed down through generations, is now being called on to restore it. She and Katz have also measured the acoustic properties of curtains, tapestries, paintings. The individual findings can be integrated into Katz's model of the building's sound, so that the team can better test how historical sounds move through the space. To understand how Notre Dame's bells were heard from different positions, Pardoen traveled to the cathedral in Sens, southeast of Paris, and recorded the church bells from the outdoor plaza and at the bell tower. She then did the same at the altar with a microphone shaped like a human head, which her team dressed as a priest.

When I visited Notre Dame with her, we were accompanied by a young sound engineer, as well as a historian studying metal. The C.N.R.S. has eight groups working on the site in addition to Pardoen and Katz's acoustics working group: groups specifically tasked with looking at wood, metal and other materials, as well as a group studying the emotions the site elicits.

As we climbed into one of the towers, Pardoen talked about her discoveries with a steeplejack, who showed off a 17th-century inscription he had seen. Working at Notre Dame, she said, ''there's not a single day when you don't have a little story.'' As I followed Pardoen, it occurred to me how much of the building draws feeling through its acoustics: the bell towers that face the city, announcing the presence of the church, the columns and walls that disperse sound to all the congregants. In their research, the scholars have questioned whether any of this sound was intentional, or whether the particular ring of the cathedral is simply a melodious byproduct of its construction. And yet, every detail, every choice, even the ones the visitor never sees, adds to the particular music of the space. As we walked around, Pardoen pointed to the wooden structures in the bell tower that would support the swinging of the bells, containing their vibrations.

''It has never stopped being under construction,'' Pardoen says of Notre Dame. ''When it is returned to the public, it will be white, luminous.'' The space has always been a changing one. Heritage, she says, ''is something that's alive. And going through sound helps us give back some of that life.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/01/magazine/a-cathedral-of-sound.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/01/magazine/a-cathedral-of-sound.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPHS BY YULIYA PARSHINA-KOTTAS AND MALIKA KHURANA) (MM30)

A hole where Notre Dame's spire used to be, photographed in July 2019. (PHOTOGRAPH BY PATRICK ZACHMANN/MAGNUM) (MM31)

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY YULIYA PARSHINA-KOTTAS, MIKA GRÖNDAHL AND MALIKA KHURANA) (MM32-MM33)

Opposite page: The cathedral's oculus, where the new spire will be built, photographed in February. (MM34)

This page, from top: Cleaning a Jesus statue that was unearthed

debris recovered after the fire

carving stones to rebuild the cathedral's vaults

storage for stone debris

cleaning stones recovered after the fire. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY PATRICK ZACHMANN/MAGNUM) (MM35) This article appeared in print on page M28, MM29, MM30, MM31, MM32, MM33, MM34, MM35.

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[***Debate Showing Elicits Worries In Pennsylvania***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66PX-64B1-JBG3-64FF-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 1778 words

**Byline:** By Lisa Lerer and Katie Glueck

**Body**

The Democratic nominee's performance in Pennsylvania thrust questions of health to the center of a pivotal Senate race, adding uncertainty to the contest and worrying some in his party.

The debate performance on Tuesday night by Lt. Gov. John Fetterman, the Democratic nominee for Senate in Pennsylvania, left party officials newly anxious, injecting a fresh dose of unpredictability into one of the country's most important contests less than two weeks before Election Day.

Five months after surviving a serious stroke, Mr. Fetterman cut a sharp contrast with Mehmet Oz, a quick-spoken former talk show host, as he haltingly provided answers to questions using closed captioning to accommodate the auditory processing impairments he has been confronting. At times, Mr. Fetterman seemed to pause to seek the right words or offered a jumble of sentences to express his positions. In some cases, he contradicted himself or appeared to state the opposite of his actual view.

The contentious matchup between Mr. Fetterman and Dr. Oz, his Republican rival, was a kind of political duel rarely seen in American life, upending the traditional pageantry of rapid-fire debates.

Mr. Fetterman's performance thrust questions about health and disability into the center of the final weeks of a nearly deadlocked race. Even as doctors and disability rights advocates praised his delivery, saying that his speech did not reflect any cognitive impairment and that he had offered an inspiring model for others with disabilities, some Democrats worried that ordinary voters might see it differently.

''I was nervous before the debate began, and I'm still nervous,'' said Ed Rendell, a Democratic former governor of Pennsylvania, who added that the format -- with 60-second answers and 15- and 30-second rebuttals -- made it more difficult for Mr. Fetterman to respond fluidly. ''You never know which way this goes.''

One senior Democratic official in the state described an intense level of anxiety, and an awareness that the debate could be decisive.

Republicans clearly saw an opening.

''Fetterman proved he's incapable of the physical and communication demands of the job,'' said former Representative Ryan Costello, a Republican from the Philadelphia suburbs who also criticized Mr. Fetterman over issues of transparency.

''This is a six-year term,'' he said. ''This is a serious job.''

The outcome of the contest could decide control of the Senate -- determining whether President Biden will be able to keep confirming federal judges, and whether he will confront investigations and conservative legislation from both chambers of Congress or only from what is widely expected to be a Republican-controlled House.

For many voters, the verdict on Mr. Fetterman will be decided in the days to come. Few voters watch entire debates, leaving most to learn about what happened through videos that circulate in the days and weeks that follow.

Democratic officials and campaign operatives in Pennsylvania quickly seized on a statement by Dr. Oz that abortion decisions should be up to ''women, doctors, local political leaders.'' Those involved with the Fetterman campaign said they had made the right decision in going forward with the debate, arguing that it had given them a politically damaging moment for Dr. Oz that would linger longer than Mr. Fetterman's overall performance.

On Wednesday, the Fetterman team turned Dr. Oz's remark into an ad for television and digital platforms and blasted it across social media.

''I want women, doctors, local political leaders -- letting the democracy that's always allowed our nation to thrive -- to put the best ideas forward so states can decide,'' Dr. Oz said on Tuesday, after repeatedly declining to say directly whether he would support a 15-week federal ban on abortion.

The comment, Fetterman allies said, allows Democrats to tie Dr. Oz to Doug Mastriano, the struggling Republican nominee for governor, who has vowed to ban abortion without exceptions. Mr. Fetterman's campaign said it had raised $2 million since the debate, a number it said illustrated the steadfast commitment of the party's base.

''John obviously struggled with some words,'' said Mike Mikus, a Democratic strategist in Pennsylvania. ''I thought he would have performed better. But in the end, mashing up some words is not going to matter to swing voters.''

Republicans, looking to capitalize on the debate, highlighted a moment when Mr. Fetterman was questioned on his views on fracking. In a 2018 interview, he expressed opposition to it; he now says that he has ''always'' supported the practice -- a major issue in the state. But it was also a moment that showed Mr. Fetterman's difficulties with articulating his thoughts. Mr. Fetterman said the captions did not make clear that the question was directed to him, causing him to pause before answering, according to a senior campaign aide.

When pressed on his previous opposition, Mr. Fetterman paused and said: ''I do support fracking and, I don't, I don't -- I support fracking and I stand -- I do support fracking.''

Earlier in the race, the Oz campaign mocked Mr. Fetterman repeatedly over his health. But at a campaign event on Wednesday in Harrisburg, Pa., as he appeared with Nikki R. Haley, the former United Nations ambassador, Dr. Oz sought to keep his focus firmly on matters of public safety, in keeping with Republican efforts to tar Mr. Fetterman as radically anti-law enforcement, a message he has vehemently rejected.

''Last night's debate focused on my desire to bring balance to Washington, a desire to bring together left and right, on issues that are bipartisan in their very nature,'' Dr. Oz said.

Still, Dr. Oz's allies are not being so sensitive about Mr. Fetterman's health. A new ad from a super PAC affiliated with former President Donald J. Trump says that the Pennsylvania Democrat ''just isn't right.''

During the debate, Mr. Fetterman tried to reposition his difficulties as a symbol of his grit, part of his brand as a tattooed former mayor of a battered steel town who can relate to ***working-class*** Pennsylvanians. His campaign had sought to lower expectations ahead of the clash, sending a memo to reporters that highlighted Mr. Fetterman's challenges with auditory processing and noting that even before the stroke, debates were not his strong suit.

Even as some pundits and strategists argued that skipping a debate would ultimately be forgiven, Mr. Fetterman wanted to appear, campaign officials said, because he believed Pennsylvania voters deserved an opportunity to hear from their candidates.

In his opening remarks, he said of the stroke, ''It knocked me down, but I'm going to keep coming back up.'' He added, ''This campaign is all about, to me, is about fighting for everyone in Pennsylvania that got knocked down, that needs to get back up, and fighting for all forgotten communities all across Pennsylvania that also got knocked down that needs to keep to get back up.''

After the debate, his campaign said the caption system it had requested was ''delayed'' and ''filled with errors'' -- a claim the media host denied.

During the debate, Mr. Fetterman would not commit to releasing additional medical records.

A CBS News/YouGov poll released last month found that 59 percent of registered voters in Pennsylvania believed Mr. Fetterman was healthy enough to serve.

But for many voters, the debate was their first chance to watch and listen to Mr. Fetterman -- or any politician who recently had a life-threatening stroke -- for an extended period of time.

Over the years, strokes have sidelined several senators, who have sometimes needed recoveries as long as a full year. Early this year, Senator Ben Ray Luján, Democrat of New Mexico, had a stroke, sending a jolt through his party given its narrow control of the Senate. He returned to work a month later, saying he was ''90 percent'' recovered.

If Mr. Fetterman wins, his work in the Senate is unlikely to be significantly affected by his condition, said Senator Bob Casey, a Democrat from Pennsylvania who is supporting his bid. Mr. Casey said he had seen Mr. Fetterman rapidly improve since the summer.

''He's ready to do this job right now,'' Mr. Casey said. ''And I think by the time he would take the oath, he'll be able to have then even additional recovery.''

Mr. Fetterman had the stroke on the Friday before the May primary election, though he waited until Sunday to disclose it. On Primary Day, he had a pacemaker and defibrillator implanted, which his campaign described as a standard procedure that would help address ''the underlying cause of his stroke, atrial fibrillation.''

In a statement in early June, his cardiologist said he also had a serious heart condition called cardiomyopathy. Mr. Fetterman spent much of the summer off the campaign trail, returning in mid-August for a rally in Erie, Pa.

Since then, he has ramped up his appearances, regularly holding rallies and giving television interviews, and his team has been open about his lingering auditory processing challenges and his use of closed captions.

This month, Mr. Fetterman released a letter from a different doctor -- his primary care physician -- that said ''he has no work restrictions and can work full duty in public office.''

Neurologists who have experience treating stroke patients with aphasia, which can disrupt a person's ability to express speech, complimented his performance on Tuesday night.

A political debate ''is probably the most adversarial environment that someone with aphasia could face,'' said Dr. Lee Schwamm, a vascular neurologist at Massachusetts General Hospital. ''It doesn't mean he can't think, but his immediate ability to absorb information rapidly and deliver that canned message that all candidates practice is clearly impaired.''

Disability advocates were thrilled with Mr. Fetterman's showing, saying his appearance carried import beyond party politics by providing a positive image for the 26 percent of Americans living with disabilities.

Darlene Williamson, the president of the National Aphasia Association and a speech language pathologist, praised Mr. Fetterman.

''To have someone exhibit -- the best word I can use is bravery -- is enormously important to our families who live in a situation where people do not necessarily understand the language problems and oftentimes equate it with loss of intelligence,'' she said. ''And that is completely untrue.''

Reporting was contributed by Gina Kolata, Maggie Astor, Trip Gabriel and Michael C. Bender.Reporting was contributed by Gina Kolata, Maggie Astor, Trip Gabriel and Michael C. Bender.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/26/us/politics/fetterman-debate-pennsylvania-democrats.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/26/us/politics/fetterman-debate-pennsylvania-democrats.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Watching Lt. Gov. John Fetterman at a party in Philadelphia. Mr. Fetterman had a stroke on the Friday before the May primary vote. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CAROLINE GUTMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A19) This article appeared in print on page A1, A19.

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[***How I Became an Asian American***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65S1-VPR1-DXY4-X39X-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By David Shih

**Body**

In 1993, I was preparing to move to Ann Arbor, Mich., for graduate school when a friend, a Korean American, gave me a few words of advice:

''Vincent Chin, man.''

I'd never heard of Vincent Chin. But then I read about his killing about 10 years earlier near Detroit, not so far from Ann Arbor. He was fatally beaten with a baseball bat by an autoworker at a time when the American auto industry was on its knees and Japan's was ascendant.

Mr. Chin was of Chinese descent, not Japanese. But no matter. His assailant, Ronald Ebens, allegedly sneered at him at a strip club where Mr. Chin, 27, was celebrating his impending marriage: ''It's because of you,'' Mr. Ebens said, using a pejorative, ''that we're out of work.''

Mr. Ebens pleaded guilty to manslaughter in a deal with prosecutors in county court. His stepson, who had been laid off from his job as an autoworker, was with Mr. Ebens when the attack occurred. Mr. Ebens's stepson held Mr. Chin when Mr. Ebens first struck him. The stepson pleaded no contest to the same charge. They were each fined roughly $3,000 and put on probation but received no jail time. Efforts to prosecute them on federal charges of violating Mr. Chin's civil rights ultimately failed. Both men said they were not motivated by racial hatred. But reading about Mr. Chin's killing changed my perspective about who I was. Like Vincent Chin, I was from a Chinese family. But I also began to think of myself as an Asian American.

I wasn't alone.

''Before the Vincent Chin case, it's fair to say there weren't Asian Americans,'' the legal scholar Frank Wu argued in a documentary film about the legacy of Mr. Chin's murder, ''Vincent Who?'' -- meaning that until the 1980s, we Asians did not see ourselves as having much in common with one another. But stereotypes like the ''perpetual foreigner'' exposed our shared vulnerability to discrimination and united us as a group whether we knew it or not. Asian American identity was grounded in race.

Today, race, rather than ethnicity or nationality, also appears to explain the spike in anti-Asian violence in the United States during the Covid-19 pandemic. Those assaulting Asian Americans in cities across the country do not seem to differentiate between Asian Americans and Asian nationals. But being Japanese in Detroit in 1982 was as pejorative for economic reasons -- what the Japanese did in transforming their country into an industrial powerhouse -- as for racial reasons. These tensions coincided with the rise of a neoliberal ideology evidenced by accelerating deindustrialization. With the United States facing a powerful Asian rival, it would lay the groundwork for today's anti-Asian backlash.

In the late 1970s, Chrysler's woes signaled the beginning of a comprehensive decline in domestic manufacturing. By 1980, Japan's auto industry outpaced America's for the first time. Chrysler avoided bankruptcy in 1979 only by securing $1.5 billion in federal loans. In 1985, President Ronald Reagan decided not to extend voluntary quotas on Japanese auto imports, citing the need for ''free and fair trade.''

Today the Asian tiger in question is not Japan but China. In 2016, as a presidential candidate, Donald Trump vented, ''We can't continue to allow China to rape our country.'' As president, Mr. Trump whipped up anti-Asian fervor by pointedly referring to Covid-19 as the ''Chinese virus,'' a term that predictably caught on as a slur to refer to Asian people in general.

China was to blame for the disruption of our accustomed way of life and the mounting death toll, the story went, not the Trump administration's bungled and insufficient public health response whose goal was a quick return to business as usual. And by condemning China and waging an isolationist trade war, Trump gave cover to the rest of his economic agenda -- deregulation and big corporate tax cuts.

Less bombastic in his exhortations, President Biden nevertheless also evokes the specter of China to urge a retreat from the failed policies of past administrations.

In his 2022 State of the Union address, Mr. Biden pledged to ''transform America and put us on a path to win the economic competition of the 21st century that we face with the rest of the world -- particularly China,'' as if China were particularly responsible for razing the fortunes of the ***working class***. He called on Congress to pass the Bipartisan Innovation Act, which, among its provisions, would subsidize domestic semiconductor production.

''It's no wonder the Chinese Communist Party is literally lobbying -- paying lobbyists -- against this bill passing,'' Mr. Biden said last month, seeming to suggest that the ideology at fault for deindustrialization is not neoliberalism but communism.

To the extent that we regard anti-Asian violence as essentially a race problem, our search will tend to be for anti-racist solutions, like new hate crime legislation, that may not adequately account for the economic inequality behind the violence. In 2021, Mr. Biden signed the Covid-19 Hate Crimes Act, making the reporting of hate crimes easier and expediting the review process. Yet that same year, only seven of 233 anti-Asian attacks reported in New York City led to a guilty plea to a hate crime, according to a report released this year by the Asian American Bar Association of New York and dedicated to the memory of Mr. Chin.

In 1982, Mr. Chin was made into a scapegoat not only for Japanese autoworkers and executives but also for a deteriorating way of life for those once solidly in the middle class but quickly falling out of it. Today, Asian Americans are not only the scapegoat for Xi Jinping or duplicitous Chinese C.E.O.s. We are also the scapegoat for a fading sense of well-being in a market-driven and hypercompetitive society. Anti-Asian violence will continue to be a fact of life so long as racist ''yellow peril'' messaging about China continues and is allowed to cover up the deep structural forces that have produced generational division and alienation in America. I hope Mr. Chin becomes an even more potent symbol of overdue justice not only for Asian Americans but for all Americans who know their worth is more than what racism and capitalism demand.

David Shih is a professor of English at the University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire, and the author of the forthcoming ''Chinese Prodigal.''

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/19/opinion/asian-american-chin.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/19/opinion/asian-american-chin.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Lily Chin, whose son Vincent was killed by two white men in 1982, breaking down in the City County Building in Detroit. (PHOTOGRAPH BY BETTMANN ARCHIVE, VIA GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** June 23, 2022

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[***The Second Defeat of Bernie Sanders***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:606C-FWF1-JBG3-63FB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 24, 2020 Wednesday 23:51 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1409 words

**Byline:** Ross Douthat

**Highlight:** In a revolutionary summer, he may be losing the battle for the future of the left.

**Body**

In a revolutionary summer, he may be losing the battle for the future of the left.

Three months ago, Bernie Sanders lost his chance at the Democratic nomination, after a brief moment in which his socialist revolution seemed poised to raze the bastions of neoliberal power. But the developments of the last month, the George Floyd protests and their cultural repercussions, may prove the more significant defeat for the Sanders cause. In the winter he merely lost a presidential nomination; in the summer he may be losing the battle for the future of the left.

Throughout his career, Sanders has stood for the proposition that left-wing politics lost its way after the 1970s by letting what should be its central purpose — the class struggle, the rectification of economic inequality, the war against the “millionaires and billionaires” — be obscured by cultural battles and displaced by a pro-business, pro-Wall Street economic program. This shift has made left-of-center political parties (in Europe as well as the United States) steadily more upper middle class and conservatism steadily more blue collar, but the promise of Sandersism was that the transformation need not be permanent: A left that recovered the language of class struggle, that disentangled liberal politics from faculty-lounge elitism and neoliberal economics, could rally a silent majority against plutocracy and win.

The 2016 Sanders primary campaign, which won white, ***working-class*** voters who had been drifting from the Democrats, seemed to vindicate this argument. The 2020 Sanders campaign, however, made it look more dubious, by illustrating the core challenge facing a socialist revolution: Its most passionate supporters — highly educated, economically disappointed urbanites — aren’t natural coalition partners for a Rust Belt populism, and the more they tugged Sanders toward the cultural left, the easier it was for Joe Biden to win blue-collar votes, leaving Sanders leading an ideological faction rather than a broader ***working-class*** insurgency.

Now, under these strange coronavirus conditions, we’re watching a different sort of insurgency challenge or change liberalism, one founded on an intersectional vision of left-wing politics that never came naturally to Sanders. Rather than Medicare for All and taxing plutocrats, the rallying cry is racial justice and defunding the police. Instead of finding its nemeses in corporate suites, the intersectional revolution finds them on antique pedestals and atop the cultural establishment.

And so far, as my colleague Sydney Ember [*noted*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/19/us/politics/bernie-sanders-protests.html) last week, this revolution has been more unifying than Sanders’s version — uniting the Democratic establishment that once closed ranks against him, earning support from just about every major corporate and cultural institution, sending anti-racism titles skyrocketing up the best-seller list, even bringing Mitt Romney into the streets as a marcher and inducing Donald Trump to make grudging noises about police reform.

Ember quotes the law professor Kimberlé Crenshaw, the theorist of intersectionality, marveling at the change: “You basically have a moment where every corporation worth its salt is saying something about structural racism and anti-blackness, and that stuff is even outdistancing what candidates in the Democratic Party were actually saying.”

All this, from one perspective, vindicates critics who said Sanders’s vision of revolution was too class-bound and race-blind all along.

But the longer arc of the current revolutionary moment may actually end up vindicating the socialist critique of post-1970s liberalism — that it’s obsessed with cultural power at the expense of economic transformation, and that it puts the language of radicalism in the service of elitism.

The demand for police reform at the heart of the current protests doesn’t fit this caricature. But much of the action around it, the anti-racist reckoning unfolding in colleges, media organizations, corporations and public statuary, may seem more unifying than the Sanders revolution precisely because it isn’t as threatening to power.

The fact that corporations are “outdistancing” even politicians, as Crenshaw puts it, in paying fealty to anti-racism is perhaps the tell. It’s not that corporate America is suddenly deeply committed to racial equality; even for woke capital, the capitalism comes first. Rather, it’s that anti-racism as a cultural curriculum, a rhetoric of re-education, is relatively easy to fold into the mechanisms of managerialism, under the tutelage of the human resources department. The idea that you need to retrain your employees so that they can work together without microaggressing isn’t Marxism, cultural or otherwise; it’s just a novel form of Fordism, with white-fragility gurus in place of efficiency experts.

In our cultural institutions, too, the official enthusiasm for the current radical mood is suggestive of the revolution’s limits. The tumult and protest is obviously a threat to certain people’s jobs: The revolutionaries need scapegoats, examples, wrongthinkers to cast out pour encourager les autres, superannuated figures to retire with prejudice. But they aren’t out to dissolve Harvard or break up Google or close The New York Times; they’re out to rule these institutions, with more enlightenment than the old guard but the same fundamental powers. And many of the changes the protesters seek are ones that the establishment can happily accommodate: I can promise that few powerful people will feel particularly threatened if the purge of Confederate monuments widens and some statues of pre-World War II presidents and Franciscan missionaries come crashing down as well. (Though renaming Yale might be another matter …)

So the likely endgame of all this turbulence is the redistribution of elite jobs, the upward circulation of the more racially diverse younger generation, the abolition of perceived impediments to the management of elite diversity (adieu, SAT) and the inculcation of a new elite language whose academic style will delineate the professional class more decisively from the unenlightened proles below. (With the possible long-run consequence that not only the white ***working class*** but also some minority voters will drift toward whatever remains of political conservatism once Trump is finished with it.)

Yes, serious critics of structural racism have an agenda for economic as well as cultural reform. But that agenda isn’t what’s being advanced: Chuck Schumer will take a knee in kente cloth, but he isn’t likely to pass a major reparations bill, the white liberals buying up the works of Ibram X. Kendi aren’t going to abandon private schools or bus their kids to minority neighborhoods. And in five years, it’s more likely that 2020’s legacy will be a cadre of permanently empowered commissars getting people fired for unwise Twitter likes rather than any dramatic interracial wealth redistribution.

I am a cynical conservative, so you can dismiss this as the usual reactionary allergy to the fresh air of revolution. But it’s also what an old-guard leftism, of the sort that Bernie Sanders attempted to revive, would predict of a revolutionary movement that has so much of the establishment on board.

The destiny of liberalism, for some time now, has looked like handshake agreements among corporate, academic and media power centers, with progressive rhetoric deployed either reassuringly or threateningly, depending on what’s required to keep discontented factions within the elite in line. The promise of the Sanders campaign was that the insights of the older left, on class solidarity above all, could alter this depressing future and make the newer left something more than a handmaiden of oligarchy, a diversifier of late capitalism’s corporate boards.

The current wave of protests will have unpredictable consequences. But right now, their revolution’s conspicuous elite support seems like strong evidence that Bernie Sanders failed.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/19/us/politics/bernie-sanders-protests.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/19/us/politics/bernie-sanders-protests.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/19/us/politics/bernie-sanders-protests.html).

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PHOTO: Bernie Sanders campaigning in Grand Rapids, Mich., in March. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Chang W. Lee/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 14, 2020

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[***The Thread***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:642Y-BSP1-DXY4-X4XR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 14, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section MM; Column 0; Magazine Desk; Pg. 6

**Length:** 727 words

**Body**

RE: LEBANON Rania Abouzeid wrote about how the country was ruined by corruption.

I have visited Lebanon frequently, long term and short term. It is not just the leaders that are corrupt. Corruption is endemic from top to bottom. Hospital admissions, school admissions, offi cial papers can only be accessed with ''wasta.'' There is no open access to services and opportunities; even the poorest citizen has to have pull at some level. JJ, Germany

I emigrated from Lebanon 20 years ago, and with each returning visit a growing, irreversible rift took hold between the place of my childhood and what had become of Lebanese society. A nation requires that its society be united and rooted in a common belief that transcends that of the individual. The Lebanese have chosen tribalism, rallying around warlords and latching onto religious identity that has pitted citizens against one another. The entire society needs to free itself from the shackles and tyranny of corruption, tribalism, religious bigotry and prejudice. Assaad Abboud, Bakersfield, Calif

Let us not delude ourselves into thinking what happened in Lebanon cannot happen in America. The patterns of societal breakdown are similar everywhere: greed, corruption, lack of accountability and gutting of institutions. Once a small group controls power, it's challenging to dislodge them, because the next step is to break the electoral process to maintain perpetual power. Ultimately, a society collapses because of an ignorant populace that elects and enables the corrupt. Moksha, New York

RE: KYLE RITTENHOUSE Charles Homans wrote about the teenager who shot three people in Kenosha, Wis., in 2020.

I have a son around the same age as Kyle Rittenhouse. Who knew that 20 years after 9/11 we would have our citizens openly discussing and ready to go to war on their neighbors? Deirdre, New Jersey

These men were not ''equipped for war,'' as the article states. That is the mind-set that perpetuates this right-wing myth that possessing an assault rifl e and 200 rounds of ammunition makes you a rightful defender of the nation. As anyone who has served in the military can tell you, it is the training, the discipline, the dedication to others and the unit cohesiveness that begin to equip someone for war. A bunch of guys armed with weapons is a mob, a gang of vigilantes, not a militia or some paramilitary unit. Paul, Texas

This incident, and others around the country, share a common thread: toxic social media. While it's clear that episodes like this -- from Charlottesville to the Jan. 6 insurrection -- are driven by an amorphous stew of perceived grievances, toxic social media is the catalyst that brings together these frustrated actors. Unless we are able to bring some type of governance to bear on social media platforms like Facebook, we will surely see more of the same. G. Steve Jordan, New York

RE: STURGIS Jamie Lauren Keiles wrote about the motorcycle rally in South Dakota and biker culture.

Riding a motorcycle, you soon learn the Grim Reaper is your co-pilot. He might take the form of a deer, a distracted soccer mom, a bit of sand on the curve, a moment of inattention or one bad decision. These high stakes light up every survival instinct that comes hard-wired in the primitive corners of your brain. Your intense focus on staying alive and being in the moment allows you to clear your mind of every other trouble you might have, if only for a while. Picking the perfect line through a series of twisty curves gets your endorphins going and tending to your machine's needs can give you tremendous satisfaction. This is the heart and soul of motorcycling. John, Hunting Valley, Ohio

My fi rst Sturgis Rally was in 1968. My best bud and I were 14 years old and had the honor of staying in Pappy Hoel's backyard for three nights. First time we had been at large by ourselves. A lot of things have changed since then. It was before yuppies, and the crowd was ***working***- ***class*** people from places like Detroit or Akron. Politics had no place, and folks would go to the races and cheer on their favorite make and riders. You couldn't buy a biker T-shirt probably in the whole of South Dakota. I still ride to the Rally on one of my two Harleys, but for me, the fun has faded, as it has just become another commercial money pit. At least I only have to ride 18 miles. Bob, Vale, S.D.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/10/pageoneplus/11rex1.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/10/pageoneplus/11rex1.html)

**Load-Date:** November 14, 2021

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[***Americans’ Pandemic-Era ‘Excess Savings’ Are Dwindling for Many***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:647V-45R1-JBG3-60F4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 7, 2021 Tuesday 12:12 EST

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**Section:** BUSINESS

**Length:** 1744 words

**Byline:** Talmon Joseph Smith

**Highlight:** The drop in cash reserves has vast implications for the ***working class*** and could dampen consumer spending, a large share of economic activity.

**Body**

The drop in cash reserves has vast implications for the ***working class*** and could dampen consumer spending, a large share of economic activity.

Infusions of government cash that warded off an economic calamity have left millions of households with bigger bank balances than before the pandemic — savings that have driven a torrent of consumer spending, helped pay off debts and, at times, reduced the urgency of job hunts.

But many low-income Americans find their savings dwindling or even depleted. And for them, the economic recovery is looking less buoyant.

Over the past 18 months or so, experts have been closely tracking the multitrillion-dollar increase in what economists call “excess savings,” generally defined as the amount by which people’s cash reserves during the Covid-19 crisis exceeded what they would have normally saved.

According to Moody’s Analytics, an economic research firm, these excess savings among many working- and middle-class households could be exhausted as soon as early next year — not only reducing their financial cushions but also potentially affecting the economy, since consumer spending is such a large share of activity. Multiple pandemic-era federal aid programs expired in September, including the federal supplement to unemployment benefits.

In April 2020, after the pandemic’s outset, the nation’s [*personal saving rate*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/PSAVERT) — the percentage of overall disposable income that goes into savings each month — jumped fourfold from its February 2020 level to 34 percent. Some of that spike in savings resulted from government checks of up to $1,200 sent to most Americans; some simply stemmed from reduced spending by firmly middle-class or affluent households during lockdowns.

The rate peaked again at 26 percent this past spring after another round of direct federal payments.

But the personal saving rate doesn’t account for how those savings are distributed. Wealthy households, for instance, have saved the most.

“We do tend to see these broad-brush-stroke economic figures and assume that they apply to the broadest part of the populace,” said Mark Hamrick, the senior economic analyst at Bankrate, a personal finance company. “There’s a significant cross-section of the American public which is financially fragile.”

New [*research*](https://www.jpmorganchase.com/institute/research/household-income-spending/household-cash-balance-pulse-families/) by the JPMorgan Chase Institute, which assesses the bank accounts of 1.6 million families, found that low-income families experienced the “greatest percent gains” during each round of stimulus, yet also exhausted their balances faster. That’s in part because those households went into the crisis with the thinnest financial buffers.

The median balance among higher-income families (defined as those earning more than $68,896) was roughly 40 percent higher in September than two years earlier. The typical low-income family (those earning less than $30,296) experienced a much larger increase in relative terms — 70 percent — but that represented a total cash balance of only about $1,000.

And households making $30,296 to $44,955 also made significant gains compared with 2019, yet typically had less than about $1,300 in cash on hand. In a silver lining, the report found that the cash balances of families with children appear to have been helped by the three rounds of monthly child tax credit payments that began in July, which provided up to $300 per child under 6 and up to $250 per child 6 to 17. For now, those advance payments aren’t set to continue into 2022.

“I’ve been trying to ask myself this question: Is this a lot or is this a little?” said Fiona Greig, a co-president of the JPMorgan Chase Institute. Ms. Greig said that when reviewing the data, she was torn between hope — when seeing that “families had a doubling of balances in some cases when they received their stimulus checks” — and disappointment knowing “there are some families for whom this is really all they have.”

By October, the U.S. personal saving rate, which had peaked above 30 percent, had reverted to its December 2019 level of 7.3 percent.

Technically, most households are financially better off now than before the crisis [*by several measures*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/02/opinion/june-jobs-report-us.html), an anomaly after a recession. Still, the fading impact of pandemic aid is quickly being felt. In July, [*one in three Americans*](https://www.bankrate.com/banking/savings/emergency-savings-survey-july-2021/#pandemic) reported having less money to fall back on in an emergency than before the pandemic[*,*](https://www.bankrate.com/banking/savings/emergency-savings-survey-july-2021/#pandemic) according to a Bankrate survey. Only one in six reported having more.

In a commentary published on a Federal Reserve Bank of New York blog in April, four economists argued that “although large by historical standards, the savings accumulated by U.S. households during the pandemic do not appear to be ‘excessive’ when set against the extraordinary need of many American families.”

Millions of Americans could be buffeted by financial volatility again with little safeguard as new variants of the virus emerge. For some, that reality has already begun.

“It was hard even before the pandemic hit,” said Maria Patton, a 57-year-old former real estate agent whose finances were ruined by a recent divorce. “And when the pandemic hit, it became impossible, almost.”

Ms. Patton, who has a teenage son, had just been hired at Nordstrom in Los Angeles when the virus surged and she was laid off. Despite immediately applying for unemployment insurance in March 2020, she went more than two months without receiving benefits. She tried to find work as a nanny — which had been her most recent employment — but wound up moving home to Tennessee, where she figured the cost of living was more affordable.

As she was moving in the middle of last year, she received back payments for all the weeks she was eligible for Pandemic Unemployment Assistance — an emergency federal program to help freelancers and others who do not ordinarily qualify for state benefits — which amounted to a lump sum of $15,000. Much of that cash, Ms. Patton says, went to paying down debt, as well as “paying for medical insurance out of my pocket” because she can’t afford health care coverage, and living in a hotel because landlords in Nashville didn’t like her credit situation.

Ms. Patton used more of her savings in January to move the two of them to Denver for a $25-an-hour nanny job she found online, which went well until she got Covid-19 and had to quit. Now she and her son work for Amazon Fresh, the grocery delivery service, making $15 an hour. Her savings dried up in September.

“Now, I’m right back where I was,” she said. “I feel like a loser. I feel like a failure.” Making too much to qualify for assistance but too little to afford stable housing, she fears she and her son will be living out of her car soon after the holidays.

The drawing down of households’ cash will test competing theories about the extent to which those savings have increased worker power and wages and how much they contributed to labor shortages, inflation and even supply chain snags.

There has been wide agreement among business leaders and economists that after decades of wage and income stagnation, the burst in savings has eased poverty while giving employees and job seekers more leverage. But there is less agreement about whether this development has had unintended, negative consequences.

The cash buffer “gives people some discretion over whether they take the first job that’s available or if they want to leave the work force altogether for a time,” said James K. Galbraith, a progressive economist at the University of Texas at Austin.

“There may well be long-term lasting benefits,” Dr. Galbraith argued. “If in the short run, in order to bring people back into the work force, employers raise the low wages that they’re offering, then they’re probably not going to be in a position to cut them” down the road.

Wages were up 4.8 percent overall in November from a year earlier and were much higher in sectors like leisure and hospitality.

Many investors and business owners are wary of these wage gains continuing, contending that companies may pass more of their labor costs on to customers and that they may threaten companies’ profitability — or even their viability. With job openings at record levels, a large share of business groups remain hopeful that more people will accept wages at their current levels as their savings diminish.

A crop of high-profile economists in both major political parties contend that measures like the aid package from the spring, while well intentioned and effective in warding off some impoverishment, have caused consumer spending to outstrip supply this year as the economy reopened, worsening inflation and straining supply chains.

“From a macroeconomic perspective, it would certainly be helpful if consumer demand were to cool off,” said Michael R. Strain, an economist at the American Enterprise Institute, a right-leaning think tank. “Rooting for low-income households to have less savings is not great, but I think it’s important to remember low-income households are the ones who are hurt the most by inflation. It doesn’t sit well thinking, ‘Boy, it’d be great if households burned through their excess savings.’ But we’re not in a normal period.”

A Bank of America report in November noted that price increases for some goods, especially in food and energy categories, were “cutting the spending power of less-educated households by 4.6 percent on an annualized basis, compared to 3 percent for more-educated households.”

Still, a [*report from J.P. Morgan*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/jpmorgan-says-households-to-navigate-inflation-using-savings-11637017470) points out that consumers are likely to “eat into their accumulated excess savings to offset rising prices,” suggesting that vulnerable households could potentially face an even greater inflation challenge if those savings were absent.

Moody’s Analytics estimated that there was still $2.5 trillion left in overall excess savings as of October and that the total would decrease by $50 billion a month on average through the end of next year — with the fastest declines among those with the lowest incomes.

That mathematical modeling, by its nature, renders in statistics what many are feeling in more palpable ways. “The people looking at the data aren’t the people trying to put food on the table,” said Ms. Patton, the real estate agent turned Amazon Fresh worker. “The people that are writing this and thinking this have never struggled right now.”

PHOTO: A store in Manhattan last month. With job openings at record levels, many business groups remain hopeful that more people will accept wages at their current levels as their savings diminish. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JEENAH MOON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A17)

**Load-Date:** December 8, 2021

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[***Vulnerable Democrat In Race That May Flip Control of the Senate***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66PP-6TS1-DXY4-X0S7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 26, 2022 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 22

**Length:** 1583 words

**Byline:** By Catie Edmondson

**Body**

Widely considered the most endangered Democratic incumbent in the nation, Senator Catherine Cortez Masto is battling for survival in a race that may determine the Senate majority.

ENTERPRISE, Nev. -- In a crowded living room at a house party here in the Las Vegas suburbs on a recent scorching Saturday, one of Senator Catherine Cortez Masto's supporters approached her with a warning.

''You have accomplished a lot through your office -- quite a lot,'' Sanje Sedera, a health care executive and former local Democratic official, told her. ''But that messaging part is not there. Most people ask the question, 'What has the senator done?' We've got to get that message ramped up.''

It is the central question facing Ms. Cortez Masto, who is widely considered the most politically endangered Democratic incumbent in a year when her party is battling intense headwinds to maintain control of Congress. And it is one reason that Ms. Cortez Masto, after six years in the Senate, is having to reintroduce herself to voters with only two weeks until Election Day.

Since she was elected, Ms. Cortez Masto has struggled to carve out a brand for herself. The task is challenging for any elected official in Nevada, where the population is transient. But it has been particularly difficult for Ms. Cortez Masto, who tends to shun the spotlight and speak carefully, often in policy-heavy discourses.

''I think if you were to go to somebody on the street and say, 'What kind of person do you think Bernie Sanders is?' They'd say, 'angry grandpa' or something like that, right? You can't really say that about C.C.M.,'' said Chris Roberts, the chairman of the Clark County Democratic Party, referring to the senator by her initials.

''It hurts her, because people need to know that she's genuine, that she is hard-working, and that she's out here fighting for us,'' said Mr. Roberts, whose county is home to Las Vegas and more than 70 percent of Nevada's population. ''We're doing everything we can to spread that message and make sure people know that, but I can certainly understand why folks would feel a little distant from her.''

In another year, Ms. Cortez Masto, who is the only Latina senator and who played a central role in bringing home pandemic relief for the state's hospitality industry, would seem to be in a good position to hold onto her seat. Her Republican rival Adam Laxalt, a former state attorney general, was one of the leaders of former President Donald J. Trump's effort to overturn the 2020 election results in Nevada.

But Ms. Cortez Masto is operating on difficult terrain. As Republicans pummel Democrats for soaring inflation, the issue carries especially acute sting in Nevada, where rent and gas costs have risen faster than almost anywhere else in the country.

Control of the Senate, currently divided 50-50, could be at stake in her race. Republicans see winning what is widely expected to be a neck-and-neck slog in Nevada, paired with a victory in Georgia, as their surest path to recapturing the majority.

''What I know about Nevada is, you just don't take anything for granted,'' Ms. Cortez Masto said in a recent interview at the Culinary Workers Union hall in Las Vegas, in a conference room plastered with posters from strikes of the past.

A former two-term attorney general, Ms. Cortez Masto became the first Latina senator in 2016, when she was elected by a margin of just two and a half percentage points. She was the handpicked successor of Harry Reid, the former Senate majority leader, who leaned on his powerful home-state political machine to help turn out the voters who propelled her to victory.

After Mr. Reid's death last year, the enduring strength of that juggernaut has been called into question, and Democrats are facing potential losses up and down the ballot in Nevada this year.

Ms. Cortez Masto has sought to portray Mr. Laxalt, whose father and grandfather served in the Senate, as a fortunate son and extremist. Some of her most aired television advertisements attacking Mr. Laxalt focus on his work on behalf of the former president's campaign and his opposition to abortion rights, according to data from the media-tracking firm AdImpact.

Cognizant of voter discontent with gas prices lingering above $5 a gallon, Ms. Cortez Masto also has tried to turn the tables, attempting to tie Mr. Laxalt to ''Big Oil,'' referring to an amicus brief he led in 2016 as attorney general denouncing an inquiry into ExxonMobile's role in downplaying climate change.

And she has emphasized the relief she helped deliver to workers hit hard by the coronavirus pandemic after the state's hospitality industry was devastated, as well provisions in Democrats' landmark climate change, health and tax law that capped monthly costs for insulin. She has also sought to play up her own biography, often recounting stories of her family -- especially her grandfather, who immigrated to the United States from Mexico -- and their ties to the Las Vegas labor unions.

''To me, this is about being a Nevadan and knowing what their challenges are and just showing up and having conversations with them,'' Ms. Cortez Masto said in the interview. ''I do think it is important, as somebody who is asking for their votes and who is representing them, that I represent everyone, no matter whether you voted for me or not. It's about what's good for Nevada.''

To win in Nevada, Democrats have traditionally had to run up overwhelming margins in Clark and Washoe Counties, two urban areas anchored by Las Vegas and Reno and buoyed by Latino and ***working class*** voters. Every indication so far, from a range of polls and the comments that canvassers bring back from doors, points to an extremely competitive race that will remain close until the end.

''We're hearing the same thing everywhere: that it's going to be slim margins,'' said Judith Whitmer, the chairwoman of the state's Democratic Party.

Mr. Laxalt appears to be betting that he can repeat history. In 2014, he became the first candidate in decades to prevail statewide while losing Clark and Washoe Counties. He did so by keeping his margins down in urban counties and winning big in rural areas. Mr. Laxalt appeared this month with Mr. Trump at a rally in Minden, a western town of 3,000 about an hour south of Reno.

Mr. Laxalt has insulated himself almost entirely from the mainstream news media, sparing himself the risk of a last-minute gaffe and avoiding the kinds of public relations disasters that have tarnished some of his Republican colleagues running for competitive Senate seats across the country. Requests to shadow Mr. Laxalt on the campaign trail in Nevada went unanswered.

Ms. Cortez Masto has been furiously pounding the campaign trail, venturing to rural areas of the state where she must stay competitive and cities she must claim by double digits to save her seat. In a recent three-day stretch, she attended Sunday services at two Black churches in Las Vegas, sipped brews with L.G.B.T.Q. rights activists, canvassed an Asian-American night market and appeared flanked by law enforcement officers to rail against her opponent's embrace of election denialism.

There were signs of enthusiasm for the senator as she rallied with the politically powerful Culinary Workers Union. A long line of workers prepared to knock on voters' doors snaked through the union hall waiting to take selfies with Ms. Cortez Masto after she roared out to the predominantly Latino crowd: ''Si se puede!''

Jean-Marc Polleveys, a chef at The Cosmopolitan, said he had feared he would lose health insurance coverage for himself and his four children when the pandemic put him out of work. He attributed his continued coverage to the work of ''this wonderful lady -- the senator over there,'' he said in an interview, gesturing to Ms. Cortez Masto.

Elsewhere, some Democrats like Melissa Morales, the founder of Somos PAC, a political organization aimed at engaging Latino voters, continue to worry about turnout in November. Ms. Morales' group has had canvassers knocking doors in Nevada since this spring.

''It's a midterm year; it's generally low turnout for Latino voters,'' Ms. Morales said. ''People are just less aware than they were in 2020. Less awareness that there's an election this year, questions about who is up, what is this election for.''

She said she was relieved to hear canvassers report that when they knocked on the doors of Latino voters, there was far less curiosity about voting for a Republican this year than there had been in 2020. But that does not necessarily translate into votes for Ms. Cortez Masto; some voters who answered the doors did not know the senator's name and had to be shown a picture on a flier to recall who she was.

''When they see her picture, they recognize her,'' Ms. Morales said. ''They've seen her in their community.''

Ms. Cortez Masto's campaign is aware of the challenge. An advertisement released last week that was filmed at her grandmother's house delves into the senator's personal history, leaning heavily on her identity as a third-generation Mexican American. In a Twitter post circulating the ad, she recalled growing up around her grandparents' kitchen table hearing family stories from her ''cousins and tias.''

''I'm Catherine Cortez Masto,'' the senator says to the camera, which shows her seated near a statue of Jesus and a painting of Our Lady of Guadalupe, the patron saint of Mexico. ''And I'll never forget where I come from.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/25/us/elections/cortez-masto-nevada-senate.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/25/us/elections/cortez-masto-nevada-senate.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Catherine Cortez Masto, above center, the first Latina senator, is facing a challenge from Adam Laxalt, left, a Republican and former state attorney general who helped organize the efforts in Nevada to overturn the 2020 election results. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SAEED RAHBARAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

BRIDGET BENNETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A22.

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[***In ‘House of the Dragon,’ Paddy Considine Claims the Crown***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6648-TYN1-JBG3-61B8-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 2683 words

**Byline:** Jeremy Egner

**Highlight:** A string of critically acclaimed roles has made him many British actors’ favorite actor. It has also lifted him from hardscrabble roots to a seat on the Iron Throne.

**Body**

A string of critically acclaimed roles has made him many British actors’ favorite actor. It has also lifted him from hardscrabble roots to a seat on the Iron Throne.

WINSHILL, England — On a blindingly sunny June afternoon, Paddy Considine whipped his sedan through a ***working-class*** neighborhood in this suburb in the West Midlands, pointing out the stolid taverns, churches and council houses that combine to cast the long shadows of his childhood.

There was the gospel hall where he and his friends sang hymns when they weren’t “getting kicked out for fighting about.” The pub where men from his estate pursued nightly oblivion. The post office where his tempestuous father “tossed a wheelie bin through the front window” during one of his frequent swerves into rage, a moment Considine memorialized in his bleakly beautiful 2011 film, [*“Tyrannosaur.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/18/movies/tyrannosaur-with-peter-mullan-review.html)

He pulled to a stop in front of a pale gray two-family house and pointed to an upstairs window. It was his old bedroom, and he told a story about a kid desperate to show the world he had more to offer than it might think.

“I’d run home after school and then put the music on and stand in the window, dancing to Adam and the Ants, so the parents would see me and look up,” he said. “It wasn’t like I was a show-off. I just wanted to be seen.”

He looked at me with a grin that was equal parts affable and intense. “There’s a difference, you know,” he said.

Over a two-decade career in film, TV and the occasional blockbuster play, Considine has thrived within that difference. He has crafted performances that demand to be seen, partly because they forgo performative pyrotechnics in favor of a palpable, at times unsettling sense of the real. The fact that he hasn’t had what you might call a signature role hasn’t kept him from becoming many British actors’ favorite actor.

“I just believe him,” said [*Olivia Colman*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/22/arts/olivia-colman-the-favourite-the-crown.html), a longtime admirer. “You sort of look into his eyes, and he’s feeling it all, and he means it all.”

Considine’s profile is more modest in America, but it might not stay that way: Beginning on Aug. 21, he will be dancing in his largest window yet. That’s when “House of the Dragon,” the long-awaited [*“Game of Thrones”*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/arts/game-of-thrones.html) prequel series, lands on HBO. A family melodrama with all the violence, sex and power-lust one would expect from a tale set in Westeros, the series seeks to recapture the magic that made the original a global phenomenon before it stumbled to its [*polarizing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/21/arts/television/game-of-thrones-finale.html) [*conclusion*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/19/arts/television/game-of-thrones-series-finale-recap.html) in 2019.

The story, based on [*“Fire &amp; Blood,”*](https://www.theguardian.com/books/2018/nov/26/fire-and-blood-george-rr-martin-review) a spinoff novel by the saga’s mastermind, George R.R. Martin, is set nearly 200 years before the events of “Game of Thrones.” It involves an earlier battle for the Iron Throne, one that threatens to crater the Targaryen clan long before their combustible descendant Daenerys Targaryen (Emilia Clarke) arrives in the original series.

At the heart of it all is Considine, who stars as King Viserys, the ruler whose decisions and frailties set into motion much of the conflict and carnage to come.

It is a surprising bit of casting, at first glance. After arriving as an eccentric thug in the 1999 film “A Room for Romeo Brass,” Considine has made his name mostly in small-bore dramas playing emotionally conflicted men who feel it all, and then some: a grieving immigrant father in “In America”; a religious zealot ex-con in “[*My Summer of Love*](https://www.nytimes.com/2005/06/17/movies/united-by-a-sisterly-bond-friends-explore-teenage-love.html)”; a murderously vengeful veteran in “Dead Man’s Shoes.”

While he has appeared in franchises (“The Bourne Ultimatum”), genre series (the Stephen King adaptation “The Outsider”) and surprising detours before (the goofball cop comedy “Hot Fuzz”), a dragon epic did not seem like the most natural fit.

“If you look at the body of his work and the type of movies that he does, it doesn’t necessarily lend itself to a big HBO franchise like this,” said Matt Smith, who stars in “House of the Dragon” as Viserys’s belligerent brother, Daemon. “But I think he’s got good taste, and I think he realized the part was really interesting.”

Considine, 48, is a man of multitudes and paradoxes. An acclaimed actor, he nonetheless struggles with attacks of insecurity to the point that he considered leaving projects like “Hot Fuzz” because he felt he was flailing. He has an unmistakable toughness, but what makes it captivating is the sensitivity that bleeds through.

Ryan Condal, one of the “House of the Dragon” showrunners, said that Considine imbued Viserys, a relatively passive character in the script, “with a bit of Paddy’s ***working class*** background.”

“What Paddy brought to it was Targaryen-ness, this fierceness,” he said. But as the other showrunner, Miguel Sapochnik, noted: “He wears his insecurities on his sleeve.”

This combination has already won over the toughest “Thrones” fan of all: Martin, who said Considine’s Viserys surpasses the one in the book.

“Every once in a while, an actor or the writers will take a character in a somewhat different direction that is better,” Martin said. “And I look at it and I say, ‘Damn, I wish I had written it that way.’”

Considine admits that he was flattered to be asked to lead such an enormous undertaking, which will almost certainly result in more people seeing him than ever before. But what drew him in were the same things he seeks in all his roles, qualities that his past and predisposition help him depict with rare delicacy.

“There was just conflicts in him; there was pain in him,” he said. “There was stuff for me to do.”

CONSIDINE SPENDS MOST OF HIS TIME far from the show-business fray. He lives with his wife of 20 years, Shelley, and their three children in the town of Burton-on-Trent, near where he grew up, located roughly 110 miles northwest of London. It helps him avoid having to glad-hand industry types or audition for roles, which he loathes because he’s terrible at it, he said.

While Considine is generally immune to Hollywood cliché, he certainly looked the part when we first met. Sitting inside a coffee shop in a posh village near his home, he was wearing black on black with dark glasses, and he spent the first 20 minutes talking about his rock band, called [*Riding the Low*](https://www.ridingthelow.co.uk/). He knew how it all came across.

“I know … an actor with a band,” he said.

But the reality is, he has been playing music for longer than he’s been acting, and the band is no mere vanity project: In June, they played Glastonbury Festival, and their latest record included a cameo by Considine’s musical hero, Robert Pollard of Guided by Voices.

As for the glasses, they contain special lenses to treat Irlen syndrome, a disorder that is believed to affect the brain’s ability to process visual information. (Much of the science and medical community [*is skeptical*](https://www.reuters.com/article/us-colored-overlays/study-doubts-colored-overlays-for-reading-problems-idINTRE78K4J420110921) about the affliction, but Considine and [*many others*](https://www.chicagotribune.com/lifestyles/health/sc-health-1112-irlen-kids-reading-20141104-story.html) say the lenses changed their lives.) Generally funny and easygoing in conversation, Considine said this condition, along with a mild form of Asperger’s he was diagnosed with in his 30s, contributed to a reputation for aloofness as a young actor.

“I couldn’t concentrate or focus on you, so I’d have to look away,” he said. “It led to this behavior of me going within myself and being slightly unapproachable.”

But he is used to being misunderstood — even as a boy in Winshill, Considine had a reputation that preceded him. But it wasn’t his own.

He grew up with a brother and four sisters in one of the few two-parent households in his social circle. His mother, Pauline, was a natural nurturer who temporarily took in kids from around the council estate when things got rough at their own homes. “I’d go downstairs and there’d be, like, a six-foot punk lying on the sofa under a blanket, with a big red mohawk,” Considine said.

His father was another matter. An Irish alcoholic with a depressive streak, Martin Considine was known as a brawler with a quick temper, and was given to staying in bed until the afternoon, “watching ‘Raging Bull’ over and over again,” Considine said.

“I grew up with a lot of labels on me when I was a kid, just because of the reputation mainly of my father,” he said.

For a while, he lived up to them, alienating his teachers by being an uninterested student and a class clown. But when he signed on to a school production of “Grease,” it was transformative in more ways than one. When he opened his mouth to sing “Greased Lightning” in the first rehearsal, he discovered a robust voice he didn’t know he had. On opening night, everyone else discovered something, too.

“It changed the entire school’s perception of me,” he said. “The teachers perceived me differently, the students. And I thought, this is powerful.”

At 16, Considine began a drama program but “didn’t really learn that much, and I just left,” he said. (He eventually got a photography degree.) But he struck up a fortuitous friendship there with Shane Meadows, a fellow Midlander with similar tastes in music and film. Several years later, Meadows cast Considine in “Romeo Brass,” which [*won both men acclaim*](https://www.nytimes.com/2000/10/27/movies/film-in-review-a-room-for-romeo-brass.html).

Higher-profile roles followed in films like the Factory Records chronicle [*“24 Hour Party People”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2002/08/09/movies/film-review-megalomania-as-an-unembarrassed-art-form.html) (2002) and the melancholy immigrant tale [*“In America”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2003/11/26/movies/film-review-charming-illegal-aliens-facing-family-upheaval.html) (2003). Then came [*“Dead Man’s Shoes,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2006/05/12/movies/12shoe.html) a nervy, lo-fi riff on a slasher picture that stars Considine, in a frightening but grounded performance, as an ex-soldier stalking his brother’s former tormentors.

The film is still revered in Britain — nearly everyone I talked to about Considine mentioned it — though the actor long ago tired of discussing it. (“Part of me wants to die” when people bring it up, he said, but he has made his peace with it.)

That indelible performance indirectly enabled Considine to subvert it, to change perceptions again. He met Simon Pegg and Edgar Wright on the awards circuit for “Dead Man’s Shoes” — it and their film [*“Shaun of the Dead”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2004/09/24/movies/werewolves-of-london-ah-those-were-the-good-ol-days.html) were both released in Britain in 2004 — and the result was a part as a doofus detective in [*“Hot Fuzz.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/20/movies/20fuzz.html)

“Meeting Paddy in person was a revelation; he was incredibly warm and funny,” Wright wrote in an email. “We knew he had a comic presence that hadn’t been fully unleashed yet.”

“Hot Fuzz” was where Considine met Colman, a co-star, who went on to lead his first feature as a director, “Tyrannosaur.” The film, which he also wrote, tells a grueling but powerful story about a splenetic widower (Peter Mullan) who befriends a devout woman (Colman) trapped in an abusive marriage.

For Colman, then known primarily for comedy and TV, the wrenching performance opened new dramatic opportunities that eventually led to an Oscar for the 2018 film “The Favourite.”

“He sort of directly changed the trajectory of my career,” she said.

For Considine, it offered a chance to revisit his upbringing via the means that had allowed him to escape it. As we drove around Winshill, he pointed out landmarks that had inspired scenes in the film.

“I think ‘Tyrannosaur’ was just a love letter and an apology to my parents,” he told me. “It was me just trying to make sense of some of the things I grew up with.”

CONSIDINE STARTED ACTING long before he became an actor.

As an insecure kid cowed by a chaotic home and by other parents who “shut doors in my face” because of the sins of his father, he learned to perform confidence and swagger. “I had to create a sort of carapace to be able to protect myself,” he said.

That armor never entirely went away — he still dusts it off for premieres and red carpets. Neither did the insecurity. As his career blossomed, it became both the thing that made acting a misery, at times, as well as a force pushing him to go deeper into performances that dazzled his contemporaries.

“In England, I think a lot of actors feel the same way about Paddy,” Smith said. “We hold him in very high regard.”

Tony Pitts (“All Creatures Great and Small”), a friend of Considine’s and past co-star, called him “the male actor that most male actors want to be.”

Considine is choosy about his parts — it’s hard to find an outright stinker on his [*IMDb page*](https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0175916/). Friends say this derives from the fact that acting can take a profound psychic toll on him, so he has to be invested in a role to accept it.

“Paddy’s not one to just pitch up and say the lines,” Pitts said. “I’ve seen him when he’s been at the point where he said, ‘I don’t think I want to act again.’”

Wright calls Considine “Mr. 11th Hour” because that’s when he “had to be talked out of leaving” both “Hot Fuzz” and a later comedy, “The World’s End,” over a crisis of confidence about his comic chops. “This was, of course, ridiculous,” Wright said. “It just shows me he cares, maybe too much.”

Considine went through something similar in “The Ferryman,” Jez Butterworth’s 2017 drama set during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. It was Considine’s first play, and he took it on as a kind of trial-by-fire apprenticeship because he felt limited by his lack of formal acting training, even after numerous series and films. “I was running out of places to hide, and I was running out of enthusiasm for it, too,” he said.

He found stage acting terrifying. His self-doubt reached a crisis point during the initial run, at London’s Royal Court Theater, and then again when “The Ferryman” moved to Broadway — both times Sam Mendes, the director, helped him through it. ([*Reviewing the Broadway production*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/21/theater/the-ferryman-review-broadway-jez-butterworth.html), The Times said Considine gave “a superb, anchoring performance.”) The actor now says “The Ferryman” was “a game-changer,” in terms of his comfort with his craft.

That comfort wasn’t always apparent on “House of the Dragon,” however. Considine said he based the physically ailing Viserys partly on his mother, who went through multiple amputations resulting from diabetes before dying of a heart attack. Colleagues said watching him inhabit the role sometimes bordered on concerning.

“He turns himself inside out in his performance, and that metamorphosis is sometimes really painful to watch,” said Olivia Cooke, who stars as Alicent Hightower, a woman close to Viserys. “We spoke about it, and the only way he can access his performance, sometimes, is to go to such a horrid and painful place.”

Sapochnik said that when Considine struggles with material or anything else, “his default is anger.” Directing him involved “helping to work through that, being patient about it, sometimes saying to him, ‘Mate, calm down,’” he explained. “But also then seeing how he brought that into Viserys.”

At the same time, his co-stars, from old hands like Smith to relative newcomers like Emily Carey, who plays a younger version of Alicent, roundly praised Considine as a funny, warm and supportive colleague and collaborator. The person he is hardest on is himself.

“It sounds like I’m a miserable sod, but I have a good time doing these things, as well,” Considine said. “It’s just that when I perform in any way, I have these challenges in front of me again.”

What keeps him going are the flashes of transcendence. He mentioned one late-season monologue Viserys gives before his family that “touched a bit of old Hopkins,” as in Sir Anthony, one of his acting heroes.

“The moments where you are fully in it, all that goes — all that awareness, all that self-observation, all that stuff, that inner critic,” Considine said. “That horrible stuff just falls off you. And that’s ultimately what I’m searching for.”

And to the extent that any of that horrible stuff is linked to his past, he’s learning to let some of that fall off him, too, as achievements mount and the passing years bring distance and perspective.

“That kid in the window, he hasn’t got to die, but it can’t keep dominating your life,” he said. “You’ve got to explore other things, and ‘Game of Thrones’ is part of that.”

“Who would’ve thought that kid would end up playing a [expletive] king?” he added. “Who would’ve ever conceived that I would be a king in anything?”

PHOTOS: “I grew up with a lot of labels on me when I was a kid, just because of the reputation mainly of my father,” said the actor Paddy Considine. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MAX MIECHOWSKI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (AR10-AR11); Above, Paddy Considine, who plays King Viserys Targaryen, in “House of the Dragon.” Below from left, the actress Milly Alcock, Considine and Miguel Sapochnik, one of the showrunners. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY OLLIE UPTON/HBO) (AR11)

**Load-Date:** August 21, 2022

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[***Priceless Sculptures Are ‘Literally Being Chipped Away’; streetscapes***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65GT-5R61-DXY4-X002-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** John Freeman Gill

**Highlight:** More than 1,000 terra-cotta sculptures — of firefighters, mermaids, steelworkers — adorn the walls of Parkchester in the Bronx. Is there a plan to protect them?

**Body**

More than 1,000 terra-cotta sculptures — of firefighters, mermaids, steelworkers — adorn the walls of Parkchester in the Bronx. Is there a plan to protect them?

Among the more than 33,000 residents of Parkchester, the sprawling 1940s Bronx apartment complex, the most exuberant characters tend to hang out at the buildings’ entrances and corners: folk singers and firefighters, accordion players and harlequins, steelworkers and mermaids. There are exotic fauna as well, not typically found in such urban environs: gazelles, puffins, kangaroos and bears.

Vivid and three-dimensional, these neighborhood fixtures are whimsically crafted terra-cotta sculptures — more than a thousand of them, many colorfully glazed — embedded in the facades of Parkchester’s red brick apartment blocks.

These playful architectural ornaments, many by distinguished sculptors, have enlivened Parkchester ever since the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company built the middle-income housing complex starting in 1938. But in recent years some 45 of these signature artworks have vanished after being taken down by maintenance crews, infuriating many residents.

“They’re like the totems for the community, they’re the mascots,” said Sharon Pandolfo Pérez, a creative director for a multicultural advertising agency who spent her childhood in Parkchester and now runs [*the Parkchester Project*](https://www.instagram.com/theparkchesterproject/?hl=en), which documents on its Instagram page the removal of the distinctive sculptures.

Standing by the subway station at Hugh J. Grant Circle, Ms. Pandolfo Pérez pointed up at a brick tower, where a larger-than-life sculpture of a hose-brandishing firefighter in period garb jutted from the western corner near the building’s roof. For some eight decades, the building’s eastern corner was home to a companion firefighter, the pair serving as ornamental sentries at Parkchester’s southern gateway. But in 2018, workers removed the second firefighter and bricked up the wound in the facade as if the statue had never been there.

“When that first fireman came down, it was a sign that they just don’t care, because he’s one of the two you see when you come from the subway,” Ms. Pandolfo Pérez said. “It’s a sign that they are being taken for granted, and the people here feel taken for granted. This is ***working-class*** New York. If you’re taking that down, what’s that saying?”

In March, the Historic Districts Council, a citywide preservation group, announced the selection of the Parkchester Project for its annual [*Six to Celebrate program*](https://6tocelebrate.org/), which honors historic city neighborhoods and community groups that work to preserve them.

The council was impressed by the grass-roots efforts of Ms. Pandolfo Pérez, who, with crowdsourcing help from followers of her Instagram page — including Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, now a Democratic congresswoman whose district includes Parkchester — chronicled the removal of several of the complex’s most high-profile sculptures between 2018 and last year. According to Ms. Pandolfo Pérez, the losses include larger-than-life sculptures of two firefighters, a muse, a skier and a woman carrying a flower.

The project’s inclusion in the Six to Celebrate program lends new momentum to a campaign, begun last year by prominent architectural historians, to persuade the city to designate the 129-acre Parkchester complex a historic district. The effort has attracted the backing of several preservation groups and elected officials.

Preservationists maintain that the clock is ticking.

“The complex’s unmatched set of polychromatic terra-cotta ornament — some 500 statuettes and 600 plaques — is, quite literally, being chipped away,” Roberta Nusim, president of the Art Deco Society of New York, wrote to the Landmarks Preservation Commission in November.

The destruction is the result, she wrote, of “sheer carelessness — the kind of carelessness that landmarks designation could prevent. The damage isn’t overwhelming — yet — and there is still time to act, but that time is slipping away.”

Nancy Johnson, a co-founder of the Parkchester Watch Group, an association for renters and owners of condominium units that advocates for quality-of-life improvements, said that there had been a lack of transparency about the sculptures from Parkchester’s management.

“I think it’s appalling that they’ve taken them down without a restoration plan,” she said. “We don’t know what they’re doing with them, if they’re being stored, or where they’re being stored, and this should have been discussed with the unit owners, with the community.”

The boards of managers of the Parkchester North Condominium and the Parkchester South Condominium said in a joint statement that 80 years of exposure to the elements had taken their toll on some statues and that “the masonry behind them needed repairs to be made safe. In those cases, the Parkchester North and South Condominium boards of managers have found it necessary to remove the terra-cotta elements, which are often too fragile to reinstall safely.”

The boards added that whenever possible, statues had been saved, carefully wrapped and placed in storage for safekeeping, an approach that would continue until a final plan was adopted. A spokesman for the condominiums would not say where the sculptures were being stored and declined to show them to a reporter.

But the boards pointed to the expense of caring for the sculptures. “We hope to be successful in saving and re-displaying as many as possible, if that can be done safely, securely and affordably for the community’s residents,” the statement continued. “Parkchester units have thousands of owners, and as a designated Naturally Occurring Retirement Community, many of those owners are on a fixed income.”

Preservationists say that landmark status is long overdue for Parkchester. In 1978, the landmarks commission’s staff wrote a Bronx Survey report that identified five potential historic districts, with Parkchester at the head of the list. Four have since been designated. But 44 years later, Parkchester remains unprotected.

“It’s one of the most important housing projects in America,” said Andrew S. Dolkart, a professor of historic preservation at Columbia University who worked on the 1978 Bronx Survey and later wrote the book on historic districts for the commission — the first edition of “Guide to New York City Landmarks.”

Mr. Dolkart said that Parkchester and the contemporaneous Castle Village in Manhattan were the first housing projects in America to implement the modernist towers-in-the-park precepts set forth by Le Corbusier, the influential Swiss-born architect.

“Castle Village is five buildings, and it was for a solid upper-middle-class audience,” he added. “Whereas what makes Parkchester so important is that it’s an enormous complex and that it was built for less-wealthy people. It’s built for working people to create quality housing for them.”

The landmarks commission “is undertaking a detailed process of research and evaluation of this large complex,” Zodet Negrón, the commission’s spokeswoman, wrote in an email. “While much of the concern has been focused on the terra-cotta decorative elements, LPC must evaluate Parkchester’s architectural merit and historic significance in the context of housing complexes and our standards for designation.”

Easily [*the nation’s largest apartment complex*](https://www.nytimes.com/1939/11/12/archives/city-within-city-fast-taking-form-vast-private-housing-project-for.html) when it opened, Parkchester was built by MetLife following the passage of a New York State law that allowed insurance companies to invest up to 10 percent of their assets in low-rent housing. With the eyes of the world on the venture, the company assembled an all-star team of design and building professionals led by [*the architect Richmond H. Shreve*](https://www.nytimes.com/1946/09/11/archives/richmond-shreve-architect-69-dies-senior-member-of-firm-that.html).

Known as the Board of Design, the group included [*Andrew J. Eken of the Starrett Bros. &amp; Eken*](https://www.nytimes.com/1938/02/15/archives/andrew-j-eken-to-head-starrett-bros-eken.html) construction company, which had teamed with Shreve’s firm to speedily erect the Empire State Building.

Parkchester’s master plan was by [*Gilmore D. Clarke*](https://www.nytimes.com/1982/08/10/obituaries/gilmore-d-clarke-90-is-dead-designed-major-public-works.html) with assistance from [*Michael Rapuano*](https://www.nytimes.com/1975/09/15/archives/michael-rapuano-landscape-expert.html), with whom he also worked on the master plans for the 1939 and 1964 World’s Fairs.

“Their impact on American space, primarily the New York metro area but by example, cities throughout the United States, was every bit as profound as the impact of [*Frederick Law Olmsted*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/04/22/us/frederick-law-olmsted-american-parks.html) and Calvert Vaux, if not more so,” said Thomas J. Campanella, a professor of urban studies and city planning at Cornell University who is writing a book about the pair. “Clarke basically was one of the inventors of the modern highway: the Bronx River Parkway, the Hutchinson Parkway, the Saw Mill Parkway.”

As the first major American example of towers-in-the-park urbanism, he added, the Parkchester plan became a template for urban-renewal public housing projects that would “fundamentally change the character and appearance of our cities from coast to coast, for better and worse.”

The pioneering complex was envisioned as a parklike community of more than 12,000 modern apartments on rolling land the company had purchased from the New York Catholic Protectory, which had dotted the area with orphanage and reform school buildings. The East Bronx site was bisected diagonally by Unionport Road, a constraint that Parkchester’s designers elegantly incorporated by widening the thoroughfare to 110 feet and crossing it with a second diagonal boulevard, dividing the complex into four irregular quadrants.

Building heights, too, were irregular, ranging from seven to 13 stories, with each quadrant’s structures arrayed in a variety of orientations, like rotated Tetris pieces, around a large central lawn. There was an intrinsic generosity to the design, which maximized light and air by placing the 51 residential buildings at least 60 feet apart and leaving three-quarters of the complex as open space. When a scale model of Parkchester was displayed at the 1939 World’s Fair, it “awed many a visitor,” Architectural Forum reported.

Not everything about Parkchester was generous, however. At the outset, MetLife restricted residency to white people. But after passage of the Fair Housing Act of 1968, the complex was opened to all races. The 2020 U.S. Census found that its population was 35 percent Black, 33 percent Hispanic or Latino, 25 percent Asian and 3 percent white, according to Social Explorer, a research company. About half of the 12,271 units are owned by the Parkchester Preservation Company, whose management arm superintends the complex.

Parkchester was conceived as a city unto itself, complete with its own “downtown.” The main commercial district still has Streamline Moderne-style facades of colorful terra-cotta, including the first branch of Macy’s. Some store fronts are embellished with elaborate sculptures, like a rondel depicting a pair of women exchanging scandalous gossip.

The former Loew’s American, originally a 2,000-seat cinema and now occupied by a Marshalls, features some of the most charming, colorfully glazed terra cotta. Two harlequins flank the theater, while the building’s rear is decorated with a dazzling row of movie-character types, including a matador, a hula girl and a flamenco dancer.

“The time, care and money that went into” Parkchester’s ornament “is phenomenal,” said Susan Tunick, president of Friends of Terra Cotta and the author of “Terra-Cotta Skyline.” “It’s very special also because some of the pieces can be attributed to the sculptors. Terra cotta is usually unsigned, so it’s very important that the work was done by sculptors who signed their work rather than just workers in a terra-cotta factory.”

As a child, Ms. Pandolfo Pérez was enchanted by the ornaments. But her mother, a cook at a Bronx school, did not have access to information about them, said Ms. Pandolfo Pérez.

It was to fill that void for current residents that Ms. Pandolfo Pérez began the Parkchester Project, researching the development’s sculptors and corresponding with their descendants. She also bought small works by the artists through online auctions.

The complex’s visual smorgasbord of ornament was designed by nine sculptors and produced by the Federal Seaboard Terra Cotta Company, which also made the cladding for the [*McGraw-Hill Building*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/26/realestate/mcgraw-hill-building-name-hells-kitchen.html), including its celebrated crown.

Four of the sculptors —Raymond Granville Barger, Joseph Kiselewski, Carl Schmitz and Theodore Barbarossa — were described in Art Digest in 1941 as “prominent” artists who had done “important sculptural decoration” for the New York World’s Fair and for Parkchester.

Ms. Pandolfo Pérez said that Parkchester’s sculptures sparked her interest in art as a child and set her on a path to becoming a creative director. She hopes to have a similar effect on children, through a walking-tour app and school visits.

For many ***working-class*** people “who don’t get the opportunity to go to the Met, it’s attainable art, and it’s inspirational,” Ms. Pandolfo Pérez said of the ornaments. “That’s why identifying the artists is so important, because it gives residents a sense of pride to say, ‘The artist who made this sculpture had work in the Whitney Museum.’”

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PHOTOS: Top, one of Parkchester’s terra-cotta gems in the 1940s. Above, Parkchester in 1957. Right, a 1942 photo shows a sculpture over the doorway by Raymond Granville Barger that depicts him and his son. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ALFRED EISENSTAEDT/THE LIFE PICTURE COLLECTION/SHUTTERSTOCK; HERBERT GEHR/THE LIFE PICTURE COLLECTION/SHUTTERSTOCK) (RE1); Sculptural scenes from Parkchester, above, from left: a workman on the facade of the apartment complex’s power plant; a rondel of a Dutch girl; a firefighter at the ready; gazelles on a doorway; another vibrant sculpture. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KATHERINE MARKS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Center, Sharon Pandolfo Pérez, runs the Parkchester Project, which documents the removal of the distinctive sculptures. Above left, this fireman has not been returned to his spot. Above right, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, the Democratic congresswoman whose district includes Parkchester, snapped this image of a felled terra-cotta woodsman in pieces. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KATHERINE MARKS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; SHARON PANDOLFO PÉREZ; ALEXANDRIA OCASIO-CORTEZ) (RE10)

**Load-Date:** May 23, 2022

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[***The Second Defeat of Bernie Sanders***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:606V-CKM1-DXY4-X350-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 25, 2020 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 24

**Length:** 1394 words

**Byline:** By Ross Douthat

**Body**

In a revolutionary summer, he may be losing the battle for the future of the left.

Three months ago, Bernie Sanders lost his chance at the Democratic nomination, after a brief moment in which his socialist revolution seemed poised to raze the bastions of neoliberal power. But the developments of the last month, the George Floyd protests and their cultural repercussions, may prove the more significant defeat for the Sanders cause. In the winter he merely lost a presidential nomination; in the summer he may be losing the battle for the future of the left.

Throughout his career, Sanders has stood for the proposition that left-wing politics lost its way after the 1970s by letting what should be its central purpose -- the class struggle, the rectification of economic inequality, the war against the ''millionaires and billionaires'' -- be obscured by cultural battles and displaced by a pro-business, pro-Wall Street economic program. This shift has made left-of-center political parties (in Europe as well as the United States) steadily more upper middle class and conservatism steadily more blue collar, but the promise of Sandersism was that the transformation need not be permanent: A left that recovered the language of class struggle, that disentangled liberal politics from faculty-lounge elitism and neoliberal economics, could rally a silent majority against plutocracy and win.

The 2016 Sanders primary campaign, which won white, ***working-class*** voters who had been drifting from the Democrats, seemed to vindicate this argument. The 2020 Sanders campaign, however, made it look more dubious, by illustrating the core challenge facing a socialist revolution: Its most passionate supporters -- highly educated, economically disappointed urbanites -- aren't natural coalition partners for a Rust Belt populism, and the more they tugged Sanders toward the cultural left, the easier it was for Joe Biden to win blue-collar votes, leaving Sanders leading an ideological faction rather than a broader ***working-class*** insurgency.

Now, under these strange coronavirus conditions, we're watching a different sort of insurgency challenge or change liberalism, one founded on an intersectional vision of left-wing politics that never came naturally to Sanders. Rather than Medicare for All and taxing plutocrats, the rallying cry is racial justice and defunding the police. Instead of finding its nemeses in corporate suites, the intersectional revolution finds them on antique pedestals and atop the cultural establishment.

And so far, as my colleague Sydney Ember noted last week, this revolution has been more unifying than Sanders's version -- uniting the Democratic establishment that once closed ranks against him, earning support from just about every major corporate and cultural institution, sending anti-racism titles skyrocketing up the best-seller list, even bringing Mitt Romney into the streets as a marcher and inducing Donald Trump to make grudging noises about police reform.

Ember quotes the law professor Kimberlé Crenshaw, the theorist of intersectionality, marveling at the change: ''You basically have a moment where every corporation worth its salt is saying something about structural racism and anti-blackness, and that stuff is even outdistancing what candidates in the Democratic Party were actually saying.''

All this, from one perspective, vindicates critics who said Sanders's vision of revolution was too class-bound and race-blind all along.

But the longer arc of the current revolutionary moment may actually end up vindicating the socialist critique of post-1970s liberalism -- that it's obsessed with cultural power at the expense of economic transformation, and that it puts the language of radicalism in the service of elitism.

The demand for police reform at the heart of the current protests doesn't fit this caricature. But much of the action around it, the anti-racist reckoning unfolding in colleges, media organizations, corporations and public statuary, may seem more unifying than the Sanders revolution precisely because it isn't as threatening to power.

The fact that corporations are ''outdistancing'' even politicians, as Crenshaw puts it, in paying fealty to anti-racism is perhaps the tell. It's not that corporate America is suddenly deeply committed to racial equality; even for woke capital, the capitalism comes first. Rather, it's that anti-racism as a cultural curriculum, a rhetoric of re-education, is relatively easy to fold into the mechanisms of managerialism, under the tutelage of the human resources department. The idea that you need to retrain your employees so that they can work together without microaggressing isn't Marxism, cultural or otherwise; it's just a novel form of Fordism, with white-fragility gurus in place of efficiency experts.

In our cultural institutions, too, the official enthusiasm for the current radical mood is suggestive of the revolution's limits. The tumult and protest is obviously a threat to certain people's jobs: The revolutionaries need scapegoats, examples, wrongthinkers to cast out pour encourager les autres, superannuated figures to retire with prejudice. But they aren't out to dissolve Harvard or break up Google or close The New York Times; they're out to rule these institutions, with more enlightenment than the old guard but the same fundamental powers. And many of the changes the protesters seek are ones that the establishment can happily accommodate: I can promise that few powerful people will feel particularly threatened if the purge of Confederate monuments widens and some statues of pre-World War II presidents and Franciscan missionaries come crashing down as well. (Though renaming Yale might be another matter ...)

So the likely endgame of all this turbulence is the redistribution of elite jobs, the upward circulation of the more racially diverse younger generation, the abolition of perceived impediments to the management of elite diversity (adieu, SAT) and the inculcation of a new elite language whose academic style will delineate the professional class more decisively from the unenlightened proles below. (With the possible long-run consequence that not only the white ***working class*** but also some minority voters will drift toward whatever remains of political conservatism once Trump is finished with it.)

Yes, serious critics of structural racism have an agenda for economic as well as cultural reform. But that agenda isn't what's being advanced: Chuck Schumer will take a knee in kente cloth, but he isn't likely to pass a major reparations bill, the white liberals buying up the works of Ibram X. Kendi aren't going to abandon private schools or bus their kids to minority neighborhoods. And in five years, it's more likely that 2020's legacy will be a cadre of permanently empowered commissars getting people fired for unwise Twitter likes rather than any dramatic interracial wealth redistribution.

I am a cynical conservative, so you can dismiss this as the usual reactionary allergy to the fresh air of revolution. But it's also what an old-guard leftism, of the sort that Bernie Sanders attempted to revive, would predict of a revolutionary movement that has so much of the establishment on board.

The destiny of liberalism, for some time now, has looked like handshake agreements among corporate, academic and media power centers, with progressive rhetoric deployed either reassuringly or threateningly, depending on what's required to keep discontented factions within the elite in line. The promise of the Sanders campaign was that the insights of the older left, on class solidarity above all, could alter this depressing future and make the newer left something more than a handmaiden of oligarchy, a diversifier of late capitalism's corporate boards.

The current wave of protests will have unpredictable consequences. But right now, their revolution's conspicuous elite support seems like strong evidence that Bernie Sanders failed.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/23/opinion/bernie-sanders-protesters-democrats.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/23/opinion/bernie-sanders-protesters-democrats.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Bernie Sanders campaigning in Grand Rapids, Mich., in March. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Chang W. Lee/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 25, 2020

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[***Word + Quiz: marquee; Word of the day***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YCS-0CJ1-DXY4-X2XG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 9, 2020 Monday 01:30 EST

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**Section:** LEARNING

**Length:** 253 words

**Byline:** The Learning Network

**Highlight:** This word has appeared in 271 articles on NYTimes.com in the past year.

**Body**

This word has appeared in 271 articles on NYTimes.com in the past year.

marquee \ mär-ˈkē \ noun and adjective

noun: a large and often sumptuous tent

noun: permanent canopy over an entrance of an entertainment venue or hotel

adjective: having or being associated with fame, such as a widely-known person whose name appears on a marquee

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The word marquee has appeared in 271 articles on NYTimes.com in the past year, including on Feb. 20 in “[*The Lakers, the Clippers and a Rare Fight for L.A. Basketball Primacy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/20/sports/basketball/lakers-clippers-los-angeles-basketball.html)” by Michael Powell:

The Clippers’ biggest stars, Leonard and Paul George, possess a home-born advantage, as the men came of age on the exurban jack-rabbit desert fringes to which so many ***working-class*** Los Angeles-area families have been consigned by the economics of a city as grossly expensive as New York.

But street cred buys only so much love. The Clippers opened their home schedule against the Lakers this season, and when Leonard — the team’s marquee signing, a champion fresh off a title last year with Toronto — took the microphone to say a few words, the Lakers fans who had jammed the arena showered him with boos.

Not long afterward, Leonard attended an L.A. Rams football game and his smiling face appeared on the scoreboard, and again: Boooooooooo.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

The Word of the Day and the quiz question have been provided by [*Vocabulary.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/20/sports/basketball/lakers-clippers-los-angeles-basketball.html). Learn more and see usage examples across a range of subjects in the   [*Vocabulary.com Dictionary*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/20/sports/basketball/lakers-clippers-los-angeles-basketball.html). See every Word of the Day in   [*this column*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/20/sports/basketball/lakers-clippers-los-angeles-basketball.html).

**Load-Date:** March 9, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Word + Quiz: higgledy-piggledy; Word of the day***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YD0-1TX1-JBG3-623P-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 10, 2020 Tuesday 02:00 EST

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**Section:** LEARNING

**Length:** 254 words

**Byline:** The Learning Network

**Highlight:** This word has appeared in five articles on NYTimes.com in the past year.

**Body**

This word has appeared in five articles on NYTimes.com in the past year.

higgledy-piggledy \ ˌhi-gəl-dē-ˈpi-gəl-dē \ adverb and adjective

adverb: in a disordered manner

adjective: in utter disorder

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

The word higgledy-piggledy has appeared in five articles on NYTimes.com in the past year, including on Nov. 25 in “[*India’s Ominous Future: Too Little Water, or Far Too Much*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/11/25/climate/india-monsoon-drought.html)” by Bryan Denton and Somini Sengupta:

The image of the pot-bellied Hindu god, Ganesha, that hangs above Savita Vilas Kasurde’s narrow doorway is intended to keep obstacles away from her family’s path.

The same cannot be said for the Mithi River, which flows a few steps from Ms. Kasurde’s door. Its path has been blocked every which way as it winds through this city of 13 million people.

Mumbai’s international airport straddles the Mithi; you can see the planes taking off from Ms. Kasurde’s street. Sewage and rubbish pour into the Mithi. A vast spread of high-rises have been built on land reclaimed from the Mithi, along with higgledy-piggledy ***working class*** enclaves like this one, perched precariously on its edge. They are the ones that flood first and flood worst after a heavy rain. The city’s other natural defense against floods, mangrove trees, have been pulled out to make room for concrete.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

The Word of the Day and the quiz question have been provided by [*Vocabulary.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/11/25/climate/india-monsoon-drought.html). Learn more and see usage examples across a range of subjects in the   [*Vocabulary.com Dictionary*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/11/25/climate/india-monsoon-drought.html). See every Word of the Day in   [*this column*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/11/25/climate/india-monsoon-drought.html).

**Load-Date:** March 10, 2020

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[***Cortez Masto, the Senate’s Most At-Risk Democrat, Fights to Hang On in Nevada***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66PH-VG01-JBG3-62FH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 25, 2022 Tuesday 23:53 EST

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**Section:** US; elections

**Length:** 1631 words

**Byline:** Catie Edmondson

**Highlight:** Widely considered the most endangered Democratic incumbent in the nation, Senator Catherine Cortez Masto is battling for survival in a race that may determine the Senate majority.

**Body**

Widely considered the most endangered Democratic incumbent in the nation, Senator Catherine Cortez Masto is battling for survival in a race that may determine the Senate majority.

ENTERPRISE, Nev. — In a crowded living room at a house party here in the Las Vegas suburbs on a recent scorching Saturday, one of Senator Catherine Cortez Masto’s supporters approached her with a warning.

“You have accomplished a lot through your office — quite a lot,” Sanje Sedera, a health care executive and former local Democratic official, told her. “But that messaging part is not there. Most people ask the question, ‘What has the senator done?’ We’ve got to get that message ramped up.”

It is the central question facing Ms. Cortez Masto, who is widely considered the most politically endangered Democratic incumbent in a year when her party is battling intense headwinds to maintain control of Congress. And it is one reason that Ms. Cortez Masto, after six years in the Senate, is having to reintroduce herself to voters with only two weeks until Election Day.

Since she was elected, Ms. Cortez Masto has struggled to carve out a brand for herself. The task is challenging for any elected official in Nevada, where the population is transient. But it has been particularly difficult for Ms. Cortez Masto, who tends to shun the spotlight and speak carefully, often in policy-heavy discourses.

“I think if you were to go to somebody on the street and say, ‘What kind of person do you think Bernie Sanders is?’ They’d say, ‘angry grandpa’ or something like that, right? You can’t really say that about C.C.M.,” said Chris Roberts, the chairman of the Clark County Democratic Party, referring to the senator by her initials.

“It hurts her, because people need to know that she’s genuine, that she is hard-working, and that she’s out here fighting for us,” said Mr. Roberts, whose county is home to Las Vegas and more than 70 percent of Nevada’s population. “We’re doing everything we can to spread that message and make sure people know that, but I can certainly understand why folks would feel a little distant from her.”

In another year, Ms. Cortez Masto, who is the only Latina senator and who played a central role in bringing home pandemic relief for the state’s hospitality industry, would seem to be in a good position to hold onto her seat. Her Republican rival Adam Laxalt, a former state attorney general, was one of the leaders of former President Donald J. Trump’s effort to overturn the 2020 election results in Nevada.

But Ms. Cortez Masto is operating on difficult terrain. As Republicans pummel Democrats for soaring inflation, the issue carries especially acute sting in Nevada, where rent and gas costs have risen faster than almost anywhere else in the country.

Control of the Senate, currently divided 50-50, could be at stake in her race. Republicans see winning what is widely expected to be a neck-and-neck slog in Nevada, paired with a victory in Georgia, as their surest path to recapturing the majority.

“What I know about Nevada is, you just don’t take anything for granted,” Ms. Cortez Masto said in a recent interview at the Culinary Workers Union hall in Las Vegas, in a conference room plastered with posters from strikes of the past.

A former two-term attorney general, Ms. Cortez Masto became the first Latina senator in 2016, when [*she was elected*](https://www.nytimes.com/elections/2016/results/nevada-senate-cortez-masto-heck) by a margin of just two and a half percentage points. She was the handpicked successor of Harry Reid, the former Senate majority leader, who leaned on his powerful home-state political machine to help turn out the voters who propelled her to victory.

After [*Mr. Reid’s death*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/28/us/politics/harry-reid-dead.html) last year, the enduring strength of that juggernaut has been called into question, and Democrats are facing [*potential losses up and down the ballot in Nevada*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/03/us/politics/nevada-elections-democrats-republicans.html) this year.

Ms. Cortez Masto has sought to portray Mr. Laxalt, whose father and grandfather served in the Senate, as a fortunate son and extremist. Some of her [*most aired television advertisements*](https://host2.adimpact.com/admo/#/viewer/44041cbe-b725-4cd3-9da7-33ac0cfbe022/) attacking Mr. Laxalt focus on his work on behalf of the former president’s campaign and his [*opposition to abortion rights*](https://host2.adimpact.com/admo/#/viewer/8096727d-d2b5-42f3-b13e-0d4eee36b597/), according to data from the media-tracking firm AdImpact.

Cognizant of voter discontent with gas prices lingering above $5 a gallon, Ms. Cortez Masto also has [*tried to turn the tables*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lRGFmdQEJAQ), attempting to tie Mr. Laxalt to “Big Oil,” referring to an amicus brief he led in 2016 as attorney general denouncing an inquiry into ExxonMobile’s role in downplaying climate change.

And she has emphasized the relief she helped deliver to workers hit hard by the coronavirus pandemic after the state’s hospitality industry was devastated, as well provisions in Democrats’ landmark climate change, health and tax law that capped monthly costs for insulin. She has also sought to play up her own biography, often recounting stories of her family — especially her grandfather, who immigrated to the United States from Mexico — and their ties to the Las Vegas labor unions.

“To me, this is about being a Nevadan and knowing what their challenges are and just showing up and having conversations with them,” Ms. Cortez Masto said in the interview. “I do think it is important, as somebody who is asking for their votes and who is representing them, that I represent everyone, no matter whether you voted for me or not. It’s about what’s good for Nevada.”

To win in Nevada, Democrats have traditionally had to run up overwhelming margins in Clark and Washoe Counties, two urban areas anchored by Las Vegas and Reno and buoyed by Latino and ***working class*** voters. Every indication so far, from a range of polls and the comments that canvassers bring back from doors, points to an extremely competitive race that will remain close until the end.

“We’re hearing the same thing everywhere: that it’s going to be slim margins,” said Judith Whitmer, the chairwoman of the state’s Democratic Party.

Mr. Laxalt appears to be betting that he can repeat history. In 2014, he became the first candidate in decades to prevail statewide while losing Clark and Washoe Counties. He did so by keeping his margins down in urban counties and winning big in rural areas. Mr. Laxalt appeared this month with Mr. Trump at a rally in Minden, a western town of 3,000 about an hour south of Reno.

Mr. Laxalt has insulated himself almost entirely from the mainstream news media, sparing himself the risk of a last-minute gaffe and avoiding the kinds of public relations disasters that have tarnished some of his Republican colleagues running for competitive Senate seats across the country. Requests to shadow Mr. Laxalt on the campaign trail in Nevada went unanswered.

Ms. Cortez Masto has been furiously pounding the campaign trail, venturing to rural areas of the state where she must stay competitive and cities she must claim by double digits to save her seat. In a recent three-day stretch, she attended Sunday services at two Black churches in Las Vegas, sipped brews with L.G.B.T.Q. rights activists, canvassed an Asian-American night market and appeared flanked by law enforcement officers to rail against her opponent’s embrace of election denialism.

There were signs of enthusiasm for the senator as she rallied with the politically powerful Culinary Workers Union. A long line of workers prepared to knock on voters’ doors snaked through the union hall waiting to take selfies with Ms. Cortez Masto after she roared out to the predominantly Latino crowd: “Si se puede!”

Jean-Marc Polleveys, a chef at The Cosmopolitan, said he had feared he would lose health insurance coverage for himself and his four children when the pandemic put him out of work. He attributed his continued coverage to the work of “this wonderful lady — the senator over there,” he said in an interview, gesturing to Ms. Cortez Masto.

Elsewhere, some Democrats like Melissa Morales, the founder of Somos PAC, a political organization aimed at engaging Latino voters, continue to worry about turnout in November. Ms. Morales’ group has had canvassers knocking doors in Nevada since this spring.

“It’s a midterm year; it’s generally low turnout for Latino voters,” Ms. Morales said. “People are just less aware than they were in 2020. Less awareness that there’s an election this year, questions about who is up, what is this election for.”

She said she was relieved to hear canvassers report that when they knocked on the doors of Latino voters, there was far less curiosity about voting for a Republican this year than there had been in 2020. But that does not necessarily translate into votes for Ms. Cortez Masto; some voters who answered the doors did not know the senator’s name and had to be shown a picture on a flier to recall who she was.

“When they see her picture, they recognize her,” Ms. Morales said. “They’ve seen her in their community.”

Ms. Cortez Masto’s campaign is aware of the challenge. An advertisement released last week that was filmed at her grandmother’s house delves into the senator’s personal history, leaning heavily on her identity as a third-generation Mexican American. In a [*Twitter post*](https://twitter.com/CortezMasto/status/1582008533104607233) circulating the ad, she recalled growing up around her grandparents’ kitchen table hearing family stories from her “cousins and tias.”

“I’m Catherine Cortez Masto,” the senator says to the camera, which shows her seated near a statue of Jesus and a painting of Our Lady of Guadalupe, the patron saint of Mexico. “And I’ll never forget where I come from.”

PHOTOS: Catherine Cortez Masto, above center, the first Latina senator, is facing a challenge from Adam Laxalt, left, a Republican and former state attorney general who helped organize the efforts in Nevada to overturn the 2020 election results. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SAEED RAHBARAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; BRIDGET BENNETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A22.

**Load-Date:** October 26, 2022

**End of Document**



[***What Growing Up on a Farm Taught Me About Humility; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:674T-KTX1-DXY4-X0KF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 21, 2022 Wednesday 11:30 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 2161 words

**Byline:** Sarah Smarsh

**Highlight:** Growing up on a farm in rural Kansas, I learned to see through the many false narratives of supremacy that govern our society.

**Body**

Cold days are better for killing animals. Warmer months demand time in the wheat fields. Plus, heat and sun quickly turn meat rancid.

On my family’s farm in rural Kansas, we did our butchering in the fall and winter, when the work drew no flies.

On gray afternoons, I would get home from school — after an hourlong bus ride on muddy roads — to see a large, pink carcass hanging near the cinder block farmhouse where I lived with my grandparents.

Grandpa would have already shot a bullet through the heifer’s brain, drained her blood, cut off her feet with a handsaw and begun to peel away her skin. Then, having hooked two of her legs with a steel spreader connected to the long arm of our tractor, he would have used hydraulic controls to lift the heavy creature — who, not two hours prior, grazed in the pasture and huddled against the north wind with her family — and sliced her underbelly from anus to neck.

We would spend the evening in the butchering shed — a small barn next to the house with a garage door, a bloodstained concrete floor and a rosebush growing up its south wall. Grandpa did the carving. Grandma stood at the grinder making hamburger. My job was to weigh the meat on a metal scale, wrap it in white butcher paper and label it with a marker. More often than not, friends and family pitched in and left with steaks for their deep freezers. Grandpa saved the heart and liver, which he pickled in a jar in our icebox.

This was an average day for me, growing up. During those formative years, witnessing death did not desensitize me to the plight of our fellow animals. Rather, life on the farm in general strengthened my reverence for the more-than-human world, which so plainly dictated our lives. While we opened and closed the gates that trapped farm animals, we were often at their mercy.

On winter mornings when we would have preferred a warm bed, we crouched in the snow and pulled a breech calf into the world before sunrise. We were aware each day, when we entered the pasture to check the water in the stock tank, that even the smallest of the Charolais cattle could beat us in a fight. We had friends who had been trampled or gored by bulls, and Grandpa told the story of an area farmer who, years before, slipped on a patch of ice while inside one of his pens, hit his head and was eaten by hogs.

On Sundays at the little Catholic church down the dirt road from our house, we stared up at Jesus’ bleeding, hanging body and listened to the sermons about man’s dominion over the earth. But in our bones we knew it was the other way around.

Our humility was not just the result of doing hard, undervalued work. It was also the result of being undervalued people.

Even as a child, I understood that families like mine, poor rural farmers, were low in the pecking order. Television shows and movies portrayed us as buffoons and hicks, always the butt of the joke. Our presumed incivility, and even monstrousness, was suggested in conversations, often to laughter, by humming the banjo tune from the 1972 film “Deliverance,” present in many VHS collections during my 1980s childhood. “Squeal like a pig,” some jokers continued — a reference to that film’s infamous rape scene.

We didn’t need those cues to know that society held us in low esteem, though. All we had to do was look at our bank accounts.

We worked the land and killed animals so that others would eat, so that we would afford propane for the winter, and so that the rich, rigged industry we supplied grain to would become a little richer.

The profound humility instilled in me by my upbringing left no room in my worldview for exceptionalism of any sort. It also left me troubled by the ways that most humans calculate the value of things — animals, plants, land, water, resources, even other people — according to hierarchies that suit their own interests.

More than once, while wrapping meat, I sliced my finger on the sharp edge of the butcher paper. There was nothing special about my blood. It was red just like the pigs’ and the cows’. It was clear to me that there was nothing special about me or my family, either, doing that most essential work of feeding others. Nothing special but also nothing lesser.

From there, near the bottom of the proverbial social ladder — where women drove tractors and people of all races lived in single-wide trailers — I began to see through the many false narratives of supremacy that govern our society. That men are better than women. That white people are better than everyone else. That the rich are better than the poor. Even, yes, that human beings are better than animals.

\*

The experiences of my early life left me forever in mind of the animals that society consumes and the workers who spend their lives among them. It also left me rageful toward industries that devalue both. In some ways, my professional mission to champion the exploited and expose the powerful — as a journalist, an author and an advocate for social justice — can be traced back to lessons I learned on the farm.

Unfortunately, farms like ours — and the ancient, intimate tradition of husbandry into which I was born — have been disappearing for decades, forced out of business by policies that favor large industrial operations.

Today an estimated 99 percent of the meat in the United States comes from factory farms, barbaric places that leverage the selfish, amoral paradigm of human supremacy for immense capitalist gain. Industrialized agriculture has made meat, eggs, milk, leather, cheese, wool and other animal goods readily, cheaply available to the modern consumer but at a terrible cost — both to the animals, who endure savage cruelty, and to the low-wage laborers, many of whom are immigrants of color, who [*suffer injuries to body and spirit*](https://journalstar.com/news/local/meatpacking-workers-advocates-describe-dehumanizing-conditions-in-nebraska-plants/article_1287b495-df27-5423-914f-f7dda9a5caad.html).

This likely isn’t news to you. The details of this dark business, while partly obscured by [*ag-gag laws*](https://aldf.org/issue/ag-gag/#:~:text=As%20the%20name%20suggests%2C%20Ag,from%20learning%20about%20animal%20cruelty.), are widely documented, yet they remain underdiscussed. The torturous treatment of animals at the hands of multibillion-dollar monopolies is among the greatest horrors being committed on this planet.

In comparison, our small farm was as humane as any enterprise raising animals for slaughter might be. And while we lived in poverty, according to many definitions, it was a fortune and privilege to grow up with a big garden, with cows and pigs and chickens.

Subsistence through modest land ownership historically has been refused to people of color, stolen from Indigenous peoples and made economically unfeasible for poor folks of all stripes, who set off for cities in order to survive.

Whereas most Americans today have no direct contact with the animals they eat, I carried their manure on my boots. Thus, long before I learned about the industry that delivers chicken tenders and bacon strips to the masses, I had an aversion to factory-farmed products. The beef was too gray. The chicken smelled wrong. The egg yolks were too pale.

Ironically, our culture associates eco-consciousness with higher socioeconomic status, as though greater wealth denotes greater character. But in my experience, environmental impacts are most keenly felt and understood by the poor and unheard.

In fact, as I have climbed out of poverty and into a class of highly educated, financially comfortable liberals, I have found that for all their supposed interest in justice and claims of being on the right side of history, most of my peers give little thought to animal suffering in their eating decisions.

Of course, wealth and class play a role in what food and products you can afford. Socioeconomic barriers to values-based eating choices undeniably exist, particularly in urban areas cut off from healthy food options. But one doesn’t have to afford expensive grass-finished beef or frozen patties engineered from pea protein to make effective food decisions, and white male chief executives didn’t invent plant-based living. Bougie restaurants serving charcuterie boards sure as hell didn’t invent local venison salami, which we made from the deer we hunted.

To be certain, many middle-class and affluent consumers far removed from agricultural work have learned about the problems of factory farming, including its contribution to climate change, and altered their habits. I applaud their important efforts. For some people, though, working near the bottom of the class ladder provides not just knowledge but a knowing, and that knowing deserves respect.

As a young adult, I lived in poverty and faced food insecurity. These conditions limited my choices, but they did not negate my affection for the earth. I grew up driving a farm truck with wheat kernels on the floor of the cab and an “Eat beef” license plate on the front bumper. I knew people maimed by farm machinery and disabled by agricultural chemicals. Regarding the conditions of farm animals and farmworkers, I had no option but to understand.

For me, there is no taste of meat without bodily memory — the heat of a newborn calf in my cold arms, the smell of the mother’s cascading excrement, the danger of her heavy hooves. I could see the cows on our farm from my upstairs bedroom window and the pigs and chickens from our front door.

My early proximity to animals did not cause my empathy for them, I suspect, so much as it starkly revealed it. To be sure, similar experiences did not make animal rights activists out of most of the people in my farming community. But in general, I observed more environmentally conscious behaviors among the rural working poor than in other socioeconomic spaces I’ve inhabited.

Maybe it was because minimizing waste and reusing and repairing old things were economic necessities. Or perhaps it was because carbon-spewing air travel was an unaffordable luxury. Or maybe it was because they had no choice but to look into a cow’s eyes before they killed her.

I do not wish to valorize the ***working class*** or demonize those who are better off. Both groups vote in droves for politicians who cater to massive agricultural corporations, the fossil fuel lobby and other powerful entities that destroy our planet.

But guilt for crimes committed against other species and against the earth is not equally shared. Wealthy corporations and the governments beholden to them, choosing profit over sustainability and moral decency, created and fortified the food systems with which the average individual has little choice but to engage.

Navigating those systems today, while living again in rural Kansas after years in cities, I now eat eggs from my neighbor’s hens and, about once a month, chicken, beef or bison raised and slaughtered down the road. At other times, living without access to such food or means to afford it, I went without eating animal products for years at a time. I haven’t consumed dairy in more than a decade, but for those who do, the particular devastation of family dairies makes local milk and cheese much harder to come by.

Still, I am part of the problem. I ate fast-food hamburgers well into my 20s, and my home almost certainly contains products that were tested on animals. My cat eats canned meat from factory farm byproducts, and I’m wearing mass-produced leather sneakers as I type this.

I am sympathetic to the argument that any consumption of animal products is unethical and unnecessary. Realistically, however, the urgent problem for our time is not whether they will be consumed but how.

While it is important that consumers from all socioeconomic backgrounds care about the earth and its creatures, ultimately only policy has the power to restrain the agriculture industry’s worst abuses. I am heartened by [*long-term legal efforts to extend personhood to other animal species*](https://www.wbur.org/onpoint/2022/10/27/should-animals-have-personhood-rights) and, more immediately, by the New Jersey senator and famous vegan Cory Booker’s [*new legislation to make slaughterhouse practices more humane*](https://www.booker.senate.gov/news/press/booker-announces-legislation-to-hold-large-factory-farms-accountable-and-improve-animal-welfare). In a more perfect world, future farm bills would somehow rebuild the [*nearly four million small farms lost*](https://www.ers.usda.gov/data-products/ag-and-food-statistics-charting-the-essentials/farming-and-farm-income/) to urbanization and industrialization since the 1930s, allowing future generations the closeness to animals that engenders awareness.

My family, squeezed out like so many others, had to sell our fifth-generation farm more than 20 years ago. I was a first-generation college student by then, working toward a more comfortable life.

No education, however, would surpass the one I received in the butchering shed, where I held a bleeding muscle with my bare hands and placed it on the scale. Today, when I look at that scale — now an antique on display in my kitchen — I give thanks for those who worked and those who died so that I may eat.

Sarah Smarsh is the author of “Heartland: A Memoir of Working Hard and Being Broke in the Richest Country on Earth.”

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This article appeared in print on page SR14.

**Load-Date:** December 24, 2022

**End of Document**



[***‘Kill It and Leave This Town’ Review: Grotesque, Bleak and Endless***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61CN-DB71-JBG3-63YS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 26, 2020 Thursday 23:02 EST

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**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 375 words

**Byline:** Maya Phillips

**Highlight:** One viewing is enough for this animated feature debut by the Polish director Mariusz Wilczynski.

**Body**

One viewing is enough for this animated feature debut by the Polish director Mariusz Wilczynski.

It’s difficult to describe the Polish artist Mariusz Wilczynski’s debut film, “Kill It and Leave This Town,” because the animated feature — plotless, gloomy and surreal — is more a direct translation of feelings and sensations than a traditional work of storytelling.

There is truly nothing traditional about “Kill It,” in which the filmmaker reflects on his grief, mortality and isolation in his ***working-class*** industrial town. The grim film feels excavated from the subconscious: The coarse illustration style, with its frazzled, stray lines, emphasizes the bleakness of the images.

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/YXcmhG2eks4)]

The first third of the film is especially brutal. A child needlessly berated by his mother; flies plucked off flypaper; a dying woman in a hospital bed saying, “I’m all alone here, lonely as an owl,” as her son, an analog of the filmmaker, brusquely brushes her off: Wilczynski makes a feast of the obscene, but it is, by nature, hard to digest.

The film does have the capacity for beauty — scenes of snowfall and rainfall and light streaming from buildings reveal an elegance that he works hard to negate. He’d rather we stare at a nurse carefully maneuvering a frayed thread through a needle to stitch not cloth, but the belly and genitals of an old woman’s corpse, while severed heads roll down the streets and humans defecate on the sidewalks.

Tadeusz Nalepa’s surprisingly energetic rock-heavy score, however, is a satisfying companion to the film’s swift shifts in scale and perspective.

After a while, Wilczynski seems to tire of his violent approach, and though the film maintains its dark dreaminess, his images soften, but a sense of listlessness persists that rejects resolution.

Because “Kill It” is more than anything an emotional experience, it feels long and taxing. Wilczynski might consider “Kill It” a success — but I don’t want to encounter it again.

Kill It and Leave This Town

Not rated. In Polish, with subtitles. Running time: 1 hour 28 minutes. Watch through [*virtual cinemas*](http://youtube.com/embed/YXcmhG2eks4).

PHOTO: A scene from “Kill It and Leave This Town,” Mariusz Wilczynski’s animated feature debut. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Outsider Pictures FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 26, 2020

**End of Document**



[***‘The Great American Lie’ Review: Another Interpretation of the Dream***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60YP-WFY1-JBG3-6341-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 1, 2020 Thursday 01:08 EST

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**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 365 words

**Byline:** Teo Bugbee

**Highlight:** Scholars, activists, politicians and real people illustrate the national economic abyss.

**Body**

Scholars, activists, politicians and real people illustrate the national economic abyss.

The run-of-the-mill documentary “The Great American Lie” fires shots at the American Dream, criticizing a country that has failed its promise.

The movie uses a broad array of talking head interviews to argue that the rich are allowed to become richer as women and people of color toil in poorly compensated service jobs. The film’s alignment with Democratic Party talking points is implied, but never directly stated. There are criticisms of Ronald Reagan and Republican tax plans, and the movie uses archival news footage to suggest parallels between Ku Klux Klan meetings and President Trump’s political supporters.

Interviews are seamlessly strung together, which gives the movie a polished feel. But this practice does a disservice to the speakers. The economist Joseph Stiglitz might not advocate the same solutions to inequality as the critical race theorist Kimberlé Crenshaw, yet the movie makes no distinctions between their scholarship.

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/ruHqIhySvFo)]

The documentary’s united and decidedly liberal front feels particularly disingenuous because the film is directed by Jennifer Siebel Newsom, who is married to Gavin Newsom, the governor of California. Governor Newsom, a Democrat, is allowed to make brief appearances as a neutral pundit, but his relationship with the filmmaker is never disclosed. .

The documentary fares better when it cuts the interviews and simply follows ***working class*** people in their daily lives. Sequences spent with a former steelworker in Ohio, or an overwhelmed middle school principal in Oakland build an organic sense of what needs to change in the United States. These scenes demonstrate meaningful sound and fury; it’s unfortunate that the rest of the film offers little more than pomp and circumstance.

The Great American Lie

Not rated. Running time: 1 hour 39 minutes. Rent or buy on [*Amazon*](http://youtube.com/embed/ruHqIhySvFo), [*Google Play*](http://youtube.com/embed/ruHqIhySvFo) and other streaming platforms and pay TV operators.

PHOTO: Students from the Frick Impact Academy in Oakland, Calif., in “The Great American Lie,” a documentary about inequality in America. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Vertical Entertainment FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 2, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Review: An Astute Choreographer Stumbles (and Rises) to Hope; Critic’s Pick***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YCM-4VG1-DXY4-X2K1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 8, 2020 Sunday 11:27 EST

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**Section:** ARTS; dance

**Length:** 667 words

**Byline:** Gia Kourlas

**Highlight:** The Belfast artist Oona Doherty portrays ***working-class*** men in her marvelous piece at the 92nd Street Y.

**Body**

The Belfast artist Oona Doherty portrays ***working-class*** men in her marvelous piece at the 92nd Street Y.

Oona Doherty’s entrance would have been better had it been a surprise; [*it wasn’t,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/26/arts/spring-performances-new-york.html)but it was still a doozy. This contemporary choreographer and performer from Belfast is astonishing — not merely raw, as she is often described, but exactingly articulate. She is in possession of a body with as much flexibility as her mind, as was revealed in her arresting exploration of the young men of her hometown.

On Friday, at the start of Ms. Doherty’s “Hope Hunt and the Ascension Into Lazarus,” spectators huddled around the entrance of the 92nd Street Y in a cold drizzle and waited for a car to pull up to the door. It was a desperate looking thing, with a garbage bag taped over the back window; one of its occupants, Joss Carter, got out, lit a rolled cigarette and surveyed the crowd with hunched shoulders before walking around to the back and opening the trunk. Out spilled Ms. Doherty.

Dressed in a baggy blue shell jacket and pants, she crumbled and rose from the pavement with a spooky pliancy as Strength NIA’s “Northern Ireland Yes” played. Once standing, she held her arms out and swayed to the beat before sliding back down to the sidewalk and crawling between spectators. Rising and buckling backward, sniffing and swiping her nose with the occasional head toss, she maintained a gliding, catlike grace.

After she joined Mr. Carter and the driver to stand in front of the car — they raised one fist in the air, then the other and then both to lyrics that included, “God is a Catholic man from Creggan” — her mates abandoned her, driving off as Mr. Carter muttered something about having to “see a man about a dog.”

Ms. Doherty was crestfallen, but quickly recovered. “Get into the theater!” she yelled with stomping feet. We obliged, making our way to the performance space, Buttenweiser Hall, where she continued once we had settled in and she had traded her Adidas for bare feet. In her nuanced exploration of the misunderstood, hapless, posturing [*male figures of Belfast,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/26/arts/spring-performances-new-york.html) Ms. Doherty — part vaudevillian, part shape-shifter — used her voice and body to transform herself into multiple others with a cellular-level intensity.

In her all-too-brief run at the [*Harkness Dance Festival*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/26/arts/spring-performances-new-york.html), Ms. Doherty presented her take on masculinity like a living painting, morphing from a figure of swaggering confidence to one of feigning nonchalance. Rage became fear. Sounds gradually turned into words. All the while, Ms. Doherty’s body turned into a wave as she rocked from side to side with her expressions both pained and preening.

No movement or sound went astray; clearly, Ms. Doherty’s work is choreographed within an inch of its life, but the material is so deeply embedded in her compact, pliable form that it also seems unpremeditated. It’s also strangely natural when, say, her leg sweeps in an elegant rond de jambe before she collapses in a heap. Her balance is uncanny as physical tics — the sniffs and furrowed brow — take possession of her face.

There are dark moments here, but the work is not entirely about darkness. It says it all in the title: This is a hunt for hope. In the end, the dance transforms again when Ms. Doherty takes off her dark clothes to reveal an all-white ensemble for a final journey in which she transports her body to a place of vulnerability.

After a finger-pointing snarl, she leans back, and suddenly her face, perfectly still, glows as if she were made of wax. Braiding masculinity and femininity, her arms slowly swirl around her undulating torso. Her presence is beyond eerie: She is the most alone person you have ever seen, and you feel it in your bones.

Hope Hunt and the Ascension Into Lazarus

Performed Friday and Saturday at the 92nd Street Y, Manhattan; [*92y.org*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/26/arts/spring-performances-new-york.html).

PHOTOS: Oona Doherty began her Harkness Dance Festival performance outside the 92nd Street Y, above, and ended it in the theater dressed in white, right. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDREA MOHIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 9, 2020

**End of Document**



[***How I Became an Asian American; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65R7-P901-DXY4-X52M-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 19, 2022 Sunday 15:28 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1134 words

**Byline:** David Shih

**Highlight:** The killing of a Chinese American, Vincent Chin, 40 years ago changed the way people of Asian descent began to see themselves.

**Body**

In 1993, I was preparing to move to Ann Arbor, Mich., for graduate school when a friend, a Korean American, gave me a few words of advice:

“Vincent Chin, man.”

I’d never heard of Vincent Chin. But then I read about his killing about 10 years earlier near Detroit, not so far from Ann Arbor. He was fatally [*beaten*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/16/us/vincent-chin-anti-asian-attack-detroit.html) with a baseball bat by an autoworker at a time when the American auto industry was on its knees and Japan’s was ascendant.

Mr. Chin was of Chinese descent, not Japanese. But no matter. His assailant, Ronald Ebens, allegedly sneered at him at a strip club where Mr. Chin, 27, was celebrating his impending marriage: “It’s because of you,” Mr. Ebens said, using a pejorative, “that we’re out of work.”

Mr. Ebens pleaded guilty to manslaughter in a deal with prosecutors in county court. His stepson, who had been laid off from his job as an autoworker, was with Mr. Ebens when the attack occurred. Mr. Ebens’s stepson held Mr. Chin when Mr. Ebens first struck him. The stepson pleaded no contest to the same charge. They were each fined roughly $3,000 and put on probation but received no jail time. Efforts to prosecute them on federal charges of violating Mr. Chin’s civil rights ultimately failed. Both men said they were not motivated by racial hatred. But reading about Mr. Chin’s killing changed my perspective about who I was. Like Vincent Chin, I was from a Chinese family. But I also began to think of myself as an Asian American.

I wasn’t alone.

“Before the Vincent Chin case, it’s fair to say there weren’t Asian Americans,” the legal scholar Frank Wu argued in a documentary film about the legacy of Mr. Chin’s murder, “[*Vincent Who?*](https://www.vincentwhofilm.com/)” — meaning that until the 1980s, we Asians did not see ourselves as having much in common with one another. But stereotypes like the “perpetual foreigner” exposed our shared vulnerability to discrimination and united us as a group whether we knew it or not. Asian American identity was grounded in race.

Today, race, rather than ethnicity or nationality, also appears to explain the [*spike in anti-Asian violence*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/06/nyregion/asian-woman-attacks.html) in the United States during the Covid-19 pandemic. Those assaulting Asian Americans in cities across the country do not seem to differentiate between Asian Americans and Asian nationals. But being Japanese in Detroit in 1982 was as pejorative for economic reasons — what the Japanese did in transforming their country into an industrial powerhouse — as for racial reasons. These tensions coincided with the rise of a neoliberal ideology evidenced by accelerating deindustrialization. With the United States facing a powerful Asian rival, it would lay the groundwork for today’s anti-Asian backlash.

In the late 1970s, Chrysler’s woes signaled the beginning of a comprehensive decline in domestic manufacturing. By 1980, Japan’s auto industry [*outpaced*](https://www.nytimes.com/1981/01/18/business/japans-amazing-auto-machine.html) America’s for the first time. Chrysler avoided bankruptcy in 1979 only by securing [*$1.5 billion*](https://www.npr.org/2008/11/12/96922222/examining-chryslers-1979-rescue) in federal loans. In 1985, President Ronald Reagan [*decided not to extend*](https://www.upi.com/Archives/1985/03/01/Reagan-tells-Japan-to-drop-car-quotas/4836478501200/) voluntary quotas on Japanese auto imports, citing the need for “free and fair trade.”

Today the Asian tiger in question is not Japan but China. In 2016, as a presidential candidate, Donald Trump [*vented*](https://www.politico.com/blogs/2016-gop-primary-live-updates-and-results/2016/05/trump-china-rape-america-222689), “We can’t continue to allow China to rape our country.” As president, Mr. Trump whipped up anti-Asian fervor by pointedly [*referring to Covid-19*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/18/us/politics/china-virus.html) as the “Chinese virus,” a term that predictably caught on as a slur to refer to Asian people in general.

China was to blame for the disruption of our accustomed way of life and the mounting death toll, the story went, not the Trump administration’s bungled and insufficient public health response whose goal was a quick return to business as usual. And by condemning China and waging an isolationist trade war, Trump gave cover to the rest of his economic agenda — deregulation and big corporate tax cuts.

Less bombastic in his exhortations, President Biden nevertheless also [*evokes the specter of China*](https://www.cnbc.com/2021/04/29/biden-calls-for-us-to-become-more-competitive-against-china.html) to urge a retreat from the failed policies of past administrations.

In his 2022 State of the Union address, Mr. Biden [*pledged*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2022/03/01/remarks-of-president-joe-biden-state-of-the-union-address-as-delivered/) to “transform America and put us on a path to win the economic competition of the 21st century that we face with the rest of the world — particularly China,” as if China were particularly responsible for razing the fortunes of the ***working class***. He called on Congress to pass the Bipartisan Innovation Act, which, among its provisions, would subsidize domestic semiconductor production.

“It’s no wonder the Chinese Communist Party is literally lobbying — paying lobbyists — against this bill passing,” Mr. Biden [*said last month*](https://www.cnbc.com/2022/05/06/biden-demands-congress-pass-chips-innovation-bill-to-counter-china.html), seeming to suggest that the ideology at fault for deindustrialization is not neoliberalism but communism.

To the extent that we regard anti-Asian violence as essentially a race problem, our search will tend to be for anti-racist solutions, like new hate crime legislation, that may not adequately account for the economic inequality behind the violence. In 2021, Mr. Biden [*signed*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2021/05/20/remarks-by-president-biden-at-signing-of-the-covid-19-hate-crimes-act/) the Covid-19 Hate Crimes Act, making the reporting of hate crimes easier and expediting the review process. Yet in the first three quarters of that same year, only seven of 233 anti-Asian attacks reported in New York City resulted in a conviction for a hate crime, according to a report released this year by the [*Asian American Bar Association of New York*](https://www.nbcnews.com/news/asian-america/only-3-reported-attacks-asian-americans-led-hate-crime-convictions-new-rcna31618) and dedicated to the memory of Mr. Chin.

In 1982, Mr. Chin was made into a scapegoat not only for Japanese autoworkers and executives but also for a deteriorating way of life for those once solidly in the middle class but quickly falling out of it. Today, Asian Americans are not only the scapegoat for Xi Jinping or duplicitous Chinese C.E.O.s. We are also the scapegoat for a fading sense of well-being in a market-driven and hypercompetitive society. Anti-Asian violence will continue to be a fact of life so long as racist “yellow peril” messaging about China continues and is allowed to cover up the deep structural forces that have produced generational division and alienation in America. I hope Mr. Chin becomes an even more potent symbol of overdue justice not only for Asian Americans but for all Americans who know their worth is more than what racism and capitalism demand.

[*David Shih*](https://www.uwec.edu/profiles/shihd/) is a professor of English at the University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire, and the author of the forthcoming “Chinese Prodigal.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

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PHOTO: Lily Chin, whose son Vincent was killed by two white men in 1982, breaking down in the City County Building in Detroit. (PHOTOGRAPH BY BETTMANN ARCHIVE, VIA GETTY IMAGES)

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**End of Document**



[***Turbulent Forces of Brexit Divide U.K.'s Conservative Party***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66P3-65X1-JBG3-637B-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 23, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 6

**Length:** 1599 words

**Byline:** By Mark Landler

**Body**

Some experts link Liz Truss's downfall to the ripple effect of Britain's departure from the European Union and the bitter, ideologically opposed factions it created in her party.

LONDON -- When Prime Minister Liz Truss of Britain resigned on Thursday after only 44 days in office, she spoke almost wistfully about how the collapse of her economic plans meant she would never achieve her goal of creating a ''low-tax, high-growth economy that would take advantage of the freedoms of Brexit.''

Her nostalgia for Britain's exit from the European Union might be misplaced, at least when it comes to her Conservative Party. Brexit is the fault line that runs through Ms. Truss's ill-fated attempt to transform Britain's economy, just as it ran through Prime Minister Theresa May's doomed government, and David Cameron's before hers.

Except for Boris Johnson, who was forced out because of scandals related to his personal conduct, the forces unleashed by Brexit have undone every Conservative prime minister since 2016. They have also severely divided the party, creating bitter, ideologically opposed factions seemingly more interested in warring with each other than in governing a country with the world's sixth-largest economy.

Ms. Truss's calamitous tenure, critics said, is the most extreme example of post-Brexit politics that have now brought the Conservatives to crisis. In the process, it has damaged Britain's economic standing, its credibility in the markets, and its reputation with the public, which is watching a leadership contest that may return Mr. Johnson to the helm of a party that tossed him out only three months ago.

''The Conservatives are never going to recover the coherence that will make for good governance,'' said Timothy Garton Ash, a professor of European studies at Oxford University. ''This is a party that is tearing itself apart.''

He traced the party's unraveling from the 2016 referendum, called by Mr. Cameron, through Mrs. May's futile efforts to craft a softer form of Brexit, to the uncompromising ''hard Brexit'' of Mr. Johnson, and finally to Ms. Truss's experiment in trickle-down economics, which he said bore all of the hallmarks of Brexit thinking, from the derision of expert opinion to the disregard of Britain's neighbors and the market.

''It's taking the logic of Brexit to the absurd,'' said Professor Garton Ash, who has long lamented the vote to leave.

Ms. Truss's tax cuts made Britain an outlier among Western countries, but the factionalism of post-Brexit Britain plagues other European countries, from Italy to Germany, as well as the United States, where some may view the potential return of Mr. Johnson as a harbinger for another restless populist, Donald J. Trump.

In announcing her trickle-down policies, Ms. Truss was an evangelist for a particular model of Brexit, an agile, fast-growing, lightly regulated Britain that its backers once branded Singapore-on-Thames. Whether that is a viable economic construct was never tested. Her policies were swiftly rejected by the markets because they were judged to be reckless at a time of double-digit inflation.

But Ms. Truss faced equally hostile forces within her own cabinet, which are fueled by the same nationalistic passions that drove Brexit.

Suella Braverman, the home secretary whom Ms. Truss fired last week ostensibly for violating security rules, attacked Ms. Truss for abandoning the party's promise to cut down immigration numbers. The prime minister talks tough about illegal immigrants, too, but her policies were shaping up to be more moderate because she believes new arrivals are needed to accelerate Britain's growth.

The clash between Ms. Truss and Ms. Braverman was part of a bigger clash between rival camps in the party -- a free-market, libertarian wing, exemplified by the prime minister, and a hard-line anti-immigration wing, represented by Ms. Braverman. Those views, Ms. Braverman argues, are critical to retaining the loyalty of ***working-class*** voters in the north of England, who used to back the Labour Party but who propelled the Conservatives to a landslide general election victory in 2019.

The party also has a centrist faction -- personified by Ms. Truss's chancellor of the Exchequer, Jeremy Hunt -- which embraces small-government, business-friendly policies that predate Brexit. The centrists regained some influence after the market's repudiation of Ms. Truss, when she was forced to hand over the Treasury to Mr. Hunt and the home office to one of his allies, Grant Shapps.

Some major party figures, like Rishi Sunak, who served as chancellor under Mr. Johnson and is expected to run in next week's leadership contest, do not fit neatly into a single group. He voted in favor of Brexit but opposed Ms. Truss's tax cuts, warning that they would cause havoc in the markets.

Quarrels over Britain's relationship with Europe date back decades in the Conservative Party, of course. Mr. Cameron had little choice but to resign after failing to persuade voters to reject a motion to leave in his referendum. Mrs. May was forced out by her party's lawmakers after trying to strike compromises with the European Union that made her look, to some, as too conciliatory.

With Mr. Johnson having led Britain out of the European Union in 2020, the battles are now over how to shape its post-Brexit society. But they still revolve to a great degree around Europe-related issues, like the flow of asylum seekers across the English Channel or trade rules in Northern Ireland. Pressure from the party's hard-liners forced Mr. Johnson and Ms. Truss to toughen their approach to Northern Ireland, for example.

''The factions are on display in this leadership campaign,'' said Tony Travers, a professor of politics at the London School of Economics. ''But this is now on a bigger scale and profoundly affects what was once the incredible adherence of the Conservative Party to common-sense and pragmatism.''

It also helps explain why Mr. Johnson, who only six weeks ago left Downing Street under a wreath of scandal that prompted a wholesale mutiny of Conservative lawmakers and a mass walkout of his ministers, suddenly finds himself a plausible candidate to retake control of the party. He returned on Saturday from a vacation in the Dominican Republic to lobby lawmakers for votes.

Many Conservative lawmakers, fearful of losing their seats in the next general election, yearn for the political magic of ''Get Brexit Done,'' the upbeat slogan that Mr. Johnson used to unite the party's affluent southeastern suburbanites with the so-called red wall voters in the Midlands and north. They are willing to accept Mr. Johnson, even with his ethical flaws, for the big-tent appeal he once commanded.

''The advantage that Boris has is that he's not interested in these factions,'' Professor Travers said. ''He's not interested in ideology but in power. And the reason the members want him back is because they think he can help them stay in power.''

As prime minister, Mr. Johnson did not hesitate to exploit populist passions. His government began the practice of putting asylum seekers on flights to Rwanda, drawing condemnation from human-rights lawyers and activists.

But Mr. Johnson also oversaw a costly state intervention in the economy to insulate people from the effects of the coronavirus pandemic. And his signature program involved spending hundreds of billions of pounds on high-speed trains and other projects to ''level up'' corroded cities in the north with more prosperous London.

Ms. Truss said comparatively little about leveling up. One of the first moves made by her first choice as chancellor, Kwasi Kwarteng, was to scrap a limit on bonuses paid to bankers, a move intended to appease London's financial district.

The problem for Mr. Johnson, if he were to run and win, is that he would have far fewer financial resources this time around to govern as a big-state Conservative. Mr. Hunt has warned that the government will have to make ''eye-wateringly difficult'' decisions about which programs to cut. Britain's need to rebuild its shattered credibility with investors will require strict fiscal discipline.

Britain's economic troubles, experts say, cannot be blamed wholly or even mainly on Brexit. While its departure from the European Union has tightened the labor market and hampered trade, Britain's growth never recovered after the financial crisis of 2008. Its depleted public services are a legacy of the austerity of Mr. Cameron and his chancellor, George Osborne, which predated Brexit.

Still, the often-ruthless tactics of the ''Vote Leave'' campaign, critics say, planted the seeds for the Truss government's mishandling of economic policy. Campaigners for Brexit famously argued that the country should ignore experts who warned that leaving the European Union would exact a high cost. They brandished spurious figures about the cost for Britain of remaining in the bloc.

This experts-be-damned philosophy was the underpinning of Ms. Truss's economic plan. When Mr. Kwarteng announced the tax cuts, he refused to submit them to scrutiny by the government's independent watchdog. He fired the most senior civil servant at the Treasury, Tom Scholar, a sign of his disdain for economic orthodoxy.

''It wasn't so much the fact of Brexit, or even the referendum itself, but the dishonesty of the referendum campaign,'' said Jonathan Portes, a professor of economics and public policy at King's College London. ''They took a lesson from that, which was that dishonesty and trashing institutions was a way to success.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/22/world/europe/uk-brexit-conservatives.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/22/world/europe/uk-brexit-conservatives.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Brexit supporters gathered to celebrate Britain leaving the E.U. in 2020, top. The resignation of Prime Minister Liz Truss has put a spotlight on the competing priorities of the Conservative Party's prominent leaders. Clockwise from above left: Boris Johnson, Suella Braverman, Rishi Sunak and Jeremy Hunt. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARY TURNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

DANIEL LEAL/AFP -- GETTY IMAGES

TOLGA AKMEN/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

HENRY NICHOLLS/REUTERS

TOBY MELVILLE/REUTERS) This article appeared in print on page A6.

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**End of Document**



[***Should Democrats Be Less Progressive?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6422-JVC1-JBG3-6012-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 10, 2021 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 20; LETTERS

**Length:** 700 words

**Body**

Readers respond to an editorial that urged the party to be more realistic and moderate.

To the Editor:

Re ''Face Reality, Democrats'' (editorial, Nov. 5):

It is perilous to ignore political reality. What is questionable is The Times's description of that reality.

Polls consistently show that a majority of Americans (including many Republicans) support many of Build Back Better's initiatives: lower prescription drug prices, support for child care and early childhood education, and more. Even more consistently, polls make it clear that large majorities want the people and big businesses that make the most money to pay their fair share of taxes -- which would go a long way toward paying for the programs Americans want.

Calling this ''a sharp leftward push'' is mistaken, and focusing on the old boogeymen of costs and growing the government is an anachronistic analysis.

Joe Biden was elected in part to end Donald Trump's war on our government. His promise was to make government work for Americans, not to make it smaller. The largest part of Democrats' peril is their failure to do that -- largely the fault of moderates. If Democrats can't make government work, they deserve the consequences. Unfortunately, the nation does not.

Gail GoldeyHarrison, N.Y.

To the Editor:

I certainly hope that this editorial will get the attention of Democratic members of Congress!

I am a liberal Democrat who decries the party infighting and obstructionism. These are not normal times, where we can have arcane political arguments about the fine points of policy. This is now Trump world -- an ex-president who actually tried to foment a coup, supported and enabled by his Republican Party.

So while factions in my party are being intransigent, they are also making the president look weak and ineffective and reminding voters that we can be chaotic, too -- ergo our recent electoral losses.

Face reality is right! Either coalesce and compromise and do some great things for the American people, or have the G.O.P. take over Congress and re-elect Donald Trump as president, which will cause us to fail as a country.

Carol KrainesDeerfield, Ill.

To the Editor:

Your editorial gets it exactly wrong.

You call for the Democrats to moderate in the face of the electorate's lurch toward the angry and disaffected right. The problem is that our society is broken. People are angry, people are disaffected. The progressives are the ones speaking to these people, with salvos against the destruction of the ***working class*** and obscene levels of inequality. Add in the energy of the young and engaged citizens who want to prevent the destruction of our planet.

The progressives among us are our only hope to lead our country with a mandate of the majority.

Mark KnobilPittsburgh

To the Editor:

The irony is overwhelming. The advice the editorial page gives to the Democratic Party is to ignore the Times editorial page. This is certainly excellent advice, and had the Democratic Party and the Biden administration followed it, the recent electoral losses might well have been smaller. Nonetheless, it leaves the reader puzzled as to how to apply this advice to the endless stream of progressive editorials that are certain to follow.

Jonathan BlankNew York

To the Editor:

I respectfully disagree with your analysis of the setbacks suffered by the Democratic Party in the recent elections. You give our divided citizenry too much credit. Ask the ordinary voter what he knows -- not thinks -- about matters like inflation, the state of the pandemic, the teaching of critical race theory, etc., and I am pretty sure you will come up with very little. We voters are vocal about what we think, even if we don't know much about the subject at hand.

Democrats, notably President Biden, refuse to admit that trying to reason with a party that only offers opposition is futile. The ideal of uniting the country is lofty but currently unrealistic. The G.O.P. over a long period has mastered the art of short, emotionally loaded phrases to manipulate its constituents and the unwary.

The media are being too quick to judge a presidency that is not yet a year old. Disappointing.

Norma GausterAvon, Conn.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/09/opinion/letters/should-the-democrats-be-less-progressive.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/09/opinion/letters/should-the-democrats-be-less-progressive.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: The U.S. Capitol building. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Samuel Corum for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***How Tumultuous Forces of Brexit Divided U.K.’s Conservative Party***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66NW-9J71-JBG3-62ST-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 22, 2022 Saturday 23:56 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1672 words

**Byline:** Mark Landler

**Highlight:** Some experts link Liz Truss’s downfall to the ripple effect of Britain’s departure from the European Union and the bitter, ideologically opposed factions it created in her party.

**Body**

Some experts link Liz Truss’s downfall to the ripple effect of Britain’s departure from the European Union and the bitter, ideologically opposed factions it created in her party.

LONDON — When Prime Minister Liz Truss of Britain resigned on Thursday after only 44 days in office, she spoke almost wistfully about how the collapse of her economic plans meant she would never achieve her goal of creating a “low-tax, high-growth economy that would take advantage of the freedoms of Brexit.”

Her nostalgia for Britain’s exit from the European Union might be misplaced, at least when it comes to her Conservative Party. Brexit is the fault line that runs through Ms. Truss’s [*ill-fated attempt to transform Britain’s economy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/20/world/europe/liz-truss-britain-resigns.html), just as it ran through Prime Minister [*Theresa May’s doomed government*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/24/world/europe/uk-brexit-theresa-may.html), and [*David Cameron’s before hers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/25/world/europe/britain-brexit-european-union-referendum.html).

Except for Boris Johnson, who was [*forced out because of scandals*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/07/07/world/boris-johnson-resign-news) related to his personal conduct, the forces unleashed by Brexit have undone every Conservative prime minister since 2016. They have also severely divided the party, creating bitter, ideologically opposed factions seemingly more interested in warring with each other than in governing a country with the world’s sixth-largest economy.

Ms. Truss’s calamitous tenure, critics said, is the most extreme example of post-Brexit politics that have now brought the Conservatives to crisis. In the process, it has damaged Britain’s economic standing, its credibility in the markets, and its reputation with the public, which is watching a leadership contest that may return Mr. Johnson to the helm of a party that tossed him out only three months ago.

“The Conservatives are never going to recover the coherence that will make for good governance,” said Timothy Garton Ash, a professor of European studies at Oxford University. “This is a party that is tearing itself apart.”

He traced the party’s unraveling from the 2016 referendum, called by Mr. Cameron, through Mrs. May’s futile efforts to craft a softer form of Brexit, to the uncompromising “hard Brexit” of Mr. Johnson, and finally to Ms. Truss’s experiment in trickle-down economics, which he said bore all of the hallmarks of Brexit thinking, from the derision of expert opinion to the disregard of Britain’s neighbors and the market.

“It’s taking the logic of Brexit to the absurd,” said Professor Garton Ash, who has long lamented the vote to leave.

Ms. Truss’s tax cuts made Britain an outlier among Western countries, but the factionalism of post-Brexit Britain plagues other European countries, from Italy to Germany, as well as the United States, where some may view the potential return of Mr. Johnson as a harbinger for another restless populist, Donald J. Trump.

In announcing her trickle-down policies, Ms. Truss was an evangelist for a particular model of Brexit, an agile, fast-growing, lightly regulated Britain that its backers once branded Singapore-on-Thames. Whether that is a viable economic construct was never tested. Her policies were swiftly rejected by the markets because they were judged to be reckless at a time of double-digit inflation.

But Ms. Truss faced equally hostile forces within her own cabinet, which are fueled by the same nationalistic passions that drove Brexit.

Suella Braverman, the home secretary whom Ms. Truss fired last week ostensibly for violating security rules, attacked Ms. Truss for abandoning the party’s promise to cut down immigration numbers. The prime minister talks tough about illegal immigrants, too, but her policies were shaping up to be more moderate because she believes new arrivals are needed to accelerate Britain’s growth.

The clash between Ms. Truss and Ms. Braverman was part of a bigger clash between rival camps in the party — a free-market, libertarian wing, exemplified by the prime minister, and a hard-line anti-immigration wing, represented by Ms. Braverman. Those views, Ms. Braverman argues, are critical to retaining the loyalty of ***working-class*** voters in the north of England, who used to back the Labour Party but who propelled the Conservatives to a landslide general election victory in 2019.

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Quarrels over Britain’s relationship with Europe date back decades in the Conservative Party, of course. Mr. Cameron had little choice but to resign after failing to persuade voters to reject a motion to leave in his referendum. Mrs. May was forced out by her party’s lawmakers after trying to strike compromises with the European Union that made her look, to some, as too conciliatory.

With Mr. Johnson having led Britain out of the European Union in 2020, the battles are now over how to shape its post-Brexit society. But they still revolve to a great degree around Europe-related issues, like the flow of asylum seekers across the English Channel or trade rules in Northern Ireland. Pressure from the party’s hard-liners forced Mr. Johnson and Ms. Truss to toughen their approach to Northern Ireland, for example.

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It also helps explain why Mr. Johnson, who only six weeks ago left Downing Street under a wreath of scandal that prompted a wholesale mutiny of Conservative lawmakers and a mass walkout of his ministers, suddenly finds himself a plausible candidate to retake control of the party. He returned on Saturday from a vacation in the Dominican Republic to lobby lawmakers for votes.

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Britain’s economic troubles, experts say, cannot be blamed wholly or even mainly on Brexit. While its departure from the European Union has tightened the labor market and hampered trade, Britain’s growth never recovered after the financial crisis of 2008. Its depleted public services are a legacy of the austerity of Mr. Cameron and his chancellor, George Osborne, which predated Brexit.

Still, the often-ruthless tactics of the “Vote Leave” campaign, critics say, planted the seeds for the Truss government’s mishandling of economic policy. Campaigners for Brexit famously argued that the country should ignore experts who warned that leaving the European Union would exact a high cost. They brandished spurious figures about the cost for Britain of remaining in the bloc.

This experts-be-damned philosophy was the underpinning of Ms. Truss’s economic plan. When Mr. Kwarteng announced the tax cuts, he refused to submit them to scrutiny by the government’s independent watchdog. He fired the most senior civil servant at the Treasury, Tom Scholar, a sign of his disdain for economic orthodoxy.

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PHOTOS: Brexit supporters gathered to celebrate Britain leaving the E.U. in 2020, top. The resignation of Prime Minister Liz Truss has put a spotlight on the competing priorities of the Conservative Party’s prominent leaders. Clockwise from above left: Boris Johnson, Suella Braverman, Rishi Sunak and Jeremy Hunt. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARY TURNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; DANIEL LEAL/AFP — GETTY IMAGES; TOLGA AKMEN/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK; HENRY NICHOLLS/REUTERS; TOBY MELVILLE/REUTERS) This article appeared in print on page A6.

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[***Deeper Humanity for a Painter's Models***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6618-W0W1-JBG3-63DD-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 6

**Length:** 1211 words

**Byline:** By Precious Adesina

**Body**

Glyn Philpot's sensitive portraits of Black subjects, unusual for the early 20th century, were given updated titles -- and consideration -- for a recent exhibition in England.

LONDON -- In the early 20th century, Glyn Philpot was one of Britain's most respected portrait painters. The artist was known for depicting high-society sitters in a style mimicking the old masters, so his works sat comfortably on the walls of his clients' country homes alongside generations of their family members.

''All the papers are raving about P. now. Have you seen?'' wrote Philpot's friend Gladys Miles to the art historian Randall Davies, in 1910. ''Everyone is rushing to be painted like sheep.''

By the 1930s, though, not only had Philpot's painting style become more modernist, incorporating abstracted backgrounds and a lighter color palette, he was also painting sensitive portraits of Black people, some of which, unusually for the time, were shown at the Royal Academy of Arts in London.

Philpot's most frequent Black subject was Henry Thomas, a Jamaican man who met the painter in 1929 and became his servant and muse until Philpot died in 1937. In ''Balthazar,'' painted the year they met, Philpot imagined Thomas as one of the Bible's wise men. In tasteful studies of Thomas himself, Philpot carefully depicted the textures, shades and contours of Thomas's hair and skin.

Several Thomas portraits, alongside other paintings of Black sitters, are part of ''Glyn Philpot: Flesh and Spirit,'' on view until October at Pallant House Gallery in Chichester, England. The show is the first major retrospective of Philpot's paintings in almost 40 years, and arrives at a time when his work has new resonance.

In the gallery, the pieces are generally displayed chronologically, from the printed books Philpot made as a student at the turn of the century to his final works from 1937. Among the paintings of aristocrats and socialites that made his career, his dignified and varied portraits of Black sitters stood out.

But when it came to putting the exhibition together, Simon Martin, its curator and the director of the museum, felt some of the paintings' original names were outdated, he said in a recent interview.

In Philpot's time, ''a lot of those works were just called 'Head of a Negro,''' Martin said. ''On the spectrum of titles, it's probably on the more acceptable side'' for the early 20th century, he added. ''But in 2022, if we are able to, and can put effort into, finding out who those people are and where they came from, I think we should,'' Martin said.

To do this, he worked with a team of advisers, including Alayo Akinkugbe, who founded the Instagram account ABlackHistoryOfArt; the British opera singer and broadcaster Peter Brathwaite; and Michael Hatt, who teaches art history at the University of Warwick. Where possible, they retitled Philpot's paintings to include the model's name and place of birth, and avoid mention of the sitter's race.

It's not the first time portraits' names have been reworked to provide more information about their Black subjects. For a 2019 exhibition at the Musée d'Orsay in Paris, works by Manet, Picasso and Cézanne were retitled to include the names of the Black models.

The original title of a 1778 painting of Dido Elizabeth Belle and her cousin Lady Elizabeth Murray by David Martin only referred to the white British aristocrat Lady Elizabeth. Until the 1990s, it was assumed that Dido, who was Black, was a slave or companion, until research revealed the pair were related, and had comparable upbringings in British aristocracy (the painting inspired the 2014 film ''Belle'').

Organizations like the National Trust, a British heritage conservation charity, have also started re-examining how the artworks in their large collections frame Black people. ''It is important we don't erase the original language as this sheds light on historical viewpoints, but we have sensitively updated the information around some of the artworks,'' said a spokesperson for the National Trust via email. The 18th-century portrait ''A Young Coachman'' at Erddig, a National Trust property in north Wales, for example, now includes information on who the Black man in the painting might be.

The National Trust's ongoing efforts to recognize Britain's colonial past have been met with some pushback, and deciding whether to retitle artworks can be complex. ''Some believe that changing the name could alter the intention of the artist,'' said Esi Edugyan, whose recent collection of essays, ''Out Of The Sun: Essays at the Crossroads of Race,'' explores the relationship between western art and Black people. ''If the artist himself has chosen the name, then the intentionality of that gesture must be taken into account,'' she added.

Martin and his advisory team saw relabeling Philpot's works as appropriate, given that it's most likely auction houses at the time gave his paintings their generic titles, rather than the artist himself. ''A name like 'Melancholy Negro' is not very telling,'' Akinkugbe said in a phone interview. ''Even if Philpot had named it that, I don't think he would take issue with the social-political context that we're in now meaning that we rename it.''

Martin said that Philpot's experiences as a gay man, at a time when sexual activity between men was a criminal offense in Britain, would have given the artist a sense of affinity with his Black sitters. ''Even though he does everything he can to fit in and to be part of society, there's always the sense that somehow he doesn't,'' Martin said.

Even so, there was a deeply uneven power dynamic between Philpot's social standing and a number of his Black subjects, especially in the case of Thomas, his servant. But the care with which he depicted Black people still contrasted with some of his peers' approaches. Martin compared his work to the French artist Paul Colin, known for his Art Deco poster illustrations around the same time.

''You look at some of those depictions of Josephine Baker, for example, and they're verging on the caricature at times,'' Martin said. Baker, who became one of Europe's most popular performers in the 1920s, was often depicted by Colin as topless, with stereotypically large red lips. ''This is not something you ever get in Philpot's work,'' Martin added.

In recent years, exhibitions, podcasts and researchers have explored how Black people are portrayed in European art. Although this has been especially notable since the ''moment of reckoning'' of George Floyd's murder in 2020, Edugyan said, ''among artists, whose chief subject is representation -- literally, how something is depicted and seen -- discussions about Black visibility have perhaps always turned an eye toward the larger picture, to the shifting perceptions of Blackness across the ages.''

When Philpot began painting more Black and ***working-class*** subjects in a modernist style, many in the art world were confused, and even affronted. ''Glyn Philpot 'goes Picasso,''' The Scotsman newspaper wrote in 1932 after one of his new paintings was unveiled at the Royal Academy.

But viewed today, Philpot's portraits speak to current discussions around representation in art and show a depth of feeling that endures a century later.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/26/arts/design/glyn-philpot-black-portraits.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/26/arts/design/glyn-philpot-black-portraits.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Above, in ''Balthazar'' (1929), Philpot imagined his frequent subject Henry Thomas as one of the Bible's wise men. Right, from top: ''Tom Whiskey (M. Julien Zaïre)'' (1931)

''Head of an Ethiopian Man (Billy)'' (1912-13)

''Profile of a Man With Hibiscus Flower (Félix)'' (1932). These works are in ''Glyn Philpot: Flesh and Spirit,'' an exhibition at Pallant House Gallery in Chichester, England. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY PALLANT HOUSE GALLERY

RICHARD OSBORN FINE ART

AGNEWS AND STEPHEN ONGPIN FINE ART, LONDON)

Originally, the title of this 1778 painting by David Martin referenced only Lady Elizabeth Murray, right, and not her cousin Dido Elizabeth Belle, left. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ALAMY)

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**End of Document**



[***Republicans' Fake War Against 'Woke Capital'***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62DF-5B91-DXY4-X4K6-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Jamelle Bouie

**Body**

If they really wanted to help the ***working class***, there is plenty they could do.

The Republican Party may not have much of an agenda to sell to the public right now, but it does have an enemy with which to rally its troops: ''woke capital,'' or those corporations that have adopted progressive rhetoric on social issues and used their platforms to support voting rights or back movements like Black Lives Matter.

''Parts of the private sector keep dabbling in behaving like a woke parallel government,'' Mitch McConnell, the Senate minority leader, told reporters on Monday. ''Corporations will invite serious consequences if they become a vehicle for far-left mobs to hijack our country from outside the constitutional order.''

Senator Marco Rubio of Florida wrote the commissioner of Major League Baseball to condemn the organization for moving its All-Star Game from Cobb County, Ga., to Denver in response to Georgia's new election law. That decision, Rubio said, was ''woke corporate virtue signaling.''

To the extent that ''woke capital'' even exists, it involves real questions of political economy. Simply put, there are few countervailing forces in American life to corporate speech, corporate money and corporate political action. If ''woke capital'' is a real problem, then the solution is to reanimate those countervailing forces, which is to say, to put life back into organized labor.

Some Republican critics of ''woke capital'' seem to understand the need to put some distance between their party and corporate America. Rubio, for example, has backed the effort to unionize an Amazon warehouse in Bessemer, Ala., as a punishment of sorts for the company's occasionally progressive messaging. ''It is no fault of Amazon's workers if they feel the only option available to protect themselves against bad faith is to form a union,'' he wrote in an op-ed for USA Today. ''Today it might be workplace conditions, but tomorrow it might be a requirement that the workers embrace management's latest 'woke' human resources fad.''

Senator Josh Hawley of Missouri, largely quiet since he tried to challenge the Electoral College results in January, has also pledged to take action against the ''MLB & the giant woke corporations'' that ''keep telling Biden's big lie about Georgia & election integrity.'' Hawley said he would soon ''introduce a trust busting agenda for 21st century.''

Erick Erickson, a conservative commentator and radio host, has similarly urged Republicans to take action against corporate power. ''We must begin now aggressively pushing back on corporations involving themselves in public policy and advocacy,'' he wrote in his personal newsletter. ''The second thing we should do,'' he added, ''is commit to a ban on corporate welfare to attract Fortune 500 companies to red states.''

None of these things -- the unionization of a single warehouse at a single firm, new antitrust legislation or an end to corporate welfare -- is bad. But they are modest and would do little to curb corporate power in the aggregate. If Republicans are truly serious about standing up to ''woke capital'' -- if this is more than just a messaging ploy meant to smooth over ideological division within the party's ranks -- then there are a few other, larger, things they can do.

For example, Republicans and conservatives could support the Protecting the Right to Organize Act. If signed into law, the act would override ''right to work'' laws and impose tough penalties on employers who interfered in employees' attempts to unionize. If part of the problem of ''woke capital'' is that individual workers lack the power to stand up to employers who don't share their values, then allowing workers to act and bargain collectively is necessarily part of the solution. And if you fear the overall power of ''woke'' corporations on American politics, then unions representing the ***working class*** are your best weapon against that influence.

Similarly, Republicans and conservatives could work to end ''at will'' employment, in which workers can be fired for any reason. If American corporations have been captured by activists eager to ''cancel'' dissenters, then workers need robust protections in the event they run afoul of an overzealous human resources department or some ''woke'' Walmart commissar.

A higher federal minimum wage and a more robust social safety net would also work to strengthen employees vis-à-vis their employers. The less an individual worker needs to rely on market income to survive, the more he or she can pick and choose between jobs. The more corporations have to spend on recruiting and retaining workers, the less they can spend on influencing politics.

If ''woke capital'' is a real problem, then it's a labor issue as much as it is a cultural one. And there are many other policies -- antitrust regulations against tech companies, ''co-determination'' to give workers a seat at the corporate table and strict limits on corporate political spending, to name just a few -- that would curb the power of corporations to impose their values on both their employees and the broader public.

We know, of course, that Republicans aren't interested in any of this. McConnell might denounce actual corporate speech, but he is a major recipient of corporate dollars and a staunch defender of corporate spending in elections. (He has already backed off on his comments. ''I didn't say that very artfully,'' he explained the next day.) Neither Rubio nor Hawley has ever met a corporate tax cut he couldn't support, and the entire Republican Party is united in support of an anti-labor politics that puts ordinary workers at the mercy of capital.

Recall Senator Mitt Romney's critique of the White House's relief package from February: ''The Biden stimulus calls for checks of $400 a week in addition to state checks through September. At that level, the majority of the unemployed would make more by not working. Employers already complain that they can't find employees.''

Republican ''woke capital'' critics are not actually interested in curbing corporate influence and putting power in the hands of workers. They don't have a problem with corporate speech as a matter of principle. They have a problem with corporate speech as a matter of politics. If the situation were reversed, and corporations were vocal supporters of ''election integrity,'' it's hard to imagine that McConnell or his allies would have a problem.

''Woke'' capital also does not actually exist. A Black Lives Matter advertisement does not make up for the McDonald's exploitative relationship to labor and the environment. Amazon might take a few items deemed offensive off its shelves, but it still relies on overworked and underpaid workers in its warehouses and delivery vehicles.

Capital is capital, and, culture war agitation notwithstanding, the Republican Party is more than willing to back its interests when it matters most.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/09/opinion/republicans-fake-war-against-woke-capital.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/09/opinion/republicans-fake-war-against-woke-capital.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Damon Winter/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Biden Pushes Job Plan and Calls Trump's Virus Actions 'Despicable'***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60T7-FM91-DXY4-X2WF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Byline:** By Thomas Kaplan, Katie Glueck and Jim Tankersley

**Body**

Before sketching out a plan to keep more jobs in the United States, the former vice president denounced his rival over revelations in a new book that the president knowingly minimized the coronavirus's dangers.

WARREN, Mich. -- Joseph R. Biden Jr. tore into President Trump on Wednesday over new revelations from a forthcoming book by the journalist Bob Woodward that the president knowingly minimized the risks of the coronavirus, arguing that Mr. Trump had lied to the American public and put lives in danger.

Mr. Biden's remarks came as part of a broader effort to take on Mr. Trump over protecting American jobs, and to blame the president's handling of the pandemic for the nation's plunge into recession this year.

''He had the information,'' Mr. Biden said during a trip to the critical battleground state of Michigan. ''He knew how dangerous it was. And while this deadly disease ripped through our nation, he failed to do his job on purpose. It was a life-and-death betrayal of the American people.''

''It's beyond despicable,'' Mr. Biden added, detailing the crises the nation faces as a result of the pandemic that go far beyond the staggering public health costs. ''It's a dereliction of duty. It's a disgrace.''

During an interview with CNN on Wednesday, Mr. Biden used even sharper language to criticize Mr. Trump's contradictory message about the gravity of the pandemic.

''It was all about making sure the stock market didn't come down, that his wealthy friends didn't lose any money,'' Mr. Biden said. ''He waved a white flag. He walked away. He didn't do a damn thing. Think about it. Think about what he did not do. It's almost criminal.''

And in an exchange with reporters Wednesday evening, asked whether he blamed Mr. Trump for ''thousands of deaths'' given the knowledge the president had earlier in the year, Mr. Biden replied: ''Yes, I do. I absolutely do.''

In his outdoor speech at the United Auto Workers Region 1 headquarters in Warren, Mich., Mr. Biden assailed the president's record on the economy, suggesting that Mr. Trump had not kept his promises to American workers on a range of issues. He also lashed his record on matters like job creation and keeping work in the United States rather than letting it move overseas.

The remarks represented an effort by Mr. Biden, the former vice president, to turn the focus of the campaign to the economy after weeks of attention on issues of civil unrest and a series of Trump-related controversies.

Mr. Biden's speech was also another display of how he is trying to campaign in person during the pandemic: He spoke in a parking lot, with journalists and a small number of other attendees sitting at a distance in white circles.

A number of Mr. Biden's allies had made clear in recent weeks that they wanted to see him focus more on Mr. Trump's stewardship of the economy, something Mr. Biden tried to do in scathing terms on Wednesday.

''He's failed our economy and our country,'' Mr. Biden said in his speech, in which he made direct appeals to autoworkers.

The former vice president, standing in front of a giant American flag and an array of gleaming automobiles, announced plans to change the tax code to discourage moving jobs overseas and to reward companies for investing in domestic production. He also promised to take a series of executive actions to ensure the purchase of American goods in the federal procurement process.

Mr. Biden, who has already proposed raising the corporate tax rate to 28 percent from 21 percent, would create a tax penalty aimed at American companies that move jobs to other countries, known as offshoring. The penalty would apply to ''profits of any production by a United States company overseas for sales back to the United States,'' bumping up the tax rate to nearly 31 percent on those profits.

That penalty would effectively serve as a new tax on American companies that make products abroad and sell them back to customers in the United States, but it would not apply to foreign-owned companies that operate in America and import products to sell. Conservative tax experts said on Wednesday that the disparity would disadvantage American corporations and possibly push them to sell their foreign operations to rivals.

''These kinds of rules are not going to bring real activity back to the United States,'' said George Callas, who was a senior tax counsel for former Speaker Paul D. Ryan, Republican of Wisconsin, and is now a managing director at Steptoe in Washington.

Rohit Kumar, a former aide to Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the majority leader, who is now a principal at PwC in Washington, said that Mr. Biden's proposals would in isolation ''make U.S. multinationals less competitive vis-à-vis their foreign-headquartered competitors.''

''It could also create an incentive for U.S. companies to re-domicile in foreign countries,'' he added.

Mr. Biden's plan calls for tougher federal rules against so-called inversions, when an American multinational merges with a foreign-owned one in order to shift its headquarters abroad and qualify for different tax treatment. He has previously announced plans to increase the rate on what amounts to a minimum tax on multinational companies' income, and to apply that minimum to income earned from each individual country that a company earns revenue in.

Liberal economists praised the plan, saying it would reduce incentives to move production and profits overseas. They also said Mr. Biden's efforts could lead to more countries joining forces to impose a standard set of minimum taxes on multinationals in order to stop companies from shifting profits across borders in search of lower tax rates.

''Other countries have a thirst for solving these problems too,'' said Kimberly Clausing, an economist at Reed College in Portland, Ore., who studies international tax issues, ''and international coordination around minimum taxes may be more feasible than we might think.''

Mr. Biden would also create a tax credit for companies that make domestic investments, such as revitalizing closed manufacturing plants, upgrading facilities or bringing back production from overseas.

Campaign officials said on Wednesday that they did not have an estimate to share of how the plans Mr. Biden announced would increase or decrease federal tax revenues, in total.

''Make it in Michigan, make it in America, invest in our communities and the workers in places like Warren,'' Mr. Biden said. ''That's what this is about.''

At one point, Mr. Biden appeared to mix up the approximate number of military service members who have died of the coronavirus and the number of people in Michigan who have died from it. As he read from notes, he said that 6,000 service members had died of the virus; in fact, the number is seven.

Warren, where Mr. Biden spoke, sits in Macomb County, which is associated with white ***working-class*** voters who traditionally voted Democratic but embraced Ronald Reagan and, later, Mr. Trump and his criticism of a number of free trade deals. Mr. Biden has intensified his efforts in recent months to unveil more populist policies aimed at helping American workers. Some major labor unions praised his announcement on Wednesday, including the United Steelworkers.

In an interview with Fox 2 Detroit that aired later Wednesday, Mr. Biden also criticized elements of how the North American Free Trade Agreement was carried out under the George W. Bush administration, when asked to respond to scrutiny from the Trump campaign and others over his own support for NAFTA.

''The Bush administration did not keep its commitment on NAFTA, number one, and it was a mistake,'' Mr. Biden said.

A Biden adviser said that he had not been calling NAFTA a mistake, but was referring to other aspects of trade policy under that administration concerning the agreement.

Last year, on the campaign trail, Mr. Biden said he did not regret his vote for the deal.

On Wednesday, Mr. Biden said, ''I don't accept the defeatist view that the forces of automation and globalization mean we can't keep good-paying union jobs here in America, and create more of them,'' adding, ''I don't buy for one second that the vitality of American manufacturing is a thing of the past.''

Representative Andy Levin, Democrat of Michigan, whose district includes parts of Macomb, described the county as a ''complete bellwether'' and increasingly diverse.

''We've got to win Macomb County,'' he said. ''It's both a symbol of the white ***working class***, but also really about how diverse the ***working class*** actually is.''

Thomas Kaplan reported from Warren, Katie Glueck from New York and Jim Tankersley from Washington.Thomas Kaplan reported from Warren, and Katie Glueck from New York.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/09/us/politics/biden-trump-michigan-jobs-taxes.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/09/us/politics/biden-trump-michigan-jobs-taxes.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Joseph R. Biden Jr. spoke in Warren, Mich., part of a bellwether district in a battleground state. (PHOTOGRAPH BY AMR ALFIKY/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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**End of Document**



[***If You Want to Learn About the L.A. Rebellion Filmmakers, Start Here; Gateway Movies***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:603W-SS91-DXY4-X0B5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 1217 words

**Byline:** Ben Kenigsberg

**Highlight:** Charles Burnett’s “Killer of Sheep” and Billy Woodberry’s “Bless Their Little Hearts” were part of a movement putting the lived experience of black ***working-class*** characters onscreen.

**Body**

Charles Burnett’s “Killer of Sheep” and Billy Woodberry’s “Bless Their Little Hearts” were part of a movement putting the lived experience of black ***working-class*** characters onscreen.

In the essay film [*“Los Angeles Plays Itself,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2004/07/28/movies/film-review-looking-for-reality-where-they-manufacture-make-believe.html) the filmmaker and academic Thom Andersen argues that as much as Hollywood loves to photograph Los Angeles, mainstream movies have erased the history and texture of the city. As an antidote, he favors lower-budget productions, reserving special affection for a group of independent directors who attended film school at the University of California, Los Angeles, and became collectively known as the [*L.A. Rebellion*](https://www.nytimes.com/2004/07/28/movies/film-review-looking-for-reality-where-they-manufacture-make-believe.html).

As U.C.L.A.’s [*own book*](https://www.nytimes.com/2004/07/28/movies/film-review-looking-for-reality-where-they-manufacture-make-believe.html) on the movement explains, these directors — who included Charles Burnett, Billy Woodberry, Julie Dash and Haile Gerima — “created a watershed body of work that strives to perform the revolutionary act of humanizing Black people on screen.” While the book cautions against grouping the filmmakers together — each has a distinct perspective, and they don’t all subscribe to the L.A. Rebellion label, which wasn’t their idea — they did work on one another’s movies in the 1970s and early ’80s.

The links between Burnett’s “Killer of Sheep” (1978) and Woodberry’s “Bless Their Little Hearts” (1984), which Burnett wrote and photographed, make them a natural pair. They’re stylistically different: “Killer of Sheep” unfolds in fragmented vignettes; “Bless Their Little Hearts” has a straightforward narrative. But the movies share a star (Kaycee Moore), a setting (the Watts neighborhood), black-and-white cinematography and central questions about work, manhood and what it means to provide for a family.

“Killer of Sheep”: Rent or buy it at [*milestonefilms.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2004/07/28/movies/film-review-looking-for-reality-where-they-manufacture-make-believe.html).

“Bless Their Little Hearts”: Stream it on the [*Criterion Channel*](https://www.nytimes.com/2004/07/28/movies/film-review-looking-for-reality-where-they-manufacture-make-believe.html); rent or buy it at [*milestonefilms.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2004/07/28/movies/film-review-looking-for-reality-where-they-manufacture-make-believe.html).

Despite years of being hailed as a landmark, “Killer of Sheep” was difficult to see until 2007, when a [*restoration from Milestone Films resolved longstanding issues with the music rights*](https://www.nytimes.com/2004/07/28/movies/film-review-looking-for-reality-where-they-manufacture-make-believe.html). When I interviewed Burnett at the time, he expressed surprise at how far the movie had reached, saying it was made for discussion and schools. He wanted to put questions to viewers: How would they improve the life of the protagonist, Stan (Henry G. Sanders), a slaughterhouse worker? And what could be done for the community, where Burnett grew up?

Such pragmatic goals belie the movie’s obvious poetry: a skyward shot of children leaping from roof to roof as if defying gravity; the incongruously upbeat counterpoint of [*William Grant Still’s “Afro-American” Symphony*](https://www.nytimes.com/2004/07/28/movies/film-review-looking-for-reality-where-they-manufacture-make-believe.html) as Stan cleans the floor of the slaughterhouse; a preoccupied Stan and his wife (Moore) slowly swaying in the shadows to Dinah Washington. The movie opens with a boy (unidentified, though probably young Stan) being admonished by his father for standing by while his sibling was embroiled in a fight: “If anything was to happen to me or your mother, you ain’t got nobody except your brother.” Devotion to family and home life is an ethic that the older Stan, introduced repairing a floor, has clearly taken to heart.

On the surface, “Killer of Sheep” can look so spontaneous that Burnett appears almost to have happened upon it. (Early on, as the boys throw rocks at each other in a rubble-filled lot, it’s initially difficult to tell whether they’re fighting or playing.) But the vérité veneer disguises the movie’s pointed use of place and space. There is not much room in Stan’s home: His wife, who is never given a name, is wearing a bathrobe when she walks in on him and a friend. Later, when the couple have an intimate conversation about his increasingly morose mood (“You never smile anymore. I used to think you was just tired”), their daughter fusses at the refrigerator in the background.

The smallest distances become challenging to navigate: Stan cashes a check at a liquor store to get $15 for a replacement motor. After the purchase, he and a friend carry the heavy motor down a tight stairway, then place it in a truck — a truck that is, regrettably, parked on a hill. And the one time “Killer of Sheep” exits the neighborhood — the characters pile into a car for an excursion — a flat tire thwarts the effort.

The grind has worn Stan down, yet he keeps going, with an attitude somewhere between acceptance and resignation. Early in “Killer of Sheep,” Stan says he “can’t get no sleep at night, no peace of mind.” A friend jokes that he is always awake counting sheep. If “Killer of Sheep” concerns the exhaustion of getting by, “Bless Their Little Hearts” is its counterpart — a movie about the consequences of unemployment. Slumber is again a motif: The first words we hear from the protagonist, Charlie (Nate Hardman), are, “You asleep?”

“Bless Their Little Hearts” opens with Charlie in an unemployment office, where he spots a sign: “Are you interested in a casual labor job?” Casual is underlined twice, and the offer specifies that the jobs will last up to three days.

The precise origins of Charlie’s unemployment are never specified, but in “Los Angeles Plays Itself,” Andersen notes a moment when Charlie rides by a “reverse landmark, one of the closed industrial plants that had once provided jobs for the black ***working class***.” Over the course of “Bless Their Little Hearts,” Charlie takes brief gigs painting over gang tags or clearing brush, but permanent work eludes him.

A friend suggests turning to robbery. “If I didn’t have a family that might be all right,” Charlie replies. And as in “Killer of Sheep,” the family is a crowd. There’s a long wait for the lone bathroom. When Charlie’s daughter walks in on him shaving, he sends her out; when she gets her turn, the faucet knobs are shut so tight that, in a moment of levity, she fetches an industrial-size wrench to tap them loose.

Though it is not freely acknowledged until the end, when Charlie allows himself to cry in his wife’s arms, joblessness clearly poses a challenge to his manhood, a deficit he takes out on his son, chiding his hygiene: “Little boys don’t run around with their fingernails long. Little girls run around with their fingernails long,” he tells him. (It’s hard not to hear echoes of the father warning young Stan about his brother in “Killer of Sheep.”)

Charlie and his wife, Andais (Moore), don’t even seem to keep the same hours. He is often awake while she is asleep. He lounges on a car hood or, after a hard day of labor, snores in the bathtub. Late in the film, a barber suggests that the key to success is being able to wake up early. As for Andais, she is shown in contrasting scenes riding the bus: in one, she nods off from fatigue; later, having discovered that Charlie is having an affair, she is wide awake. When the two finally fight about the fling, the scene, staged in a single take, feels utterly extemporaneous.

Like “Killer of Sheep,” this is a movie so real, so personal, it appears drawn completely from life.

Killer of Sheep Rent or buy it at milestonefilms.com. Bless Their Little Hearts Stream it on the Criterion Channel; rent or buy it at milestonefilms.com.

PHOTOS: Top center, a scene from the film “Killer of Sheep.” Top right, Henry G. Sanders in the movie, directed by Charles Burnett. Above, Kaycee Moore in “Bless Their Little Hearts.” (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MILESTONE FILMS; CRITERION COLLECTION)

**Load-Date:** July 14, 2020

**End of Document**



[***What’s a Japanese Mobster to Do in Retirement? Join a Softball Team.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67H4-GXM1-DXY4-X00G-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Ben Dooley, Hisako Ueno and Shiho Fukada

**Highlight:** The members of the Ryuyukai have done nearly 100 years of hard time. Now they’re just looking to stay out of trouble.

**Body**

The members of the Ryuyukai have done nearly 100 years of hard time. Now they’re just looking to stay out of trouble.

On paper, the Ryuyukai were the most fearsome team in Japanese softball. A sort of mutual aid society for retired gangsters, the club had racked up nearly a century of hard time. The manager had been a top mob consigliere; the relief pitcher, who took the field in hot pink shoes, had once been sent to kill him.

But on a cloudless day last March, these hardened ex-cons met their match: the Parent-Teacher Association of Nakanodai Elementary School. The P.T.A. showed no mercy, hitting pitch after pitch out of the scruffy park in suburban Tokyo. Midway through the game, the scorekeeper stopped counting.

Losing is nothing new for Japan’s iconic gangsters, the yakuza. For over a decade, they have been suffering one defeat after another.

As late as the 1990s, yakuza numbered around 100,000. Their businesses — scams, gambling and prostitution rackets — were illegal, but the groups themselves were not. Fan magazines chronicled their exploits, sandwiching interviews with top bosses between organizational charts and brothel reviews. The groups had business cards and listed addresses. They gave Halloween candy to children and distributed relief supplies after disasters.

But today’s yakuza are a shell of what they once were. The same demographic forces wearing down other Japanese industries have also hit organized crime. An aging population has made it hard to find young recruits — more Japanese gangsters are in their 70s than in their 20s — and has diminished the once-thriving demand for the yakuza’s services.

Society, too, has become less tolerant of them. The authorities have carried out a relentless legal assault on the criminal underworld. Crime is both less profitable and riskier: In 2021, a court sentenced the head of the most violent syndicate to death, a first that sent shock waves through the mob’s executive class.

All of that has made crime a less attractive career option. Over the last decade, the yakuza’s rolls have plummeted by nearly two-thirds, to 24,000.

Many have struggled to reintegrate. Tattoos, missing fingers and long criminal records limit job opportunities and make it difficult to fit in. Japanese laws discouraging business with the yakuza effectively stop them from taking care of necessities like opening a bank account, getting a phone plan or renting an apartment until they can prove they’ve been out of the yakuza for five years.

Yuji Ryuzaki, the softball team’s manager, established the Ryuyukai in 2012 to help his former colleagues build a new life.

Mr. Ryuzaki had quit the yakuza in the early 2000s. During his 72 years, he has been a member of a nationally ranked high school baseball team, a Buddhist priest, a model and an actor. He had sold jewels, imported luxury goods from Hong Kong and worked as a beautician. And he had — of course — been a top executive in a Tokyo affiliate of the Yamaguchi-gumi, Japan’s largest mob organization.

The Yamaguchi-gumi is based in Mr. Ryuzaki’s hometown, Kobe, a port city in western Japan, where his father ran a temple. He’d known gangsters as long as he could remember: He’d seen yakuza tattoos on his friends’ parents and on people in local bathhouses.

In college, a low-ranking tough had beaten up one of Mr. Ryuzaki’s friends. In retaliation, Mr. Ryuzaki kidnapped the man and buried him up to his neck in dirt. Mr. Ryuzaki got a beating in return, he said, but the gangsters were impressed by his mettle and signed him up.

Over the decades, he largely stayed behind the scenes. He didn’t look like a stereotypical yakuza. He was afraid of needles, so he had never been tattooed. He had managed to keep all of his fingers. His first conviction was for getting mixed up in an argument at Tokyo Disneyland, he said. Not very yakuza.

The idea for the softball team sprang from a chance encounter with Katsuei Hirasawa, a member of Parliament from a ***working-class*** Tokyo neighborhood where yakuza were once a part of the social fabric. Mr. Hirasawa had long known Mr. Ryuzaki by reputation, he said during a recent interview, adding that the ex-yakuza had “contributed to a lot of social causes” locally.

The anti-yakuza laws of recent years were well intentioned but “discriminatory,” Mr. Hirasawa said, arguing that they pushed people toward recidivism. Softball could help prevent that, he said, by keeping idle hands busy while building discipline and a sense of community.

Ryuyukai membership offered more tangible benefits, too. Mr. Ryuzaki and an associate, Takeshi Takemoto, worked to put the team’s members up in housing and connect them with the kind of tough, temporary employment — construction, road work, sewer maintenance — that pays a living wage and doesn’t ask too many questions.

For years, their efforts drew little notice. Then photos of the team showed up in a couple of weekly tabloids. Journalists started getting in touch. There was even talk of turning their story into a movie.

Mr. Ryuzaki was clearly enjoying the spotlight. He wanted to show the world that gangsters were people, too, he said. And he didn’t hate the free publicity.

“We’re not hurting anyone, so why not?”

‘Pulled Back In’

The season got off to a slow start. One team was a no-show. Another delivered a clobbering that rivaled the P.T.A.’s. The Ryuyukai didn’t seem to mind: They showed up early each time to practice their fielding and smoke.

While some teams played with near military precision, the Ryuyukai were clearly there to have fun. When a player fumbled an easy ground ball or stopped running halfway to second base, Mr. Ryuzaki jokingly cursed him out in a salty yakuza patois.

In the club’s early days, some teams were intimidated by the former gangsters, Mr. Ryuzaki said. Umpires hesitated to call strikes and outs against them.

They worked on blending in. Mr. Ryuzaki traded the club’s black uniforms for gray and electric pink, hoping to project a friendlier image. The league’s director praised the team for helping to clean up the field after games. One year, they even won a league championship, cementing their position as part of the scene.

“In sports there are rules,” the captain of another team said after a close loss. “As long as everyone follows them, it’s not a problem.”

Not every player on the Ryuyukai was a yakuza. There were a few broad-shouldered ringers in their 20s; a college friend of one of Mr. Ryuzaki’s employees, who cowered when he made an error; and a group of older men who owed unspecified “favors” to Mr. Ryuzaki and Mr. Takemoto.

For those who had been gangsters, though, the team’s rules were clear: New members must prove they have quit the yakuza.

The process of leaving can be difficult; traditionally, it cost a finger joint. Nowadays, members can buy their freedom or sometimes just request early retirement for something as prosaic as a bad back. The announcement is faxed to gang offices around the country. Some of the Ryuyukai’s members carry a photo of the document on their phones, as proof of their excommunication.

But over the course of the season, it became clear that the team’s story — and the line between in and out of the mob — was not so straightforward.

Joining the yakuza wasn’t like getting a normal job, Mr. Takemoto said after one game. He himself had studied to be a schoolteacher and been a car salesman before he started dealing drugs for a gang in the northern city of Sapporo in his 30s. His ex-wife had even worked for the police.

“Being a salesman was tough,” he said. Being a yakuza, on the other hand, was electrifying: “No one is apathetic about joining.”

Mr. Takemoto loved the lifestyle. Money. Danger. Fast cars. It was hard to leave that behind. For him, quitting took over two decades in prison and a prosecutor’s warning that he was about to spend the rest of his life there.

Masahiko Tsugane, who heads reintegration efforts at the Tokyo branch of the National Center for Removal of Criminal Organizations, noted the increasingly blurred boundaries between yakuza and civilians as gangs work around the new laws.

He’s skeptical of mutual aid efforts by former gangsters. People who really want out need to make a clean break, he said: “Otherwise, they’ll just get pulled back in.”

The center has a program to help ex-yakuza find work. In Tokyo last year, no one applied.

“I’ve only got eight fingers. Who’s going to hire me?” Mr. Takemoto said during an interview in his spacious walk-up apartment, which is owned by his girlfriend. Ex-colleagues in dark glasses and black suits glowered from a photo in a Disney frame.

Mr. Ryuzaki believes it’s unrealistic to expect people to completely sever ties to their old lives. Socially, it would be difficult to turn down an invitation to a wedding or a funeral, he said.

He himself has kept one foot firmly in gangland. Yakuza bosses call him frequently, asking for advice or for help smoothing over a conflict. The police, too, sought him out for updates on gang activity.

Mr. Ryuzaki didn’t see a problem with his mob contacts. Or with the yakuza at all.

Like most of his colleagues, he saw the yakuza — and himself — as chivalrous, modern-day Robin Hoods, outsiders looking out for the little guy and dispensing justice when the authorities can’t, or won’t.

“I never did anything that bad,” he said during an interview in his apartment on the top floor of an old high-rise. One wall was covered with luxury handbags he rents out to women who work in hostess clubs, and a sign in the bathroom instructed visitors to relieve themselves “prison style.”

As he spoke, two older men in tracksuits and chains busied themselves ironing his shirts and straightening up.

Mr. Ryuzaki described himself as an “economic yakuza,” specializing in real estate shakedowns. It was all in his forthcoming autobiography, “Necessary Evil,” he said.

Much of his current work, he admitted, existed in a gray zone. He made high-interest loans and exploited loopholes in import laws. After one softball game, he pulled three blueberry-sized precious stones out of a bag and handed them to Mr. Takemoto, who inspected them with a jeweler’s loupe. They were imported from Southeast Asia, he explained — one of their many sidelines.

Both men have been arrested several times since leaving their gangs, but nothing has stuck. Mr. Ryuzaki insisted that the police were just out to get them.

“They want to take what’s gray and claim it’s black,” he said.

‘Nothing Good’

In July, the Ryuyukai won their first game. Their opponents were a group of drinking buddies who called themselves “The Secret Club.” Mr. Ryuzaki was delighted by the victory but worried about his team’s next opponent: another P.T.A., this one widely acknowledged to be the strongest team in the league.

On the day of that game, Mr. Takemoto brought Popsicles for everyone. The P.T.A. brought its A-game, scoring six runs in the first inning.

Afterward, Mr. Ryuzaki and Mr. Takemoto held court in their favorite postgame haunt, an old-fashioned coffee shop that served pork cutlets and spaghetti. The elderly owner wore a thin black bow tie, and the television above the counter was often tuned to the horse races, one of Japan’s few forms of legal gambling.

Despite their complaints about the anti-yakuza laws, Mr. Ryuzaki and Mr. Takemoto maintain a seemingly opulent lifestyle. Mr. Takemoto wore a jewel-encrusted watch that he said had cost nearly $30,000. Members of the softball team regularly ferried the men around in luxury sedans.

The team sorted itself into a rigid hierarchy, with the former bosses on top. At lunch, players would sometimes stand in front of Mr. Ryuzaki and bow deeply, rice bowls lifted in both hands before them, as they shouted out their thanks to him for picking up the tab. On one rainy day, a man with a large black umbrella trailed Mr. Takemoto around the softball field, ensuring he stayed dry.

The ex-cons on the team clung to a flashy gangster image that belied their current living conditions. They wore sequined baseball hats. Loud colors. Tinted glasses. Everything branded (especially Louis Vuitton.) At one game, Mr. Ryuzaki handed out pink Christian Dior face masks. No one questioned their authenticity.

But their former lifestyles had left behind deeper scars than the occasional stab wound. A team stalwart, Masao, dropped out of school at 16 and spent years bouncing from gang to gang.

After his third prison sentence, he had a revelation. “Going to jail after 50 is a waste,” he said. “Nothing good happens there.”

Masao, who asked that his surname be withheld, is covered in tattoos and missing a finger he cut off after leaving one of the gangs. No one asked him to, he said, but he did it anyway, hoping his old associates would let him be. The bone didn’t separate cleanly, though, and he ended up rushing to a hospital. His former bosses never got the finger; in the hubbub it ended up in a convenience store trash can.

He had gotten hooked on meth and still had a hard time resisting its pull. But the softball team had helped him stay clean, he said, and Mr. Takemoto had found him an apartment and a job. During the season, he was helping to service a water main.

Drug addiction was a particularly pernicious problem for many of the former gang members. Not everyone escaped it. In July, one team member killed himself after struggling with withdrawal.

At his wake in August, Mr. Ryuzaki and other team members greeted a stream of men in dark suits who had come to pay their respects. Many of them, Mr. Ryuzaki said, were active yakuza.

‘Bad Habits’

The Ryuyukai’s season ended on a humid October afternoon with a 15-0 loss. The opposing team’s pitcher, a rare woman in the league, fired balls over the plate with a ferocity that made the Ryuyukai’s players jump back.

One of those pitches struck Masao. He jokingly demanded a payoff. The pitcher bowed deeply and blushed.

At lunch afterward, Mr. Ryuzaki couldn’t stop coughing. He needed treatment for lung disease after years of smoking. He huffed on an inhaler and cleared his throat.

He seemed unruffled by the loss. Or a season with just two wins. Covid had stopped the players from practicing. They would get their title back someday. And besides, winning wasn’t the point.

“People have to stay busy or they fall back into bad habits,” he said, picking at a plate of stir-fried ginger pork.

The conversation stopped, and everyone, as if at an invisible signal, got up to leave.

There was a chill in the air and no more softball until spring.

“Who wants to go bowling?” Mr. Ryuzaki asked.

They all jumped in their cars and drove to the lanes.

Audio produced by Jack D’Isidoro.

Audio produced by Jack D’Isidoro.

PHOTOS: Once a yakuza boss, Yuji Ryuzaki, top foreground, put together the Ryuyukai softball team to help ex-colleagues build new lives. Masao, left, says the team helps him stay off drugs. Above, Takeshi Takemoto paid a price in fingers.; Mr. Ryuzaki at home in Tokyo, at left, with his business partner. Although he has put his mob days behind him, he admits his current line of work falls into a gray area. At right, shopping with employees who are also members of the Ryuyukai. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SHIHO FUKADA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A11.

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**End of Document**



[***‘Little Venice’ Finally Gets its Moment***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:668B-8FS1-JBG3-62PK-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Anna Momigliano

**Highlight:** With a ban on large cruise ships in the waters surrounding Venice, nearby Chioggia is one of the new go-to ports. While many welcome the new visitors, some worry that the tourism boom could turn sour.

**Body**

With a ban on large cruise ships in the waters surrounding Venice, nearby Chioggia is one of the new go-to ports. While many welcome the new visitors, some worry that the tourism boom could turn sour.

On Aug. 4, the Viking Sea, a 930-passenger cruise ship, docked in Italy’s Venetian Lagoon. At first sight, the scene looked familiar: a towering white vessel, loaded with tourists, most of them from North America, making its way past centuries-old buildings and narrow canals. But this time the destination wasn’t Venice, but Chioggia, a smaller, lesser-known city built on a separate cluster of islands about 15 miles away, in the same lagoon.

Following a series of [*protests*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/08/travel/venice-cruise-ships-environment.html) from environmental groups last year, the Italian government recently started [*enforcing a ban*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/13/world/europe/venice-italy-cruise-ship-ban.html) on large cruise ships weighing more than 40,000 tons from the San Marco basin, the portion of the lagoon surrounding Venice’s historic center. The ban, originally [*approved in 2012*](https://mit.gov.it/normativa/decreto-interministeriale-del-02032012), was conditional: In order for it to be enforced, alternative ports for cruise lines that promote Venice on their itineraries must be close enough that tourists can actually make an excursion to Venice.

“If you take Venice away, that will kill the entire Adriatic route,” said Francesco Galietti, the national director for the Cruise Lines International Association. It took Italian authorities nine years to allocate the [*157 million euros*](https://www.governo.it/it/articolo/comunicato-stampa-del-consiglio-dei-ministri-n-28/17450) (about $159.7 million) needed to upgrade other nearby ports so they could host the cruises, which, finally, were rerouted beginning this summer.

Most of them went to [*Trieste*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/24/world/europe/italy-trieste-barcolana-regatta.html), a city in northeastern Italy outside the Venetian Lagoon, about 72 miles away, while others went to Marghera, the commercial port on Venice’s mainland. About a dozen were rerouted to Chioggia, and twice as many are expected next year, the city’s mayor, Mauro Armelao, said, with a hint of pride.

For Chioggia, anything taken away from Venice has the taste of an underdog’s redemption.

For centuries the town, often called Little Venice — a name that infuriates the locals, who insist that it’s Venice that should be described as a bigger Chioggia — has lived in the shadows of its more famous neighbor. When Venice was a maritime power, from the 10th to the 17th century, Chioggia fell under its domination, and that legacy led to a power imbalance that can still be felt today. A ***working-class*** town traditionally relying on fishing and agriculture, famous both for its radicchio and beets, it has long provided workers for wealthier Venice, where, even today, many of the vaporetto conductors and hotel staff commute from Chioggia.

Looking down on the locals is part of Venice’s folklore. The Venetian playwright [*Carlo Goldoni*](https://www.visitvenezia.eu/en/venetianity/discover-venice/carlo-goldoni-a-life-dedicated-to-theatre)famously depicted them as quarrelsome, if good-hearted simpletons, getting into brawls for trivial reasons.

Authentic and a bit rough

But Chioggiotti take great pride in being “veraci” — authentic and a bit rough — in contrast to Venetians’ sophistication. Each year, in early August, a local theater company presents Goldoni’s play [*“Baruffe Chiozzotte”*](https://www.visitchioggia.com/en/events/parties-and-festivals/baruffe-in-calle/) in the streets, and tickets get sold out quickly. Venetians mock Chioggia, by calling the city symbol — a lion, the same as Venice’s symbol — “[*el gato*](http://www.ilsentierodeifuochifatui.blog/el-gato-de-ciosa/2/),” the cat. Chioggia has recently acquired a majestic, full-scale bronze lion statue, from the sculptor [*Davide Rivalta*](https://www.osservatoreromano.va/it/news/2020-05/una-violenta-tenerezza-verso-il-vivente.html), partly to “make sure people finally get it’s not a cat,” the mayor said.

And unlike Venice, which is plagued by overtourism, Chioggia enjoys the extra visitors. “We’re so proud that many people are coming. You hear people speaking English in the streets, we weren’t used to that,” said Alessia Boscolo Nata, a teacher in the local high school. “We used to be the lagoon’s children of a lesser god and now we’re not,” jokes Teresa Bellemo, a Chioggia native who works in the publishing industry in Milan, but returns every summer.

It’s not just pride. The arrival of cruises fits into the overall growth of tourism that Chioggia has experienced in the past five years — a trend that seems to have found the right balance, even helping revitalize the city’s historical center.

Chioggia is hardly new to tourism. But it used to be confined to two satellite towns, Isola Verde and Sottomarina, which relied on turismo balneare, family beach vacations. The city’s main island, with its fish market, its 17th-century cathedral and the medieval clock tower, was overlooked by tourists.

But in the past few years, a new kind of tourist started showing up: “They weren’t just interested in the beach, they saw Chioggia as a città d’arte,” an art city, said Giuliano Boscolo Cegion, the head of the local hotel association. That had a positive effect, driving an urban renewal that has become popular with millennial and Gen Z Chioggiotti.

“Just five years ago, everything was so run down and boring, there was nothing for young-ish people to do,” said Ms. Bellemo, 39. “Now it’s full of life, a great place to hang out.”

This renaissance is best embodied by the flourishing of bacari, or cicchetterie, the typical bars that serve wine and fish-based finger food on the Riva Vena, the central canal. Mattia Perini, who runs one of them, the Bacaro Altrove, said that half of its clients are tourists and half of them habitués: “It’s the best mix. I have the critical mass to keep this place going and can keep a community alive.”

Diego Ardizzon, who runs the Cicchetteria da Nino Fisolo, one of the oldest bacari, said it took years of hard work to make the canal livelier and finally it’s paying off.

Bed-and-breakfasts are springing up in the old center. And, for the moment at least, they seem to have a positive effect. “Many of the old buildings were empty, because young people prefer to live in new houses with elevators and other amenities,” said Mr. Perini.

Sounding a note of caution

But many in Chioggia realize that they’re walking a fine line, that the same tourism boom that is helping to revitalize the city, if uncontrolled, could turn sour.

Mr. Armelao, the mayor, said that if the number of vacation rentals grows too much, he might follow the [*example of Venice*](https://www.ilpost.it/2022/07/17/regolamento-affitti-brevi-venezia/), which recently obtained permission from Italy’s central government to put a cap on rentals, which were making it harder for locals to find a home.

A dozen bed-and-breakfast managers have founded a group, [*Vacanza in Calle*](https://vacanzaincalle.it/), aimed at self-regulating for an ethical tourism: “We put a lot of effort in meeting visitors in person, talking to them, explaining how to live in Chioggia as the locals do, not as intruders,” said one manager, Giorgia Santaterra.

Cruises are also a delicate issue. The environmental group that organized the anti-cruise protests in Venice, the [*No Big Ships Committee,*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&amp;v=ZGWxq-vwXr0) wants cruises out of the Venetian Lagoon altogether, to protect its frail ecosystem, and thus opposes the rerouting of ships to Marghera and Chioggia, both of which are inside the lagoon. The grassroots group has recently organized new protests in Marghera, which is part of Venice, but not in Chioggia, because it is outside of its jurisdiction.

In Chioggia there’s no visible opposition to cruises, partly because the city enjoys the economic benefit, and partly because the ships that come here are on the smaller end of the spectrum, raising less concern about their environmental impact: The average cruise ship has around 3,000 passengers, while all the ships that are scheduled in Chioggia have less than 1,000.

But some of its residents are cautious. “Let’s see how this evolves,” said Ms. Bellemo. “For the time being, we’ve found a good balance, but if people start chasing too much of the easy money, it won’t stay this way.”

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PHOTO: With the enforcement of a ban on large cruise ships near Venice’s historic center, nearby Chioggia has become an alternative destination for tourists. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SUSAN WRIGHT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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**End of Document**



[***Rivals for Prime Minister in Britain Strive to See Who Can Be More Like Thatcher***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6612-X051-DXY4-X0PN-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

Rishi Sunak and Liz Truss have tried to adopt the style and themes of Margaret Thatcher, the Iron Lady whose sweeping right-wing policies remain popular among Conservative voters.

LONDON -- When Rishi Sunak kicked off his campaign for leader of Britain's Conservative Party and prime minister on Saturday, his choice of venue -- a tire shop in the market town of Grantham -- felt almost inevitable. Grantham is the birthplace of Margaret Thatcher, an icon of the right who looms large in every Conservative leader contest, but never more so than in these economically straitened times.

Mr. Sunak and his opponent, Liz Truss, are both competing to wrap themselves in the mantle of Thatcher, who was prime minister from 1979 to 1990. Each is casting themselves as the true heir to her free-market, low-tax, deregulatory revolution at home, and her robust defense of Western democracy abroad.

''We must be radical,'' declared Mr. Sunak, who, like Ms. Truss, served in the government of Prime Minister Boris Johnson and is responsible for some of the economic policies he now proposes to sweep away. The agenda Mr. Sunak is championing, he told the party faithful, was ''common-sense Thatcherism.''

But experts on Thatcher say the candidates are cherry-picking the legacy of the woman known as the ''Iron Lady,'' emphasizing the crowd-pleasing elements while glossing over the less appetizing ones, like some tax increases in 1981, during the depths of a recession, at a time when she was determined to curb runaway inflation.

''When Rishi and Truss invoke Thatcher, they're both saying something true, but neither is saying the whole truth,'' said Charles Moore, a former editor of The Daily Telegraph who wrote a three-volume biography of Thatcher. ''Truss is right in saying she believed in tax cuts and less regulation,'' he said, ''but when Rishi says she cared about fiscal responsibility, that is also true.''

While both candidates are promising to cut taxes, Mr. Sunak, a former chancellor of the Exchequer, says it can only happen once inflation is tamed. He accuses Ms. Truss, who has said little about fiscal consequences, of telling ''fairy tales.'' His approach echoes Thatcher's belief in balancing the books and her dislike of borrowing, which she viewed as a burden on future generations.

Yet neither candidate seems to have the stomach to run the full Thatcher playbook. Like them, she made her bid for Downing Street in an era of soaring inflation and labor unrest, though with much higher tax rates. Her economic shock therapy -- which included a hefty increase in the sales tax -- tempered inflation, but at the cost of a deep recession and mass unemployment.

It is much simpler to channel Thatcher, as Ms. Truss does, in a stylistic way. As foreign secretary, Ms. Truss appears to have modeled her appearances on the international stage closely on the Iron Lady, copying famous images, including one of Thatcher at the turret of a tank in West Germany. She has even taken to wearing a silk pussy-bow blouse, a familiar feature of the Thatcher wardrobe.

Even if that has provoked snickers in London's political classes, some analysts said they did not blame Ms. Truss. Her target audience is the roughly 160,000 members of the Conservative Party who will choose the next leader. For these voters, many of whom are older and quite right-wing, Thatcher remains a revered figure, second only to Winston Churchill in the pantheon of Tory grandees. Some liken her status to the canonization of Ronald Reagan among rank-and-file Republicans in the United States.

''It is an enormous legacy,'' said Matthew Goodwin, a professor of politics at Kent University. ''It is difficult to overestimate the impact that Margaret Thatcher still has on the Conservative grass roots.''

Mr. Moore said that because Ms. Truss is a woman, the comparison to Thatcher was inevitable and that she might as well use it to her advantage. But he questioned whether she was going too far, risking self-parody.

''Putting on Thatcher's clothes is a dangerous thing because often they don't fit,'' he said. ''Truss is, not yet at least, a great figure.''

In evoking Thatcher on the global stage, Ms. Truss's message appears to be that only she can stand up to President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia the way her hero faced down the Soviets. Ms. Truss once floated the idea of arming Taiwan; she and Mr. Sunak have traded claims this week about who would be tougher on China.

The sparring continued during a televised debate on BBC Monday evening. An aggressive Mr. Sunak accused Ms. Truss of proposing a ''short-term sugar rush of unfunded tax cuts,'' while Ms. Truss said Mr. Sunak's tax increases would stifle Britain's growth prospects. ''There is a genuine disagreement here,'' she said.

However heated, the debate did not produce any major surprises, which is probably to Ms. Truss' benefit since she is leading comfortably in recent polls of party members, and Mr. Sunak, analysts say, needs to shake up the race.

Ms. Truss has rejected suggestions that she is channeling Thatcher. She pointed out that she had charted her own path to the top of British politics, though there are parallels: Both women were brought up in middle-class families and attended Oxford University. But Mrs. Thatcher was president of the university's conservative association, while Ms. Truss was a Liberal Democrat.

''It is quite frustrating that female politicians always get compared to Margaret Thatcher, whereas male politicians don't get compared to Ted Heath,'' Ms. Truss said in a recent interview with the television network GB News, referring to another Tory prime minister. (She pointedly did not mention Churchill.)

It is on economic policy where Ms. Truss and Thatcher most clearly diverge. Ms. Truss's call for immediate tax cuts has been questioned by Norman Lamont, who was chief secretary to the Treasury under Thatcher. He noted that, despite some headline-grabbing cuts in income tax rates, between 1979 and 1981, in net terms, Mrs. Thatcher raised taxes more than she lowered them.

Mr. Sunak has a different problem: The current inflationary spiral is at least partly the legacy of his stewardship of the economy, with its massive state spending to cushion people from the effects of the coronavirus pandemic. Ms. Truss's defenders paint him as the architect of an economic malaise.

''A visit to Grantham will not make Rishi Sunak a Thatcherite,'' wrote John Redwood, a right-wing Conservative lawmaker who once headed Thatcher's policy unit in Downing Street, on Twitter. ''In the seven years I have known him he has never once asked me anything about Margaret Thatcher or her economic policies despite knowing I was her economic and policy adviser in the middle period.''

That did not stop Mr. Sunak from citing Thatcher in his speech, or his wife, Akshata Murty, from taking a selfie in front of a statue of her in Grantham. Despite their very different ethnic backgrounds -- Mr. Sunak's parents are Indians who immigrated to Britain from East Africa -- there are also parallels: Mr. Sunak's mother owned a pharmacy; Thatcher's father a grocery shop.

The bigger question, perhaps, is whether it makes electoral sense for the Conservatives to keep nurturing the Thatcher cult.

While her up-by-your-bootstraps message appealed to some ***working-class*** voters, Thatcher, who died in 2013, never won over the country's industrial north, where her shock therapy and battles with the miners' unions left an enduring bitter taste. Mr. Johnson managed to convert some of these voters in 2019, and the party will need to hold on to them to fend off the Labour Party in the next general election.

When Mr. Johnson campaigned in these hollowed-out industrial areas, he rarely invoked Thatcher -- and for good reason. ''Even today, Margaret Thatcher is still seen as being incredibly toxic,'' Professor Goodwin said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/25/world/europe/britain-sunak-truss-thatcher.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/25/world/europe/britain-sunak-truss-thatcher.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Rishi Sunak, left, and Liz Truss have tried to adopt the style of Margaret Thatcher, who remains popular among Conservative voters. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHRISTOPHER FURLONG/GETTY IMAGES

HENRY NICHOLLS/REUTERSï¿½ï¿½)

**Load-Date:** July 26, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Black Portraits Get New Names, and a New Show***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6615-52C1-DXY4-X1H7-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Precious Adesina

**Highlight:** Glyn Philpot’s sensitive portraits of Black subjects, unusual for the early 20th century, were given updated titles — and consideration — for a recent exhibition in England.

**Body**

Glyn Philpot’s sensitive portraits of Black subjects, unusual for the early 20th century, were given updated titles — and consideration — for a recent exhibition in England.

LONDON — In the early 20th century, Glyn Philpot was one of Britain’s most respected portrait painters. The artist was known for depicting high-society sitters in a style mimicking the old masters, so his works sat comfortably on the walls of his clients’ country homes alongside generations of their family members.

“All the papers are raving about P. now. Have you seen?” wrote Philpot’s friend Gladys Miles to the art historian Randall Davies, in 1910. “Everyone is rushing to be painted like sheep.”

By the 1930s, though, not only had Philpot’s painting style become more modernist, incorporating abstracted backgrounds and a lighter color palette, he was also painting sensitive portraits of Black people, some of which, unusually for the time, were shown at the Royal Academy of Arts in London.

Philpot’s most frequent Black subject was Henry Thomas, a Jamaican man who met the painter in 1929 and became his servant and muse until Philpot died in 1937. In “Balthazar,” painted the year they met, Philpot imagined Thomas as one of the Bible’s wise men. In tasteful studies of Thomas himself, Philpot carefully depicted the textures, shades and contours of Thomas’s hair and skin.

Several Thomas portraits, alongside other paintings of Black sitters, are part of “[*Glyn Philpot: Flesh and Spirit*](https://pallant.org.uk/whats-on/glyn-philpot-flesh-and-spirit/),” on view until October at Pallant House Gallery in Chichester, England. The show is the first major retrospective of Philpot’s paintings in almost 40 years, and arrives at a time when his work has new resonance.

In the gallery, the pieces are generally displayed chronologically, from the printed books Philpot made as a student at the turn of the century to his final works from 1937. Among the paintings of aristocrats and socialites that made his career, his dignified and varied portraits of Black sitters stood out.

But when it came to putting the exhibition together, Simon Martin, its curator and the director of the museum, felt some of the paintings’ original names were outdated, he said in a recent interview.

In Philpot’s time, “a lot of those works were just called ‘Head of a Negro,’” Martin said. “On the spectrum of titles, it’s probably on the more acceptable side” for the early 20th century, he added. “But in 2022, if we are able to, and can put effort into, finding out who those people are and where they came from, I think we should,” Martin said.

To do this, he worked with a team of advisers, including Alayo Akinkugbe, who founded the Instagram account [*ABlackHistoryOfArt*](https://www.instagram.com/ablackhistoryofart/?hl=en-gb); the British opera singer and broadcaster Peter Brathwaite; and Michael Hatt, who teaches art history at the University of Warwick. Where possible, they retitled Philpot’s paintings to include the model’s name and place of birth, and avoid mention of the sitter’s race.

It’s not the first time portraits’ names have been reworked to provide more information about their Black subjects. For [*a 2019 exhibition*](https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-arts-47705284) at the Musée d’Orsay in Paris, works by Manet, Picasso and Cézanne were retitled to include the names of the Black models.

The original title of a 1778 painting of Dido Elizabeth Belle and her cousin Lady Elizabeth Murray by David Martin only referred to the white British aristocrat Lady Elizabeth. Until the 1990s, it was assumed that Dido, who was Black, was a slave or companion, until research revealed the pair were related, and had comparable upbringings in British aristocracy (the painting inspired the 2014 film “[*Belle*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/27/movies/belle-and-slaverys-end-in-britain.html)”).

Organizations like the [*National Trust*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/22/world/europe/uk-national-trust-colonialism-slavery.html), a British heritage conservation charity, have also started re-examining how the artworks in their large collections frame Black people. “It is important we don’t erase the original language as this sheds light on historical viewpoints, but we have sensitively updated the information around some of the artworks,” said a spokesperson for the National Trust via email. The 18th-century portrait “A Young Coachman” at Erddig, a National Trust property in north Wales, for example, now includes information on who the Black man in the painting might be.

The National Trust’s [*ongoing efforts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/22/world/europe/uk-national-trust-colonialism-slavery.html) to recognize [*Britain’s colonial past*](https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/addressing-the-histories-of-slavery-and-colonialism-at-the-national-trust#:~:text=The%20National%20Trust%20cares%20for,properly%20represented%2C%20shared%20and%20interpreted.) have been met with some [*pushback*](https://www.spectator.co.uk/article/the-national-trust-should-forget-about-colonialism-and-stick-to-its-day-job), and deciding whether to retitle artworks can be complex. “Some believe that changing the name could alter the intention of the artist,” said Esi Edugyan, whose recent collection of essays, “Out Of The Sun: Essays at the Crossroads of Race,” explores the relationship between western art and Black people. “If the artist himself has chosen the name, then the intentionality of that gesture must be taken into account,” she added.

Martin and his advisory team saw relabeling Philpot’s works as appropriate, given that it’s most likely auction houses at the time gave his paintings their generic titles, rather than the artist himself. “A name like ‘Melancholy Negro’ is not very telling,” Akinkugbe said in a phone interview. “Even if Philpot had named it that, I don’t think he would take issue with the social-political context that we’re in now meaning that we rename it.”

Martin said that Philpot’s experiences as a gay man, at a time when sexual activity between men was a criminal offense in Britain, would have given the artist a sense of affinity with his Black sitters. “Even though he does everything he can to fit in and to be part of society, there’s always the sense that somehow he doesn’t,” Martin said.

Even so, there was a deeply uneven power dynamic between Philpot’s social standing and a number of his Black subjects, especially in the case of Thomas, his servant. But the care with which he depicted Black people still contrasted with some of his peers’ approaches. Martin compared his work to the French artist Paul Colin, known for his Art Deco poster illustrations around the same time.

“You look at some of those depictions of [*Josephine Baker*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/22/world/europe/josephine-baker-pantheon-burial.html), for example, and they’re verging on the caricature at times,” Martin said. Baker, who became one of Europe’s most popular performers in the 1920s, was often depicted by Colin as topless, with stereotypically large red lips. “This is not something you ever get in Philpot’s work,” Martin added.

In recent years, [*exhibitions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/01/arts/design/black-models-olympia-columbia-university.html), [*podcasts*](https://artuk.org/discover/stories/art-matters-podcast-the-black-presence-in-european-painting) and researchers have explored how Black people are portrayed in European art. Although this has been especially notable since the “moment of reckoning” of [*George Floyd’s murder*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/george-floyd.html) in 2020, Edugyan said, “among artists, whose chief subject is representation — literally, how something is depicted and seen — discussions about Black visibility have perhaps always turned an eye toward the larger picture, to the shifting perceptions of Blackness across the ages.”

When Philpot began painting more Black and ***working-class*** subjects in a modernist style, many in the art world were confused, and even affronted. “Glyn Philpot ‘goes Picasso,’” The Scotsman newspaper wrote in 1932 after one of his new paintings was unveiled at the Royal Academy.

But viewed today, Philpot’s portraits speak to current discussions around representation in art and show a depth of feeling that endures a century later.

PHOTOS: Above, in “Balthazar” (1929), Philpot imagined his frequent subject Henry Thomas as one of the Bible’s wise men. Right, from top: “Tom Whiskey (M. Julien Zaïre)” (1931); “Head of an Ethiopian Man (Billy)” (1912-13); “Profile of a Man With Hibiscus Flower (Félix)” (1932). These works are in “Glyn Philpot: Flesh and Spirit,” an exhibition at Pallant House Gallery in Chichester, England. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY PALLANT HOUSE GALLERY; RICHARD OSBORN FINE ART; AGNEWS AND STEPHEN ONGPIN FINE ART, LONDON); Originally, the title of this 1778 painting by David Martin referenced only Lady Elizabeth Murray, right, and not her cousin Dido Elizabeth Belle, left. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ALAMY)

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**End of Document**



[***Vying to Lead Britain, Candidates for Prime Minister Emulate Another: Thatcher***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:660X-KSC1-JBG3-61DS-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Mark Landler and Stephen Castle

**Highlight:** Rishi Sunak and Liz Truss have tried to adopt the style and themes of Margaret Thatcher, the Iron Lady whose sweeping right-wing policies remain popular among Conservative voters.

**Body**

Rishi Sunak and Liz Truss have tried to adopt the style and themes of Margaret Thatcher, the Iron Lady whose sweeping right-wing policies remain popular among Conservative voters.

LONDON — When Rishi Sunak kicked off his campaign for leader of Britain’s Conservative Party and prime minister on Saturday, his choice of venue — a tire shop in the market town of Grantham — felt almost inevitable. Grantham is the birthplace of Margaret Thatcher, an icon of the right who looms large in every Conservative leader contest, but never more so than in these economically straitened times.

Mr. Sunak and his opponent, Liz Truss, are both competing to wrap themselves in the mantle of Thatcher, who was prime minister from 1979 to 1990. Each is casting themselves as the true heir to her free-market, low-tax, deregulatory revolution at home, and her robust defense of Western democracy abroad.

“We must be radical,” declared Mr. Sunak, who, like Ms. Truss,[*served in the government of Prime Minister Boris Johnson*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/05/world/europe/rishi-sunak-chancellor-of-the-exchequer.html)and is responsible for some of the economic policies he now proposes to sweep away. The agenda Mr. Sunak is championing, he told the party faithful, was “common-sense Thatcherism.”

But experts on Thatcher say the candidates are cherry-picking the legacy of the woman known as [*the “Iron Lady,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/09/world/europe/former-prime-minister-margaret-thatcher-of-britain-has-died.html) emphasizing the crowd-pleasing elements while glossing over the less appetizing ones, like some[*tax increases in 1981*](https://www.nytimes.com/1981/03/11/world/britain-raises-taxes-and-reasserts-that-cutting-inflation-is-key-goal.html), during the depths of a recession, at a time when she was determined to curb runaway inflation.

“When Rishi and Truss invoke Thatcher, they’re both saying something true, but neither is saying the whole truth,” said Charles Moore, a former editor of The Daily Telegraph who wrote a three-volume biography of Thatcher. “Truss is right in saying she believed in tax cuts and less regulation,” he said, “but when Rishi says she cared about fiscal responsibility, that is also true.”

While both candidates are promising to cut taxes, Mr. Sunak, a former chancellor of the Exchequer, says it can only happen once inflation is tamed. He accuses Ms. Truss, who has said little about fiscal consequences, of telling “fairy tales.” His approach echoes Thatcher’s belief in balancing the books and her dislike of borrowing, which she viewed as a burden on future generations.

Yet neither candidate seems to have the stomach to run the full Thatcher playbook. Like them, she made her bid for Downing Street in [*an era of soaring inflation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/07/world/europe/boris-johnson-economy-brexit.html) and labor unrest, though with much higher tax rates. Her [*economic shock therapy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/09/world/europe/tributes-pour-in-for-margaret-thatcher.html) — which included a hefty increase in the sales tax — tempered inflation, but at the cost of a deep recession and mass unemployment.

It is much simpler to channel Thatcher, as Ms. Truss does, in a stylistic way. As foreign secretary, Ms. Truss appears to have modeled [*her appearances on the international stage*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/20/world/europe/uk-brexit-david-frost-liz-truss.html) closely on the Iron Lady, copying famous images, including one of [*Thatcher at the turret of a tank*](https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/liz-truss-takes-after-margaret-thatcher-in-a-tank-as-she-criticises-russia-mlbdbvhzt)in West Germany. She has even taken to wearing a silk pussy-bow blouse, a familiar feature of the Thatcher wardrobe.

Even if that has provoked snickers in London’s political classes, some analysts said they did not blame Ms. Truss. Her target audience is the roughly 160,000 members of the Conservative Party [*who will choose the next leader*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/uk-prime-minister-sunak-truss-johnson.html). For these voters, many of whom are older and quite right-wing, Thatcher remains a revered figure, second only to Winston Churchill in the pantheon of Tory grandees. Some liken her status to the canonization of Ronald Reagan among rank-and-file Republicans in the United States.

“It is an enormous legacy,” said Matthew Goodwin, a professor of politics at Kent University. “It is difficult to overestimate the impact that Margaret Thatcher still has on the Conservative grass roots.”

Mr. Moore said that because Ms. Truss is a woman, the comparison to Thatcher was inevitable and that she might as well use it to her advantage. But he questioned whether she was going too far, risking self-parody.

“Putting on Thatcher’s clothes is a dangerous thing because often they don’t fit,” he said. “Truss is, not yet at least, a great figure.”

In evoking Thatcher on the global stage, Ms. Truss’s message appears to be that only she can stand up to President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia the way her hero faced down the Soviets. Ms. Truss once floated the idea of arming Taiwan; she and Mr. Sunak have traded claims this week about who would be tougher on China.

The sparring continued during a televised debate on BBC Monday evening. An aggressive Mr. Sunak accused Ms. Truss of proposing a “short-term sugar rush of unfunded tax cuts,” while Ms. Truss said Mr. Sunak’s tax increases would stifle Britain’s growth prospects. “There is a genuine disagreement here,” she said.

However heated, the debate did not produce any major surprises, which is probably to Ms. Truss’ benefit since she is leading comfortably in recent polls of party members, and Mr. Sunak, analysts say, needs to shake up the race.

Ms. Truss has rejected suggestions that she is channeling Thatcher. She pointed out that she had charted her own path to the top of British politics, though there are parallels: Both women were brought up in middle-class families and attended Oxford University. But Mrs. Thatcher was president of the university’s conservative association, while Ms. Truss was a Liberal Democrat.

“It is quite frustrating that female politicians always get compared to Margaret Thatcher, whereas male politicians don’t get compared to Ted Heath,” Ms. Truss said in a recent interview with the television network [*GB News*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/18/world/europe/britain-media-gbnews-neil.html), referring to another Tory prime minister. (She pointedly did not mention Churchill.)

It is on economic policy where Ms. Truss and Thatcher most clearly diverge. Ms. Truss’s call for immediate tax cuts has been questioned by Norman Lamont, who was chief secretary to the Treasury under Thatcher. He noted that, despite some headline-grabbing cuts in income tax rates, between 1979 and 1981, in net terms, Mrs. Thatcher raised taxes more than she lowered them.

Mr. Sunak has a different problem: The current inflationary spiral is at least partly the legacy of his stewardship of the economy, [*with its massive state spending*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/03/business/UK-wage-support-extended.html) to cushion people from the effects of the coronavirus pandemic. Ms. Truss’s defenders paint him as the architect of an economic malaise.

“A visit to Grantham will not make Rishi Sunak a Thatcherite,” wrote John Redwood, a right-wing Conservative lawmaker who once headed Thatcher’s policy unit in Downing Street, [*on Twitter*](https://twitter.com/johnredwood/status/1551056597622857731). “In the seven years I have known him he has never once asked me anything about Margaret Thatcher or her economic policies despite knowing I was her economic and policy adviser in the middle period.”

That did not stop Mr. Sunak from citing Thatcher in his speech, or his wife, [*Akshata Murty*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/10/world/europe/rishi-sunak-taxes-uk.html), from taking a selfie in front of a statue of her in Grantham. Despite their very different ethnic backgrounds — Mr. Sunak’s parents are Indians who immigrated to Britain from East Africa — there are also parallels: Mr. Sunak’s mother owned a pharmacy; Thatcher’s father a grocery shop.

The bigger question, perhaps, is whether it makes electoral sense for the Conservatives to keep nurturing the Thatcher cult.

While her up-by-your-bootstraps message appealed to some ***working-class*** voters, Thatcher, [*who died in 2013*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/09/world/europe/former-prime-minister-margaret-thatcher-of-britain-has-died.html), never won over the country’s industrial north, where her shock therapy and battles with the miners’ unions left an enduring bitter taste. Mr. Johnson [*managed to convert some of these voters in 2019*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/13/world/europe/uk-election-labour-redwall.html), and the party will need to hold on to them to fend off the Labour Party in the next general election.

When Mr. Johnson campaigned in these hollowed-out industrial areas, he rarely invoked Thatcher — and for good reason. “Even today, Margaret Thatcher is still seen as being incredibly toxic,” Professor Goodwin said.

PHOTOS: Rishi Sunak, left, and Liz Truss have tried to adopt the style of Margaret Thatcher, who remains popular among Conservative voters. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHRISTOPHER FURLONG/GETTY IMAGES; HENRY NICHOLLS/REUTERS)

**Load-Date:** July 26, 2022

**End of Document**



[***In Village Full of Grievances, a Raid Only Deepens Distrust***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66G8-8CX1-JBG3-61D6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Byline:** By Catherine Porter

**Body**

COUTTS, Alberta -- The village's only restaurant offers smiles and two pamphlets, one denouncing Covid-19 vaccines for children, the other saying the United Nations' mission includes creating a ''microchipped society'' for ''tracking and controlling.''

So pervasive is the belief here that Prime Minister Justin Trudeau is a dictator-in-the-making that even a top official in the village admits she ''may have'' a flag telling Canada's leader where to go -- rudely.

And many residents of the village, Coutts, Alberta, think the biggest event that occurred here in recent memory -- when the police raided a local home in February and revealed a frightening cache of weapons -- was a hoax perpetrated by the police to silence an antigovernment protest.

''It may have been a conspiracy,'' said Bill Emerson, who for four decades has lived across the street from the home the police raided. The weapons gave the government a pretext for suspending civil liberties, he said. ''Maybe somebody planted the guns.''

The police raid came during the time of Canada's Freedom Convoy, which began as a movement by truckers to challenge a government vaccination mandate but spread to include a wide array of antigovernment grievances.

Seven months after the police made the dramatic weapons seizure in Coutts, and after the protesters who had been dug into the village for 17 days reluctantly pulled away in their trucks and tractors, the Freedom Convoy is still here -- in spirit and philosophy.

The stark contrast between the mainstream account of what happened -- the police disarming a small group of protesters with violent intentions -- and the conspiracy-fueled one -- a government attempt to demonize the protesters -- reflects a burgeoning polarization of Canadian society and a deepening of far-right ideology and misinformation.

Both trends were supercharged by the coronavirus, but neither has weakened as the pandemic subsides.

The Freedom Convoy movement -- that aimed at one point to replace the federal government with a ruling committee including protesters, and which Mr. Trudeau dismissed as a ''fringe minority'' with ''unacceptable views'' -- is hardly a fringe. Months later, it garners the support of one in four Canadians, according to a recent poll, and some of its beliefs have entered mainstream politics.

''We have crossed a Rubicon, and there ain't no going back,'' said Evan Balgord, executive director of the Canadian Anti-Hate Network. ''Canada hasn't faced something like this, especially not in a long time. How do we deal with a movement that wants to dismantle democracy?''

Coutts is a small border village 185 miles southeast of Calgary, cut into rolling fields of wheat, barley and canola that glows fluorescent yellow in the summer.

Modest bungalows, a handful of businesses and a large Latter-day Saints' church dot its dozen streets.

Before last winter, the village's faint claim to fame was a mention by President Obama of its baseball fields, which nose right up against the international border. ''If you hit a home run,'' he said, ''there's a good chance the ball will land in Sweetgrass, Montana.''

Then, one frigid day last winter, hundreds of tractor-trailers and trucks rumbled down the highway to the village's edge and stopped, blocking all lanes leading to the normally busy border crossing.

They were a splinter group of the Freedom Convoy, a raucous rally that occupied the country's capital, Ottawa, for three weeks.

Many of the movement's organizers came from Alberta, home to Canada's oil patch and Conservative populism, where the themes of freedom and government distrust are well-worn.

In Coutts, the village's only bar, shuttered by the pandemic, was reopened to be their headquarters.

All the while, scores of provincial police, members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, kept watch. Over 17 days, 552 officers were assigned to the village of just 224, according to the mayor.

On the fourteenth evening of protest, when a local church was holding a Sunday service in the bar, the police arrived in full military gear, wielding automatic weapons, and arrested two men in the crowd.

Later that night, they executed a search warrant on a house, where a local woman was hosting many protesters.

Over a few hours, the police arrested 14 people. Most were charged with mischief over 5,000 Canadian dollars, or about $3,700, and possession of a weapon for a dangerous purpose. But four men face a far more serious charge -- conspiracy to commit murder, which carries a potential life-in-prison sentence.

Undercover officers witnessed the set up of what they believed to be a delivery of guns to Coutts, search warrants reveal. Police said the group was preparing for an armed standoff with the police. ''It could have been deadly for citizens, protesters and officers,'' said Alberta Royal Canadian Mounted Police Deputy Commissioner Curtis Zablocki.

A photo of the cache of weapons they seized included rifles, handguns, high capacity magazines, ammunition and bullet proof vests.

All four of the men charged with conspiracy to commit murder are middle-aged, blue collar workers from Southern Alberta.

A day before the police raid, one of them, Jerry Morin, recorded a video on Facebook, calling his friends to Coutts to help ''hold the line.''

''There's no excuses,'' said Mr. Morin, a 40-year-old who installs and repairs electrical lines. ''This is war.''

His older sister, Tina Shipley, said he had attended anti-mask rallies in the early days of the pandemic with his common-law wife, who faces lesser charges connected to the protest.

''They saw this as a violation of their freedoms and rights,'' said Ms. Shipley, adding they sincerely believed the pandemic was a government hoax.

''He thinks he is fighting for your rights,'' she said.

After the arrests, it took less than a day for new conspiracy theories to start circulating, according to Coutts's weary mayor Jim Willett.

Some believed the radical protesters themselves were planted by the police, or the government. ''Maybe they were paid to come and cause a problem,'' said Beth McCoy, a retired customs broker, who sat in her yard this summer, sorting through children's Valentines sent to protesters. ''Are they really in jail?''

''There's a distrust amongst a lot of people­ -- a far-right belief that police and government are not to be trusted,'' said Mr. Willett, 74, who knows only four villagers who have been vaccinated against Covid-19, including himself.

A particular dislike for the federal Liberal Party and the Trudeau family has been ingrained in Alberta's political culture since the 1980s, when then Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau -- Justin Trudeau's father -- introduced a short-lived national energy program that shared the region's oil profits with the rest of Canada.

''Trudeau hates us,'' said Lori Rolfe, Coutts's chief administrative officer.

But the distrust and conspiracy theories that have taken root in Coutts reflect a wider polarization of Canadian society.

The 25 percent of Canadians who support the Freedom Convoy tend to be rural males, who lack university education, and identify as ***working class*** or poor, said Frank Graves, president of the respected polling firm Ekos Research Associates. They consume a lot of disinformation and disagree with the Trudeau government's stance on climate change, immigration and reconciliation with Indigenous people, his firm's polls show.

And they have found a champion in the new leader of the Conservative Party, Pierre Poilievre, who pledged to make Canadians ''the freest people on earth,'' echoing the language of the protests.

The men charged with conspiracy to commit murder remain in jail. Their trial is set for next June.

Many Freedom Convoy supporters consider them fall guys.

Some said they believed no guns were found in Coutts at all, that the police had used a photo from another raid to sway public opinion against protesters and to justify the steps Mr. Trudeau took to end the protest.

The day of the raid, his government passed a sweeping emergency bill, granting police wide powers to arrest protesters, and instructing banks to freeze accounts linked to the convoy.

Federal Public Safety Minister Marco Mendicino pointed to Coutts as part of the justification.

''We're talking about a group that is organized, agile, knowledgeable and driven by an extremist ideology where might makes right,'' he told reporters.

''It was to manipulate the public to believe this,'' said Sandra Burrows, another protest supporter from Coutts. ''It brought an end to a peaceful rally, by planting the weapons.''

Marco Van Huigenbos, the main leader of the Coutts protest, is so convinced that at least two of the four men are not guilty, he is subsidizing their families with 10,000 Canadian dollars a month. The money is from leftover funds raised in Coutts -- both from GoFundMe, and from a donation box.

''They are using these guys to send a message,'' said Mr. Huigenbos, a town councilor and business owner from nearby Fort Macleod, who himself was recently charged with mischief over 5,000 Canadian dollars. ''There is political influence here.''

Vjosa Isai in Toronto and Taylor Lambert in Calgary contributed reporting.Vjosa Isai in Toronto and Taylor Lambert in Calgary contributed reporting.

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Many residents of Coutts, Alberta, top, believe a police raid in February that yielded a cache of guns was a hoax meant to silence antigovernment protesters. Mayor Jim Willett, left, said it took little time for conspiracy theories to start swirling. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY AMBER BRACKEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE/VIA REUTERS)

Marco Van Huigenbos, a protest leader, is convinced that at least two of the four men arrested after the raid are not guilty. (PHOTOGRAPH BY AMBER BRACKEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 1, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Republicans Would Like to Offer You Some Resentment; Jamelle Bouie***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:667Y-9MD1-JBG3-61SJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 27, 2022 Saturday 14:34 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1330 words

**Byline:** Jamelle Bouie

**Highlight:** In response to the student loan forgiveness program, they opted for class warfare.

**Body**

The Republican response to President Biden’s student loan forgiveness program is to try to turn the issue into a culture war.

“Democrats’ student loan socialism is a slap in the face to working Americans who sacrificed to pay their debt or made different career choices to avoid debt,” [*said Mitch McConnell on Twitter*](https://twitter.com/leadermcconnell/status/1562473856182677504?s=21&amp;t=G6xsFn9lYLmnKJXEtFtrTQ). “A wildly unfair redistribution of wealth toward higher-earning people.”

Representative Jim Jordan of Ohio [*asked*](https://twitter.com/jim_jordan/status/1562863806316814340?s=21&amp;t=G6xsFn9lYLmnKJXEtFtrTQ), “Why should a machinist in Ohio pay for the student loans of a jobless philosophy major in Los Angeles?” And House Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy [*attacked*](https://twitter.com/gopleader/status/1562474995116175360?s=21&amp;t=G6xsFn9lYLmnKJXEtFtrTQ) loan forgiveness as a burden on “Hard-working Americans who already paid off their debts or never took on student loan debt in the first place.”

Republicans would say that they are simply speaking up for those Americans who won’t benefit from the program. But they’re working under faulty assumptions.

First, a few details on the program itself. Under the plan, Biden will direct the federal government to forgive up to $20,000 in federal student loans for recipients of Pell Grants (which are awarded to students from low-income families), and up to $10,000 in loans for other eligible borrowers. It is restricted to individuals with incomes of up to $125,000 a year and households with incomes of up to $250,000 a year.

If every single recipient earned $124,999, it would lend credence to the Republican argument that this is some kind of war on ***working-class*** and blue-collar Americans. But they don’t. In fact, the biggest beneficiaries of Biden’s policy are exactly the people Republicans claim to represent with their rhetoric. [*As my newsroom colleague Jim Tankersley notes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/25/us/politics/biden-student-loans-middle-class.html?smtyp=cur&amp;smid=tw-nytimes), “the people eligible for debt relief are disproportionately young and Black. And they are concentrated in the middle band of Americans by income, defined as households earning between $51,000 and $82,000 a year.”

If you want to haul freight for a living, you’ll need a commercial driver’s license, which means you’ll need training, which means you’ll need school. This schooling can cost thousands of dollars, and students can pay their tuition with federal student loans. So, too, can people who need training to work as medical technicians or home care workers or physical therapists or restaurant workers, among many other trades and professions.

Millions of people with blue-collar jobs owe thousands of dollars in federal student loans, and they may not have the income needed to pay them off. Biden’s plan helps them as much or more than a graduate of a four-year college with debt on the ledger. It also helps the millions of Americans who took out loans, attended college, but for one reason or another could not complete their degrees and are in the worst of all financial worlds as a result.

Like the “welfare queen,” the lazy, profligate and irresponsible student loan borrower of Republican rhetoric is a myth. And the point of the myth, as I said earlier, is to spread cultural resentment.

The fact of the matter is the Republican Party does not have anything to offer the millions of working- and middle-class Americans who labor under the burden of student debt. For all the talk of “populism,” the party is still hostile to the social safety net, opposed to raising the minimum wage, hostile to unions and worker power and virtually every economic policy intervention that isn’t tax cuts and upward redistribution from the many to the most fortunate few.

To debate the reality of student debt relief is to make that more than clear to the public at large. Republicans, then, are trying to make this a debate over culture, to try to reduce issues of class to a question of aesthetics, with traditional blue-collar workers on one side and the image of an ungrateful and unproductive young person on the other. And they’re hoping, as always, that you won’t notice.

What I Wrote

[*My Tuesday column*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/23/opinion/trump-mar-a-lago-indictment.html) was a response to the many arguments against prosecuting Donald Trump.

Our experience, as Americans, tells us that there is a clear point at which we must act in the face of corruption, lawlessness and contempt for the very foundations of democratic society. The only way out is through. Fear of what Trump and his supporters might do cannot and should not stand in the way of what we must do to secure the Constitution from all its enemies, foreign and domestic.

[*My Friday column*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/26/opinion/democrats-midterms-agenda.html) was a wish list, of sorts, for what Democrats should do if they somehow keep their congressional majority.

The question is: In the unlikely event that Democrats enter 2023 with a stronger majority than they’ve had the past two years, what should they do? There has been plenty of discussion about what Republicans should do with their putative future majorities, but what should the Democrats do with theirs?

And in the latest episode of my podcast with John Ganz, we discuss the movie “[*Die Hard 2: Die Harder*](https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/die-hard-2-die-harder/id1592411580?i=1000576710690).”

Now Reading

[*Robert Daniels*](https://www.indiewire.com/2022/08/bill-duke-90s-movies-deep-cover-sister-act-2-1234753058/) interviews the actor and director Bill Duke for IndieWire.

[*Brian Morton*](https://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/against-the-privilege-walk) on privilege politics for Dissent magazine.

[*Jenny G. Zhang*](https://www.bonappetit.com/story/white-people-food-meme-explained) on seasoning for Bon Appétit.

[*Edward Ongweso Jr.*](https://www.vice.com/en/article/qjkjww/bidens-dollar10k-student-loan-forgiveness-will-change-millions-of-lives-but-its-still-not-enough) on student loan forgiveness for Vice.

[*Aaron Hanlon*](https://newrepublic.com/article/167434/salman-rushdie-attack-cancel-culture-bari-weiss) on “cancel culture” for the New Republic.

Feedback If you’re enjoying what you’re reading, please consider recommending it to your friends. [*They can sign up here*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/jamellebouie). If you want to share your thoughts on an item in this week’s newsletter or on the newsletter in general, please email me at [*jamelle-newsletter@nytimes.com*](mailto:jamelle-newsletter@nytimes.com). You can follow me on Twitter ([*@jbouie*](https://nl.nytimes.com/f/a/wFtqk_0eBlM_AncPaw58qQ~~/AAAAAQA~/RgRkmSKgP0SiaHR0cHM6Ly90d2l0dGVyLmNvbS9qYm91aWU_Y2FtcGFpZ25faWQ9MCZlbWM9ZWRpdF9qYm9fMjAyMjA2MjUmaW5zdGFuY2VfaWQ9MCZubD1qYW1lbGxlLWJvdWllJnJlZ2lfaWQ9MCZzZWdtZW50X2lkPTAmdGU9MSZ1c2VyX2lkPTJjY2UzMzc5MDY2YTQ3ZDVjMmJmZGJkNTYzODFiNDNjVwNueXRCCmKYoJ22Ytstgn9SD2tvYkBueXRpbWVzLmNvbVgEAAAAAA~~)), [*Instagram*](https://nl.nytimes.com/f/a/SWjnXroFMrNwMSxeg02QMA~~/AAAAAQA~/RgRkmSKgP0SpaHR0cHM6Ly93d3cuaW5zdGFncmFtLmNvbS9qYm91aWUvP2NhbXBhaWduX2lkPTAmZW1jPWVkaXRfamJvXzIwMjIwNjI1Jmluc3RhbmNlX2lkPTAmbmw9amFtZWxsZS1ib3VpZSZyZWdpX2lkPTAmc2VnbWVudF9pZD0wJnRlPTEmdXNlcl9pZD0yY2NlMzM3OTA2NmE0N2Q1YzJiZmRiZDU2MzgxYjQzY1cDbnl0QgpimKCdtmLbLYJ_Ug9rb2JAbnl0aW1lcy5jb21YBAAAAAA~) and [*TikTok*](https://nl.nytimes.com/f/a/odvvwRQJessrEjootZE1qA~~/AAAAAQA~/RgRkmSKgP0SsaHR0cHM6Ly93d3cudGlrdG9rLmNvbS9AamFtZWxsZWJvdWllP2NhbXBhaWduX2lkPTAmZW1jPWVkaXRfamJvXzIwMjIwNjI1Jmluc3RhbmNlX2lkPTAmbmw9amFtZWxsZS1ib3VpZSZyZWdpX2lkPTAmc2VnbWVudF9pZD0wJnRlPTEmdXNlcl9pZD0yY2NlMzM3OTA2NmE0N2Q1YzJiZmRiZDU2MzgxYjQzY1cDbnl0QgpimKCdtmLbLYJ_Ug9rb2JAbnl0aW1lcy5jb21YBAAAAAA~).

Photo of the Week

I have driven past this shack many times over the years — it is on US-29 South on the way to Lynchburg, Va. — but I have never actually been inside. I don’t even know if I can go inside because I’m not sure what it is, exactly.

I took this picture on an iPhone a few years ago. Maybe the next time I decide to stop I’ll use a proper camera.

Now Eating: Green Chile Chicken Stew

I made this for dinner a few nights ago and the kids loved it, which to my mind is the highest possible recommendation. I would not use canned chiles for this recipe; if you cannot find fresh Hatch chiles, buy Anaheim chiles to roast, peel and chop. About four large chiles will make one cup, although you can always add more. I also added a heaping teaspoon of Mexican oregano to the dish. [*Recipe from NYT Cooking*](https://cooking.nytimes.com/recipes/1020446-green-chile-chicken-stew?smid=ck-recipe-iOS-share).

Ingredients

* 6 large bone-in, skin-on chicken thighs, legs or a cut-up whole chicken (about 3 pounds)

1. Kosher salt and black pepper
2. 2 tablespoons olive oil or lard
3. Flour, for dredging
4. 1 medium yellow onion, diced
5. 3 large garlic cloves, minced
6. \xC2 teaspoon cumin seeds, toasted and ground
7. 1 cup chopped roasted New Mexico green chile, fresh or frozen and thawed
8. 3 cups chicken stock or water
9. 2 large potatoes, peeled, cut in 1-inch cubes
10. 3 large carrots, peeled, cut in 2-inch slices
11. 3 tablespoons cornstarch dissolved in 2 tablespoons cold water (optional)
12. Chopped cilantro, for garnish
13. Warm flour or corn tortillas, for serving
14. Lime wedges, for serving

Directions

Season chicken generously with salt and pepper. Heat oil in a Dutch oven or heavy-bottomed pot over medium-high heat. Dredge chicken in flour and shake off excess. Brown chicken well on both sides, then remove and set aside.

Add onions to pot, season lightly with salt and cook, stirring, until softened and beginning to brown, 6 to 8 minutes. Add garlic and cumin, and cook for 1 minute. Then add chopped chiles and chicken stock and bring to a boil.

Return chicken to pot; reduce heat to a brisk simmer, and cook, covered with lid ajar, for 30 minutes. Add potatoes and carrots and cook for 20 to 25 minutes more, until vegetables are soft but not falling apart.

Skim fat from surface of sauce. Taste for seasoning and adjust salt. For a thicker sauce, add dissolved cornstarch and stir well. Cook for 1 minute more.

Serve in deep wide soup plates with plenty of sauce. Sprinkle with chopped cilantro. Serve with warm tortillas and lime wedges.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Michael Appleton for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 28, 2022

**End of Document**



[***‘Somebody Planted the Guns’: In Canada, a Raided, Distrusting Village Blames the Police; Alberta Dispatch***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66FX-6PP1-JBG3-60T6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 24, 2022 Saturday 05:20 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; canada

**Length:** 1620 words

**Byline:** Catherine Porter

**Highlight:** When a cache of weapons was found in a tiny Canadian village that has become a symbol of the far right, it didn’t take long for new conspiracy theories to start circulating.

**Body**

COUTTS, Alberta — The village’s only restaurant offers smiles and two pamphlets, one denouncing Covid-19 vaccines for children, the other saying the United Nations’ mission includes creating a “microchipped society” for “tracking and controlling.”

So pervasive is the belief here that Prime Minister Justin Trudeau is a dictator-in-the-making that even a top official in the village admits she “may have” a flag telling Canada’s leader where to go — rudely.

And many residents of the village, Coutts, Alberta, think the biggest event that occurred here in recent memory — when the police raided a local home in February and revealed a frightening [*cache of weapons*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/14/world/canada/coutts-alberta-border-protest.html) — was a hoax perpetrated by the police to silence an antigovernment protest.

“It may have been a conspiracy,” said Bill Emerson, who for four decades has lived across the street from the home the police raided. The weapons gave the government a pretext for suspending civil liberties, he said. “Maybe somebody planted the guns.”

The police raid came during the time of Canada’s [*Freedom Convoy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/29/world/americas/canada-trucker-protest.html), which began as a movement by truckers to challenge a government vaccination mandate but spread to include a wide array of antigovernment grievances.

Seven months after the police made the dramatic weapons seizure in Coutts, and after the protesters who had been dug into the village for 17 days reluctantly pulled away in their trucks and tractors, the Freedom Convoy is still here — in spirit and philosophy.

The stark contrast between the mainstream account of what happened — the police disarming a small group of protesters with violent intentions — and the conspiracy-fueled one — a government attempt to demonize the protesters — reflects a burgeoning polarization of Canadian society and a deepening of far-right ideology and misinformation.

Both trends were supercharged by the coronavirus, but neither has weakened as the pandemic subsides.

The Freedom Convoy movement — that aimed at one point to replace the federal government with a ruling committee including protesters, and which Mr. Trudeau dismissed as a [*“fringe minority”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/31/world/canada/trudeau-truckers-anti-vax-protests.html) with “unacceptable views” — is hardly a fringe. Months later, it garners the support of one in four Canadians, according [*to a recent poll*](https://twitter.com/VoiceOfFranky/status/1565159403074076674), and some of its beliefs have entered mainstream politics.

“We have crossed a Rubicon, and there ain’t no going back,” said Evan Balgord, executive director of the Canadian Anti-Hate Network. “Canada hasn’t faced something like this, especially not in a long time. How do we deal with a movement that wants to dismantle democracy?”

Coutts is a small border village 185 miles southeast of Calgary, cut into rolling fields of wheat, barley and canola that glows fluorescent yellow in the summer.

Modest bungalows, a handful of businesses and a large Latter-day Saints’ church dot its dozen streets.

Before last winter, the village’s faint claim to fame was [*a mention by President Obama*](https://ca.usembassy.gov/remarks-by-president-obama-and-prime-minister-trudeau-of-canada-at-arrival-ceremony/) of its baseball fields, which nose right up against the international border. “If you hit a home run,” he said, “there’s a good chance the ball will land in Sweetgrass, Montana.”

Then, one frigid day last winter, hundreds of tractor-trailers and trucks rumbled down the highway to the village’s edge and stopped, blocking all lanes leading to the normally busy border crossing.

They were a splinter group of the Freedom Convoy, [*a raucous rally that occupied the country’s capital*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/10/world/canada/ottawa-truckers-protest.html), Ottawa, for three weeks.

Many of the movement’s organizers came from Alberta, home to Canada’s oil patch and Conservative populism, where the themes of freedom and government distrust are well-worn.

​​In Coutts, the village’s only bar, shuttered by the pandemic, was reopened to be their headquarters.

All the while, scores of provincial police, members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, kept watch. Over 17 days, 552 officers were assigned to the village of just 224, according to the mayor.

On the fourteenth evening of protest, when a local church was holding a Sunday service in the bar, the police arrived in full military gear, wielding automatic weapons, and arrested two men in the crowd.

Later that night, they executed a search warrant on a house, where a local woman was hosting many protesters.

Over a few hours, the police arrested 14 people. Most were charged with mischief over 5,000 Canadian dollars, or about $3,700, and possession of a weapon for a dangerous purpose. But four men face a far more serious charge — conspiracy to commit murder, which carries a potential life-in-prison sentence.

Undercover officers witnessed the set up of what they believed to be a delivery of guns to Coutts, search warrants reveal. Police said the group was preparing for an armed standoff with the police. “It could have been deadly for citizens, protesters and officers,” said Alberta Royal Canadian Mounted Police Deputy Commissioner Curtis Zablocki.

A [*photo of the cache of weapons*](https://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/en/news/2022/alberta-rcmp-make-arrests-coutts-border-blockade) they seized included rifles, handguns, high capacity magazines, ammunition and bullet proof vests.

All four of the men charged with conspiracy to commit murder are middle-aged, blue collar workers from Southern Alberta.

A day before the police raid, one of them, Jerry Morin, recorded a video on Facebook, calling his friends to Coutts to help “hold the line.”

“There’s no excuses,” said Mr. Morin, a 40-year-old who installs and repairs electrical lines. “This is war.”

His older sister, Tina Shipley, said he had attended anti-mask rallies in the early days of the pandemic with his common-law wife, who faces lesser charges connected to the protest.

“They saw this as a violation of their freedoms and rights,” said Ms. Shipley, adding they sincerely believed the pandemic was a government hoax.

“He thinks he is fighting for your rights,” she said.

After the arrests, it took less than a day for new conspiracy theories to start circulating, according to Coutts’s weary mayor Jim Willett.

Some believed the radical protesters themselves were planted by the police, or the government. “Maybe they were paid to come and cause a problem,” said Beth McCoy, a retired customs broker, who sat in her yard this summer, sorting through children’s Valentines sent to protesters. “Are they really in jail?”

“There’s a distrust amongst a lot of people­ — a far-right belief that police and government are not to be trusted,” said Mr. Willett, 74, who knows only four villagers who have been vaccinated against Covid-19, including himself.

A particular dislike for the federal Liberal Party and the Trudeau family has been ingrained in Alberta’s political culture since the 1980s, when then Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau — Justin Trudeau’s father — introduced a short-lived national energy program that shared the region’s oil profits with the rest of Canada.

“Trudeau hates us,” said Lori Rolfe, Coutts’s chief administrative officer.

But the distrust and conspiracy theories that have taken root in Coutts reflect a wider polarization of Canadian society.

The 25 percent of Canadians who support the Freedom Convoy tend to be rural males, who lack university education, and identify as ***working class*** or poor, said Frank Graves, president of the respected polling firm Ekos Research Associates. They consume [*a lot of disinformation*](https://twitter.com/VoiceOfFranky/status/1565160535309668355) and disagree with the Trudeau government’s stance on climate change, immigration and reconciliation with Indigenous people, his firm’s polls show.

And they have found a champion in the new leader of the Conservative Party, Pierre Poilievre, who [*pledged*](https://twitter.com/pierrepoilievre/status/1490115382157398030) to make Canadians “the freest people on earth,” echoing the language of the protests.

The men charged with conspiracy to commit murder remain in jail. Their trial is set for next June.

Many Freedom Convoy supporters consider them fall guys.

Some said they believed no guns were found in Coutts at all, that the police had used a photo from another raid to sway public opinion against protesters and to justify the steps Mr. Trudeau took to end the protest.

The day of the raid, his government [*passed a sweeping emergency bill*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/14/world/americas/justin-trudeau-emergencies-act-canada.html), granting police wide powers to arrest protesters, and instructing banks to freeze accounts linked to the convoy.

Federal Public Safety Minister Marco Mendicino [*pointed to Coutts as part of the justification*](https://calgaryherald.com/news/local-news/some-arrested-at-coutts-border-protest-have-white-supremacist-links-activists-feds).

“We’re talking about a group that is organized, agile, knowledgeable and driven by an extremist ideology where might makes right,” he told reporters.

“It was to manipulate the public to believe this,” said Sandra Burrows, another protest supporter from Coutts. “It brought an end to a peaceful rally, by planting the weapons.”

Marco Van Huigenbos, the main leader of the Coutts protest, is so convinced that at least two of the four men are not guilty, he is subsidizing their families with 10,000 Canadian dollars a month. The money is from leftover funds raised in Coutts — both from GoFundMe, and from a donation box.

“They are using these guys to send a message,” said Mr. Huigenbos, a town councilor and business owner from nearby Fort Macleod, who himself was [*recently charged with mischief over 5,000 Canadian dollars*](https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/calgary/coutts-border-blockade-protest-new-charges-rcmp-1.6585566). “There is political influence here.”

Vjosa Isai in Toronto and Taylor Lambert in Calgary contributed reporting.

Vjosa Isai in Toronto and Taylor Lambert in Calgary contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: Many residents of Coutts, Alberta, top, believe a police raid in February that yielded a cache of guns was a hoax meant to silence antigovernment protesters. Mayor Jim Willett, left, said it took little time for conspiracy theories to start swirling. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY AMBER BRACKEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE/VIA REUTERS); Marco Van Huigenbos, a protest leader, is convinced that at least two of the four men arrested after the raid are not guilty. (PHOTOGRAPH BY AMBER BRACKEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 30, 2022

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[***Dreaming of a New Iran***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68GV-80T1-DXY4-X40W-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 18, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section MM; Column 0; Magazine Desk; Pg. 28

**Length:** 5642 words

**Byline:** By Farnaz Fassihi

**Body**

Amid a historic protest movement, three women chronicle their hopes and disappointments -- and the daily acts of defiance that have already transformed their country.

The uprising began in September,after a 22-year-old Kurdish woman, Mahsa Amini, died in the custody of Iran's morality police. She had been arrested on accusations of violating mandatory-hijab rules, and a gruesome photo and video of her unconscious in a hospital bed went viral, sparking outrage and grief. The protest movement -- known as Woman, Life, Freedom -- quickly morphed into broader demands for an end to the Islamic Republic's rule.

Marches, led by women, spread across the country from September to January, and the government has cracked down violently with mass arrests, killing hundreds and executing seven. Authorities have also dismantled the morality police and are trying new methods to enforce the dress code.

To this day, acts of civil disobedience continue. Women and girls appear in public without the hijab. Iranians destroy banners depicting officials and write revolutionary mottos on walls. At night, they chant antigovernment slogans from their rooftops. For those fighting for change, there is a lot at stake. They want freedom. Whether that will happen is unknown, but one thing remains clear: Iranians refuse to allow their country to return to a pre-Mahsa era.

To better understand how daily life in Iran has transformed, we asked three women in their early 20s, the age group of many of the protesters, to keep a diary for five weeks. Their entries have been edited for length and clarity, and their last names are being withheld for their safety. Like many Iranians, they are trying to figure out what their lives should look like as they continue to fight for, and dream of, change.

March 4

Ghazal, a 20-year-old college student living in Tehran: It was my friend's birthday today. When I got into the car service, the driver asked me if I had anything to cover my hair with. I replied, sternly, ''No, I don't.'' He then explained that drivers can be fined for passengers without proper hijab. I later thought about what he said -- if I wore a hijab in his car, I would be surrendering. If I didn't, the poor driver could be penalized. I was really confused. But I realized that looking out for one another is the most important thing, so I've decided to cover my hair in taxis.

March 11

PARNIAN, a 23-year-old recent college graduate who lives in Tehran and works multiple jobs: There were at least 40 of us in the train's women-only carriage. I could feel the bag of the passenger behind me pressing against my waist. It was hot, and there was no oxygen. Once the train door closed, people started talking. I couldn't see her, but a woman was selling well-priced cosmetics inside the carriage. One passenger passed her credit card, from hand to hand, to the woman, who then took the card and shouted, ''What's your PIN code?''

The passenger's reply came from another side, ''2-5-4-2.'' Several people repeated the code until it finally reached the seller's ear. She then sent the card and a new mascara back to the other end of the carriage. A tube of mascara was sold with the help of several people, and the train hadn't even moved yet.

March 12

KIMIA, a 23-year-old graduate student who lives in Kurdistan Province: I thought I would have fun after my master's entrance exam, but now there is nothing to do. I used to enjoy going to cafes once a week, but it has become so expensive. Now I can afford to go only once or twice a month. I can't even download a movie or check social media properly with our stupid slow internet. Pretty much every application you want to use in Iran is blocked, and to get around the restrictions, we use virtual private networks. It takes hours. I have to use multiple VPNs, and they disconnect several times. You have to keep trying and trying.

GHAZAL: Something very strange and interesting happened at the hair salon today. A woman came in with head scarves and shawls for sale. One of the salon's stylists jokingly told her that people don't buy scarves anymore, that it is no longer profitable and that she should change her job. In response, the woman said that was not true and that certain people are trying to promote secularism and prostitution in society. We were all stunned, but nobody said anything to her.

PARNIAN: I feel good for no reason. Ever since the start of the Woman, Life, Freedom revolution, there has been so much pain that feeling good seems bizarre. Yet I feel great today. I wonder why. The lightness is weird.

March 13

One of the most disturbing manifestations of the government's crackdown has been the executions of protesters. For months, the Revolutionary Court has staged trials and charged some protesters with ''moharebe,'' or waging war against God. At least a dozen have been sentenced to death by hanging. Protests have become sporadic and limited to occasions when the public has an excuse to congregate, such as at funerals or outside prisons to demand a halt to the imminent executions.

KIMIA: The execution of Mohammad Mehdi Karami still breaks my heart. He was a protester and national karate champion. We were around the same age, and I also have a black belt in karate. I feel very close to him, more than any of the other protesters who have been killed. I look at his picture often and try to imagine his life as a young athlete. What motivated him to go out and protest? Did he just want a better life?

There was a call to protest today, tomorrow and the day after tomorrow. There were riots in several cities tonight, but the big day is tomorrow. Let's see how it goes.

At night I heard people chanting ''death to the dictator'' and the constant sound of explosions. It went on until 1 a.m. I couldn't tell if it was gunfire or firecrackers. Boom, boom, boom.

PARNIAN: As I stepped outside today onto one of Tehran's busiest streets, I was taken aback. In 10 years of living in this neighborhood, I have never seen it as dim and quiet. All the shops around the metro station were closed. There were police officers and special forces everywhere, waving their batons in the air, ushering people to move along.

One of the police officers had a hilarious expression. He tried to look serious but seemed incredibly idiotic. Seeing that face, the stern gaze and the amount of stupidity nestled in that uniform made me want to laugh. As I kept walking, my chest suddenly started burning, and I felt short of breath. I must have walked into tear gas.

One officer told a teenage girl to move and stand somewhere else. The young girl looked at him coldly and said, ''Are we bothering you?'' Another guy came and said to the policeman, ''Reza, let it go,'' and took him away. I looked at the young girl and blew her a kiss. She blew a kiss back.

GHAZAL: My friend and I have found an exciting cafe on Enghelab Street that screens foreign films and shows. I watch this show, ''The Last of Us,'' which I love. This week it was part of the cafe's program, so my friend and I made a reservation. You know, we don't get to watch foreign films and TV shows together with friends, grab a bite and enjoy ourselves. And that cafe made it possible for us.

Most of the customers were our age, and we shared the same vibe. It felt great to watch the show and react to different scenes collectively. Nobody told us to keep it down. To be honest, it felt like freedom.

MARCH 14

KIMIA: My friend's brother was arrested during the protests in a city in Kurdistan and has been imprisoned for several months. This morning, I learned that he tried to kill himself. My friend told me that he had been fed up with living in limbo -- he had not been put on trial or formally charged.

I'm much less hopeful than I was at the beginning of this movement. The Islamic Republic will be gone one day, but I'm not sure it'll happen this time around. We have seen this cycle before: We get our hopes up and think that this time will be different, that change is coming, that we will win, and then nothing happens. I was really convinced that the regime would be toppled this time, but when I saw the brutal crackdowns and all the killings, I realized this wasn't it, either.

PARNIAN: On Tuesdays and Wednesdays, I work from home. Today one of my colleagues called, sounding nervous. ''Are you OK?'' she asked. That morning, the metro on the Tajrish line, my main daily commute, had stopped at a station for a while because of a technical issue, and then one of the carriages caught fire. Official reports did not mention injuries. I thanked my colleague for letting me know and hung up. I thought about the people on the train. How scared were they? Did they scream a lot?

For years we have grown accustomed to the fact that anyone, anywhere can be unsafe. We have gotten used to shrinking our comfort zones. Back when the morality police were active, almost every time we met with friends, one of the boys went ahead, scoped out the situation and told us which way to go in order to avoid the forces. Now, in the absence of the morality police, there is more freedom, but also more anxiety. People meet near their workplaces, homes or schools. Nobody talks about it, but we're afraid to explore new areas.

MARCH 15

Iran's economy has steadily declined over the past few years as a result of U.S. economic sanctions and the government's systematic corruption and mismanagement. Inflation is skyrocketing, and the Iranian currency has devalued against the American dollar by 20 to 30 percent since the beginning of this year. Middle-class and ***working-class*** families are buying less, eliminating essentials like meat, chicken and dairy from their grocery lists. Many people work two or three jobs to get by. It has become common for employees -- even those working for the government, like teachers and factory workers -- to go several months without a paycheck.

KIMIA: We went to the market to do some shopping for Nowruz, the Persian New Year. Pastry shops were packed. Boy, how expensive everything is! My mom wanted to buy pistachios and roasted nuts, but it cost over 1.2 million tomans, more than three times the price they were last year. We ended up buying a small box of sugar candies from a cheaper place.

PARNIAN: The company I work for has been in financial trouble for over eight months and cannot pay the employees' salaries. Several employees at my work resigned and left. The ones who stayed, including me, are mostly young and single. Some of my colleagues are spending their savings; others are borrowing money. I have no intention of dipping into my savings, and I'm too proud to borrow, so I have taken translation jobs on the side, working late after my regular hours.

Today I was having my third cup of coffee, struggling with a headache and insomnia, when the door opened. In came my colleague, looking upset. ''Look, Parnian, my girlfriend is a modern person and doesn't think providing money is a man's duty, but I'm just tired,'' he told me. ''She has been paying for everything for several months, and her support makes me feel worse. The harder I try, the poorer I become.'' After staring at the kitchen floor for a few seconds, he said, ''I feel useless.''

I hugged him and whispered in his ear: ''You will get through this. Don't forget that our only weapon is our thick skin. Be a rhino!''

GHAZAL: A few friends and I somehow ended up talking about the protests and how the Mahsa movement has died down. But I don't believe the movement has ended.

This movement is not just about people coming to the streets, chanting, fighting and getting killed. I am witnessing so many other changes. Now we can eat in restaurants without wearing the hijab, and not a single person says, ''Madam, put your hijab back on.'' The university security no longer pesters students about their attire. People don't defend this regime in classes anymore. It doesn't matter that we don't protest in the streets. People are kinder and look out for one another every day. If a guard or a security person bothers a student, everyone will come to the rescue. I think it's beautiful.

MARCH 16

KIMIA: We haven't turned on state television in years. The news is all lies, and it has no entertainment. So my mom and I stay up every Thursday and Friday to watch ''The Voice Persia,'' a singing-competition show broadcast from MBC Persia, one of the satellite channels. We guess which songs will be performed and which contestants will get ahead. Our favorite is a guy from Mashhad, a city in northeast Iran, who now lives in Turkey and sings alternative rock. I hope he wins.

PARNIAN: I felt like running today. I went to the park near my house for some fresh spring air. Almost two years ago, they opened a women-only park in front of the old mixed one. I do not like gender segregation, but I like the new park more than the mixed one.

Last autumn, fewer women were without a head scarf, and they were wearing sports caps to cover their hair instead. Most days, I either endured the heavy gaze of a hijabi woman or I was directly scolded, told to have shame and cover my hair. But today, many women didn't have a hijab, and those who did exercised alongside them in peace.

There was one beautiful girl with short blond hair. At the start of the uprising, women were cutting off their hair as an act of protest and a sign of mourning. Seeing her got me emotional. For years we had fantasized about the day we would take off our scarves and let the wind blow through our hair. But now that we can be unveiled, we no longer have our long hair. We cut it for that very basic freedom. Our dreams are always one step ahead of us.

MARCH 18

KIMIA: I went to the market with a friend. It was very crowded, with many street vendors selling items for Nowruz. A musician was playing an instrument, and shops were playing loud music, too. As I was waiting to cross the street, I started dancing subtly to the rhythm of the music. A police officer nodded at me and laughed. There were several girls and women, including myself, without head scarves. I finally got into the Nowruz mood.

PARNIAN: I was checking the news on Twitter when I came across a picture of a man dressed in brown. The tweet said that the families of prisoners on death row have gathered outside the Urmia Central Prison. Mohayeddin Ebrahimi, a political prisoner, would be executed tomorrow with the morning call to prayer. ''Let's be the voice of our countrymen,'' the tweet read.

Executions have become an all-consuming issue; people follow the cases closely, and when they hear that a protester will be executed at dawn, they rush to the prison and stand outside the walls all night.

I was about to retweet it so that others, too, could become the voice of Mohayeddin, when I saw the date of the tweet. It was exactly one day old. That meant they had probably hanged Mohayeddin.

I closed the Twitter app, disconnected my VPN, locked the phone screen and stared at the darkness in my room.

MARCH 19

The government has struggled with how to respond to the most visible and enduring result of the uprising: women refusing to wear a hijab. After abolishing the morality police in December, officials said they would find alternative methods for enforcing the hijab law. Some of the new policies would include using surveillance cameras and facial recognition to identify women, which could result in fines or the denial of civic services. Many women, for their part, continue to disobey the law.

KIMIA: Today we went to the bank with my father. I was waiting for my turn when I heard someone behind me say, ''Madam, put your scarf on.'' Turning around, I saw only the shadow of a veiled woman pass by. She came back a few minutes later and repeated the same thing. Again, I ignored her. A while later, the bank's deputy manager came and asked me apologetically to wear my hijab. He said that they were told to tell clients to comply and apologized once more. So I said OK and wore it.

Then, at another stand at the bank, my shawl slipped down. In came the manager again, asking me to fix my hijab. At that moment, I saw the veiled woman sneak out of the bank. I was so pissed off.

The branch manager of the bank told my dad that the veiled women were with the government. It turns out that they go to banks, warning them not to serve hijabless women or assume the consequences. I saw the woman again out on the street, telling another girl to fix her hijab.

MARCH 21

PARNIAN: Until recently, I wasn't big on praying. I considered prayer an insult to my intelligence. But things have changed. We have been in an extraordinary situation, bearable only with divine help and a lot of patience. Tonight I closed my eyes and prayed from the bottom of my heart: ''Dear God, spare families from the pain of losing a child.'' Then I broke into tears: ''Let us be a little happy. ... Give us a little bit of happiness. ... Just a little bit. ...''

KIMIA: Today I was talking to my family about how much people check you out in Iran and how much time you spend thinking about what to wear. It feels like you're under constant surveillance. But I've noticed a change in attitude among men. Before this movement, if I went out with my red hair showing or wearing a cool outfit, some men would follow or harass me. Cars would slow down and honk their horns. Now we go out without hijab, we wear what we want and men don't say anything. They nod in approval. They smile.

MARCH 23

GHAZAL: I saw a beautiful graffiti message on my way to a stationery store today that said, ''Move on but don't forget,'' with a Mahsa Amini hashtag underneath. In order to succeed, we have to keep our spirits up as much as possible. We must not stop living or lose hope. We shouldn't feel guilty for being happy. The government's sole aim is to take our joy away, and we can't allow that.

MARCH 25

PARNIAN: We came up with a new rule at home: No daily news during Nowruz. You could call it something like compassion-fatigue syndrome. The volume of bad news is numbing.

MARCH 28

GHAZAL: On a group chat today, my friends and I discussed our summer attire; the head scarf is, of course, out, but the long manteau or coat we must wear is also hijab. We brainstormed about its replacement. One said we could wear long T-shirts. Another said, No, that's not my style; I prefer long dress shirts. It felt great to know that months after this movement started, people are not backing down.

MARCH 29

KIMIA: I'm in Turkey on holiday to see friends and relatives, and I'm enjoying myself. I wear whatever I want, not worried about getting arrested. People can get together here without being bothered by anyone. And there are so many fun places to go.

The streets are in good shape. The traffic lights work properly. Shops have a wide variety of items, and you can easily find what you are looking for. Twitter, YouTube, Instagram open easily here. God knows what we go through to open them in Iran. The trains are fast, comfortable, clean and on time. All this is happening only a few kilometers from Iran.

It's a difficult decision, and I don't like it, but I may have to leave Iran.

MARCH 31

PARNIAN: We were in a taxi on the way to the airport after spending some time in Kurdistan. The driver was a warm and chatty man, so we took advantage and asked him about Kurdish dances. ''A friend of mine got married a few months ago, but they didn't celebrate with music and dance out of respect for the victims of the Woman, Life, Freedom movement,'' I told him.

He asked if we knew how to do Kurdish dances. We all shook our heads, so he pulled over, played a Kurdish song and told us to get out of the car. ''Don't be shy,'' he said. ''The road is empty. No one will see you.''

We stood in a line, and he showed us how to move our hands and feet to the rhythm of the music. We did our best. After we got back in the car, he said: ''Men and women are the same for us. We are all one.'' His tone was serious. ''We stand in a line, one man and one woman, and hold each other's hands. We are not men or women. We are brothers and sisters.''

APRIL 1

PARNIAN: There's a funny old story I read in elementary school. I don't remember the details; I only remember that it was about a dry, barren desert, once a beautiful and glamorous city, whose people got so involved in their daily lives that they gradually stopped noticing their surroundings. Ultimately, beauty disappears when no one is left looking for it. But the truth was, it did exist. Invisibility does not mean absence.

APRIL 4

PARNIAN: We were stopped at one of the busiest metro stations, and a lady dressed in a work uniform was leaning against the train's wall, frowning at every passenger who got on. The carriage was packed. She was quietly checking her phone when a beautiful young girl with curly blond hair got on, covering half of the woman's face with her hair.

The lady politely asked the young girl, ''My dear, can you put your scarf on?''

The young girl blurted loudly: ''It's because of people like you that we live this way. When are you going to learn to mind your own business? Do we have no other problems? Do I tell you what to wear?''

The woman listened to her calmly, turned back to her phone and said: ''As you like. You are very close to me. Your hair is in my nose.''

People started laughing.

APRIL 7

KIMIA: On my way to the airport to go back to Iran, I wore a shawl around my neck so I wouldn't have to look for it in my backpack when I arrived. Once I put the damn thing around my neck, my anxiety returned. I was still in Turkey, yet the stress crept back into my body.

APRIL 8

PARNIAN: A Twitter friend posted something interesting. Until four or five years ago, he wrote, he never missed a single prayer, but now every time he hears the call to prayer, he starts cursing. Many people around me are turning away from Islam. Some religious families have stopped practicing and even asked the women in their families to take off their hijabs. What will happen to those who no longer pray and are irritated by the call to prayer? Or those who even make fun of religion? How are they going to feel once their anger has subsided? What will happen when people are no longer humiliated and threatened in the name of Islam? When religion is merely a matter of the heart?

APRIL 11

Since November, hundreds of schools across Iran have reported mysterious incidents of poisoning with toxic gas. The attacks have mainly targeted girls, some of whom have been hospitalized with respiratory and neurological symptoms. After not responding to the crisis for months, the government said in March that it had arrested more than 100 people. It still remains unclear who was behind the attacks and what motivated them. Education for girls has never been contested by the Islamic Republic, and women constitute more than 50 percent of university students and about 18 percent of the work force. Health officials have said that some of the attacks involved toxins, but they have also blamed stress, claiming that a majority of the cases were a result of psychogenic illness.

PARNIAN: My colleague sent me a photo of mothers sitting outside a school, guarding the children against possible poisonings. After the student demonstrations and school gassings, many urged people not to send their kids to school. They argued that nothing would happen if the children didn't attend school for one year.

The truth is, I didn't learn anything worthwhile in 12 years of school and four years of university. If we ever objected to what we were learning, we were immediately sent to the principal's office. They taught us about Aristotle and the elements of logic, but using them was considered a crime.

Reading classical novels for 12 years is more useful than going to school. What better teacher than Shakespeare or Mark Twain? They aren't taught in Iranian schools, either.

Instead, I remember reading poems by some idiot pro-regime poet.

GHAZAL: I went to my grandmother's house for Iftar, when Muslims break their fasts at sundown during Ramadan. She invited the whole family for a big dinner of chicken and saffron rice with barberries. My mom's family is very religious. My grandmother and all my aunts wear a full hijab chador. My mom does not typically wear the hijab, but in front of them she covers her hair. At family gatherings, I'm the only woman without a hijab. I don't pretend anymore. At first, my aunts would try to politely persuade me to cover my hair, but for the past few months, they don't dare ask.

At the dinner, one of my mom's distant relatives started talking about the hijab, saying that people must be free to choose their attire and that it is no one's business what they wear. He was basically in favor of our movement. But later on, when I was talking to his wife, she said she really liked short, over-the-knee coats but couldn't wear them because her husband wouldn't allow it.

The same guy lecturing about women's rights and freedom didn't let his own wife dress the way she wanted. This type of person really annoys me, and unfortunately there are many of them -- people who babble on about freedom without knowing its real meaning.

APRIL 13

PARNIAN: I woke up to the sound of two girls, a 6-year-old and a 3-year-old, gleefully riding their bikes in the backyard. The older one asked her mother for something, first begging then growing irritated. The mother patiently refused. While the older kid was grumbling, the 3-year-old was biking around happily.

They rented the apartment downstairs over a year ago. I have never met them in person. The mother is roughly my age, and her husband died from Covid. He was a victim of a decision made by the highest political authority: to ban the import of British and American vaccines for coronavirus, saying they would harm Iranians. The widowed young mother, patiently pampering her older daughter, whispered something in her ear. The 6-year-old girl laughed from the bottom of her heart and joined her younger sister in biking around.

KIMIA: Stepping foot back in Iran always means being confronted with bad news: They plan on enforcing the hijab law by fining women who don't cover their hair. They won't be giving social services to unveiled women, and they will be barred from entering universities. There is also a call for protest soon.

APRIL 14

PARNIAN: Never in my life have I been so eager for a day to come. The government has announced that as of tomorrow, women cannot appear in public without a hijab, and those who do will be dealt with brutally. The problem is that they cannot force us anymore. I can't wait for tomorrow.

APRIL 15

PARNIAN: Today was just a normal day, like any other. Not only were there just as many women without the hijab, but many had deliberately let their long hair fall over their shoulders.

The government's threat was a bluff, and a funny one. The number of hijabless women is increasing by the day. Boys are coming out with shorts now, too. People boycott stores that don't offer services to unveiled women. The shawls that women used to have around their necks in case they were spotted by security forces are now in the back of wardrobes. Short shirts are replacing long coats. Skirts are replacing pants. Short pants are replacing long ones. There is more and more unity. People have the upper hand. The other side is nothing but bluffs.

GHAZAL: I saw several women on motorbikes today. Usually, men ride bikes, and women sit behind them. But this time it was the other way around.

APRIL 16

PARNIAN: I like taking buses. Watching people's lives on the street from afar truly fascinates me: a pissed-looking teenage girl and her mother; a young boy about 17 years old selling balloons, wandering between cars, clearly exhausted; a woman taking off her head scarf and giving the middle finger to the car next to her; a female driver wiping her tears while eating behind the wheel; a male driver sitting with his back straight and both hands on the wheel; three people dressed in black with somber faces in a car with a big white bouquet on its roof.

APRIL 17

KIMIA: I went out with my friends this evening and had ice cream. I had a shawl in my bag, just in case. Inside the shopping mall, we were thanked for observing the mandatory hijab on loudspeakers every few minutes. We just laughed at them.

APRIL 19

GHAZAL: There is a very popular show in Iran called ''The Lion Skin,'' a crime drama about a father and a daughter. The father thinks his daughter has been murdered and hunts down the criminal, but then he discovers she is alive. When they see each other, they hug. We were stunned when we saw this scene, replaying it a few times. Men and women who are not related are not supposed to touch each other physically. And here was a male actor and a young female actress hugging each other.

Today was the first screening for the public, and one of the actresses attended the premiere without a hijab. Afterward, the manager of the movie theater was fired for not telling her to cover herself. They didn't post her hijabless picture on the series' Instagram page, but I posted it.

APRIL 21

PARNIAN: While eating her salad, my friend asked, ''What will Iran look like after liberation?''

''Imagine having only one job and being able to save money!'' she said. ''That way, we can also buy whatever we want. We should go on a nice trip.''

''In a free Iran, women will not be discriminated from management jobs,'' I said. ''Your mother will finally be able to become the bank director.''

''So many things will happen!'' she said excitedly. ''Imagine, things would actually work!''

''We are used to working multiple jobs and always being busy,'' I said. ''What will we do if we don't have money issues?''

''We will find the most suitable job.''

''What do we do for the rest of the day?'' I said. ''We'll get bored.''

''You're right,'' she said. ''We'll get bored. ... Wow, free Iran will be something! I can't wait to turn the page.''

MAY 24

In the weeks since the three young women chronicled their experiences, the government has engaged in diplomatic outreach to project stability. In April, the government restored ties with Saudi Arabia, mediated by China. In May, the country conducted prisoner swaps with European countries. Within Iran, crackdowns continue. Businesses have been shuttered for catering to unveiled women, including a government administrative office in northern Tehran. Women say they are heartened by the solidarity they receive from men, including shopkeepers who defy orders and give unveiled women discounts. Three more protesters have been executed, bringing the total to seven. Prices of everyday goods are still climbing, with the government's statistics office announcing 47 percent inflation in a recent report.

For many in the country, including Ghazal, Kimia and Parnian, a desire for a better life in a new, free Iran remains.

GHAZAL: The executions are heartbreaking. There is nothing I can do. Everyone feels the same way. We post stories on Instagram. So what? How does that help? They get executed anyway.

I detest the call to the morning prayer -- that's when they execute those young kids who did nothing but fight for their rights. I have begun to question Islam. I believe that our generation doesn't truly believe in it, a religion that for so many years, in school, in the university, was imposed on us. If we are fighting them, then why should we believe in the same things they do?

MAY 27

KIMIA: I cannot fathom the executions. There is a story in the Shahnameh, a revered epic poem, about a king named Zahhak who ascends to the throne with the help of Iblis, the devil. The devil kisses him on each shoulder, out of which grow two snakes. The only way to keep Zahhak alive is to feed the snakes the brains of two young boys every day. It's a perfect allegory to Iran's current situation.

I have started to play sports again after a few years. And it feels great to go to the gym; at least I'm doing something worthwhile. I am also studying English to prepare for the TOEFL exam.

The other day, I went to a governmental office wearing a scarf, a man's shirt and jeans. The guard at the entrance said, ''I have no problem with what you are wearing, but the woman inside will bug you.'' I entered, and indeed the woman told me that my coat was too short and that I should wear a chador. So I went outside and borrowed a long one from someone.

It feels terrible -- being deprived of things because of where you were born.

PARNIAN: A few days ago, I saw a new banner with something like a mirror in the center surrounded by pictures of five martyrs of the war in Syria. What was the message? See yourself in the mirror amid these men and feel shame for not having sacrificed your life for Islam? I didn't know any of the ''martyrs.'' They were among the poor youths sent to fight in Syria in the name of helping the Islamic Republic gain more power and expand its territory.

A few teenage girls with long hair hanging over their shoulders were standing in front of the banner, taking selfies in the mirror, without the hijab. It made me laugh. I rejoiced at their beauty and courage, in their simple and harmless way of exclaiming, ''I exist!'' The government is not afraid of women's hair or the length of their skirts. They are afraid of our existence.

This is a simple revolution: Do not mock or restrain people for their gender, orientation, nationality, religion. Don't kill. Don't rape. Don't attack. Don't threaten. We don't want things to be perfect overnight. We simply don't want to be invisible. We want to be ordinary people, not subjects. We want to make decisions, even mistakes. We want to exist.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/08/magazine/dreaming-of-a-new-iran.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/08/magazine/dreaming-of-a-new-iran.html)

**Graphic**

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[***Front-Runner to Replace Johnson Casts Herself As U.K.'s New 'Iron Lady'***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:667P-0HC1-JBG3-64S1-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

Campaigning to be Britain's next prime minister, Liz Truss has modeled herself after Margaret Thatcher and pushed a party orthodoxy of lower taxes, less government and bucking the European Union.

BIRMINGHAM, England -- When a British journalist asked Liz Truss on Tuesday to name the character flaw she would most like to fix, she confessed, ''I think some of my friends would say I'm a bit relentless.''

Her answer elicited chuckles from a gathering of Conservative Party members; after all, that question is usually an invitation for a politician to resort to a humble brag. Yet this time it had the ring of truth, coming after a campaign in which Ms. Truss, Britain's foreign secretary, has piled up big-name endorsements, upbeat media coverage and a seemingly unshakable lead in polls of party members.

With less than two weeks left in the race to replace Prime Minister Boris Johnson, her march to Downing Street looks nothing if not relentless. After a shaky start, Ms. Truss, 47, has cemented her status as the odds-on favorite to become Britain's third female leader, after Margaret Thatcher and Theresa May.

The results of the Tory leadership contest will not be announced until Sept. 5, after the ballots of the party's 160,000 or so dues-paying members are counted. Ms. Truss's underdog opponent, Rishi Sunak, delivered a robust and well-received performance at the event in Birmingham, a reminder that fortunes can change swiftly in politics.

''You're acting like this is already over -- and it's not,'' a visibly peeved Mr. Sunak told the moderator, John Pienaar.

The static campaign has unfolded amid rapidly deepening economic turmoil. Household energy bills are spiking, inflation has soared into double digits, and the Bank of England warns of a prolonged recession. But none of that has dented the aura of inevitability around Ms. Truss.

British newspapers are already busy speculating about whom she will name to her cabinet and when she will pass an ''emergency budget.'' The first question is easier to answer than the second. Despite spending a month on the campaign trail, Ms. Truss has offered very few clues about how she would confront an economic crisis that many experts view as the gravest in a generation.

Instead, she has vowed to cut taxes, discard remaining European Union regulations, and shrink the size of Britain's government -- crowd-pleasing measures, tailor-made for the members of the Conservative Party, who tend to be older, wealthier, and more right-wing than the party's voters, to say nothing of the broader British electorate.

Ms. Truss has stood by Mr. Johnson and continues to serve in his lame-duck government. But she has wrapped herself in the mantle of Thatcher, an anti-Communist warrior, free-market evangelist and conservative icon who entered Downing Street at a time of comparable economic hardship in 1979.

''The principles she believed in were the right principles,'' Ms. Truss said, drawing her biggest applause of the evening. ''Enterprise, personal responsibility, giving people control over their own money, putting money back in people's pockets.''

When the subject switched to national security, Ms. Truss was asked how she would react if faced with a decision to unleash Britain's nuclear arsenal to defend the country. ''It's an important duty of the prime minister,'' she said. ''I'm ready to do that.''

Such steeliness appeals to the party faithful, even if she has yet to persuade many party members that she is the second coming of the woman known as the ''Iron Lady.''

''She's a pound shop Maggie,'' said Tony Clark, a member who lives outside Birmingham, using a colloquialism that refers to a discounted version of a great figure. Mr. Clark said he nevertheless planned to vote for her because he believed she was a genuine conservative. Mr. Sunak, while ''intellectually brilliant,'' came across as vaguely ''smarmy,'' he said.

Jacqueline Naylor, 79, a retired nurse, said she, too, might end up backing Ms. Truss, though Mr. Sunak's robust performance had made her decision harder. She blamed him for precipitating Mr. Johnson's downfall by resigning as chancellor of the Exchequer after scandals engulfed the government. Ms. Truss, she noted, stuck by the prime minister, who remains popular with the rank-and-file.

''Liz is ticking all the boxes for the party members,'' said Edward Tolcher, 62, a school finance director from Solihull, a nearby suburb. He is supporting Mr. Sunak but thinks the race is basically over.

Ms. Truss's laser focus on orthodox Tory positions has played better than Mr. Sunak's pitch, which is built on telling voters hard truths, like that Britain must tame inflation before it cuts taxes. She has also steadily improved as a campaigner, showing confidence and flashes of humor.

''A lot of people thought she would be very wooden, and she has performed better than expectations,'' said Gavin Barwell, a former chief of staff to Mrs. May.

But he and others say Ms. Truss may be pushing problems down the road by refusing to be more open about her plans. Her appeal to a narrow constituency, they add, could make it hard to hold together the coalition that Mr. Johnson forged in 2019. His election victory that year was built by luring disillusioned Labour Party voters from the industrial Midlands and north, who were drawn to his promise to ''get Brexit done.''

Reducing taxes, rolling back regulations and shrinking the state are less attractive policies for ***working-class*** voters in these so-called ''red wall'' areas. Many are comfortable with a generous social safety net and view the government as a bulwark against what they believe is a system rigged against them.

''Liz Truss is offering policies which not only risk fueling the current economic crisis but are also at odds with the values of these new Conservative voters,'' said Matthew Goodwin, a professor of politics at Kent University.

Ms. Truss, who served as trade secretary before becoming foreign secretary, boasts about signing post-Brexit trade deals with Japan, Australia, and other countries. Yet her free-trade instincts could also be a mixed blessing with those recent Tory converts, who want the state to defend British industry against foreign competitors.

''She's more of a free trader than I am,'' said Robert E. Lighthizer, who served as the United States Trade Representative under President Donald J. Trump. Mr. Lighthizer met Ms. Truss multiple times to negotiate a trans-Atlantic trade deal, which has since been put on a back burner by President Biden.

Still, Mr. Lighthizer said he was impressed by Ms. Truss, noting that she argued her positions forcefully and came across as an ''authentic conservative.''

Her first task would be to unify a party that has been sundered by the drama of the Johnson years and is bleeding support among voters. A poll last week by the firm YouGov showed Conservatives trailing Labour by 15 percentage points, the largest deficit in nearly a decade.

Critics worry that Britain's relations with the European Union will deteriorate further under Ms. Truss, given that she is supported by the party's most ardent pro-Brexit wing. She introduced legislation that would rescind the trade arrangements in Northern Ireland, adopted just three years ago as part of Brexit, and has vowed to pass that bill.

''She's clearly adept at the old game of blaming the French and the Europeans more generally to curry favor with the base of her party,'' said Peter Ricketts, a former British ambassador to Paris. ''Reconnecting with Europe will be vital after this contest, and Truss is the last person to address that.''

For all those concerns, some said it was foolhardy to predict how Ms. Truss might act once in Downing Street. She has shown a lifelong capacity to adapt politically, they said, most notably on Brexit, which she ardently opposed before the 2016 referendum and just as ardently embraced afterward.

''She's got a small number of deeply held commitments that she won't move from,'' said Marc Stears, who tutored her when she was a student at Oxford University. ''After that, she'll look for what gives her the best political lift. You could call it opportunism or pragmatism, depending on if you're a friend or an enemy.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/25/world/europe/uk-liz-truss-prime-minister.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/25/world/europe/uk-liz-truss-prime-minister.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Liz Truss, a candidate to lead the Conservative Party, is favored to become Britain's third female prime minister. (PHOTOGRAPH BY GEOFF CADDICK/A.F.P. -- GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** August 26, 2022

**End of Document**



[***His Voice Unleashes a Young Man's Past***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:667P-0HC1-JBG3-64NM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 26, 2022 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; Movies, Performing Arts/Weekend Desk; Pg. 7

**Length:** 1390 words

**Byline:** By Jim Farber

**Body**

The 82-year-old musician never stopped performing, but ''I Ran Down Every Dream,'' made with a little help from Elvis Costello and Nick Lowe, is his first new album in more than 40 years.

On a June evening at the Colony music club in Woodstock, N.Y., an 82-year old man slowly ambled onto the stage and gingerly took a seat at his keyboard. The packed crowd, here for the headliner, was drinking heavily, talking loudly and looking everywhere but the stage. That is, until the man, Tommy McLain, cut the din with a voice so sure, soaring and strong that, suddenly, heads snapped in his direction and conversations ceased.

''You've got to shock 'em,'' McLain said the next day during an interview at LunÀtico, a music venue in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn. ''They didn't know me. But if you've got enough air in your lungs and soul in your singing, you got 'em.''

McLain should know. For decades, he has been belting over drunk crowds in casinos around his home state of Louisiana, as if living the life of the lead character in Billy Joel's ''Piano Man'' in perpetuity. Now, however, with the help of well-known admirers like Nick Lowe (who headlined that Woodstock show) and Elvis Costello, McLain has the chance to sing on higher-profile tours and to showcase material from his first official album of new recordings in over 40 years.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

The album, ''I Ran Down Every Dream,'' which drops on Friday, features the title track, which McLain wrote with Costello, as well as a song he penned with Lowe (the wry ''The Greatest Show on Hurt''). The two stars also perform on the record, as do storied artists including Van Dyke Parks and Ivan Neville. The music offers a stripped-down twist on the sound that made McLain a linchpin of an important, but largely regional, musical movement from the 1950s through '70s that came to be known as swamp-pop.

Nurtured in McLain's south Louisiana, in key part by Cajun artists, swamp-pop has as many roots as a bayou cypress tree, twisting together New Orleans R&B, country, soul, pop and rock, along with various Louisianian styles. Elements of that rolling sound can be heard in songs recorded by pivotal stars, including Elvis Presley (his version of ''Lawdy Miss Clawdy'' by Lloyd Price) and the Beatles (''Oh, Darling''). But, mainly, it spawned regional legends like McLain, Bobby Charles, Johnnie Allan and Warren Storm. For a brief while, starting in 1966, McLain earned national acclaim by scoring a Top 20 hit with ''Sweet Dreams,'' which Patsy Cline had also successfully recorded.

''I heard her version,'' McLain said. ''But I did it my own way.''

Nearly a decade later, McLain's music made an improbable, but indelible, connection in Britain when the London-based D.J. and label owner Charlie Gillett created a compilation album of swamp-pop titled ''Another Saturday Night,'' which included work by McLain. The soul and immediacy of the music made it a cult favorite in Britain, earning ardor from the then young stars Costello and Lowe, as well as Robert Plant.

''Hearing the 'Another Saturday Night' album was like opening a door for me to a whole new world,'' Costello said in an interview. ''When you hear Tommy McLain sing, if he doesn't reach you in some way, you should check your pulse. When I cut 'Sweet Dreams''' -- on his own 1981 album, ''Almost Blue'' -- ''I had Tommy's phrasing in my head.''

In an interview, Lowe noted how the sound and timbre of McLain's voice comes from a specific place and time. ''It's a place where Black and white music meet, which is something I've always loved,'' he said. ''When Tommy sings, you can hear his life. He's clearly someone who's got a past. And you get the idea he was a handful in his youth. He's not a young man, but he can still make you feel that.''

To C.C. Adcock, a successful Louisiana musician who produced McLain's new album, there's a connection between the down-to-earth ethos of Southern swamp-pop and British pub-rock, the rootsy scene that spawned stars like Lowe in the '70s. ''There's a commonality in the lightheartedness,'' Adcock said. ''They're both for ***working class*** people, not art school kids.''

It's Adcock who made McLain's comeback possible. A longtime swamp-pop fan, he befriended the older singer in the Louisiana music scene and was thrilled to discover that McLain had been writing new songs in secret for years. But he had no outlet for them. Adcock recorded parts of those songs on his phone, played them for his publishing company and, in 2019, helped secure a fresh contract for McLain with Decca Records.

Unfortunately, things went deeply south from there. While creating the album over the last five years, McLain endured a Job-like string of disasters, including three Louisiana hurricanes that ''tore up everything,'' he said. ''No air-conditioners working -- and in that heat!''

Then, his house burned down. ''If I'd been in there, I'd be up in smoke,'' he said.

Oh, and he also had a massive heart attack, requiring a double bypass operation that many believed he wouldn't survive. ''It got my attention -- but it didn't get me,'' the singer said with pluck.

In fact, McLain says practically everything with pluck. Though he sat in a wheelchair for the interview -- his Santa Claus-long white beard underscores his age -- McLain animates himself like a triathlete. Much like his singing, his speaking voice could pin you to the wall. He talks quickly, too, but with an assurance born of eight decades of life as well as a transformative experience he had at age 45.

McLain's success in the 1960s earned him some money, but he ran through it and, eventually, found himself lost in a life that involved a daily routine of ''a little coke, a little beer and a lot of short-skirted girls,'' he said. ''I woke up one morning with women on the floor I didn't know and said to myself, 'What am I doing?'''

Though he had been turned off to religion as a child because of the condemning nature of his Baptist minister father, he sought redemption in the Catholic Church, inspired by his mother-in-law who found solace there. McLain got so into it, he became a preacher himself. Later, he self-released a gospel album, titled ''Moving to Heaven,'' beloved by Costello. ''I don't know how he heard it,'' McLain said. ''I didn't have more than 500 copies pressed of that thing.'' Costello said he sought it out: ''I would go to local, secondhand record shops looking for albums by people like Tommy McLain.''

Costello finally met the singer in 2010 when the two performed at a tribute in New Orleans to the local legend Bobby Charles. Lowe met McLain the next year when he played in London with Adcock's group Lil' Band O' Gold. ''Those are good friends to have,'' Adcock said, with a laugh.

When the producer contacted each to help finish writing some songs McLain intended for the new album, they leaped at the chance. Most of the songs on the set are new, but there's also a fresh version of a well-known McLain song from the '60s, ''Before I Grow Too Old,'' with lyrics that have far more urgency and depth delivered at his age.

The songs, which often address dashed love, squandered opportunities and diminishing time, form a sustained suite of loss. But McLain sings them with a wily grace, and there's humor laced throughout. In ''I Ran Down Every Dream,'' McLain catalogs those dreams, calling ''some good, some bad, some we shall not ever mention.'' ''This is Tommy telling his tale,'' Costello said. ''It's like 'My Way,' if that song weren't so self-aggrandizing.''

When the album was complete, he faced yet another setback: Decca elected not to release it. McLain and Adcock said they never received a full explanation. (Decca Records did not respond to requests for comment.) Soon after, the indie label Yep Roc, which releases Lowe's music, stepped up. ''Tommy is 82,'' Adcock said. ''God forbid anything would have happened. I wanted these songs to come out.''

McLain shares that relief as well as a thrill in finally having new material to sing. As he wrote in one new lyric: ''When I wake up with a brand-new tune, that's how I know I'm still livin.''' ''I got stagnated,'' McLain said. ''But I still have the desire to be creative.''

''Turns out, I'm kinda hard to kill,'' he added, with a cackle. ''Believe me, they tried. But I keep comin'.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/24/arts/music/tommy-mclain-i-ran-down-every-dream.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/24/arts/music/tommy-mclain-i-ran-down-every-dream.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: While recording his new album, Tommy McLain, 82, endured hurricanes, a house fire and major heart surgery. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY PETER FISHER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 26, 2022

**End of Document**



[***If Democrats Lose the House, They May Have New York to Blame***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66TV-NHJ1-DXY4-X0YK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Byline:** Nicholas Fandos

**Highlight:** Republicans flipped four congressional seats in New York, the most of any state in the country. How did this happen in one of the nation’s most liberal states?

**Body**

Republicans flipped four congressional seats in New York, the most of any state in the country. How did this happen in one of the nation’s most liberal states?

As Democrats sought to maintain their narrow House majority in this year’s midterms, they counted on New York to be a crucial bulwark. Instead, as the party mostly outperformed dire predictions across the country Tuesday night, one of the nation’s most liberal states morphed into perhaps the most powerful drag on its chances.

Channeling angst over persistent crime and inflation, Republicans ran a nearly clean sweep through the slate of New York’s congressional tossup races. While their party struggled in swing states like Virginia and Michigan, Republican candidates made inroads deep into the suburbs of Long Island and the Hudson Valley, and even pockets of Brooklyn and Queens, where President Biden had won handily.

When they were done, Republicans had flipped four Democratic House seats, more than any other state, and had won a staggering prize: [*the defeat of Representative Sean Patrick Maloney*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/09/nyregion/sean-patrick-maloney-lawler.html), the House Democratic campaign chairman charged with protecting his party’s hold on Congress.

The Republican surge in New York, which also rattled Democrats’ hold on state races, did not result in an upset in the contest for governor. But [*Gov. Kathy Hochul’s five-point victory*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/09/nyregion/hochul-governor-new-york.html) over Representative Lee Zeldin, a Trump-backed Republican, seemed paradoxically to have a coattail effect for Republicans, who won in areas where Mr. Zeldin performed well.

“It was a terrible night in New York,” said Howard Wolfson, a leading national Democratic strategist, summing up his party’s disappointment. “It’s infuriating that a night as good as it was for Democrats overall is undone by arrogance and incompetence here.”

Republicans, on the other hand, were delighted. They argued that their resurgence not only laid the groundwork for a new Republican majority in Congress but also showed a pathway to wrest back old strongholds in Nassau County and ***working-class*** New York City boroughs outside Manhattan for years to come — if still not a path to win statewide.

“House Republicans would not have a majority if it were not for the State of New York,” said Representative Elise Stefanik, the top-ranking New York Republican in Washington, who predicted that the party would also fend off what was considered to be a prime Democratic pickup opportunity in Syracuse. “How about that irony?”

Though the race for control of the House was [*still too close to call*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/09/upshot/election-midterms-winners.html) nationally, Ms. Stefanik’s party needed to net just five seats nationwide to win the House, a number that appeared to be within reach.

In New York, Republicans were set to net three seats, after losing one to reapportionment. The only other state where they have flipped more than one so far is Florida, though Arizona may also follow suit.

The denouement, particularly on the House map, had not been entirely unforeseen after New York’s once-in-a-decade redistricting process went haywire. Democrats in Albany began the year hopeful that they could draw new lines that would protect their incumbents and [*cost Republicans as many as four seats*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/02/nyregion/redistricting-gerrymandering-ny.html)in the state to offset Republican gains elsewhere.

But New York’s highest court, in response to a Republican lawsuit, threw out the maps as an unconstitutional gerrymander and [*put more competitive alternatives in their place*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/21/nyregion/redistrict-map-nadler-maloney.html). In a handful of other states, courts ruled that Republicans had gerrymandered maps but did not enforce those rulings, but in New York, the judges insisted the lines be redrawn this year — instantly [*transforming the state into a critical, if unlikely, House battlefield*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/11/nyregion/house-elections-new-york.html).

And yet, even accounting for the shifting playing field, many Democratic House candidates in New York appear to have underperformed compared with their counterparts in other states.

For bleary-eyed local Democratic power brokers, the outcome poured fuel onto old feuds and long-running disagreements between left-leaning and more moderate wings of the party.

On the left, where prominent progressives associated with the Working Families Party set aside disagreements to help push Ms. Hochul over the finish line, Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez led calls for the resignation of the state party chairman, Jay Jacobs, who also leads the Nassau County Democratic Party.

“It’s no secret that an enormous amount of party leadership in New York State is based on big money and old-school, calcified machine-style politics that creates a very anemic voting base that is disengaged and disenfranchised,” Ms. Ocasio-Cortez said in an interview, adding that she was “cleareyed” about a need to rebuild the party apparatus from the bottom up.

Though many progressives did not name Ms. Hochul, they lamented that numerous candidates had failed to stake out a bolder agenda that would inspire the state’s 6.5 million Democrats and to invest in more durable on-the-ground organizing, rather than trying to motivate voters out of fear of Mr. Zeldin.

“If you stand for something and fight for it and voters believe you’re not just trying to be a lighter version of your Republican opponent, they come out and they vote,” said Michael Gianaris, the deputy majority leader in the State Senate.

There was unquestionably a potent mix of issues at play: Polls suggested voters living on the outskirts of New York City, and in urban Orthodox Jewish and Asian enclaves, were unusually motivated by rising crime. Record outside spending swamped the airwaves, and Republicans turned out in droves. Ms. Hochul failed to generate significant enthusiasm at the top of the ticket, and her party faced typical midterm headwinds for any party in power.

And then there was the redistricting fiasco, which many liberals blame on Mr. Jacobs and his onetime patron, former Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo. In their telling, Mr. Cuomo struck a corrupt bargain with Senate Republicans a decade ago to put in place a flawed redistricting process and appointed the conservative judges who struck down the lines.

When the party then put [*a ballot proposition before voters last fall*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/03/nyregion/ny-ballot-measures.html) to try to fix it, the measure failed, and some including Mr. Gianaris charged Mr. Jacobs with failing to spend money promoting the measure against a conservative onslaught.

In an interview, Mr. Jacobs said he was being “thrown under the bus” for something he was never asked to do. He defended his stewardship, saying he had raised and spent millions of dollars this fall on turnout operations across the state. And he pointed blame back at Mr. Gianaris, who oversaw the mapmaking process in Albany, for making such a blatant grab for House seats that the courts could not help put intervene.

“People say things, but they just don’t know what they’re talking about,” Mr. Jacobs said.

The argument between the competing factions is broader, though, with much of it resting on a yearslong debate over crime and changes that the Legislature made to the state’s bail law in 2019. The changes were designed to stem the use of cash bail to try to make the criminal justice system more equitable.

Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, who represents parts of Queens and the Bronx, said that she believed too many Democratic candidates hurt their own causes on Tuesday by “leaning into Republican narratives on crime and safety” rather than more actively reframing them to talk about gun violence and its roots.

But more moderate Democrats like Mr. Wolfson argued that voters had repeatedly given Democrats clear signs that they needed to proactively address “crime and disorder” and that, fairly or not, the bail changes were being disproportionately blamed for upticks in crime.

Republicans on Long Island successfully used the issue as a wedge [*to help sweep Nassau County elections in 2021*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/03/nyregion/republican-election-results-new-york.html), and this year, Mr. Zeldin and his allies up and down the ballot made it the centerpiece of their campaign.

Although Ms. Hochul did [*push through tweaks toughening the law*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/07/nyregion/new-york-budget-bail-reform.html) this spring, she generally avoided making public safety a top campaign message until the race’s final weeks. She also irritated some fellow Democrats when at times she appeared to play down the extent of the threat. (Ms. Hochul did not make any public appearances on Wednesday to discuss the results.)

“We had an early warning system blinking red, and people just ignored it,” Mr. Wolfson said.

Republicans spent millions of dollars hammering their opponents on public safety, and on frustration with the state’s affordability crunch, on their way to winning all four House seats and several State Senate seats on Long Island.

On the South Shore of Nassau County, [*Anthony D’Esposito*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/11/08/us/elections/results-new-york-us-house-district-4.html), a retired police officer and local Republican official, won a district Mr. Biden had won by 14 percentage points. Republicans achieved a similar swing just to the north, where George Santos, a far-right candidate, led his Democratic opponent by eight points.

Assemblyman Mike Lawler, Mr. Maloney’s opponent, used similar attacks to defeat the campaign chairman in the suburbs of Westchester and Rockland Counties north of New York City. Mr. Maloney made other mistakes — including running in a new district — but Mr. Lawler and Republican super PACs spent millions of dollars highlighting his past support for bail reform.

Statistics suggest many of Republicans’ claims about bail are overly simplistic, but moderate Democrats said arguing over those finer points simply was not working.

“Ignoring voters’ safety concerns is both bad public policy and bad politics that resulted in multiple avoidable losses that will have a very negative effect on not just New York, but as it turns out, the country’s balance of power,” said Representative Thomas R. Suozzi, a retiring Democrat who ran against Ms. Hochul in this year’s Democratic primary.

Mr. Suozzi said that Democrats did not need to compromise their values to find “real solutions that are just, equitable.”

There were certainly still some brighter spots for Democrats, including maintaining their Senate and Assembly majorities. In the Hudson Valley, Representative Pat Ryan, who won an August special election, ran ahead of Ms. Hochul and was poised to once again eke out victory in a tossup race.

In an interview, Mr. Ryan declined to comment on other candidates’ races directly, but he offered some general advice.

“People need to know in their gut you are really going to fight,” he said. “When you sort of pull those punches, you create a vacuum, and that I think leaves room for an opponent to come in and lie.”

PHOTOS: Assemblyman Mike Lawler at an election-night party. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JEENAH MOON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Representative Sean Patrick Maloney, after conceding. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KENNY HOLSTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (P14) This article appeared in print on page A1, P14.

**Load-Date:** November 10, 2022

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[***Polls in Virginia show G.O.P. strength. Will the forecast be more accurate this time around?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:640D-M4D1-DXY4-X2RN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; elections

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**Byline:** Nate Cohn

**Highlight:** The race for governor will be the first major test for pollsters since their much-scrutinized miss in last year’s presidential election.

**Body**

The race for governor will be the first major test for pollsters since their much-scrutinized miss in last year’s presidential election.

The outcome of the race for governor in Virginia will be [*one of the best tests yet*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/19/us/politics/virginia-governor-race-terry-mcauliffe-glenn-youngkin.html) of the strength of the two parties heading into next year’s midterm [*elections*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/04/briefing/democrats-election-working-class-voters.html). It will be a key test for pollsters, as well.

The Virginia race will bring a new round of scrutiny toward the polls after [*last year’s high-profile miss*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/12/us/politics/election-polls-trump-biden.html) in the presidential election, when pre-election surveys systematically underestimated Donald J. Trump’s support.

Surprisingly, relatively few pollsters have retooled their methodology over the last year. But this time, the polls show more strength for Republicans.

The final polls show Glenn Youngkin, the Republican nominee, gaining to pull into a dead heat with Terry McAuliffe, his Democratic opponent, as a growing focus on education and President Biden’s sagging approval ratings have helped Republicans compete in a state the president won by 10 percentage points last year.

Over all, Mr. Youngkin led Mr. McAuliffe by one percentage point in [*the final FiveThirtyEight polling average*](https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/polls/governor/virginia/). Nearly as striking: Each poll conducted over the last three weeks shows Mr. Youngkin faring better than in the pollster’s prior survey.

Mr. Youngkin’s gains have been buoyed by the emergence of education as one of the top issues in the contest. In [*a recent Washington Post poll*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/dc-md-va/2021/10/29/virginia-governors-race-poll/), 24 percent of voters said education was the most important issue in the race, an increase from 15 percent in September, when it trailed the economy and the coronavirus.

At the same time, Mr. Youngkin and Republicans across the country have been bolstered by an increasingly favorable national political environment. Mr. Biden’s approval ratings have declined steadily from about 50 percent at the time Kabul fell in August to an average of just [*43 percent*](https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/biden-approval-rating/) today. His rating is well beneath 50 percent in most Virginia polls, as well.

Virginia is not a state where the polls have a track record of continually overestimating one party or the other. The results of pre-election polls in 2016 and 2020 were more accurate in Virginia than in most battleground states, perhaps because it has relatively few of the white, [***working-class*** *voters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/04/briefing/democrats-election-working-class-voters.html) who seem to elude pollsters.

Heading into last year’s election, Mr. Biden led Mr. Trump by 11.8 points in Virginia surveys, [*according to FiveThirtyEight*](https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/polls/president-general/virginia/), not far from Mr. Biden’s eventual [*10.1-point*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-virginia-president.html) margin of victory.

But the state’s race for governor nonetheless poses serious challenges for pollsters.

Turnout is always difficult for pollsters, who struggle to predict exactly who will vote even when they reach a perfectly representative sample of the population. The challenge is greatest in off-year, nonfederal elections, which often have highly variable turnout.

Not surprisingly, recent polls have left different impressions of how much Mr. Youngkin might benefit from low turnout.

A [*Fox News survey*](https://static.foxnews.com/foxnews.com/content/uploads/2021/10/Fox_October-24-27_Virginia_Topline_October-28-Release.pdf) released last week showed Mr. Youngkin leading by eight percentage points among likely voters, but just one point among registered voters — reflecting a significant Republican turnout advantage. Just days later, a [*Washington Post/Schar School poll*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/dc-md-va/2021/10/29/virginia-governors-race-poll/), in contrast, showed Mr. McAuliffe faring only three points worse among likely voters than registered voters.

Pre-election polls of Virginia’s recent races for governor have not always posted sterling results.

In 2017, pre-election polls considerably underestimated the Democratic candidate, Ralph Northam, who won by [*nine percentage points*](https://www.nytimes.com/elections/results/virginia-governor-election-gillespie-northam) after leading the pre-election polls by just three points. This time, a similar error might mean that Mr. McAuliffe wins a clear victory.

Yet when Mr. McAuliffe was last on the ballot, in 2013, he scratched out [*a 2.5-point victory*](https://www.nytimes.com/projects/elections/2013/general/virginia/map.html) despite leading by six points in the pre-election polls. A similar polling error tonight would yield a very different outcome.

PHOTO: Virginia residents voting on Election Day in Alexandria. The final polls in the state’s race for governor showed a dead heat between Terry McAuliffe, the Democrat, and Glenn Youngkin, the Republican. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Kenny Holston for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 4, 2021

**End of Document**



[***'Riddled With Misogyny': Claim From British Lawmaker Ignites Furor***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:659W-H121-DXY4-X2RR-00000-00&context=1519360)

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Late Edition - Final

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**Byline:** By Stephen Castle and Megan Specia

**Body**

Citing an unnamed Conservative lawmaker, the paper claimed that Angela Rayner, a Labour leader, tried to distract Boris Johnson with her body. Fury has ensued.

LONDON -- An anonymously sourced report by one of Britain's freewheeling tabloid newspapers has sparked a debate over both tabloid journalistic ethics and sexism in Parliament, leading some to question whether the institution is capable shedding its fusty reputation and becoming an inclusive workplace.

Over the weekend the tabloid, The Mail on Sunday, reported an anonymous claim by a Conservative lawmaker that Angela Rayner, deputy leader of the opposition Labour Party, had tried distracting Prime Minister Boris Johnson in Parliament by crossing and uncrossing her legs, comparing her to Sharon Stone's character in the film ''Basic Instinct.''

Ms. Rayner said the article had left her ''crestfallen.'' It was dismissed by Mr. Johnson as ''sexist, misogynist, tripe,'' and prompted more than 5,500 complaints, according to the independent regulator of most of Britain's newspapers and magazines. The Speaker of the House of Commons, Lindsay Hoyle, summoned the newspaper's editor, David Dillon, and its political editor, Glen Owen, to a meeting on Wednesday.

''The story is that there is misogyny alive and well and stalking the corridors of the House of Commons,'' said Harriet Harman, the longest-serving female lawmaker and a lifelong champion of women's rights. It was, she told LBC Radio, symptomatic of ''the backlash you always get when women are making progress,'' adding that ''there are some men that feel they've got to put them back.''

There are 454 women and 963 men in the House of Commons and House of Lords. Before the last general election in 2019, a number of female politicians said harassment and abuse had driven some out of politics; many rights groups worry that the culture in Parliament has deterred others from coming forward at all to run for office.

Repeated phone calls and emails to The Mail on Sunday went unanswered.

Jemima Olchawski, the chief officer of the Fawcett Society, a leading British charity that supports gender equality and women's rights said in a statement, ''This behavior cannot be tolerated -- as a nation we cannot and should not accept this.'' She noted that her organization had long campaigned for ''systemic changes to fix Parliament's culture and make it a more inclusive and diverse workplace.''

Aside from its sexist tone and content, the article also contrasted Ms. Rayner's start in life with Mr. Johnson's elite education and his public speaking skills honed at the Oxford Union, the university's famous debating society. Born ***working class***, she was a young single mother who has risen to one of the most prominent jobs in British politics.

Ms. Rayner has also won praise for her debating style while standing in at several sessions of Prime Minister's questions, the weekly verbal duel between party leaders in Parliament.

In a TV interview on Tuesday Ms. Rayner described how, when contacted by The Mail on Sunday, she told the paper the claim was untrue, asked them not to publish it and was ''crestfallen'' about the impact it might have on her teenage sons.

The article was steeped in class bias, she told ITV, focusing on ''where I come from and how I grew up,'' and suggesting that, because of her standard, state-school education she was ''stupid.''

''They talk about my background because I had a child when I was young as if to say I am promiscuous -- that was the insinuation, which I felt was quite offensive,'' Ms. Rayner added.

After the article's publication, several lawmakers expressed support for Ms. Rayner and voiced fears about damage to the reputation of a Parliament that has faced several scandals in recent years. On the same day as The Mail on Sunday was writing about Ms. Rayner, the Sunday Times of London reported that three cabinet ministers and two senior Labour politicians were among 56 lawmakers facing allegations of bullying, harassment and sexual misconduct.

Jane Merrick, policy editor at the i newspaper -- who was among those named as person of the year by Time magazine in 2017 for talking publicly about sexual abuse and harassment in Parliament -- criticized the article, pointing out that Ms. Rayner often outperformed Mr. Johnson in debate. ''To reduce this to what she's wearing and how she behaves, I think is ludicrous, but also completely steeped in misogyny,'' she said.

Ms. Merrick added that the workplace culture had improved in Parliament since she began working there more than two decades ago, but that it was depressing that more still needed to be done.

''I think there was a kind of a rush of optimism when Me Too happened that we would suddenly change people's behavior, and, of course, that never happened,'' she said.

Mandu Reid, the leader of the Women's Equality Party, a feminist political party, said the story raised broader issues.

''This wouldn't be a story at all if Westminster and the wider political system in the U.K. weren't riddled with misogyny,'' she said in a statement. She also pointed to ''the misogyny of the media, which both deters women from involvement and misrepresents and undersells their achievements when they do engage.''

Many have long criticized a culture in Parliament where the number of female lawmakers is not yet reflective of the communities they represent.

The representation of women in Parliament is at a high, but women still make up just 35 percent of lawmakers elected to the House of Commons and 28 percent of the members of the House of Lords.

Speaking on Monday, Mr. Johnson said he had offered Ms. Rayner his support and had promised that if the source of the article were uncovered, then the ''terrors of the earth'' would be unleashed upon them.

That person, he said, was not giving an authorized briefing.

James Heappey, a junior defense minister, on Tuesday told the BBC that he worried about the damage to the reputation of a Parliament that was ''in a bad place right now,'' and described the incident as ''offensive and ridiculous.''

As for his anonymous fellow Conservative lawmaker who inspired the report, Mr. Heappey described them as an ''idiot of a colleague.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/26/world/europe/angela-rayner-boris-johnson-the-mail-on-sunday.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/26/world/europe/angela-rayner-boris-johnson-the-mail-on-sunday.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Angela Rayner, deputy leader of the opposition Labour Party, was the subject of an inflammatory article in the The Mail on Sunday. It quoted a Conservative politician who remained anonymous. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JESSICA TAYLOR/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** April 27, 2022

**End of Document**



[***As Gas Prices Fall, President Chases a Win***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:660F-0F81-DXY4-X1D3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 23, 2022 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1; WHITE HOUSE MEMO

**Length:** 1279 words

**Byline:** By Jim Tankersley

**Body**

The president has grown fond of boasting about a prolonged streak of falling gasoline prices, a move wrapped in risk and irony.

WASHINGTON -- After topping $5 a gallon in June, the price of gasoline has fallen for more than a month. The Biden administration wants to tell you about it. Again and again.

President Biden and his top aides are in an all-out campaign to trumpet what is, as of Friday, 38 consecutive days of declines in the AAA average gas price nationwide. The president mentioned that streak in a news conference in Saudi Arabia and at the start of a speech on abortion rights. Aides have repeatedly trotted out charts showing the downward trajectory in news briefings and chastised reporters for not devoting more time to the subject.

When President Andrés Manuel López Obrador of Mexico needled Mr. Biden in a meeting at the White House this month, saying that Americans were crossing the border to buy cheaper gas, the president interrupted him.

''It has gone down for 30 days in a row,'' Mr. Biden said.

Celebrating the daily declines at the pump has become his version of President Donald J. Trump's rampant bragging about gains in the stock market: a public obsession with a single economic indicator in hopes of driving a winning narrative with consumers and voters.

Embracing this particular trend comes with obvious risks for Mr. Biden. Gas prices notoriously bounce up and down, and events outside his control could easily push them up again. If the administration's efforts to impose a global price cap on Russian oil exports falls through before year's end, White House economists fear that prices could soar higher than they were this spring, to potentially $7 per gallon.

Gasoline cheerleading also poses an ironic challenge to Mr. Biden's efforts to confront the mounting crisis of a warming planet.

The jump in prices has had the short-term effect of forcing budget-constrained Americans to drive less, temporarily reducing the consumption of fossil fuels that drive global warming. But White House aides say the high prices are not helping Mr. Biden's efforts to move the country to a low-emissions future. Instead, those costs might be undermining his longer-term climate goals by bolstering political and public support for more oil drilling and other fossil-fuel projects.

High prices for motorists have already soured voters on the president's handling of the economy and his overall performance in office. Mr. Biden, who speaks frequently of growing up in a ***working-class*** family where ''if the price of gas went up, you felt it,'' has for months tried to reassure voters that he is doing whatever he can to bring those prices down.

When gasoline climbed past $3 a gallon nationwide in the fall, as global demand for oil increased amid the rebound of economic activity from the pandemic, Mr. Biden opened the taps of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve. In the spring, when prices reached $4 a gallon, he announced a waiver allowing summer sales of higher-ethanol gasoline, which costs slightly less for drivers but emits more greenhouse gases over its life cycle.

When prices peaked above $5 a gallon this summer amid the war in Ukraine, Mr. Biden called for a suspension of the federal gas tax (which Congress has not passed), implored oil-producing countries in the Middle East to pump more crude into global markets and accused large oil companies and refiners of profiteering.

Analysts say the president's efforts may have helped hold down prices at the margins. But no economists give the administration even a majority of credit for the steep drop in global oil prices that began in early June. Instead, they point to market forces: reduced oil demand from China, which is enduring another wave of restrictions because of the coronavirus, and weakening economic activity in Europe and other wealthy nations. Russian oil has also continued to flow to world markets despite sanctions imposed by the United States and other Western nations.

The average national price reported by AAA on Friday was $4.41 per gallon. The drop over the past month is likely to produce a more favorable inflation rate for July than the 9.1 percent annual increase of the Consumer Price Index that the Labor Department reported for June. Industry analysts and futures markets suggest more relief is likely to be expected in the coming weeks.

Mr. Biden has embraced the change. On Friday, in his first virtual event since testing positive for the coronavirus the day before, the president convened a half-dozen economic advisers for a briefing on falling gas prices.

''You can find gas for $3.99 or less in more than 30,000 gas stations, in more than 35 states,'' he said. ''In some places, it's down almost a dollar from last month.''

While administration officials sought to deflect blame for rising oil prices over the past year, they were happy to claim at least partial credit for the current decline.

''While there's a lot that goes into setting the global oil and gas price,'' Jared Bernstein, a member of the White House Council of Economic Advisers, said in a news briefing on Monday, ''the historic actions taken by President Biden to address the impact of Putin's invasion of Ukraine have helped and continue to help to increase the global supply of oil and therefore are in the mix of factors driving down the price.''

Republicans say they are surprised the administration is celebrating at all, when prices remain more than $2 a gallon higher than they were when Mr. Biden took office. (They do not mention that he inherited an economy where global demand for oil was suppressed by the coronavirus pandemic.)

It might also seem counterintuitive that the president is encouraging lower gasoline costs while he pursues what aides promise will be an ambitious unilateral agenda to cut greenhouse gas emissions.

''The real answer,'' Mr. Biden said on Friday, ''is to get to a clean-energy economy as soon as possible, turn this into something positive.''

Economists largely agree that raising the prices of fossil fuels like coal and gasoline is a way to ensure that consumers burn less of them and to encourage switching to lower-emission alternatives like electric vehicles. The Energy Department reported on Wednesday that gasoline use in the United States was down nearly 8 percent over the past four weeks compared with the same period a year ago. That continued for the second quarter of the year, which the Energy Information Administration said might have been the result of rising gasoline prices.

But Biden administration officials -- even economists who have previously favored steps to raise taxes on fossil fuels -- say the high prices are not helping the president's climate agenda.

The prices are reinvigorating a push by Republicans for increased oil and gas drilling on federal lands, which Mr. Biden promised to end while campaigning for president. Recent price volatility could also give customers pause when they consider buying a more efficient gas-powered vehicle, or an electric one, when supply-chain shortages in the automobile industry are making it harder for consumers to buy electric cars anyway.

Aides to Mr. Biden have privately said for months that to keep Americans on board with the energy transition, gas prices need to come down -- definitely below $4 a gallon, and hopefully below $3, which was the national average at the start of last summer.

If prices continue to decline at the rate they have over the past month, the nationwide average would slip below $3 a gallon in the final weeks of campaigning before the midterm elections. In about 79 days, to be exact.

Not that anyone's counting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/22/us/politics/biden-gas-prices.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/22/us/politics/biden-gas-prices.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Motorists in Brooklyn last week. President Biden and his aides are trumpeting consecutive weeks of declines in average gas prices. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HIROKO MASUIKE/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

When prices peaked above $5 a gallon, Mr. Biden called for a suspension of the federal gas tax. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A14)

**Load-Date:** July 23, 2022

**End of Document**



[***U.K. Tabloid Accuses Lawmaker of ‘Basic Instinct’ Move, Highlighting Sexism in Parliament***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:659R-WJY1-DXY4-X1VC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 26, 2022 Tuesday 12:37 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1068 words

**Byline:** Stephen Castle and Megan Specia

**Highlight:** Citing an unnamed Conservative lawmaker, the paper claimed that Angela Rayner, a Labour leader, tried to distract Boris Johnson with her body. Fury has ensued.

**Body**

Citing an unnamed Conservative lawmaker, the paper claimed that Angela Rayner, a Labour leader, tried to distract Boris Johnson with her body. Fury has ensued.

LONDON — An anonymously sourced report by one of Britain’s freewheeling tabloid newspapers has sparked a debate over both tabloid journalistic ethics and sexism in Parliament, leading some to question whether the institution is capable of shedding its fusty reputation and becoming an inclusive workplace.

Over the weekend the tabloid, The Mail on Sunday, reported an anonymous claim by a Conservative lawmaker that Angela Rayner, deputy leader of the opposition Labour Party, had tried distracting Prime Minister Boris Johnson in Parliament by crossing and uncrossing her legs, comparing her to Sharon Stone’s character in the film “Basic Instinct.”

Ms. Rayner said the article had left her “crestfallen.” It was dismissed by Mr. Johnson as “sexist, misogynist, tripe,” and prompted more than 5,500 complaints, according to the independent regulator of most of Britain’s newspapers and magazines. The Speaker of the House of Commons, Lindsay Hoyle, summoned the newspaper’s editor, David Dillon, and its political editor, Glen Owen, to a meeting on Wednesday.

“The story is that there is misogyny alive and well and stalking the corridors of the House of Commons,” said Harriet Harman, the longest-serving female lawmaker and a lifelong champion of women’s rights. It was, she told LBC Radio, symptomatic of “the backlash you always get when women are making progress,” adding that “there are some men that feel they’ve got to put them back.”

There are 454 women and 963 men in the House of Commons and House of Lords. Before the last general election in 2019, [*a number of female politicians said harassment and abuse had driven some out of politics*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/01/world/europe/women-parliament-abuse.html); many rights groups worry that the culture in Parliament has deterred others from coming forward at all to run for office.

Repeated phone calls and emails to The Mail on Sunday went unanswered.

Jemima Olchawski, the chief officer of the Fawcett Society, a leading British charity that supports gender equality and women’s rights said in a statement, “This behavior cannot be tolerated — as a nation we cannot and should not accept this.” She noted that her organization had long campaigned for “systemic changes to fix Parliament’s culture and make it a more inclusive and diverse workplace.”

Aside from its sexist tone and content, the article also contrasted Ms. Rayner’s start in life with Mr. Johnson’s elite education and his public speaking skills honed at the Oxford Union, the university’s famous debating society. Born ***working class***, she was a young single mother who has risen to one of the most prominent jobs in British politics.

Ms. Rayner has also won praise for her debating style while standing in at several sessions of Prime Minister’s questions, the weekly verbal duel between party leaders in Parliament.

In a TV interview on Tuesday Ms. Rayner described how, when contacted by The Mail on Sunday, she told the paper the claim was untrue, asked them not to publish it and was “crestfallen” about the impact it might have on her teenage sons.

The article was steeped in class bias, she told ITV, focusing on “where I come from and how I grew up,” and suggesting that, because of her standard, state-school education she was “stupid.”

“They talk about my background because I had a child when I was young as if to say I am promiscuous — that was the insinuation, which I felt was quite offensive,” Ms. Rayner added.

After the article’s publication, several lawmakers expressed support for Ms. Rayner and voiced fears about damage to the reputation of a Parliament that has faced several scandals in recent years. On the same day as The Mail on Sunday was writing about Ms. Rayner, [*the Sunday Times of London reported that three cabinet ministers and two senior Labour politicians*](https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/three-cabinet-ministers-face-sexual-misconduct-claims-c8t58nhxx) were among 56 lawmakers facing allegations of bullying, harassment and sexual misconduct.

Jane Merrick, policy editor at the [*i newspaper*](https://inews.co.uk/) — who was among those [*named as person of the year by Time magazine in 2017*](https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/uk-politics-42270009) for talking publicly about sexual abuse and harassment in Parliament — criticized the article, pointing out that Ms. Rayner often outperformed Mr. Johnson in debate. “To reduce this to what she’s wearing and how she behaves, I think is ludicrous, but also completely steeped in misogyny,” she said.

Ms. Merrick added that the workplace culture had improved in Parliament since she began working there more than two decades ago, but that it was depressing that more still needed to be done.

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“This wouldn’t be a story at all if Westminster and the wider political system in the U.K. weren’t riddled with misogyny,” she said in a statement. She also pointed to “the misogyny of the media, which both deters women from involvement and misrepresents and undersells their achievements when they do engage.”

Many have long criticized a culture in Parliament where the number of female lawmakers is not yet reflective of the communities they represent.

The representation of women in Parliament is at a high, but [*women still make up just 35 percent of lawmakers*](https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/sn01250/) elected to the House of Commons and 28 percent of the members of the House of Lords.

Speaking on Monday, Mr. Johnson said he had offered Ms. Rayner his support and had promised that if the source of the article were uncovered, then the “terrors of the earth” would be unleashed upon them.

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James Heappey, a junior defense minister, on Tuesday told the BBC that he worried about the damage to the reputation of a Parliament that was “in a bad place right now,” and described the incident as “offensive and ridiculous.”

As for his anonymous fellow Conservative lawmaker who inspired the report, Mr. Heappey described them as an “idiot of a colleague.”

PHOTO: Angela Rayner, deputy leader of the opposition Labour Party, was the subject of an inflammatory article in the The Mail on Sunday. It quoted a Conservative politician who remained anonymous. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JESSICA TAYLOR/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** April 27, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Nevada built a powerful Democratic machine. Will it work in a pandemic?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60V9-J861-JBG3-63SX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 15, 2020 Tuesday 17:15 EST

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**Section:** US; elections

**Length:** 323 words

**Byline:** Jennifer Medina

**Highlight:** One example of how things have changed: A Latino outreach group estimated in January that it would register 21,000 new voters in the state by Labor Day. It’s at around 6,000 now.

**Body**

LAS VEGAS — For the past decade, Democrats in Nevada have notched one hard-fought victory after another. In 2010, Senator Harry Reid won his hotly contested re-election campaign, even as the party lost other battles all over the country. In 2016, Hillary Clinton won the state, though with a smaller margin of victory than Democrats garnered in the previous two presidential contests. And in 2018, the Democrats managed to capture the governor’s office and the State Senate.

[*Nevada’s Democratic political machine was held up as a model*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/15/us/politics/nevada-2020-biden-trump.html) for other states where neither party has consistently dominated. But it was a machine built for another era.

Its success relied on hundreds of people knocking on thousands of doors. Now, there are fewer than half as many people canvassing for Democratic voters as there were in September 2016. And some Democratic strategists warn that Nevada could be in 2020 what Wisconsin was in 2016 — a state that the Democrats assume is safely in their column but that slips away.

“I am saying every day: We are more vulnerable than you think we are,” said Annette Magnus, the executive director of Battle Born Progress, a liberal group that has struggled to raise money to get out the vote.

Joseph R. Biden Jr. maintains a slight edge over President Trump in the state, according to [*polling from The New York Times and Siena College*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/15/us/politics/nevada-2020-biden-trump.html): four percentage points, within the poll’s margin of error. But Democrats worry about falling short of the kind of enthusiastic turnout they need among Latinos and ***working-class*** voters.

Last week, the Cook Political Report [*changed its rating of the state*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/15/us/politics/nevada-2020-biden-trump.html) from “likely Democrat” to “lean Democrat.” Mr. Trump, who held two rallies in Nevada over the weekend, has indicated he intends to fight hard to take the state.

PHOTO: A Culinary Union member, Elsa Gutierrez, canvassed for Joseph R. Biden Jr. in Las Vegas. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Bridget Bennett for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 15, 2020

**End of Document**



[***The Front-Runner to Replace Boris Johnson Wants to Be a New Iron Lady***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:667G-CPP1-JBG3-6475-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 25, 2022 Thursday 23:07 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1390 words

**Byline:** Mark Landler

**Highlight:** Campaigning to be Britain’s next prime minister, Liz Truss has modeled herself after Margaret Thatcher and pushed a party orthodoxy of lower taxes, less government and bucking the European Union.

**Body**

Campaigning to be Britain’s next prime minister, Liz Truss has modeled herself after Margaret Thatcher and pushed a party orthodoxy of lower taxes, less government and bucking the European Union.

BIRMINGHAM, England — When a British journalist asked Liz Truss on Tuesday to name the character flaw she would most like to fix, she confessed, “I think some of my friends would say I’m a bit relentless.”

Her answer elicited chuckles from a gathering of Conservative Party members; after all, that question is usually an invitation for a politician to resort to a humble brag. Yet this time it had the ring of truth, coming after a campaign in which Ms. Truss, Britain’s foreign secretary, has piled up big-name endorsements, upbeat media coverage and a seemingly unshakable lead in polls of party members.

With less than two weeks left in the race to replace Prime Minister Boris Johnson, her march to Downing Street looks nothing if not relentless. After a shaky start, Ms. Truss, 47, has cemented her status as the odds-on favorite to become Britain’s third female leader, after Margaret Thatcher and Theresa May.

The results of the Tory leadership contest will not be announced until Sept. 5, after the ballots of the party’s 160,000 or so dues-paying members are counted. Ms. Truss’s underdog opponent, Rishi Sunak, delivered a robust and well-received performance at the event in Birmingham, a reminder that fortunes can change swiftly in politics.

“You’re acting like this is already over — and it’s not,” a visibly peeved Mr. Sunak told the moderator, John Pienaar.

The static campaign has unfolded amid rapidly deepening economic turmoil. Household energy bills are spiking, inflation has soared into double digits, and the Bank of England warns of a prolonged recession. But none of that has dented the aura of inevitability around Ms. Truss.

British newspapers are already busy speculating about whom she will name to her cabinet and when she will pass an “emergency budget.” The first question is easier to answer than the second. Despite spending a month on the campaign trail, Ms. Truss has offered very few clues about how she would confront an economic crisis that many experts view as the gravest in a generation.

Instead, she has vowed to cut taxes, discard remaining European Union regulations, and shrink the size of Britain’s government — crowd-pleasing measures, tailor-made for the members of the Conservative Party, who tend to be older, wealthier, and more right-wing than the party’s voters, to say nothing of the broader British electorate.

Ms. Truss has stood by Mr. Johnson and continues to serve in his lame-duck government. But she has wrapped herself in the mantle of Thatcher, an anti-Communist warrior, free-market evangelist and conservative icon who entered Downing Street at a time of comparable economic hardship in 1979.

“The principles she believed in were the right principles,” Ms. Truss said, drawing her biggest applause of the evening. “Enterprise, personal responsibility, giving people control over their own money, putting money back in people’s pockets.”

When the subject switched to national security, Ms. Truss was asked how she would react if faced with a decision to unleash Britain’s nuclear arsenal to defend the country. “It’s an important duty of the prime minister,” she said. “I’m ready to do that.”

Such steeliness appeals to the party faithful, even if she has yet to persuade many party members that she is the second coming of the woman known as the “Iron Lady.”

“She’s a pound shop Maggie,” said Tony Clark, a member who lives outside Birmingham, using a colloquialism that refers to a discounted version of a great figure. Mr. Clark said he nevertheless planned to vote for her because he believed she was a genuine conservative. Mr. Sunak, while “intellectually brilliant,” came across as vaguely “smarmy,” he said.

Jacqueline Naylor, 79, a retired nurse, said she, too, might end up backing Ms. Truss, though Mr. Sunak’s robust performance had made her decision harder. She blamed him for precipitating Mr. Johnson’s downfall by resigning as chancellor of the Exchequer after scandals engulfed the government. Ms. Truss, she noted, stuck by the prime minister, who remains popular with the rank-and-file.

“Liz is ticking all the boxes for the party members,” said Edward Tolcher, 62, a school finance director from Solihull, a nearby suburb. He is supporting Mr. Sunak but thinks the race is basically over.

Ms. Truss’s laser focus on orthodox Tory positions has played better than Mr. Sunak’s pitch, which is built on telling voters hard truths, like that Britain must tame inflation before it cuts taxes. She has also steadily improved as a campaigner, showing confidence and flashes of humor.

“A lot of people thought she would be very wooden, and she has performed better than expectations,” said Gavin Barwell, a former chief of staff to Mrs. May.

But he and others say Ms. Truss may be pushing problems down the road by refusing to be more open about her plans. Her appeal to a narrow constituency, they add, could make it hard to hold together the coalition that Mr. Johnson forged in 2019. His election victory that year was built by luring disillusioned Labour Party voters from the industrial Midlands and north, who were drawn to his promise to “get Brexit done.”

Reducing taxes, rolling back regulations and shrinking the state are less attractive policies for ***working-class*** voters in these so-called “red wall” areas. Many are comfortable with a generous social safety net and view the government as a bulwark against what they believe is a system rigged against them.

“Liz Truss is offering policies which not only risk fueling the current economic crisis but are also at odds with the values of these new Conservative voters,” said Matthew Goodwin, a professor of politics at Kent University.

Ms. Truss, who served as trade secretary before becoming foreign secretary, boasts about signing post-Brexit trade deals with Japan, Australia, and other countries. Yet her free-trade instincts could also be a mixed blessing with those recent Tory converts, who want the state to defend British industry against foreign competitors.

“She’s more of a free trader than I am,” said Robert E. Lighthizer, who served as the United States Trade Representative under President Donald J. Trump. Mr. Lighthizer met Ms. Truss multiple times to negotiate a trans-Atlantic trade deal, which has since been put on a back burner by President Biden.

Still, Mr. Lighthizer said he was impressed by Ms. Truss, noting that she argued her positions forcefully and came across as an “authentic conservative.”

Her first task would be to unify a party that has been sundered by the drama of the Johnson years and is bleeding support among voters. A poll last week by the firm YouGov showed Conservatives trailing Labour by 15 percentage points, the largest deficit in nearly a decade.

Critics worry that Britain’s relations with the European Union will deteriorate further under Ms. Truss, given that she is supported by the party’s most ardent pro-Brexit wing. She introduced legislation that would rescind the trade arrangements in Northern Ireland, adopted just three years ago as part of Brexit, and has vowed to pass that bill.

“She’s clearly adept at the old game of blaming the French and the Europeans more generally to curry favor with the base of her party,” said Peter Ricketts, a former British ambassador to Paris. “Reconnecting with Europe will be vital after this contest, and Truss is the last person to address that.”

For all those concerns, some said it was foolhardy to predict how Ms. Truss might act once in Downing Street. She has shown a lifelong capacity to adapt politically, they said, most notably on Brexit, which she ardently opposed before the 2016 referendum and just as ardently embraced afterward.

“She’s got a small number of deeply held commitments that she won’t move from,” said Marc Stears, who tutored her when she was a student at Oxford University. “After that, she’ll look for what gives her the best political lift. You could call it opportunism or pragmatism, depending on if you’re a friend or an enemy.”

PHOTO: Liz Truss, a candidate to lead the Conservative Party, is favored to become Britain’s third female prime minister. (PHOTOGRAPH BY GEOFF CADDICK/A.F.P. — GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** August 25, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Biden’s New Economic Scorecard: The Price at the Pump; white house memo***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6608-F8Y1-JBG3-64B6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 22, 2022 Friday 22:23 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1323 words

**Byline:** Jim Tankersley

**Highlight:** The president has grown fond of boasting about a prolonged streak of falling gasoline prices, a move wrapped in risk and irony.

**Body**

The president has grown fond of boasting about a prolonged streak of falling gasoline prices, a move wrapped in risk and irony.

WASHINGTON — After topping $5 a gallon in June, the price of gasoline has fallen for more than a month. The Biden administration wants to tell you about it. Again and again.

President Biden and his top aides are in an all-out campaign to trumpet what is, as of Friday, 38 consecutive days of declines in the AAA average gas price nationwide. The president mentioned that streak in a news conference in Saudi Arabia and at the start of a speech on abortion rights. Aides have repeatedly trotted out charts showing the downward trajectory in news briefings and chastised reporters for not devoting more time to the subject.

When President Andrés Manuel López Obrador of Mexico needled Mr. Biden in a meeting at the White House this month, saying that Americans were crossing the border to buy cheaper gas, the president interrupted him.

“It has gone down for 30 days in a row,” Mr. Biden said.

Celebrating the daily declines at the pump has become his version of President Donald J. Trump’s rampant [*bragging about gains in the stock market*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/01/21/business/trump-stock-market.html): a public obsession with a single economic indicator in hopes of driving a winning narrative with consumers and voters.

Embracing this particular trend comes with obvious risks for Mr. Biden. Gas prices notoriously bounce up and down, and events outside his control could easily push them up again. If the administration’s efforts to impose a [*global price cap on Russian oil*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/09/business/economy/biden-gas-price-cap-russia.html) exports falls through before year’s end, White House economists fear that prices could soar higher than they were this spring, to potentially $7 per gallon.

Gasoline cheerleading also poses an ironic challenge to Mr. Biden’s efforts to confront the mounting crisis of a warming planet.

The jump in prices has had the short-term effect of forcing budget-constrained Americans to drive less, temporarily reducing the consumption of fossil fuels that drive global warming. But White House aides say the high prices are not helping Mr. Biden’s efforts to move the country to a low-emissions future. Instead, those costs might be undermining his longer-term climate goals by bolstering political and public support for more oil drilling and other fossil-fuel projects.

High prices for motorists have already soured voters on the president’s handling of the economy and his overall performance in office. Mr. Biden, who speaks frequently of growing up in a ***working-class*** family where “if the price of gas went up, you felt it,” has for months tried to reassure voters that he is doing whatever he can to bring those prices down.

When gasoline climbed past $3 a gallon nationwide in the fall, as global demand for oil increased amid the rebound of economic activity from the pandemic, Mr. Biden [*opened the taps of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/23/business/biden-oil-reserves-gas-prices.html). In the spring, when prices reached $4 a gallon, he announced a waiver allowing summer [*sales of higher-ethanol gasoline*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/12/business/economy/biden-ethanol-gas.html), which costs slightly less for drivers but emits more greenhouse gases over its life cycle.

When prices peaked above [*$5 a gallon*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/11/business/energy-environment/gasoline-price.html) this summer amid the war in Ukraine, Mr. Biden [*called for a suspension of the federal gas tax*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/20/us/politics/biden-gas-prices-tax.html) (which Congress has not passed), implored oil-producing countries in the Middle East to pump more crude into global markets and [*accused large oil companies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/15/business/biden-oil-companies-gas-prices.html) and refiners of profiteering.

Analysts say the president’s efforts may have helped hold down prices at the margins. But no economists give the administration even a majority of credit for the steep drop in global oil prices that began in early June. Instead, they point to market forces: reduced oil demand from China, which is enduring another wave of restrictions because of the coronavirus, and weakening economic activity in Europe and other wealthy nations. Russian oil has also continued to flow to world markets despite sanctions imposed by the United States and other Western nations.

The average national price reported by AAA on Friday was $4.41 per gallon. The drop over the past month is likely to produce a more favorable inflation rate for July than the [*9.1 percent annual increase*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/13/business/economy/inflation-june-interest-rates.html) of the Consumer Price Index that the Labor Department reported for June. Industry analysts and futures markets suggest more relief is likely to be expected in the coming weeks.

Mr. Biden has embraced the change. On Friday, in his first virtual event since testing positive for the coronavirus the day before, the president convened a half-dozen economic advisers for a briefing on falling gas prices.

“You can find gas for $3.99 or less in more than 30,000 gas stations, in more than 35 states,” he said. “In some places, it’s down almost a dollar from last month.”

While administration officials sought to deflect blame for rising oil prices over the past year, they were happy to claim at least partial credit for the current decline.

“While there’s a lot that goes into setting the global oil and gas price,” Jared Bernstein, a member of the White House Council of Economic Advisers, said in a news briefing on Monday, “the historic actions taken by President Biden to address the impact of Putin’s invasion of Ukraine have helped and continue to help to increase the global supply of oil and therefore are in the mix of factors driving down the price.”

Republicans say they are surprised the administration is celebrating at all, when prices remain more than [*$2 a gallon higher*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/graph/?g=RYLU) than they were when Mr. Biden took office. (They do not mention that he inherited an economy where global demand for oil was suppressed by the coronavirus pandemic.)

It might also seem counterintuitive that the president is encouraging lower gasoline costs while he pursues what aides promise will be an ambitious unilateral agenda to cut greenhouse gas emissions.

“The real answer,” Mr. Biden said on Friday, “is to get to a clean-energy economy as soon as possible, turn this into something positive.”

Economists largely agree that raising the prices of fossil fuels like coal and gasoline is a way to ensure that consumers burn less of them and to encourage switching to lower-emission alternatives like electric vehicles. The [*Energy Department reported*](https://www.eia.gov/petroleum/supply/weekly/) on Wednesday that gasoline use in the United States was down nearly 8 percent over the past four weeks compared with the same period a year ago. That continued for the second quarter of the year, which the Energy Information Administration said might have been the result of rising gasoline prices.

But Biden administration officials — even economists who have previously favored steps to raise taxes on fossil fuels — say the high prices are not helping the president’s climate agenda.

The prices are reinvigorating a push by Republicans for increased oil and gas drilling on federal lands, which Mr. Biden promised to end while campaigning for president. Recent price volatility could also give customers pause when they consider buying a more efficient gas-powered vehicle, or an electric one, when [*supply-chain shortages in the automobile industry*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/14/business/electric-car-sales.html) are making it harder for consumers to buy electric cars anyway.

Aides to Mr. Biden have privately said for months that to keep Americans on board with the energy transition, gas prices need to come down — definitely below $4 a gallon, and hopefully below $3, which was the national average at the start of last summer.

If prices continue to decline at the rate they have over the past month, the nationwide average would slip below $3 a gallon in the final weeks of campaigning before the midterm elections. In about 79 days, to be exact.

Not that anyone’s counting.

PHOTOS: Motorists in Brooklyn last week. President Biden and his aides are trumpeting consecutive weeks of declines in average gas prices. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HIROKO MASUIKE/THE NEW YORK TIMES); When prices peaked above $5 a gallon, Mr. Biden called for a suspension of the federal gas tax. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A14)

**Load-Date:** July 22, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Amid New York's Housing Crisis, Progressives Warm to Developers***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66MK-D1F1-JBG3-60CB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 16, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1628 words

**Byline:** By Mihir Zaveri

**Body**

Lawmakers on the left are fierce critics of the real estate industry. But some are embracing new housing development, even if it's not fully affordable.

For years, elected officials from across the political spectrum in New York City have scored points by attacking a common enemy: Real estate developers.

Politicians routinely quashed projects. Some officials argued they were protecting a neighborhood's character and property values. Others said they were fighting corporate greed. On Friday, a left-leaning City Council member, Julie Won, said she would oppose a big new project in her Queens district, calling it a ''gentrification accelerator.''

But a housing shortage and affordability crisis may be changing the political calculus for some progressives who have traditionally been among the most fervent critics of the real estate industry.

Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, who opposed the construction of an Amazon campus near her district, said recently that she would support local officials who make way for more housing, and a number of City Council members on the left have embraced new developments, even in cases where most of the units would not be affordable for ***working-class*** New Yorkers.

Tiffany Cabán, a democratic socialist councilwoman from Queens, recently voted for a project that was slated to bring more than 1,300 apartments to a vacant waterfront lot in her district. A quarter of the units will rent at below market rates.

Ms. Cabán said she would prefer public housing or housing owned by local residents, but ''it's not as simple or easy as 100 percent affordable or nothing.'' She said not approving the project, known as Halletts North, would risk letting the lot languish as a truck depot or parking lot for delivery vehicles, which she said was ''wholly irresponsible, especially when we have a housing crisis.''

In New York politics, the real estate lobby has long been an influential force. Developers are major political donors, and have found a receptive mayor in Eric Adams. The industry itself remains lucrative; new skyscrapers rise across the city in places where the rules permit denser development.

But members of the City Council wield a lot of power in determining the fate of new projects, with considerations varying by neighborhood. They often oppose new development unless benefits, like parks or community space, are included, sometimes shutting projects down altogether if they do not get the concessions they want for their communities.

Many housing advocates and more moderate Democrats, including President Biden and Mayor Adams, have called for a broad effort to build more housing as people nationwide struggle with homelessness and affording decent homes.

Leaders in other parts of the country, like Gov. Gavin Newsom of California, have more aggressively put in place policies to encourage the construction of housing and overcome resistance from local officials and activists.

The openness to more development among some in left-leaning circles in New York may signify that the political momentum behind the pro-housing movement is growing and may foreshadow significant changes to the city's landscape.

There is a shortage of homes available to a wide range of income levels, though the problem is most acute for lower-income New Yorkers. The New York metropolitan area needed more than 340,000 additional homes in 2019, according to a May estimate from Up for Growth, a Washington policy and research group.

The vacancy rate for apartments renting below the citywide median of $1,500 is less than 1 percent, while tight supply has helped send the typical asking rent on a market-rate apartment in Manhattan soaring past $4,000, according to the brokerage firm Douglas Elliman.

More than half of the city's tenants spend more than a third of their income on rent. The population in the city's main homeless shelter system broke a record last week, fueled partially by migrants coming to the city but also by a spike in locals seeking shelter.

''If we postpone the types of actions and investments and courage that is needed to address our housing crisis, we're not just undermining the well-being of families, but we're undermining the recovery of our economy and long-term recovery as a city,'' said Maria Torres-Springer, deputy mayor for economic and work force development.

In central Brooklyn, Councilwoman Crystal Hudson, a member of the progressive caucus who has called the city a ''developer's playground,'' cast a vote earlier this year to support two 17-story towers with more than 400 apartments in Prospect Heights, a neighborhood that has seen rapid gentrification. Previously, she shut the project down when she took office in January, saying she had not had time to review the proposal and that she worried about gentrification and other affects on the community.

The original proposal had 25 percent of the units renting at below market rates, Ms. Hudson said. She said she asked for the developer to include 50 percent of the units at those rates, but settled on 35 percent.

''We all can only fight for the best project possible,'' she said.

Ms. Hudson is also working with city officials and residents on a broader plan she hopes will be completed next year to redevelop the surrounding area.

She said the new membership of the City Council, considered among the most left-leaning in recent memory, was trying to ''marry'' the needs of the city with those of the district.

The City Council last week approved a project in the Throgs Neck neighborhood of the Bronx that would add almost 350 homes -- including almost half that would rent at below market rates -- to an area with a relatively high share of single-family homes.

The plan met fierce pushback from some members of the community and initial opposition from Councilwoman Marjorie Velázquez, also a member of the progressive caucus.

But Ms. Velázquez changed her stance and voted in favor of the project after the developer added affordable units for seniors and it earned the support of a trade union, the mayor and the City Council speaker. A spokeswoman for Ms. Velázquez said she was unavailable for comment.

Rhetoric more friendly to new development has also come from state politicians. Jabari Brisport, a Brooklyn state senator and democratic socialist, announced last month on Twitter that he now believed that ''the construction of market rate housing does not raise nearby rents'' after reading a research paper on the effect of housing supply, even as he criticized developers as ''greedy speculators.''

''I really do think things are shifting,'' said Annemarie Gray, a former land-use adviser for the city who is now the executive director of Open New York, a pro-housing group. ''Housing politics both in the city and the country are changing.''

While there is near consensus on the need for more homes, the debate over how to make them affordable and whether the real estate industry should play a central role remains fraught.

A project that would have brought more than 900 new apartments to Harlem died this spring after the local council member said the apartments were not affordable enough. Ms. Won, the Queens councilwoman, has asked the developer of the project in her district to include significantly more affordable units before she can support it, leaving its fate in limbo.

''I have to protect the interests of my residents,'' she said.

The city, which is dealing with staffing shortages in the agencies that oversee investments in housing, has fallen far short of its goal of subsidizing the construction of 25,000 affordable homes in the past year. The range of proposals also includes more expansive rent regulation, new forms of public housing, renewed tax credits for developers and better rental assistance programs.

Those who support more private development acknowledge that even if local officials begin to greenlight more projects, they may only amount to a few thousand new homes, far short of the vast need in New York City.

Broader neighborhood rezoning efforts that could make way for a larger number of new homes have yet to take shape, though Ms. Torres-Springer noted that the city is pursuing efforts in Ms. Hudson's district and in the South Bronx, and said more would be announced.

David Lombino, a managing director at Two Trees Management, a development firm, said it was ''encouraging'' to see projects like those in Ms. Velázquez's and Ms. Cabán's districts move forward.

''Do I think it's going to solve the crisis? No,'' he said. ''I think supply is needed on such a scale and I think folks aren't ready to see the scale that's required to fix the supply problem.''

There can still be a political cost to supporting new developments that even a subset of current constituents oppose. Many housing activists around the city argue that allowing more housing without greater concessions to affordability and improving neighborhoods amounts to placing the interests of private developers over city residents.

Doreen Mohammed, who lives near the Halletts North development site that Ms. Cabán supports, said she felt neighbors had not been consulted before the project was approved.

Ms. Mohammed, a member of the community board that includes the development site, said that many of the people who lived around the area would not be able to afford the homes that would be built.

She said she had hoped that because Ms. Cabán had been endorsed by Ms. Ocasio-Cortez and identified as a socialist, that she would ''not settle for these crumbs and being in bed with developers.'' Ms. Mohammed said she also opposed the project in Ms. Won's district.

''That's not socialism, that's not progressive, that's not community-driven,'' she said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/16/nyregion/politicians-housing-crisis-real-estate.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/16/nyregion/politicians-housing-crisis-real-estate.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Clockwise from top, sites for new residential buildings in Prospect Heights, Brooklyn

Astoria, Queens

and a stretch of Atlantic Avenue in Brooklyn. Real estate projects routinely quashed by politicians are gaining approval because of a housing shortage and affordability crisis. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DAVE SANDERS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A24) This article appeared in print on page A1, A24.

**Load-Date:** October 16, 2022

**End of Document**



[***A Housing Crisis Has More Politicians Saying Yes to Developers***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66MK-C5V1-DXY4-X0W7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 16, 2022 Sunday 11:49 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1701 words

**Byline:** Mihir Zaveri

**Highlight:** Lawmakers on the left are fierce critics of the real estate industry. But some are embracing new housing development, even if it’s not fully affordable.

**Body**

Lawmakers on the left are fierce critics of the real estate industry. But some are embracing new housing development, even if it’s not fully affordable.

For years, elected officials from across the political spectrum in New York City have scored points by attacking a common enemy: Real estate developers.

Politicians routinely quashed projects. Some officials argued they were protecting a neighborhood’s character and property values. Others said they were fighting corporate greed. On Friday, a left-leaning City Council member, Julie Won, said she would oppose a big new project in her Queens district, calling it a “gentrification accelerator.”

But a housing shortage and affordability crisis may be changing the political calculus for some progressives who have traditionally been among the most fervent critics of the real estate industry.

Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, who [*opposed the construction of an Amazon*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/14/nyregion/cuomo-aoc-amazon.html) campus near her district, said recently that she would support local officials who [*make way for more*](https://www.curbed.com/2022/01/aoc-2022-pledge-pro-housing-yimby.html) housing, and a number of City Council members on the left have embraced new developments, even in cases where most of the units would not be affordable for ***working-class*** New Yorkers.

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But members of the City Council wield a lot of power in determining the fate of new projects, with considerations varying by neighborhood. They often oppose new development unless benefits, like parks or community space, are included, sometimes shutting projects down altogether if they do not get the concessions they want for their communities.

Many housing advocates and more moderate Democrats, including President Biden and Mayor Adams, have called for a broad effort to build more housing as people nationwide struggle with homelessness and affording decent homes.

Leaders in other parts of the country, like Gov. Gavin Newsom of California, have more aggressively [*put in place policies to encourage*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/01/business/economy/california-nimbys-housing.html) the construction of housing and overcome resistance from local officials and activists.

The openness to more development among some in left-leaning circles in New York may signify that the political momentum behind the pro-housing movement is growing and may foreshadow significant changes to the city’s landscape.

There is a shortage of homes available to a wide range of income levels, though the problem is most acute for lower-income New Yorkers. The New York metropolitan area [*needed more than 340,000 additional homes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/01/nyregion/nyc-affordable-apartment-rent.html) in 2019, according to a May estimate from Up for Growth, a Washington policy and research group.

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But Ms. Velázquez [*changed her stance and voted*](https://www.thecity.nyc/2022/10/6/23391817/bruckner-rezoning-advances-councilmember-marjorie-velazquez-reverses) in favor of the project after the developer added affordable units for seniors and it earned the support of a trade union, the mayor and the City Council speaker. A spokeswoman for Ms. Velázquez said she was unavailable for comment.

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While there is near consensus on the need for more homes, the debate over how to make them affordable and whether the real estate industry should play a central role remains fraught.

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PHOTOS: Clockwise from top, sites for new residential buildings in Prospect Heights, Brooklyn; Astoria, Queens; and a stretch of Atlantic Avenue in Brooklyn. Real estate projects routinely quashed by politicians are gaining approval because of a housing shortage and affordability crisis. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DAVE SANDERS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A24) This article appeared in print on page A1, A24.

**Load-Date:** October 17, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Lesson of the Day: ‘The Uncertain Fate of a London Neighborhood’; current events***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64KD-TG01-JBG3-64DC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 21, 2022 Friday 13:13 EST

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**Section:** LEARNING; lesson-plans

**Length:** 830 words

**Byline:** Nicole Daniels

**Highlight:** In this lesson, students will learn about a process called gentrification and decide whether it helps or hurts communities.

**Body**

In this lesson, students will learn about a process called gentrification and decide whether it helps or hurts communities.

This lesson is a part of our new [*Accessible Activities*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/accessible-activities) feature, which aims to welcome a wider variety of learners to our site and to The Times. Learn more and tell us what you think [*here*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/22/learning/accessible-reading-and-writing-activities-a-new-weekly-roundup-for-teachers.html).

Lesson Overview

Featured Article: “[*The Uncertain Fate of a London Neighborhood*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/01/15/world/brick-lane-london.html)” by Aina J. Khan

An East London neighborhood that has long been known for its many Bangladeshi-run businesses has undergone big changes in the past several years because of a process called gentrification.

In this lesson, you will learn more about gentrification and how it has affected the Brick Lane neighborhood. Then, you will use what you’ve learned to evaluate whether you think gentrification mostly helps or hurts communities.

Warm-Up

The featured article focuses on a process called gentrification. Have you heard this word before?

In a 2020 article in Teen Vogue — “[*What Is Gentrification? How It Works, Who It Affects, and What to Do About It*](https://www.teenvogue.com/story/what-is-gentrification-how-works)” — Andrew Lee explains:

In brief, gentrification happens when wealthier newcomers move into ***working-class*** neighborhoods. New businesses and amenities often pop up to cater to these new residents. Potholes might get filled; a new bus line might appear. These changes attract even more affluent people, and property values go up. Landlords raise rents to what these new arrivals can afford to pay, so the original tenants get forced out. Real estate speculators may pressure homeowners to sell their family homes. Some of those pushed out will move to more affordable neighborhoods, others to entirely different cities; others may become unhoused.

Define “gentrification” using a [*Frayer model*](https://docs.google.com/presentation/d/1b9SxwU43GtJGCiqOGNcsULib86lMx1fJ_jurnrdDrZc/edit#slide=id.i0) with the following prompts as a guide:

* Concept: Write “gentrification.”

1. Definition: In your own words, write a short definition of “gentrification” based on the Teen Vogue excerpt above.
2. Facts and/or Characteristics: What are some of the key features of gentrification?
3. Examples: What are some examples of gentrification from the description above? Can you think of any in your own community or from the news, TV, movies or books?
4. Non-examples: What are some things that would not be considered gentrification?

Fill in as much of the template as you can now, but you can continue to add to it as you read the featured article.

Vocabulary

Take a look at this list of vocabulary words that appear in the featured article:

1. earn

2. gentrification

3. multicultural

4. chain

5. uncertain

6. resent

7. disapprove

Do you recognize any of these words? Can you define them or use them in a sentence?

To make sure you know the meaning of each word, review [*this list on Vocabulary.com*](https://www.vocabulary.com/lists/8256892).

Questions for Writing and Discussion

Read the article below, and then answer the following questions:

1. What makes the Brick Lane neighborhood in East London unique?

2. The reporter says that the Brick Lane Jamme Mosque is a symbol of the multiculturalism of the neighborhood. How so?

3. What is one sign of the gentrification of Brick Lane mentioned in the article?

4. Why were some residents angry at the decision to build a five-story shopping center at the site of the Truman Brewery?

5. Why is the Truman Brewery important to the community of Brick Lane?

6. The article shares the perspectives of two Bangladeshi business owners: Shams Uddin, who says the shopping center could be good for the community, and Jamal Khalique, who does not support the proposal. Whose argument do you find more persuasive and why?

Going Further

Return to the Frayer model you created in the warm-up. What other characteristics, examples or non-examples of gentrification can you add after reading the article about Brick Lane?

Then, tell us, or discuss with your classmates:

* What is your reaction to the story about gentrification in Brick Lane?

1. Have you witnessed gentrification where you live? If yes, what is an example of it? What has it been like for you and your community? If no, why do you think your community has not experienced gentrification? How do you think you might feel if your home were to change in this way?
2. After learning more about gentrification, and seeing one example, do you think it mostly helps or mostly hurts communities? Why? If you don’t feel like you can answer this question, what additional information would you need?

If you’d like to learn more about how gentrification affects residents, watch or listen to one of the videos or podcasts below. What is it like hearing about gentrification from these first-person perspectives?

* “[*Holding Out in Harlem, Despite Demolition*](https://www.nytimes.com/video/nyregion/100000004975598/holding-out-despite-the-demolition.html)” (Video | The New York Times)

1. “[*Gentrification Is Erasing Philly’s Black Horse Stables*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=55DqL9NsUPQ)” (Video | VICE News)
2. “[*Whole Foods, Gentrification and the Erasure of Black Harlem*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=onU2p0fU_J4)” (Video | The Root)
3. “[*Mrs. Loretta McDonald Takes Us Through Brooklyn for a Look at Gentrification’s Effects*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uTAKcQYs5IE)” (Video | BRIC TV)
4. “[*There Goes the Neighborhood*](https://www.wnycstudios.org/podcasts/neighborhood/about)” (Podcast | WNYC Studios)

Want more Lessons of the Day? You can find them all [*here*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/learning-article-of-the-day).

**Load-Date:** May 11, 2022

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[***Can Republicans Tax the Rich?; Ross Douthat***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66F7-KS21-JBG3-60MJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 21, 2022 Wednesday 09:32 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1652 words

**Byline:** Ross Douthat

**Highlight:** The continuing quest for a conservative policy reformation, and its continuing problems.

**Body**

The movement known as national conservatism, which just wrapped up its latest conference in Florida, is the third major attempt to solve the Republican Party’s central 21st-century policy dilemma: How does a party that historically represented the rich and big business adapt to a world where conservatism’s constituencies are not just middle class but blue-collar, downscale and disappointed with the modern American economy?

The first attempted adaptation belonged to George W. Bush. His slogans were “compassionate conservatism” and the “ownership society,” and his policies offered new spending on education and health care, support for faith-based anti-poverty programs and easy credit for new homeowners — all theoretically designed to foster self-sufficiency rather than dependence, building a conservative alternative to the liberal welfare state.

After Bushism came to grief in the housing bubble and the financial crisis, the second adaptation had its hour: so-called reform conservatism, which imagined itself (I was one of the [*imaginers*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.ca/books/42417/grand-new-party-by-ross-douthat-and-reihan-salam/9780307277800)) as harder-headed than Bushism, offering a suite of technocratic fixes to increase economic mobility and improve middle-class life — and especially middle-class family life — without blowing out the federal budget.

This budget-conscious wonkery seemed poised to influence a Jeb Bush or Marco Rubio administration — before it was simultaneously outbid, absorbed and shattered by Donald Trump. Trump went well to the reformocons’ right on some issues (reform conservatism wanted a pivot to skills-based immigration policy; he just promised to build a wall) and well to their left on others (reform conservatism wanted to means-test entitlements; he promised to protect them), while emphasizing issues like trade and industrial policy that had received less attention from the wonks. And almost all of this he did instinctively, following long-held impulses rather than any think-tank agenda — which meant that conservative intellectuals found themselves trying to backfill a Trumpist program into his chaotic administration.

National conservatism represents the fullest version of this effort. It’s more philosophically ambitious than its compassionate-conservative and reformocon predecessors; its impresario, Yoram Hazony, [*claims*](https://americanmind.org/features/escaping-liberal-democracy/beyond-tradition/) to have rediscovered a consistent non-liberal and non-authoritarian Anglo-American conservatism, rooted in our elite’s long-discarded conservative-Protestant heritage, an argument he advances fascinatingly, if not entirely persuasively, in his recent book, “Conservatism: A Rediscovery.”

But on the policy side, the basic question his movement is reckoning with hasn’t changed since the Bush era: How does the Republican Party, which is still the party of free markets and tax cuts, represent and support its ***working-class*** constituents?

Broadly speaking, the national conservative answer has been to combine the Trumpian emphasis on trade and industrial policy with the reform-conservative emphasis on family policy, with some trustbusting impulses added in as well. It’s a vision in which conservative governance supports skilled blue-collar jobs, domestic industry and parents of young children, while seeking to weaken the power of the Ivy League and Silicon Valley.

This vision is stronger on conference panels than on Capitol Hill. But it has taken specific legislative forms, including two recent proposals by Republican senators. The [*first*](https://www.cotton.senate.gov/news/press-releases/cotton-bill-overhauls-workforce-education), from Tom Cotton of Arkansas, promises to overhaul work force education and subsidize blue-collar trade work, offering a $9,000 voucher to encourage high school graduates to effectively apprentice in trade jobs, as opposed to enrolling in college. The [*second*](https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/restoring-america/community-family/the-providing-for-life-act-a-pro-life-plan-for-post-roe-america), from Marco Rubio of Florida, is an update of his past family-policy proposals, this time framed as a pro-life program and linked to the demise of Roe v. Wade: It proposes a bigger child tax credit and adoption tax credit, along with various programs aimed at supporting new mothers.

Relative to the policy status quo, these are both good bills, just as relative to a conservatism that merely cuts capital gains taxes and declares victory, the industry-and-family-policy synthesis is eminently desirable.

But having lived through several cycles of attempted right-wing policy realignments, I have a sense of the challenges that make these ventures falter.

The first challenge is that because the Democrats are almost always up for more spending than Republicans, whenever an issue achieves new salience in public debate, there’s a tendency for would-be conservative reformers to be outbid by the left. That’s already happened, to some extent, with industrial and family policy: The Biden Democrats have tried to co-opt both issues, leaving populist Republicans to either play the junior partners in bipartisan deals or else argue about policy design — critiquing the details of a given industrial-policy proposal, say, as Rubio did in voting against the recent semiconductor bill, or attacking the design of a family benefit, as conservatives have done with the Democratic focus on day-care subsidies.

This alone is not a fatal problem. Bipartisanship has its place, and the point of changing the G.O.P.’s economic policy isn’t to simply outdo the Democrats; it’s to make better policy while minimizing the Democratic advantage when it comes to the most basic work of politics, rewarding your constituents. And in an age of inflation-imposed limits, especially, saying we want to do some of the same thing as Democrats, but smarter and cheaper and without the cultural-progressive baggage is a perfectly reasonable policy ambition and a solid political message. (It’s certainly preferable to vote for us; we’ll do nothing except cut taxes on the rich.)

But “perfectly reasonable” and “solid” were what reform conservatism promised, once upon a time, with a wonkish furrow in its brow. Trump’s ascent was supposed to change everything, to reveal the total bankruptcy of the existing policy consensus, the need for a conservatism that thinks bigger than tax credits and related tweaks.

And that ambition runs into the second challenge facing national conservatives: The fact that inflation, if it lingers, will force ambitious policymakers to make hard choices, and for conservatives those choices are constrained by the right-wing anathema against raising taxes on the rich.

There are exceptions to this ban, and Cotton and Rubio make the most of them. You can tax the rich if they’re wealthy liberal institutions, and so Cotton funds his training voucher in part with a tax on the endowments of wealthy private colleges. You can tax the upper class by cutting off their tax breaks, and so Rubio funds some of his family policies by ending the state and local tax deduction, a policy that especially benefits higher‌ earners in bluer states.

Again, these are both good policies: Our richest universities deserve taxation; the SALT deduction deserves to disappear. But they are self-limited policies, well suited to a modest technocratic agenda but not to, say, the kind of sweeping industrial-policy spending that Steve Bannon once promised Trumpism would deliver — or for that matter the much more generous family policy that might actually increase the American birthrate, or help the pro-life movement make good on its ultimate ambitions.

And a self-limiting tendency, while understandable, points to a plausible future in which national conservatism allows itself to be effectively reabsorbed into the G.O.P. mainstream without having achieved its revolution.

As Park MacDougald [*observed*](https://unherd.com/2022/09/the-coronation-of-ron-desantis/) recently for UnHerd, just in the several years they’ve held conferences, there’s already been a taming of the “natcons.” The first conference was “chaotic, controversial, and heterodox in good and bad ways.” But with prominence has come a smoother version, with few fringe provocations but also less heterodox policy substance and more “conventional Republican fare.”

Much of the movement seems ready to rally around Ron DeSantis, which is understandable and, relative to the alternative of Trump redux, prudent. But is DeSantis actually a “natcon,” or just a Republican capable of channeling a populist mood and taking advantage of liberal cultural overreach? And if he’s (probably) the latter, then how much does national conservatism ask of him — and what does the natcon persuasion become if, let’s say, he gets elected president by a narrow margin, some fiscal space opens up, and he uses most of it for the usual G.O.P. round of upper-income tax cuts?

One answer is that a few natcons will peel away into an honorable political irrelevance, while the rest will be content to be “cheap dates,” to quote a former G.O.P. staffer who criticized the natcons to MacDougald.

But that epithet isn’t quite fair: The natcons, like the reformocons and compassionate conservatives before them, have strong noneconomic reasons to remain in the G.O.P. coalition, and as long as the Republican Party is pro-life or ranged against cultural progressivism, they are getting something significant out of the relationship.

What they want, though, is to lead the coalition — to set the right’s priorities across the board and seek a Reaganesque or Rooseveltian majority, rather than just having some boxes checked on their behalf while the G.O.P. tries to grind its way to a tenuous majority. And to get that, they’ll need to find the lever that the predecessors never quite discovered, and somehow move the party to a place where the factions that just want tax cuts are coming, hat in hand, to them.

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[***Biden and Obama Reunite In Effort to Save Party***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66T2-YGY1-JBG3-62JG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 6, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 19; NEWS ANALYSIS

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**Byline:** By Peter Baker and Alan Rappeport

**Body**

A rally on Saturday in Philadelphia was their first joint campaign appearance since President Biden took office, adding a twist to the relationship of what has always been a political odd couple.

PHILADELPHIA -- There was a time not that long ago when Joseph R. Biden Jr. could go where Barack Obama could not, an emissary to parts of the country not exactly gushing over the 44th president. Now the tables are turned and it is Mr. Obama who jets from one battleground state to the next while the 46th president sticks largely to safe blue areas where he is still welcome.

After weeks of never crossing paths on the trail, the two presidents finally met up on Saturday for their first joint campaign appearance since Mr. Biden took office. The two Democrats teamed up in a last-ditch effort to save their party's midterm election hopes at a rally in Philadelphia, showcasing the disparate approaches, histories and roles of the onetime running mates in a moment of political peril.

Taking the stage to roaring applause and blaring music, Mr. Biden and Mr. Obama joined hands with Josh Shapiro, the Democratic candidate in the Pennsylvania governor's race, and John Fetterman, the Democrat running for a Senate seat. Mr. Biden, who spoke first, hailed the legacy of Mr. Obama, whom he called ''a great president, a historic president -- I'm proud to say, a dear friend.''

Mr. Obama, the urbane soaring orator from Hawaii, and Mr. Biden, the backslapping blue-collar pol from Delaware, have always been a political odd couple, born of different generations, demographics and mentalities. For years in the White House, they sought the same goals with contrasting methods amid periodic tension. But now they come to this point in their relationship with Mr. Biden reliant on his former running mate to validate his own presidency and persuade the country to embrace his leadership.

''The good news is you have an outstanding president right now in the White House,'' Mr. Obama, his shirt sleeves rolled up, said to applause.

Indeed, Mr. Obama, with his preacher-like cadences, talks about the deeper mood of the country at this juncture in history, his voice rising an octave as he skewers what he sees as the opposition's hypocrisy and shallowness. Mr. Biden often speaks like a veteran senator offering a staccato, meat-and-potatoes recitation of this bill he passed or that order he signed.

But on Saturday, Mr. Biden spoke in fiery bursts, lacing into his predecessor, Donald J. Trump, and Republicans. Describing the election as a battle between two vastly different agendas, he said that ''character is on the ballot'' and warned that Republicans would try to roll back America's safety net programs if they won power in Washington.

''These guys will never cease to amaze me, man,'' Mr. Biden said. ''They're literally coming after Social Security and Medicare.''

The president also recognized Mr. Obama's signature legislative achievement, the Affordable Care Act, and vowed to protect it from Republicans who continue to aspire to repeal the health law.

''No matter how hard they try to get rid of Obamacare, I'm never going to let it happen,'' Mr. Biden said.

Whether poetic or prosaic, though, each addresses in his own way the threat they see in a passel of election deniers loyal to Mr. Trump taking power in the midterm elections. As a former president, Mr. Obama feels freer to wage a frontal assault, using Mr. Trump's name a half-dozen times in a speech. As the incumbent, Mr. Biden holds back somewhat, referring to ''my predecessor'' or ''the former president'' without naming Mr. Trump directly even as he makes the same points.

As they have hit the campaign trail, they have both been a little rusty since they largely stayed out of public amid the Covid-19 pandemic during the 2020 election. At his stops, Mr. Obama acknowledges being a little out of shape politically.

''I have to admit, sometimes going out on the campaign trail feels a little harder than it used to for me,'' he said the other day in Phoenix. ''Partly, I'm just a little out of practice. And I'm a little stiffer, you know?''

But the old energy and catchphrases are still there, like ''yes, we can'' and ''fired up, ready to go.'' And Mr. Obama professes to be happy returning to the trail. ''Well, I miss you, too,'' he replied to one supporter who called out at a rally in College Park, Ga. ''I'm glad to be back.''

In Philadelphia on Saturday, Mr. Obama took the stage and brandished some of his tested favorites, asking, ''Are you fired up yet?'' After he assailed Republicans, the former president prodded voters with another old standby: ''Don't boo, vote!''

Although he has touched in speeches on the issues that animate the election like inflation, crime and abortion, his rhetoric is more elevated, his appeal broader in scope.

And while Mr. Obama laments what he calls the demonization of opponents, particularly by Republicans, that has become even more prevalent in politics since he left the White House, he is OK with mockery. With his can-you-believe-this tone, no one skewers the other side with sarcasm quite like Mr. Obama.

''Not a single person has faced a death panel from Obamacare,'' Mr. Obama said in Philadelphia, recalling a favorite attack line that Republicans used to disparage the law.

Imagining a future under Republican control of Congress, Mr. Obama predicted an array of phony investigations.

''They're going to impeach Biden,'' a bemused Mr. Obama said. ''They're not quite sure why, or what for.''

It was far from his only such quip. In Georgia, he scorned Herschel Walker, the Republican Senate candidate, as ''somebody who carries around a phony badge'' like ''a kid playing cops and robbers.'' In Arizona, speaking of Blake Masters, the Republican running for Senate, Mr. Obama said, ''If you were trying to create in a lab a lackey Republican politician, it'd look a lot like this guy.'' In Wisconsin, his evisceration of Senator Ron Johnson, who he said earned ''a gold medal'' in conspiracy theories, went viral.

On the trail, Mr. Biden has no comparable catchphrases, and while he, too, has harsh criticism for Mr. Trump and his ''ultra-MAGA Republicans,'' it is more scathing than satirical.

In Florida, the president went after Rick Scott, the Republican senator, for proposing that federal programs be required to be reauthorized every five years, which Mr. Biden said would endanger Social Security and Medicare. ''It's so outrageous you might not even believe it,'' he said. He then went after Mr. Johnson for suggesting reauthorization every year, but the comments did not go viral as Mr. Obama's did.

Gabriel Debenedetti, the author of ''The Long Alliance,'' a new book on the partnership between Mr. Biden and Mr. Obama, said the difference owes in part to the fact that Mr. Obama has grown even more disenchanted with Republicans since leaving office and feels no need to hold back while Mr. Biden, the old legislator, still harbors hope of striking bipartisan deals.

''They have a different set of incentives at this point,'' Mr. Debenedetti said. ''They're on the same team certainly, but Obama can connect more on a human level with Democrats who are exasperated with Republicans from afar, whereas Biden has to deal with the day-to-day reality of it all.''

The Philadelphia reunion of the Obama-Biden team -- or is it now the Biden-Obama team? -- will invariably draw comparisons that will aggravate both men. Mr. Biden's style of speech is no match for Mr. Obama's rhetorical heights, and some Democrats watching them together onstage may pine for what they no longer have.

Yet former presidents often generate nostalgia-fueled good feelings that they did not enjoy while in office. When Mr. Obama was in office, it rankled him when Democrats contrasted him unfavorably to former President Bill Clinton.

Likewise, former presidents have more freedom of travel than a down-in-the-polls incumbent. Mr. Clinton often made his way to competitive states that Mr. Obama did not campaign in while in office, just as Mr. Biden, with his ***working-class*** appeal, could as vice president.

Now Mr. Obama, with a 54 percent favorable rating in YouGov polling, has been hitting the most important battleground states, including Arizona, Georgia, Nevada, Michigan and Wisconsin. Mr. Biden, at 45 percent, in this final stretch has mostly stuck to friendlier venues where Democrats were leading, like New Mexico, California, Illinois, New York and Maryland, as well as Florida, where national Democrats had little hope.

The appearance in Philadelphia was the rare exception. Pennsylvania, where Mr. Biden was born and to which he feels a special connection, is one swing state where he has made multiple appearances, and John Fetterman, who is in a deadlocked Senate race, has not avoided him.

''John has character, integrity,'' Mr. Biden said, recalling his own roots in the state. ''He's going to be a hell of a good senator in the United States Senate.''

It may come as a bit of a bittersweet reality for Mr. Biden to have to depend on Mr. Obama, whose shadow he has sought to escape for years. ''There's always that tension,'' Mr. Debenedetti noted. ''Obama is coordinating every one of his events with the Biden White House. There's nothing about this that's a surprise to Biden. It doesn't mean he's not sensitive about it, and he has been historically over time.''

At the same time, the change in political fortunes has served to reconcile Mr. Obama to his former vice president's ascendance to the Oval Office. Early in Mr. Biden's tenure, Mr. Obama privately expressed irritation that the new leader was being compared to Franklin D. Roosevelt in a way that Mr. Obama felt diminished his own presidency.

As it happens, they now share a potential historical parallel. Just as Mr. Obama endured a ''shellacking'' in his first midterm election in 2010, Mr. Biden faces a possible voter repudiation on Tuesday, one that would make governing the next two years much harder.

Mr. Obama raised that history on Saturday as he urged voters in Pennsylvania to give Mr. Biden another majority in Congress.

Lavishing praise on his record during the last two years, Mr. Obama said he was well aware what Mr. Biden had to lose. He lamented how much more he could have done to combat climate change and how the makeup of the Supreme Court would be different if Democrats had not suffered steep losses during the midterms while he was in office.

''When I was president, I got my butt whooped in midterm elections,'' Mr. Obama recalled. ''Midterms are no joke.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/us/elections/biden-obama-rally.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/us/elections/biden-obama-rally.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Former President Barack Obama is campaigning in battleground states for President Biden. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A19.

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[***Is There a Trumpism After Trump?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:617V-5MF1-JBG3-63MH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 8, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Byline:** By Ross Douthat

**Body**

His presidency showed a path to a conservatism that's multiethnic, middle class and populist. But soon he may stand in its way.

Way back in the days after the 2012 election, the last Republican presidential defeat, all the conventional wisdom in American politics converged on a simple idea: The G.O.P. was doomed as a national institution unless it became, in effect, a moderate party of the business class, stiff-arming social conservatives and wooing Hispanic voters by promising more liberal immigration laws.

Against this consensus, a few observers made dissenting points: First, a lot of ***working-class*** white voters who tilted Republican had stayed home amid Mitt Romney's business-class campaign in 2012, and second, the Hispanic vote was hardly a single-issue-voting, pro-immigration monolith. So it was as easy to imagine Republicans surviving in a changing country by simply becoming more populist on economic issues as it was to imagine them moving in the more libertarian direction favored by the party's donors and consultants.

After two national elections with Donald Trump at the top of the ticket, those dissenters can claim a lot of vindication. For the second presidential cycle in a row, notwithstanding plague, economic crisis and his own immense faults, Trump was a competitive candidate with a coalition that was more blue-collar and nonwhite than the Republican vote in 2012. Relative to four years ago, he turned out even more whites without college degrees in many states (even as his share of the white ***working class*** may have slipped a little bit overall) and increased his support from African-Americans and in heavily Hispanic areas -- not just in the Cuban parts of Florida, but in regions as different as southern Texas and Lawrence, Mass.

In those trends, you can see the foundation of a possible after-Trump conservative majority that is multiethnic and middle class and populist, an expansive coalition rather than a white and aging rump. And the competitiveness of the existing Trump coalition, the fact that he wasn't simply routed as the polls had predicted and his party came through the election in better-than-expected shape, makes it less likely that his would-be successors will try to rewind the clock to 2012. Instead, they will promise to reassemble his populist coalition as a first step, rather than trying to rebuild around the now-Democratic-trending mass upper class.

But if Trump's coalition was competitive, Trump himself was defeated, no less than Romney in 2012. So the question for Republican politicians auditioning to be Trumpists after Trump is whether they actually have a plan to (with apologies to President-elect Joe Biden) build back bigger, to make the right-populist coalition the majority it could be rather than the strong minority it is.

The optimist's take is that the way to do this is clear: Trump was at his most unpopular when he behaved grotesquely and ceded policymaking to the Republican old guard, so his would-be successors need to act less like tinpot tyrants, eschew the ranting and the insults, and also make good on some of the policy promises Trump left by the wayside. A populism 2.0 that doesn't alienate as many people with its rhetoric, that promises more support for families and domestic industry, that accepts universal health care and attacks monopolies and keeps low-skilled immigration low, all while confronting China and avoiding Middle East entanglements and fighting elite progressivism tooth and nail -- there's your new Republican majority.

But there are other possibilities. One is that some of the voters who turned out for the G.O.P. in the last two presidential cycles were drawn in by Trump's celebrity charisma as much as by any of his policy arguments -- that if he alienated suburban women with his finger-in-your-eye behavior, it also helped elevate his appeal with the country's disaffected blocs. In which case you can't just shave off the rough edges and expect a different politician to claim the same support. Rural white voters in Wisconsin who felt forgotten by both parties, or Latino men around Miami alienated by wokeness, or for that matter the rebellious grassroots conservatives who backed Trump's 2016 primary campaign -- do any of them respond the same way to a Republican who has picked up the language of populism but comes across as a stuffed shirt rather than a tough guy, a nerd rather than a tycoon, a politician rather than a star?

Then even if it were possible for another Republican to claim and expand his coalition, it's not clear that Trump himself will let that happen. For one thing, he might run again, and he will certainly keep that possibility open -- which means all his would-be successors will need to jockey for his favor, or at least avoid blasts of wrath from Mar-a-Lago. It's always been clear that Trump would nurture a stab-in-the-back narrative should he lose; now that we know that the race was genuinely close in several key states, his stolen-election narrative may be potent enough to push conservatism toward the fever swamps and away from a constructive populism, a Trumpism that can win.

So Trump will exit the presidency with a complicated and uncertain legacy -- as both the man who opened the way to a possible populist majority, and (for the next four years, at least) one of the biggest potential obstacles for Republicans who want to tread that path.

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**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Johnny Milano for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Is There a Trumpism After Trump?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:617N-8JR1-DXY4-X19J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Byline:** Ross Douthat

**Highlight:** His presidency showed a path to a conservatism that’s multiethnic, middle class and populist. But soon he may stand in its way.

**Body**

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Way back in the days after the 2012 election, the last Republican presidential defeat, all the conventional wisdom in American politics converged on a simple idea: The G.O.P. was doomed as a national institution unless it became, in effect, a moderate party of the business class, stiff-arming social conservatives and wooing Hispanic voters by promising more liberal immigration laws.

Against this consensus, a few observers made dissenting points: First, a lot of ***working-class*** white voters who tilted Republican had [*stayed home*](https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2012/11/08/the_case_of_the_missing_white_voters_116106.html) amid Mitt Romney’s business-class campaign in 2012, and second, the Hispanic vote was hardly a single-issue-voting, pro-immigration monolith. So it was as easy to imagine Republicans surviving in a changing country by simply becoming more [*populist*](https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2012/11/08/the_case_of_the_missing_white_voters_116106.html) on economic issues as it was to imagine them moving in the more libertarian direction favored by the party’s donors and consultants.

After two national elections with [*Donald Trump*](https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2012/11/08/the_case_of_the_missing_white_voters_116106.html) at the top of the ticket, those dissenters can claim a lot of vindication. For the second presidential cycle in a row, notwithstanding plague, economic crisis and his own immense faults, Trump was a competitive candidate with a coalition that was more blue-collar and nonwhite than the Republican vote in 2012. Relative to four years ago, he turned out even more whites without college degrees in many states (even as his share of the white ***working class*** may have slipped a little bit overall) and increased his support from African-Americans and in heavily Hispanic areas — not just in the Cuban parts of Florida, but in regions as different as southern Texas and Lawrence, Mass.

In those trends, you can see the foundation of a possible after-Trump conservative majority that is multiethnic and middle class and populist, an expansive coalition rather than a white and aging rump. And the competitiveness of the existing Trump coalition, the fact that he wasn’t simply routed as the polls had predicted and his party came through the election in better-than-expected shape, makes it less likely that his would-be successors will try to rewind the clock to 2012. Instead, they will promise to reassemble his populist coalition as a first step, rather than trying to rebuild around the now-Democratic-trending mass upper class.

But if Trump’s coalition was competitive, Trump himself was [*defeated*](https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2012/11/08/the_case_of_the_missing_white_voters_116106.html), no less than Romney in 2012. So the question for Republican politicians auditioning to be Trumpists after Trump is whether they actually have a plan to (with apologies to President-elect Joe Biden) build back bigger, to make the right-populist coalition the majority it could be rather than the strong minority it is.

The optimist’s take is that the way to do this is clear: Trump was at his most unpopular when he behaved grotesquely and ceded policymaking to the Republican old guard, so his would-be successors need to act less like tinpot tyrants, eschew the ranting and the insults, and also make good on some of the policy promises Trump left by the wayside. A populism 2.0 that doesn’t alienate as many people with its rhetoric, that promises more support for families and domestic industry, that accepts universal health care and attacks monopolies and keeps low-skilled immigration low, all while confronting China and avoiding Middle East entanglements and fighting elite progressivism tooth and nail — there’s your new Republican majority.

But there are other possibilities. One is that some of the voters who turned out for the G.O.P. in the last two presidential cycles were drawn in by Trump’s celebrity charisma as much as by any of his policy arguments — that if he alienated suburban women with his finger-in-your-eye behavior, it also helped elevate his appeal with the country’s disaffected blocs. In which case you can’t just shave off the rough edges and expect a different politician to claim the same support. Rural white voters in Wisconsin who felt forgotten by both parties, or Latino men around Miami alienated by wokeness, or for that matter the rebellious grassroots conservatives who backed Trump’s 2016 primary campaign — do any of them respond the same way to a Republican who has picked up the language of populism but comes across as a stuffed shirt rather than a tough guy, a nerd rather than a tycoon, a politician rather than a star?

Then even if it were possible for another Republican to claim and expand his coalition, it’s not clear that Trump himself will let that happen. For one thing, he might run again, and he will certainly keep that possibility open — which means all his would-be successors will need to jockey for his favor, or at least avoid blasts of wrath from Mar-a-Lago. It’s always been clear that Trump would nurture a stab-in-the-back narrative should he lose; now that we know that the race was genuinely close in several key states, his stolen-election narrative may be potent enough to push conservatism toward the fever swamps and away from a constructive populism, a Trumpism that can win.

So Trump will exit the presidency with a complicated and uncertain legacy — as both the man who opened the way to a possible populist majority, and (for the next four years, at least) one of the biggest potential obstacles for Republicans who want to tread that path.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2012/11/08/the_case_of_the_missing_white_voters_116106.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2012/11/08/the_case_of_the_missing_white_voters_116106.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2012/11/08/the_case_of_the_missing_white_voters_116106.html).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Johnny Milano for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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**End of Document**



[***Biden and Obama Reunite in a Last-Ditch Effort to Save Their Party; News Analysis***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66SV-9171-DXY4-X1B6-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** A rally on Saturday in Philadelphia was their first joint campaign appearance since President Biden took office, adding a twist to the relationship of what has always been a political odd couple.

**Body**

A rally on Saturday in Philadelphia was their first joint campaign appearance since President Biden took office, adding a twist to the relationship of what has always been a political odd couple.

PHILADELPHIA — There was a time not that long ago when Joseph R. Biden Jr. could go where Barack Obama could not, an emissary to parts of the country not exactly gushing over the 44th president. Now the tables are turned and it is Mr. Obama who jets from one battleground state to the next while the 46th president sticks largely to safe blue areas where he is still welcome.

After weeks of never crossing paths on the trail, the two presidents finally met up on Saturday for their [*first joint campaign appearance*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/us/politics/obama-trump-biden-pennsylvania-midterms.html) since Mr. Biden took office. The two Democrats teamed up in a last-ditch effort to save their party’s midterm election hopes at a rally in Philadelphia, showcasing the disparate approaches, histories and roles of the onetime running mates in a moment of political peril.

Taking the stage to roaring applause and blaring music, Mr. Biden and Mr. Obama joined hands with Josh Shapiro, the Democratic candidate in the Pennsylvania governor’s race, and John Fetterman, the Democrat running for a Senate seat. Mr. Biden, who spoke first, hailed the legacy of Mr. Obama, whom he called “a great president, a historic president — I’m proud to say, a dear friend.”

Mr. Obama, the urbane soaring orator from Hawaii, and Mr. Biden, the backslapping blue-collar pol from Delaware, have [*always been a political odd couple*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/28/us/politics/barack-obama-biden.html), born of different generations, demographics and mentalities. For years in the White House, they sought the same goals with contrasting methods [*amid periodic tension*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/16/us/politics/biden-obama-history.html). But now they come to this point in their relationship with Mr. Biden reliant on his former running mate to validate his own presidency and persuade the country to embrace his leadership.

“The good news is you have an outstanding president right now in the White House,” Mr. Obama, his shirt sleeves rolled up, said to applause.

Indeed, Mr. Obama, with his preacher-like cadences, talks about the deeper mood of the country at this juncture in history, his voice rising an octave as he skewers what he sees as the opposition’s hypocrisy and shallowness. Mr. Biden often speaks like a veteran senator offering a staccato, meat-and-potatoes recitation of this bill he passed or that order he signed.

But on Saturday, Mr. Biden spoke in fiery bursts, lacing into his predecessor, Donald J. Trump, and Republicans. Describing the election as a battle between two vastly different agendas, he said that “character is on the ballot” and warned that Republicans would try to roll back America’s safety net programs if they won power in Washington.

“These guys will never cease to amaze me, man,” Mr. Biden said. “They’re literally coming after Social Security and Medicare.”

The president also recognized Mr. Obama’s signature legislative achievement, the Affordable Care Act, and vowed to protect it from Republicans who continue to aspire to repeal the health law.

“No matter how hard they try to get rid of Obamacare, I’m never going to let it happen,” Mr. Biden said.

Whether poetic or prosaic, though, each addresses in his own way the threat they see in a passel of election deniers loyal to Mr. Trump taking power in the midterm elections. As a former president, Mr. Obama feels freer to wage a frontal assault, using Mr. Trump’s name a half-dozen times in a speech. As the incumbent, Mr. Biden holds back somewhat, referring to “my predecessor” or “the former president” without naming Mr. Trump directly even as he makes the same points.

As they have hit the campaign trail, they have both been a little rusty since they largely stayed out of public amid the Covid-19 pandemic during the 2020 election. At his stops, Mr. Obama acknowledges being a little out of shape politically.

“I have to admit, sometimes going out on the campaign trail feels a little harder than it used to for me,” he said the other day in Phoenix. “Partly, I’m just a little out of practice. And I’m a little stiffer, you know?”

But the old energy and catchphrases are still there, like “yes, we can” and “fired up, ready to go.” And Mr. Obama professes to be happy returning to the trail. “Well, I miss you, too,” he replied to one supporter who called out at a rally in College Park, Ga. “I’m glad to be back.”

In Philadelphia on Saturday, Mr. Obama took the stage and brandished some of his tested favorites, asking, “Are you fired up yet?” After he assailed Republicans, the former president prodded voters with another old standby: “Don’t boo, vote!”

Although he has touched in speeches on the issues that animate the election like inflation, crime and abortion, his rhetoric is more elevated, his appeal broader in scope.

And while Mr. Obama laments what he calls the demonization of opponents, particularly by Republicans, that has become even more prevalent in politics since he left the White House, he is OK with mockery. With his can-you-believe-this tone, no one skewers the other side with sarcasm quite like Mr. Obama.

“Not a single person has faced a death panel from Obamacare,” Mr. Obama said in Philadelphia, recalling a favorite attack line that Republicans used to disparage the law.

Imagining a future under Republican control of Congress, Mr. Obama predicted an array of phony investigations.

“They’re going to impeach Biden,” a bemused Mr. Obama said. “They’re not quite sure why, or what for.”

It was far from his only such quip. In Georgia, he scorned Herschel Walker, the Republican Senate candidate, as “somebody who carries around a phony badge” like “a kid playing cops and robbers.” In Arizona, speaking of Blake Masters, the Republican running for Senate, Mr. Obama said, “If you were trying to create in a lab a lackey Republican politician, it’d look a lot like this guy.” In Wisconsin, his evisceration of Senator Ron Johnson, who he said earned “a gold medal” in conspiracy theories, went viral.

On the trail, Mr. Biden has no comparable catchphrases, and while he, too, has harsh criticism for Mr. Trump and his “ultra-MAGA Republicans,” it is more scathing than satirical.

In Florida, the president went after Rick Scott, the Republican senator, for proposing that federal programs be required to be reauthorized every five years, which Mr. Biden said would endanger Social Security and Medicare. “It’s so outrageous you might not even believe it,” he said. He then went after Mr. Johnson for suggesting reauthorization every year, but the comments did not go viral as Mr. Obama’s did.

Gabriel Debenedetti, the author of [*“The Long Alliance,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/13/books/review/the-long-alliance-biden-obama-gabriel-debenedetti.html) a new book on the partnership between Mr. Biden and Mr. Obama, said the difference owes in part to the fact that Mr. Obama has grown even more disenchanted with Republicans since leaving office and feels no need to hold back while Mr. Biden, the old legislator, still harbors hope of striking bipartisan deals.

“They have a different set of incentives at this point,” Mr. Debenedetti said. “They’re on the same team certainly, but Obama can connect more on a human level with Democrats who are exasperated with Republicans from afar, whereas Biden has to deal with the day-to-day reality of it all.”

The Philadelphia reunion of the Obama-Biden team — or is it now the Biden-Obama team? — will invariably draw comparisons that will aggravate both men. Mr. Biden’s style of speech is no match for Mr. Obama’s rhetorical heights, and some Democrats watching them together onstage may pine for what they no longer have.

Yet former presidents often generate nostalgia-fueled good feelings that they did not enjoy while in office. When Mr. Obama was in office, it rankled him when Democrats contrasted him unfavorably to former President Bill Clinton.

Likewise, former presidents have more freedom of travel than a down-in-the-polls incumbent. Mr. Clinton often made his way to competitive states that Mr. Obama did not campaign in while in office, just as Mr. Biden, with his ***working-class*** appeal, could as vice president.

Now Mr. Obama, with [*a 54 percent favorable rating in YouGov polling*](https://today.yougov.com/topics/politics/trackers/barack-obama-favorability), has been hitting the most important battleground states, including Arizona, Georgia, Nevada, Michigan and Wisconsin. Mr. Biden, [*at 45 percent*](https://today.yougov.com/topics/politics/trackers/joe-biden-favorability), in this final stretch has mostly stuck to friendlier venues where Democrats were leading, like New Mexico, California, Illinois, New York and Maryland, as well as Florida, where national Democrats had little hope.

The appearance in Philadelphia was the rare exception. Pennsylvania, where Mr. Biden was born and to which he feels a special connection, is one swing state where he has made multiple appearances, and John Fetterman, who is in a deadlocked Senate race, has not avoided him.

“John has character, integrity,” Mr. Biden said, recalling his own roots in the state. “He’s going to be a hell of a good senator in the United States Senate.”

It may come as a bit of a bittersweet reality for Mr. Biden to have to depend on Mr. Obama, whose shadow he has sought to escape for years. “There’s always that tension,” Mr. Debenedetti noted. “Obama is coordinating every one of his events with the Biden White House. There’s nothing about this that’s a surprise to Biden. It doesn’t mean he’s not sensitive about it, and he has been historically over time.”

At the same time, the change in political fortunes has served to reconcile Mr. Obama to his former vice president’s ascendance to the Oval Office. Early in Mr. Biden’s tenure, Mr. Obama privately expressed irritation that the new leader was being compared to Franklin D. Roosevelt in a way that Mr. Obama felt diminished his own presidency.

As it happens, they now share a potential historical parallel. Just as Mr. Obama endured a “shellacking” in his first midterm election in 2010, Mr. Biden faces a possible voter repudiation on Tuesday, one that would make governing the next two years much harder.

Mr. Obama raised that history on Saturday as he urged voters in Pennsylvania to give Mr. Biden another majority in Congress.

Lavishing praise on his record during the last two years, Mr. Obama said he was well aware what Mr. Biden had to lose. He lamented how much more he could have done to combat climate change and how the makeup of the Supreme Court would be different if Democrats had not suffered steep losses during the midterms while he was in office.

“When I was president, I got my butt whooped in midterm elections,” Mr. Obama recalled. “Midterms are no joke.”

PHOTO: Former President Barack Obama is campaigning in battleground states for President Biden. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A19.

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**End of Document**



[***Shut Down the Tax Havens***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6342-W6G1-DXY4-X19T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Length:** 631 words

**Byline:** By Gabriel Zucman and Gus Wezerek

**Body**

In the decades after World War II, close to 50 percent of American companies' earnings went to state and federal taxes. Economically, it was a golden period. Middle-class incomes grew at roughly the same rate as those of the richest Americans.

But as globalization gave companies the ability to choose where they recorded profits, Congress scrambled to keep their business by lowering corporate taxes. In 2018, American companies were taxed at an average effective rate of less than 14 percent, by our calculations.

Corporate tax breaks have helped business owners amass inconceivable amounts of money over the past few decades. Meanwhile, middle-class Americans have footed the bill, as Congress has propped up the budget by raising taxes on wages.

Last week, 130 countries, including the United States, agreed to a blueprint to tax their companies' profits at a minimum 15 percent rate -- no matter where the profits are booked.

President Biden should be applauded for trying to end the race to the bottom on corporate tax rates. But even if Congress approves the 15 percent global minimum corporate tax, it won't be enough to close the growing economic gap between America's rich and middle class. Taxing multinationals at 15 percent would still leave them facing a lower rate than the average American pays in state and federal income tax.

For the Biden administration to give working families a real leg up, it should push Congress to enact a 25 percent minimum tax, which would bring in about $200 billion in additional revenue each year. Over 10 years, that money would be more than enough to pay for nationwide high-speed internet, free community college and universal preschool for 3- and 4-year-olds.

There's little chance that Republicans will support a 25 percent floor. But they already had their shot at reining in tax evasion with the 2017 Tax Cut and Jobs Act, and they failed. New data from the Bureau of Economic Analysis suggests profits booked in foreign tax havens have not declined since the law was passed. In 2018, U.S. corporations reported more profit in Ireland than in Mexico, China, Germany and France combined.

Companies have resorted to devious schemes to justify their profit shifting. For years, the rights to Nike's Swoosh trademark belonged to one of the company's Bermuda subsidiaries. In its quest to avoid taxes, Apple moved some of its intellectual property to Jersey, a small island in the English Channel.

Put another way: In 2018, Facebook made $15 billion in profit in Ireland -- the equivalent of about $10 million for each of its employees there. That same year, Bristol Myers Squibb recorded close to $5 billion in profit in the Emerald Isle, or roughly $7.5 million per employee.

This is tax evasion, plain and simple. When a company logs billions of dollars in profit in a shell company, it violates the spirit of the Internal Revenue Code's economic substance doctrine, which states that a transaction must have a purpose other than to reduce tax liability.

But multinational companies get away with it by spending billions of dollars on top-tier lawyers and former lawmakers. Hobbled by budget cuts, the Internal Revenue Service has struggled to audit them.

The time for incrementalism is long past. For decades, Congress has been playing catch-up as business owners and a handful of tax havens have driven international tax policy. The result has been a nation where ***working-class*** Americans are left with underfunded public schools and hospitals as the wealthy board rocketships to outer space.

With a 25 percent minimum corporate tax, the Biden administration would begin to reverse decades of growing inequality. And it would encourage other countries to do the same, replacing a race to the bottom with a sprint to the top.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/08/opinion/sunday/shut-down-the-tax-havens.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/08/opinion/sunday/shut-down-the-tax-havens.html)

**Load-Date:** July 11, 2021

**End of Document**



[***A Divisive Show That Still Reverberates***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66M4-JHC1-JBG3-61YM-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Scott Reyburn

**Body**

The city is still capitalizing on the success of a landmark 1997 show that put it on the contemporary art map and launched the careers of Damien Hirst and Tracey Emin.

LONDON -- A monumental mural of a notorious child murderer painted with children's hand prints. A tent embroidered with the names of all the lovers the artist had slept with. A 14-foot-long tiger shark embalmed in a tank of formaldehyde. Mannequins made to look like mutilated corpses tied to a tree.

Britain's exhibition-going public had never seen anything like it.

This fall is the 25th anniversary of ''Sensation,'' the famously provocative exhibition at the Royal Academy of Arts in London that alerted the world to the radically new kind of art being made by young graduates like Angus Fairhurst, Damien Hirst, Tracey Emin and Jake and Dinos Chapman. The 1997 exhibition showcased pieces owned by the advertising mogul Charles Saatchi, Britain's most voraciously acquisitive contemporary art collector at the time. It drew 300,000 visitors and set off a media storm.

A quarter of a century later, international V.I.P.s will attend the preview this week of the city's 19th edition of Frieze, the highly successful commercial art fair. For years, Frieze and the various satellite fairs, exhibitions and auctions that cluster around it during ''Frieze Week'' have capitalized on the sense of cutting-edge cool generated by the ''Sensation'' generation of artists. Maybe it's worth reminding ourselves how that sense was created in the first place.

''Suddenly art became like what pop music used to be,'' said Norman Rosenthal, a co-curator of the ''Sensation'' show. ''Art had been for a little coterie of people. London was a tiny little world with very few galleries. Most of it took place in New York, with a little bit in Los Angeles, north Italy and DÃ¼sseldorf,'' Rosenthal said, recalling the 1990s art trade, before the rise of international mega-galleries and art fairs. '''Sensation' played an important part in the expansion of the art world,'' he added.

But the show wasn't immediately to local tastes. The Evening Standard newspaper described the artists in it as ''louts,'' and the BBC was repelled by their ''gory images of dismembered limbs'' and ''explicit pornography.'' Marcus Harvey's mural of the child murderer Myra Hindley, vilified in the popular press, triggered vandalizations and resignations at the Royal Academy.

''Things had been so awful. We came scrambling out of it, fighting, doing stuff. We wouldn't take no for an answer,'' said Emin in an interview, recalling how she and other artists of her generation reacted against the country they felt Britain had become in the 1980s and early '90s. ''Sensation'' opened some five months after Tony Blair and the Labour party swept to power in Britain, ending 18 years of Conservative government.

''Britain was moldy, like white sandwiches that curled up at the ends,'' said Emin. ''In the 1990s we had Cool Britannia, we had Blair. There was a greater feeling of optimism.'' Emin's tent memorializing her ex-lovers was one of the most talked-about works at ''Sensation.''

Now, Britain once again has a new prime minister: Liz Truss, the fourth Conservative premier in 12 years. In the export-shrinking aftermath of the country's 2016 shock decision to leave the European Union, and with the Truss government's more recent poorly received announcement of unfunded tax cuts, many Britons are inclining toward pessimism. Culture does not figure very highly on the Conservative Party's list of funding priorities, but the declining status of art in Britain does tell us something about what has happened to the country over the last 25 years.

''That generation of artists completely changed the position of British art internationally,'' said Michael Craig-Martin, the American-born artist and teacher who was a formative tutor at Goldsmiths College in London, where most of the 42 artists included in ''Sensation'' studied, including Hirst, Harvey, Sarah Lucas and Michael Landy. ''Artists from all over the world wanted to come to London. It had an enormous impact.''

After its stint in â€ŒLondon, the show was also a hit in Berlin, where, in 1998, its run was extended for a month by popular demand. It then transferred to New York in 1999. Chris Ofili's painting of a â€ŒBlack ''Holy Virgin Mary,'' mounted on balls of elephant dung and incorporating collaged genitalia from pornographic magazines, provoked outrage when it was exhibited at the Brooklyn Museum. The painting was branded ''sick stuff'' by Rudolph W. Giuliani, New York's mayor at the time, who unsuccessfully attempted to block the city's funding for the museum.

By then, buoyed by the popularity of ''Sensation'' and Saatchi's savvy creation of the ''Young British Artists'' brand, works by the so-called Y.B.A.s were beginning to attract hefty prices at international auctions. In 1998, one of the four medicine cabinets Hirst made for his Goldsmiths degree show sold for $315,000.

Though most rejected the catchall Y.B.A. branding, the participating artists often acknowledge that ''Sensation'' was also part of a more general efflorescence of culture in Britain that, as punk had done in the late 1970s, gave two youthful fingers to the status quo. Irvine Welsh's novel ''Trainspotting,'' a visceral, vernacular dive into Edinburgh's drug subculture, was published in 1993 and made into a cult movie by Danny Boyle in 1996. The angsty Manchester band Oasis released huge albums in 1994 and 1995. The London fashion designer Alexander McQueen launched his posterior-revealing ''bumster'' pants in 1994.

All of these cultural figures, like most of the artists in ''Sensation,'' came from ***working-class*** backgrounds, and what they produced burned with a coarse energy. Back then, government grants allowed free study at universities and art colleges for those who could not otherwise afford it.

''They were reflecting the concerns of young people at the time,'' Rosenthal said. ''They were an art movement. Now it's broken up: They're different; times change.''

They sure do. The so-called Young British Artists are now middle-aged, and most are no longer the innovators they once were. After making hundreds of millions of dollars over two decades as a quasi-industrial artistic brand, Hirst has now returned to the kind of spot paintings he made as a student, but now in bulk, monetized as his ''Currency'' NFTs. Jake Chapman, who, with his brother Dinos, made the mannequin sculpture that so flustered critics at ''Sensation,'' has parted creative ways with his brother and now devotes much of his time to writing and documentary filmmaking. The Saatchi Gallery, founded in 1985 as a space to display Saatchi's museum-quality collection, has turned into a rental space for commercial art events. He has sold most of the major works he exhibited at ''Sensation.'' (Saatchi declined to comment for this article.)

Education subsidies have been cut and Britain's state-funded art colleges like Goldsmiths now charge tuition of 9,250 pounds, or about $10,200, in the form of a government-backed loan. Living expenses are financed by further borrowing. The prospect of beginning adult life with a seven-figure mountain of debt is dissuading less-well-off British students from applying.

''It's so difficult to have an art education now. I'm trying to combat that,'' said Emin, who is creating a free art school with 30 studios in Margate, southeast England, where her own studio is based. ''It's not right that people can't have an art education.''

Having returned recently to painting, which she studied at the Royal College of Art, Emin is arguably the one artist of the ''Sensation'' generation who is still at the forefront of British contemporary art. Painting now prevails, as it does internationally. Frenzied market speculation has driven works by emerging artists, predominantly women and people of color, to dizzying heights. Reputations are quickly made by influencers on social media, not critics in newspapers.

''Tracy Emin has constantly blazed a trail and appeals to this generation,'' said Katy Hessel, 28, an influencer (292,000 followers on Instagram) and curator and the author of the best-selling book ''The Story of Art Without Men.'' Last month, as an amuse-bouche for Frieze Week, Hessel celebrated the book's publication with an exhibition she curated at the Victoria Miro gallery of 16 works by women artists, including vibrant semi-abstracts by the young British auction favorites JadÃ© Fadojutimi and Flora Yukhnovich. Hessel said the selected works defined, at the ''highest level,'' the most important developments in art in the last 20 years. ''Painting has never been more alive than it is now,'' Hessel said.

The show also included a recent, brutally expressionistic canvas of a female nude by Emin in which, according to Hessel's catalog note, the artist is ''culminating decades' worth of love, pain, death and desire into one canvas.'' A quarter of a century on, Emin is still summoning up the don't-take-no-for-an-answer spirit of ''Sensation.''

Somehow that mold-breaking 1997 exhibition still resonates in the memory of a country increasingly ill at ease with itself. Arthur Hobhouse, a schoolteacher based in Suffolk, eastern England, recalls being taken to ''Sensation'' at age 11 by his mother.

''I felt like everything forbidden to me -- sex, death, gore -- was suddenly not only on show but being honored,'' Hobhouse said. ''Understanding that the status quo could be so quickly washed away, and that the challenge could be so explicit and public, remains a guiding light to this day. I feel privileged to have peered over the edge at that exact moment.''

You might have loved or hated ''Sensation.'' But you couldn't forget it.

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: The exhibition ''Sensation'' opened in London in 1997, then traveled to Berlin and Brooklyn. Top, an embalmed tiger shark in a work by Damien Hirst. Above: Marcus Harvey's mural of the child murderer Myra Hindley, left

and Tracey Emin with her installation ''Everyone I Have Ever Slept With 1963-1995.'' Below: ''Watch Out Boy She'll Chew You Up,'' left, a 2022 painting by Flora Yukhnovich

and Emin, at right, with the author Katy Hessel last month at the Victoria Miro gallery in London. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY PA IMAGES, VIA GETTY IMAGES

MICHAEL STEPHENS/PA IMAGES, VIA GETTY IMAGES

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FLORA YUKHNOVICH

VIA VICTORIA MIRO

DAVE BENETT/GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page C14.

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[***Crypto Is Tumbling. But to Argentines, It Still Beats Pesos.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:666N-1NY1-DXY4-X208-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 21, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 1525 words

**Byline:** By Ana Lankes

**Body**

Even though cryptocurrencies have lost value, many Argentines see them as a less risky choice than their own currency, whose worth has plunged as inflation has soared.

BUENOS AIRES -- Romina Sejas's entry into the world of cryptocurrency -- in a country where digital currencies have soared in popularity despite their volatility -- started with pizza.

She was helping prepare pizza dough at a friend's house a few years ago outside Mendoza, a â€Œmidsize city in western Argentina. The friend suggested leavening the dough in his mine. ''I was so confused,'' Ms. Sejas said. ''I thought mines involved men with helmets and picks.''

Instead, he opened a door into a room where shelves were stacked with whirring computers. Known as miners in tech jargon, the computers work nonstop, verifying cryptocurrency transactions and rewarding their owners in â€Œdigital currency. They consume so much energy that the room was a functional oven.

Ms. Sejas's friend -- who mines ether, one of the world's most popular cryptocurrencies -- â€Œexplained that getting into cryptocurrency had raised his monthly salary by nearly 40 percent, from $800 doing odd jobs to $1,100.

Ms. Sejas soon became a cryptocurrency convert, joining a wave of Argentines turning to digital currencies as a way to earn more, increase their savings and even conduct everyday business.

Even though the cryptocurrency market has cratered in recent months, many Argentines see it as a safe haven â€Œin a country where surging inflation and a grinding economic crisis have battered the national currency, the peso, and people's bank accounts.

''Money here is like ice cream,'' said Marcos Buscaglia, an economist in Buenos Aires, the capital. ''If you keep a peso for too long, it melts in terms of how much you can buy with it.''

Because so few Argentines trust the peso, they prefer to save in other currencies, including dollars.

About one-third of Argentines believed that savings kept in pesos in a local bank would hold onto their value over two years, the lowest percentage among respondents in 15 countries surveyed in June by Morning Consult, a data firm based in Washington.

Nearly 60 percent of Argentines believed that Bitcoin, one of the most popular cryptocurrencies, would retain the value of their savings over that same period, the survey said.

With inflation expected to reach 90 percent by December, the peso's worth keeps tumbling, pushing up prices of everyday products, from toilet paper to tuna fish, and making it virtually impossible to save.

The ongoing global supply chain challenges and the war in Ukraine have contributed to rising prices, but many economists blame Argentina's woes on years of excessive government spending. Since the government does not collect enough revenue to make up the shortfall, the central bank prints pesos -- pushing inflation even higher.

Now, many Argentines are turning to cryptocurrencies as one way to escape the peso. About one-third of Argentines said they bought or sold cryptocurrencies at least once a month, double the percentage of people in the United States, according to a separate survey by Morning Consult.

But cryptocurrency, given its instability, also brings risks.

Vicente Cappelletti, 26, said he had lost around $1,000, about 10 percent of his savings, when TerraUSD, a so-called stablecoin -- a type of cryptocurrency that can be pegged to government currencies like the dollar -- collapsed in May.

Mr. Cappelletti, an industrial engineer, said it was easy to lose money ''if you are not on top of this all the time and don't have a lot of information.'' He sold all the savings he had held in cryptocurrencies for pesos and put them in a traditional investment fund.

Pablo Sabbatella, who runs an organization in Buenos Aires that offers cryptocurrency classes, said hundreds of people had contacted him in the days after TerraUSD imploded, desperate to recover their money.

''Most people don't understand what they are doing,'' he said.

Bitcoin's value has dropped from $65,000 last November to about $24,000 today, nearly double the fall in value of the peso. But many Argentines believe cryptocurrencies will rebound -- unlike the peso.

Still, for some, cryptocurrency has brought welcome financial benefits.

Ms. Sejas, who worked as a waitress and in telemarketing, earns a living as a cryptocurrency consultant and by teaching workshops about digital currencies. She runs an online marketplace with 7,000 members who can use cryptocurrency to buy almost anything -- from hiking boots to a house.

Ms. Sejas grew up in a ***working-class*** â€Œfamily without access to the internet. Her parents did not finish middle school or have bank accounts. ''My family used to measure the length of toilet paper rolls we had, because we had very little,'' she said.

The money she has made from cryptocurrency has transformed her life. ''I'm studying law at a private university,'' she said. ''I've done all the health checks I never did growing upâ€Œ.''

Across the world, people in low-income and emerging countries have become the biggest users of cryptocurrencies, according to various reports, overtaking the United States and Europe.

Digital coins are prized in countries where the local money is volatile and where governments have made it harder for citizens to buy foreign currencies.

Two poor countries, El Salvador and the Central African Republic, have even adopted Bitcoin as another official national currency -- though the bet has not paid off in El Salvador, and it's too early to tell whether it will do so in the Central African Republic.

Argentina provides some clues about the appeal of cryptocurrencies.

Argentines have long looked to the dollar as a safe haven. Saving in dollars ''is tattooed into our DNA,'' said Daniel Convertini, 34, who works in communications for a ride-hailing company. ''I learned to do it from my dad and my grandfather, not because I read it in some financial newspaper.''

Argentines are thought to hold more dollars in cash or in foreign financial institutions than almost any other population -- other than Americans, said Gian Maria Milesi-Ferretti, an economist at the Brookings Institution.

But three years ago, the Argentine government made it more difficult to buy U.S. currency. Argentines can legally purchase only $200 a month and have to pay hefty taxes on every transaction.

Instead, many people have turned to the black market for dollars, and the streets of downtown Buenos Aires are filled with money-changers who whisper their conversion rates at passers-by.

But digital currencies provide an advantage by not requiring people to haul around large stashes of bills.

''We offered a way around the currency controls by selling crypto dollars,'' said JuliÃ¡n Fraiese, a founder of Buenbit, an Argentine cryptocurrency exchange that focuses on stablecoins pegged to the dollar. The company said it had added 200,000 users in the seven months after government controls on dollars were tightened in 2019.

Ismael Loyo, 34, a taxi driver who moved to Argentina from Venezuela in 2018, turned to cryptocurrency after seeing the peso devalue rapidly, a repeat of what he had experienced back at home. As soon as he gets paid, he logs onto an exchange online and buys cryptocurrencies.

Aware of the vagaries of the digital currency market, he explained that he gets out of a currency ''that only devalues'' and gets into a currency, which, even though it is volatile, ''maintains its value in the long term and goes up.''

For people like Mr. Loyo, who has lived in two countries pummeled by high inflation, Bitcoin seems less a speculative bet than a necessity. ''Maybe if I lived in another country, I would never have had to learn about all this,'' he said.

Still, the plunging value of cryptocurrencies has taken a toll, and concerns over its risks have led to greater regulatory scrutiny.

Buenbit recently fired nearly half of its employees, and days after two Argentine banks had started giving customers the option of buying and selling cryptocurrencies, the country's Central Bank barred such services.

But because many Argentines have such little faith in their government's management of the economy, cryptocurrency, despite its turbulence, remains in high demand.

More workers in Argentina than any other country, including many freelancers in jobs like software developers and translators, choose to receive part of their pay in cryptocurrencies, according to Deel, a payroll company used by more than 100,000 workers in 150 nations.

''Technology is the language of the world to come,'' said the Rev. FabiÃ¡n BÃ¡ez, a priest who helps organize technology classes in Buenos Aires that include showing students how to open a digital wallet to start collecting cryptocurrency coins.

In Buenos Aires, signs on public buses lure people with promises of high returns on stablecoins. Inside a busy subway station, an advertisement declares: ''Beat inflation. Buy Bitcoin.''

''I prefer to expose myself to the risks of crypto,'' Mr. Convertini, the ride-hailing employee, said, ''than the risks of the Argentine government.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/20/world/americas/argentina-cryptocurrency-value.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/20/world/americas/argentina-cryptocurrency-value.html)

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[***New Favorite Shakes Up Race for British Premier***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65YD-CGF1-JBG3-649Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 8

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**Byline:** By Mark Landler and Stephen Castle

**Body**

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LONDON -- The last time Britain's Conservative Party elected a new leader, Boris Johnson dominated the contest from wire to wire, a political celebrity so famous that many voters just called him Boris.

Three years later, the oddsmakers' favorite is Penny Mordaunt, a junior trade minister so obscure that some voters have told pollsters that they confuse her with another single-name English star: the singer Adele.

Ms. Mordaunt's sudden surge in popularity reflects the wide-open, topsy-turvy nature of the race. And it reveals the shadow that Mr. Johnson still casts over British politics. Ms. Mordaunt's lack of association with the recently deposed prime minister is one of her calling cards: She promotes herself as a fresh start after the ceaseless drama of the past three years. Weary Tory lawmakers are responding.

Strictly speaking, Ms. Mordaunt, 49, is not the current front-runner: That status belongs to Rishi Sunak, the former chancellor of the Exchequer, who won the backing of 101 lawmakers in the second round of voting on Thursday. Ms. Mordaunt was second, with 83 votes. Conservative legislators will hold additional ballots early this week, before advancing two candidates to a vote of the party's rank-and-file membership, the results of which will be announced in early September.

Provided she makes the shortlist of two, however, Ms. Mordaunt looms as a formidable contender. In a poll of members last week, she finished far ahead of Mr. Sunak in a head-to-head matchup. She also easily outpolled the No. 3 candidate, Liz Truss, who is Mr. Johnson's foreign secretary and has refused to disavow him. Ms. Mordaunt, by contrast, is neither a Johnson loyalist nor an insurgent figure.

''She has the best of both worlds,'' said Tim Bale, a professor of politics at Queen Mary University of London. ''She can't be accused of disloyalty on the one hand, and on the other, she has sufficient distance from Johnson because she played such a minor role in government that she's not tainted by association.''

Vernon Bogdanor, a professor of government at King's College London, said Ms. Mordaunt's low profile makes her an attractive blank slate. ''No one knows what her views are, and so one can attribute one's own views to her,'' he said. ''The same happens in spades, in regard to the queen.''

But Ms. Mordaunt's swift rise has alarmed some critics, who say she is untested and thinly qualified for prime minister. A paratrooper's daughter who serves in the Royal Naval Reserve, Ms. Mordaunt was defense secretary for two and a half months in 2019 and held a lesser cabinet post in charge of international development.

People who have worked with her describe her as charming and sincere, but not interested in the complexities of policy. She also has very little economic experience, at a time when Britain faces a once-in-a-generation cost-of-living crisis.

''She was honest and straightforward, and I thought she did care about international development,'' said Alistair Burt, who was a minister in the international development department when she was there. ''But it is a surprise -- I wouldn't have thought that she would be where she is.''

Whether she was equipped to be prime minister, Mr. Burt said he ''genuinely wouldn't know because she hasn't been significantly tested.''

As Ms. Mordaunt's profile has risen, the attacks on her have sharpened. David Frost, who resigned as Mr. Johnson's Brexit negotiator last year, gave a scathing account of Ms. Mordaunt, who served as his deputy. He accused her of a poor grasp of detail and absence from her government department, and of being such a problem that he had asked the prime minister to move her to another job.

Like other hard-line Brexiteers, Mr. Frost has thrown his support behind Ms. Truss, who campaigned against leaving the European Union in the 2016 referendum, but who has since converted to the cause with zeal. Ms. Mordaunt voted to leave, as did Mr. Sunak.

It is one of the paradoxes of this race that Brexiteers are opposing the two candidates who backed Brexit and are supporting the one who opposed it.

Not only did Ms. Mordaunt urge Britons to vote for Brexit, but she also played a minor, though memorable, part in the campaign by warning that Turkish migrants would flock to Britain when their own country joined the European Union, something she claimed Britain would be unable to block. The statement was erroneous: Britain, like other members, had a right to veto Turkey's membership.

Brexit supporters regard her with suspicion for another reason: She voted for an ill-fated withdrawal agreement with the European Union negotiated by Prime Minister Theresa May.

Ms. Mordaunt combines an interest in security and a military background with views on social issues that are mildly progressive by Tory party standards. She has spoken up in favor of the rights of transgender people, for example, a position that has gotten her into trouble with the culture warriors on the party's right.

Seeking to defuse the issue, Ms. Mordaunt said last week that transgender women ''are not biological women like me, but the law recognizes them in their new gender and that's very simple and straightforward.''

In the cut-and-thrust of Tory politics, of course, it is neither.

During a televised debate on Friday evening, Ms. Mordaunt came under renewed pressure on the issue, with one of her opponents, Kemi Badenoch, questioning whether she had backtracked on her earlier position. Critics said Ms. Mordaunt's performance was wobbly and unfocused.

Analysts said the unsettled nature of the contest had made it especially vicious. Mr. Sunak, the early front-runner, has come under attack by Mr. Johnson's allies, who view his resignation less than two weeks ago, which set the stage for the prime minister's downfall, as a betrayal. Mr. Sunak's tax policy as chancellor was criticized by Jacob Rees-Mogg, with whom he sat in cabinet just days ago. Mr. Rees-Mogg refused to deny reports that he had described the policy, which included tax increases, as ''socialist.''

''Rishi Sunak was always going to get it in the neck,'' Professor Bale said.

Ms. Truss, who did not resign from Mr. Johnson's cabinet, faces the danger of being the most closely associated with him. Critics said her campaign had gotten off to a less-than-stirring start. She is not viewed as a charismatic campaigner, despite her solid credentials. One Liberal Democratic lawmaker likened her to Hillary Clinton, while Ms. Mordaunt, the lawmaker said, more resembled Bill Clinton.

Unlike Ms. Mordaunt, Ms. Truss has significant economic experience. Yet Ms. Mordaunt's weakness in that area has yet to hurt her campaign, despite the soaring inflation and specter of a recession that haunts Britain. A lack of focus on the future, analysts said, was another legacy of Mr. Johnson's distracting tenure.

''He's left the Conservative Party deeply confused because he was trying to hold together an electoral coalition that isn't a particularly natural one,'' Professor Bale said, referring to traditional Conservative voters in the south and ***working-class*** supporters in the north of England that Mr. Johnson won over from the Labour Party in 2019.

''It was always going to be a case of 'après moi, le deluge,''' he added. ''When Boris Johnson eventually was forced out, there was almost inevitably going to be chaos and bad feeling because of who he was and how he acted.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/17/world/europe/penny-mordaunt-rishi-sunak.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/17/world/europe/penny-mordaunt-rishi-sunak.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Penny Mordaunt, a junior trade minister, has seen her profile rise swiftly in the campaign for prime minister. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JUSTIN TALLIS/AFP -- GETTY IMAGES)

Rishi Sunak, the former chancellor of the Exchequer, has faced attacks from allies of Boris Johnson for resigning. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JONATHAN HORDLE/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK)

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[***Prime Minister Race in Britain Remains Unsettled in Wake of Johnson’s Downfall***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65Y6-1BT1-JBG3-62M6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 17, 2022 Sunday 00:47 EST

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**Byline:** Mark Landler and Stephen Castle

**Highlight:** Rishi Sunak, the former chancellor of the Exchequer, is the current front-runner, but Penny Mordaunt, a junior trade minister, is making a surprisingly strong run for the leadership position.

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[***Confronting Economic Crises***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65Y6-2841-DXY4-X37H-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

21st CENTURY MONETARY POLICYThe Federal Reserve From the Great Inflation to Covid-19 By Ben S. Bernanke

The world has confronted two acute crises in the past 15 years. In 2007, a housing bubble in the United States brought on the worst financial panic since the Great Depression. In 2019, a novel coronavirus in China set off the deadliest pandemic in a century.

During the first of these crises, Ben S. Bernanke was the primary policymaker overseeing the United States government's emergency response. Shortly before the panic began, President George W. Bush appointed Bernanke to be the chair of the Federal Reserve, a job he would hold for the next eight years, through the end of Bush's presidency and most of Barack Obama's. Bernanke ran the Fed as it made decisions about how to prevent a new depression.

He and his colleagues largely succeeded. In the early month of the crisis, economic activity deteriorated even more rapidly than it had in 1929 and 1930. Yet neither the United States nor the world fell into a depression: The unemployment rate peaked at 10 percent in 2009, compared with 25 percent in 1933.

Bernanke's success sprang from a few core causes. He came to the job with decades of preparation. He started studying the Fed when he was an economics graduate student in the 1970s, after Stanley Fischer, a distinguished professor, encouraged Bernanke to read a history of monetary policy and see if it intrigued him. He rose to become one of the field's leading scholars as a professor at Princeton. In 2002, he left Princeton to become a Fed official and then spent seven months as an economic adviser in Bush's White House, which gave him a firsthand view of the executive branch's operations. By the time the financial crisis began, he had both a rigorous knowledge of Fed history and theory and a grasp of real-world politics.

In public, Bernanke has always resembled a professor more than a powerful political leader. He is bearded and soft-spoken. He speaks carefully, giving the impression of thinking through an issue while he is talking about it. Yet his style can be misleading. He proved to be a daring Fed chair, willing to take unparalleled steps during the crisis, acting decisively and operating in the gray areas of the Fed's authority. In doing so, he was following an American tradition of experimentation during an emergency that is most associated with President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Bernanke has now published ''21st Century Monetary Policy,'' a history of the Fed over roughly the past century. (Despite the title, he devotes considerable space to the 20th century.) It comes after a personal memoir, published seven years ago. In this new book, he considers both his own tenure and those of his predecessors and successors. It is light on personal anecdotes and devoted to substantive judgments. This exercise of historical assessment from a central participant is one that more policymakers should probably try. It allows readers to make judgments along with Bernanke and think about what lessons today's policymakers -- who are once again battling inflation -- might take.

Even in his restrained style, Bernanke offers criticisms. The book's antiheroes are Arthur F. Burns (the Fed chair who did not confront rising inflation in the 1970s); Donald J. Trump and Richard Nixon (presidents who tried to intimidate Fed leaders); and modern-day congressional Republicans (some of whom he views as more concerned with partisan advantage than the country's well-being). Bernanke offers a mixed judgment on Alan Greenspan, who presided over a 1990s boom but also missed the gathering signs of crisis in the early 2000s and, unlike Bernanke, aggressively pushed his personal preference for low taxes. The policymakers who come off best are Paul A. Volcker, the Fed chair who crushed inflation after Burns, as well as Obama and Janet Yellen, Bernanke's successor and the current Treasury secretary. That these three all are or were Democrats (Volcker is deceased) is a sign of how far today's Republican Party has moved from restrained conservatives like Bernanke.

Bernanke also offers some self-criticisms, including an acknowledgment that he failed to recognize how slowly the economy was emerging from recession after the emergency. Had he read the situation correctly, Bernanke says, the recovery probably would have been stronger.

The one area where the book would have benefited from more introspection is economic inequality, which Bernanke largely dismisses as beyond the Fed's mandate. Although he is correct that the central bank cannot solve the problem, it does have relevant tools, like its influence over financial markets, bank regulation and the housing sector. Instead, by treating stagnant ***working-class*** living standards as a sideshow, the Fed has contributed to the rise of populist anger that Bernanke laments.

Even with these caveats, ''21st Century Monetary Policy'' tells a success story, and deservedly so. Bernanke's Fed performed far better than the institution had during previous economic crises, like the Great Depression and the 1970s oil shocks. It did so because Bernanke and his colleagues learned from the mistakes of their predecessors and were willing to overcome the torpor that can afflict large bureaucracies. They asked themselves what they could plausibly do to help -- like purchasing mortgage-backed securities to halt a financial panic -- and they did it. The title of his 2015 memoir was apt: ''The Courage to Act.''

Bernanke did not always find this approach comfortable. ''In my time as chair of the Princeton economics department, I had led with a deliberative, consensus-building style, and I had tried to bring that approach to the Fed,'' he writes. ''But, with markets in disarray and every economic indicator pointing down, that approach fell by the wayside, at least for a time.'' Bernanke understood that deliberative caution during a crisis could lead to more human suffering.

In a more lasting change, and a break with Greenspan's Fed, Bernanke also pushed the Fed to explain its actions more clearly to the public. He began holding regular news conferences and released more information about Fed deliberations. He tried to explain decisions in plainer English.

Anybody reading his book today, during the Covid-19 pandemic, may notice that its message applies to more than monetary policy. The Centers for Disease Control, the Food and Drug Administration and other agencies have often failed to act decisively or to speak clearly over the past two and a half years. Their advice -- on masking, quarantines, booster shots, at-home tests and more -- can be impossible for ordinary people to understand. And at important moments, federal agencies have followed bureaucratic traditions unsuited for a crisis. The clearest contrast to the Bernanke Fed is probably the F.D.A.'s hewing to a version of its lengthy, prepandemic process for vaccine review, which created the jarring contrast of government officials urging Americans to take a vaccine although those same officials had refused to grant the vaccines formal approval. Evidently, they did not have the courage to act.

When explaining the Fed's failures during the Great Depression, Bernanke writes of ''its decentralized structure and lack of effective leadership.'' Those failures led to a 1935 federal law that created a clearer structure for the Fed, which in turn helped Bernanke to act boldly and creatively. His book is intended to help future generations of economic policymakers, and it probably will. But they are not the only ones who would benefit from thinking about its lessons.David Leonhardt, a senior writer at The Times, won a Pulitzer Prize in 2011 for his commentary on the financial crisis.21ST CENTURY MONETARY POLICYThe Federal Reserve From the Great Inflation to Covid-19By Ben S. Bernanke512 pp. W.W. Norton & Company. $35.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/17/books/review/ben-s-bernanke-21st-century-monetary-policy.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/17/books/review/ben-s-bernanke-21st-century-monetary-policy.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Ben S. Bernanke, 2009. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS/ THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 17, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Unconsenting***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65Y6-2841-DXY4-X37C-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 17, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 10

**Length:** 1279 words

**Byline:** By Tali Farhadian Weinstein

**Body**

THE SEWING GIRL'S TALE: A Story of Crime and Consequences in Revolutionary America

By John Wood Sweet

In the early morning hours of Sept. 5, 1793, a couple of blocks from what is now New York's City Hall, a gentleman with a reputation as a ''rake'' raped a 17-year-old seamstress whom he had carried into a brothel by force. No doubt countless cases like this one are lost to history -- papers didn't report on them, records (if anyone kept them) rarely exist, and they rarely went to trial. In fact, in the decade since the end of British rule, there had only been two sexual assault prosecutions in the city of New York. But this case was unusual for several reasons: Lanah Sawyer, the young victim, had the mettle to report the crime. The state prosecuted it vigorously. And an English lawyer newly arrived in America with a personal interest in rape prosecutions (his patron's son was under indictment for the same) decided to take notes, producing the first published report of such a trial in the United States and the material for ''The Sewing Girl's Tale,'' John Wood Sweet's excellent and absorbing work of social and cultural history.

Harry Bedlow's capital trial on charges of rape (on an indictment for ''being moved and seduced by the instigation of the devil'' to ''feloniously ravish and carnally know'' Sawyer) began a month later. He faced a jury of his peers, not hers; women could not serve on juries, and the men in her family could not have met the property requirements. The trial lasted one long day. Sawyer's testimony was clear, courageous and consistent: He asked her consent three or four times and she refused, calling him ''a brute, a dog, a villain.'' A dream team of six private defense attorneys argued on Bedlow's behalf. The jury deliberated for 15 minutes before returning a verdict of not guilty.

Riots ensued; some 600 people took to the streets. In Sweet's words, ''what the trial had said about power was that a profligate gentleman mattered and a workingman's daughter didn't''; though somewhat paradoxically -- if, sadly, in keeping with the misogynistic mores of the era -- rioters targeted brothels, run largely by women in ***working-class*** neighborhoods, rather than the legal system itself. Soon thereafter, Sawyer attempted suicide.

Bedlow's defense at trial centered on an idea that remains in circulation today: that a rape charge is often just a cover-up for a woman's shame at having succumbed to her own desires. Bedlow was certainly helped by popular culture. The most popular American novel of the era, ''Charlotte Temple,'' told the story of a teenage girl, seduced by a wealthy rake and abandoned to a life of regret and destitution.

But the real assist came from the 17th-century lawyer Sir Matthew Hale, whose jurisprudence dominated the trial. Sir William Blackstone's ''Commentaries'' on English criminal law supplied the Colonies and later new country with a basic understanding of many crimes, and Blackstone incorporated Hale's ideas of what renders a rape prosecution plausible. According to Sweet, Hale, who was deeply anxious about malicious women bringing false accusations against innocent men, believed ''the question was not simply whether a woman had been forced to have sex against her will but also whether her reputation was good enough, whether she had resisted vigorously enough, whether she had cried out loudly enough, whether she had sustained sufficiently conspicuous physical injuries and whether she had reported the crime soon enough.'' Nearly every defense attorney funneled his questions through the Hale framework. And when it was the judge's turn to instruct the jury in advance of their deliberations, he declared Hale's ideas ''just'' and thus, as Sweet writes, completed ''the transformation of Hale's commentaries from suggestions written by a retired jurist into rigid rules that defined the nature of settled law and that were binding on the jurors.''

Perhaps we can't imagine a defense attorney today saying, as one of Bedlow's did: ''Was it prudent to pick up a man in the streets, and become instantly acquainted with him? ... Was it discreet to go on the Battery with this stranger, and amuse herself with him beyond midnight?'' But rape myths persist: that a woman must do everything she can to repel her attacker, or that her resistance is a critical factor in determining the rapist's culpability.

This is not Hale's only legacy. The reader might recognize his name from Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization, the Supreme Court's decision overturning Roe v. Wade and permitting states (and the federal government) to criminalize abortion without apparent limit or exception. In the opinion, Justice Samuel Alito cites Hale's treatise eight times as evidence that abortion was considered a crime at the time of the Constitution's writing. Thus, according to the court, the Constitution cannot contain a right to choose to terminate pregnancy. The Dobbs opinion is undoubtedly correct about Hale's status at the founding, and Sweet's book confirms it. But the book also provides an opportunity, set apart from the heated politics of abortion regulation, to reflect on the power we give today to legal authorities whose views about basic matters -- like what it means for a man to sexually assault women -- are so different from what we think, or want to think we think, now.

The acquittal did not mark the end of the story. Sawyer and John Callahan, her stepfather, did not give up: Like modern litigants frustrated in criminal court, they turned to civil court. Exploiting the patriarchal laws of the day, Callahan sued Bedlow for seduction -- a contrived claim, man against man, that Bedlow's seduction of Sawyer cost Callahan losses of her labor. This is the first known time a seduction suit was used for redress in New York after a rape trial, and it worked; the jury awarded Callahan staggering punitive damages -- 1,800 pounds, or $4,500 -- enough money for Callahan ''to buy the house he rented on Gold Street and half a dozen like it'' and land Bedlow in debtors' prison.

A second coda is emblematic of the delights to be found in this book, despite its grim subject. From prison, Bedlow hired Alexander Hamilton, former secretary of the Treasury, as his attorney. It's an embarrassing cameo for Hamilton, for soon thereafter, Bedlow produced a letter purportedly written by a ''Helenah Sawyer'' retracting her accusations and begging his forgiveness. There is good reason to think Hamilton was behind the stratagem: A few years earlier, facing accusations that he had abused his office at Treasury by engaging in speculation with the shady James Reynolds, Hamilton had presented a congressional committee with letters that, he said, were written by Reynolds's wife, Maria, whom Hamilton claimed to have seduced. According to Hamilton, he had merely been paying James hush money to keep the affair secret. This defense -- in the words of a Hamilton adversary, ''I am a rake, and for that reason I cannot be a swindler'' -- never made perfect sense (though it did make for a great song in the musical). But in the post-Revolutionary New York that Sweet revives, whose streets are familiar and whose specters haunt us today, it makes all the sense in the world.

Tali Farhadian Weinstein, a former federal and state prosecutor in New York, is a legal analyst on NBC News and MSNBC.

THE SEWING GIRL'S TALE: A Story of Crime and Consequences in Revolutionary America, by John Wood Sweet | Illustrated | 384 pp. | Henry Holt & Company | $29.99Tali Farhadian Weinstein, a former federal and state prosecutor in New York, is a legal analyst on NBC News and MSNBC.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/14/books/review/the-sewing-girls-tale-john-wood-sweet.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/14/books/review/the-sewing-girls-tale-john-wood-sweet.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: A drawing titled ''Corner of Greenwich Street,'' created sometime between 1769 and 1849. (PHOTOGRAPH BY THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY)

The allegorical frontispiece from an 1819 illustrated book about Charlotte Temple. (PHOTOGRAPH BY FALES LIBRARY AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS)

**Load-Date:** July 17, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Far Ahead of Its Time, And Finally Published***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y55-VC01-DXY4-X4Y6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 7, 2020 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; Movies, Performing Arts/Weekend Desk; Pg. 17

**Length:** 1282 words

**Byline:** By Talya Zax

**Body**

Claude McKay's novel ''Romance in Marseille'' deals with queer love, postcolonialism and the legacy of slavery. It also complicates ideas about the Harlem Renaissance.

Claude McKay's novel ''Romance in Marseille'' could hardly sound more contemporary. A black man, Lafala, loses his legs as a result of his white captors' cruelty, then, in a striking allegory for reparations, receives a compensatory windfall. He takes his new fortune from New York to Marseille, a hub of the African diaspora, and plans to return to West Africa in hopes of undoing his colonial education and reintegrating in the village of his birth. Meanwhile he lives in a sexually liberated ***working-class*** milieu, where queer love is accepted as a fact of life, no more subject to judgment than its heterosexual counterpart.

The book's themes -- queerness, the legacy of slavery, postcolonial African identity -- are among those at the forefront of literature today. But McKay lived from 1889 to 1948, and was a central figure of the Harlem Renaissance. Now, a century after that movement began, ''Romance in Marseille'' will finally be published for the first time on Feb. 11. Its debut coincides with recent shifts in thinking about the Renaissance, which is increasingly seen as grappling not only with race but with class, gender, sexuality and nationality.

''Romance in Marseille,'' published by Penguin Classics and edited by Gary Edward Holcomb and William J. Maxwell, is the second of McKay's posthumous novels to appear in recent years, after the 2017 publication of ''Amiable With Big Teeth.'' McKay began writing ''Romance in Marseille'' in 1929 and put it aside in 1933. It was a practical decision; McKay earned his living from writing, and his editor, Eugene Saxton, who had previously challenged sexually transgressive passages in his books, believed that ''Romance in Marseille'' was too shocking to sell.

''He's writing about the underclass,'' said Diana Lachatanere, who oversees McKay's literary estate through the Faith Childs Literary Agency. That subject placed McKay in conflict with gatekeepers of literary Harlem, and specifically W.E.B. Du Bois. It's no surprise that ''Romance in Marseille,'' perhaps McKay's most complicated examination of marginalized economic and social classes, couldn't find a publisher during his lifetime. (''Who's running publishing houses?'' Lachatanere asked. ''Very staid middle-class people.'') While the novel is in some ways dated, it still, today, feels radical.

''In recent years, we have taken a much more expansive look at the Harlem Renaissance,'' said Venetria K. Patton of Purdue University, who co-edited the 2001 anthology ''Double-Take: A Revisionist Harlem Renaissance Anthology.'' ''The race narrative is still an important aspect of the Renaissance. But there were questions of sexuality, of gender, of how to position oneself in an environment that didn't see you as equal,'' that have historically received less attention.

Why? During the Renaissance, mainstream narratives of the movement were shaped by its complicated relationship with white readers. The Renaissance was made economically possible partially through the patronage of wealthy white individuals like Charlotte Osgood Mason, and could therefore be constrained by their interests and their prejudices. Led by figures like Du Bois, many of the Renaissance's participants saw the movement as a way to address white audiences, and encourage them ''to re-evaluate black lives as being equal,'' according to Jean-Christophe Cloutier, co-editor of ''Amiable With Big Teeth.'' Efforts to redirect the movement to black audiences, and to write about a wider array of concerns, were largely relegated to the Renaissance's queer subculture.

McKay belonged both to that subculture and to the movement's mainstream. His 1928 novel ''Home to Harlem'' was the first American best seller by a black writer. But despite being seen as one of the Renaissance's guiding lights, McKay -- Jamaican, bisexual, a Marxist who grew disenchanted with communism before the rest of his cohort -- also brought an outsider's critical gaze to the movement. He was concerned not only with whom their target audience should be but also with how they depicted class politics, particularly in a queer context. Maxwell, one of the editors of ''Romance in Marseille,'' notes that the novel's most overt gay characters include a black female prostitute and ''a dock worker socialist white male stud.'' That was a remarkable departure from conventions of the Renaissance, in which most queer relationships were depicted in ''a genteel context of gay male instruction,'' as Maxwell put it. Holcomb, the book's other editor, pointed out that ''Romance in Marseille'' depicts great freedom in ***working-class*** queer life. ''The queer characters are not portrayed as being exotic or subcultural,'' he said. ''They're just ordinary working people.''

McKay's vision of a black cultural movement that transcended national, class and sexual barriers was not unique. Several of his contemporaries who similarly challenged the Renaissance's norms have also experienced recent revivals. Two novels by Ann Petry (including ''The Street,'' her revolutionary novel of black, female ***working-class*** life) were reissued by the Library of America in 2019. Jeffrey C. Stewart's 2018 biography ''The New Negro: The Life of Alain Locke'' brought renewed attention to the other most significant gatekeeper of the Renaissance, looking specifically at the influence of his queerness. ''There Is Confusion,'' by Jessie Redmon Fauset, the longtime editor of the official N.A.A.C.P. magazine The Crisis, whose work was often disregarded because of her gender, is being reissued on Feb. 11, the same day ''Romance in Marseille'' will be released. And two previously unpublished books by Zora Neale Hurston have come out in the last two years.

More may be coming. Cloutier stumbled on the forgotten manuscript of ''Amiable With Big Teeth'' while studying at Columbia in 2009. The two manuscripts of ''Romance in Marseille,'' held by Harlem's Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture and Yale's Beinecke Library -- the Penguin Classics edition is based on the later Schomburg manuscript -- have long been known to scholars, but copyright conflicts and a lack of market interest prevented the book's publication. As archival research accelerates and 1920s-era writing is freed from copyright restrictions -- this year, works from 1924 came into the public domain -- it's likely that more rediscovered works are on the way. Cloutier recently worked with the Beinecke to locate an uncataloged collection of manuscripts by Petry. And archived manuscripts aren't the only available source of material. Marlon Ross, an English professor at the University of Virginia, has his eye on black newspapers of the era including The Chicago Defender and The New Amsterdam News. ''A lot of these published poetry, short stories -- all kinds of materials from people who we don't remember,'' Ross said.

Our sense of the Harlem Renaissance, Holcomb said, is growing to encompass ''something much more complex and broader than the original idea'' of ''a cultural nationalist African-American movement.'' ''Romance in Marseille,'' one of the Renaissance's most radical texts, hidden for decades from public view, makes a natural avatar for that development. ''What McKay wanted,'' Holcomb said, ''was something much more deeply revolutionary.''

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Talya Zax is the deputy culture editor of The Forward.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/05/books/claude-mckay-romance-marseille-harlem-renaissance.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/05/books/claude-mckay-romance-marseille-harlem-renaissance.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: The novelist Claude McKay browsing Parisian book stalls in the early 20th century. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HARRY RANSOM CENTER, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

ALESSANDRA MONTALTO/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** February 7, 2020

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[***The Associated Press calls primary for Adams after most absentee ballots are counted.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6332-RKJ1-DXY4-X02J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 6, 2021 Tuesday 23:37 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 567 words

**Byline:** Katie Glueck and Emma G. Fitzsimmons, Katie Glueck is a Times national political reporter.

**Highlight:** Mr. Adams held a thin lead over his nearest rival, Kathryn Garcia, after a new tally that included tens of thousands of absentee ballots.

**Body**

Mr. Adams held a thin lead over his nearest rival, Kathryn Garcia, after a new tally that included tens of thousands of absentee ballots.

Eric Adams won a narrow victory in the Democratic primary for mayor of New York City after a new tally of absentee ballots on Tuesday night, according to The Associated Press.

The news service called the race for Mr. Adams after results from the city’s Board of Elections showed that he held a lead of one percentage point over his nearest rival, Kathryn Garcia.

With most absentee votes now counted, Mr. Adams led Ms. Garcia by 8,426 votes in the city’s first mayoral contest to be determined by ranked-choice voting.

The results have not been finalized, and there are still a few thousand ballots to count — but with 118,000 absentee votes now accounted for, Mr. Adams had bested Ms. Garcia by a margin that makes it highly unlikely she can close the gap. As the Democratic nominee, Mr. Adams will be the overwhelming favorite to win in November against the Republican nominee, Curtis Sliwa.

Maya Wiley, who emerged late in the primary as a left-wing standard-bearer, ended up in third place in the tally released on Tuesday. She had come in second place in the [*initial count*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/06/22/us/elections/results-nyc-mayor-primary.html) of in-person ballots cast on Primary Day and during the early vote period, with Ms. Garcia behind her in third.

But Ms. Garcia overcame a double-digit deficit to overtake Ms. Wiley and to nearly catch Mr. Adams as the ranked-choice voting process played out and absentee ballots were counted. It was a remarkable development for Ms. Garcia, a candidate who until recently was little-known and who lacked the institutional support and the political operation that helped propel Mr. Adams, a veteran city politician.

As of Tuesday night, though, Ms. Garcia had still fallen short of overtaking Mr. Adams, who has maintained a lead since Primary Day, fueled by his strength among ***working-class*** voters in Black and Latino neighborhoods and aided by significant support from labor unions.

Under the city’s new [*ranked-choice voting*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/nyregion/ranked-choice-voting-nyc.html?name=styln-nyc-mayor&amp;region=TOP_BANNER&amp;block=storyline_menu_recirc&amp;action=click&amp;pgtype=Article&amp;variant=show&amp;is_new=false) system, voters could rank up to five candidates on their ballots in preferential order.

Because Mr. Adams, a former police captain, did not receive more than 50 percent of first-choice votes, the winner had to be decided by elimination. In each round, the candidate with the least number of first-choice votes is eliminated and that person’s votes are distributed to the voters’ next-ranked choice. The round-by-round process continues until there is a winner.

The results followed an extraordinary stretch in the city’s political history: the race began in a pandemic and took [*multiple*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/04/nyregion/scott-stringer-teresa-logan-sexual-misconduct.html) [*unexpected*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/09/nyregion/eric-adams-maya-wiley-endorsement-jumaane.html) [*twists*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/27/nyregion/dianne-morales-mayor-campaign.htmlhttps://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/27/nyregion/dianne-morales-mayor-campaign.html) in the final weeks. Most recently, it was colored by a [*vote-tallying debacle*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/29/nyregion/adams-garcia-wiley-mayor-ranked-choice.html?name=styln-nyc-mayor&amp;region=TOP_BANNER&amp;block=storyline_menu_recirc&amp;action=click&amp;pgtype=Article&amp;variant=show&amp;is_new=false) at the Board of Elections.

There are still some ballots left to account for, and it was not immediately clear on Tuesday whether any of the contenders would mount legal challenges as the race neared its conclusion, though Mr. Adams’s lead, in pure vote totals, was a sizable one. All three leading candidates had [*filed to maintain that option*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/02/nyregion/nyc-mayor-race-voting-count-eric-adams.html).

The tally on Tuesday showed that Ms. Garcia strongly benefited when Ms. Wiley was eliminated. She also received a boost following the elimination of Andrew Yang, the former presidential candidate with whom Ms. Garcia campaigned in the final stretch. When Mr. Yang was eliminated in the latest tally, that boosted Ms. Garcia from third place to second.

**Load-Date:** March 5, 2025

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[***Trump is visiting five states on Sunday, while Biden focuses on Pennsylvania.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:616B-S321-JBG3-6009-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 1, 2020 Sunday 21:00 EST

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**Section:** US; elections

**Length:** 382 words

**Byline:** Daniel Victor and Katie Glueck

**Highlight:** President Trump is visiting five states on Sunday, as Joe Biden focuses his attention on Pennsylvania.

**Body**

President Trump is visiting five states on Sunday, as Joe Biden focuses his attention on Pennsylvania.

With less than 48 hours remaining before Election Day, President Trump was jetting across the country on Sunday to bring his closing message to five states, while Joseph R. Biden Jr. planned to concentrate his efforts in the crucial swing state of [*Pennsylvania*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-pennsylvania.html).

Mr. Biden has just two events on his Sunday schedule, both in Philadelphia, while Mr. Trump is hopscotching between Michigan, Iowa, North Carolina, Georgia and Florida. His last event, in Opa-Locka, Fla., begins at 11:30 p.m., despite a curfew that begins at midnight.

By packing his schedule, Mr. Trump hopes to make a dent in five competitive states, four of which also have Senate seats that Republicans hope to keep or claim. Mr. Biden’s focus on Pennsylvania reflects the belief that it could be the state that flips the election — Mr. Trump held four events there on Saturday, and plans another event on Monday.

While Mr. Trump plans five rallies, Mr. Biden’s campaign is making a major push in Pennsylvania in the final hours of the presidential election, launching a full-court press across five media markets in an effort to shore up the Democratic nominee’s strength in the state.

Mr. Biden, Jill Biden, Senator Kamala Harris and her husband, Douglas Emhoff, are expected to fan out across the state on Monday, with Mr. Biden heading west after campaigning Sunday in Philadelphia. He and Dr. Biden are expected to conclude the day with a drive-in rally in Pittsburgh, while Ms. Harris and Mr. Emhoff will do the same in Philadelphia on Monday night after campaigning in the eastern part of the state.

Mr. Biden’s campaign said that the four would be seeking to engage the range of constituencies that make up the Biden coalition, including Black voters living in big cities, younger voters and white moderates in the suburbs, while seeking to cut into Mr. Trump’s base of white ***working-class*** voters.

“This campaign isn’t just about turning out the base, or growing support with persuadable voters — it’s always been about both, and then some,” the campaign said in a statement.

PHOTO: Supporters of President Trump at a rally in Washington, Mich., on Sunday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Doug Mills/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 3, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Sentenced to Death as Iran Cracks Down on a Relentless Uprising***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6788-7W31-DXY4-X3N9-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 7, 2023 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 6

**Length:** 2348 words

**Byline:** By Farnaz Fassihi and Cora Engelbrecht

**Body**

An updated look at the Iranians marked for execution in the government's attempt to curb a monthslong uprising.

They are a doctor, a rapper, a karate champion, a barber and an actor, sons, grandsons and fathers. They are among the 13 people Iran has hurriedly sentenced to death in its campaign to quash the monthslong uprising against the Islamic Republic.

In December, two men were hanged in quick succession, the second from a construction crane with a sack over his head. Eleven others remain at risk of execution, according to the human rights group Amnesty International, though other groups cite higher numbers, which The New York Times was not able to independently verify.

Most of the men have been charged with ''moharebe,'' a broad term that means waging a war on God and typically carries the death penalty in Iran.

Their trials were fast-tracked behind closed doors by Iran's Revolutionary Court system, with government-assigned lawyers representing the defendants. The evidence presented has often been opaque, sometimes relying on coerced confessions or grainy video footage. Rights groups say that in some of the cases of the accused, there are accounts and evidence of torture.

At least 15 others have been charged with capital offenses and are awaiting sentencing, according to Amnesty.

Not every detail of the judicial proceedings or the alleged crimes could be confirmed, but The Times interviewed some of the defendants' friends and families and corroborated information on social media accounts with activists and reports by Amnesty and other major human rights groups.

This article will be updated as individual circumstances change or new information is found.

Sentenced to death

Sahand Nourmohammad-Zadeh, 26, a bodybuilding champion.

Sahand Nourmohammad-Zadeh was arrested on Sept. 23 in Tehran after participating in protests. He was accused of burning a trash can and tires and destroying highway rails. The court's evidence relied on grainy video footage that his lawyer said does not depict him.

On the day he was arrested, he was told he would be executed, he said in a phone call with his family that was posted on BBC Persian.

Mr. Nourmohammad-Zadeh is a bodybuilder who, according to social media posts, has won medals in statewide competitions.

He worked at a small jewelry shop in a mall, near which protests broke out in September. Mr. Nourmohammad-Zadeh has said all he did was kick a trash can outside the mall and move rails that were already broken, according to the tape published on BBC Persian. More than 100 employees and shop owners at the mall signed a petition vouching for his innocence.

Part of a religiously conservative family, he said that he prays three times a day, reads the Quran in his cell and that he did not understand the charge of ''moharebe,'' a term he had been unfamiliar with until his arrest.

His two grandmothers made a video pleading for his exoneration. ''Our child is innocent, we are two desperate old women begging you to forgive him,'' one of the women said.

Mahan Sadrat Marani, 22.

Mahan Sadrat Marani was arrested in late October in Tehran. He was accused of attacking a Basij member with a knife, setting a motorcycle on fire and damaging a mobile phone. The court's evidence relied on low-quality video footage in which no knife is visible, according to Amnesty.

Since his arrest, the Basij member and the cleric who filed the complaints have withdrawn them to try to save Mr. Sadrat Marani from execution, they said.

Mr. Sadrat Marani's father told Iranian media that the family had ''kissed the hands of the two men,'' hoping to persuade them to speak out against their son's sentence. Mr. Sadrat Marani's grandmothers made a video pleading mercy on him.

After a public backlash and a campaign by the Basij member, Mr. Sadrat Marani's execution was suspended just hours before he was scheduled to be hanged at dawn. His situation remains precarious.

Photos on his social media show Mr. Sadrat Marani riding motorbikes and wearing fashionably mismatched sneakers. He trained as a bodybuilder and lived with his parents and sisters, working three jobs to help his family get by, according to his two grandmothers in a video appeal to save his life.

Mohammad Boroughani, 19.

Mohammad Boroughani was arrested in Pakdasht, Karaj, near Tehran. He was accused of wielding a machete, setting fire to the governor's building and injuring an official on duty with a knife. The court, citing Instagram messages, called him ''a leader of the riots'' in Pakdasht.

''I went out to the streets because of an Instagram story my friend posted. I don't know anything about politics,'' Mr. Boroughani said in his trial, according to a Tasnim News Agency report. When the judge asked him why he took videos of the clashes he replied, ''I ask for forgiveness and mercy. I got caught up in the moment and did these things.''

When Mr. Boroughani turned 18, he rapped about his life.

''I won't forget the games of childhood, bikes and playing -- we were so happy -- now we don't know if we are down or up -- only memories are left, the more we get older the less joy -- now my only friend is a cigarette and I'm suddenly 18,'' he rapped.

His father makes his living by gathering metal scraps to sell, according to Iranian media reports.

On Jan. 2, Iran's Supreme Court announced that it had upheld the verdict against Mr. Boroughani.

Mohammad Ghobadlou, 22, a barber.

Mohammad Ghobadlou was arrested in Tehran on Sept. 22, and accused of running over a police officer with a car, killing one person and injuring five others. As evidence, the court relied on a confession that Amnesty said was coerced under torture.

Mr. Ghobadlou worked at a barbershop in Tehran. In his Instagram videos, he joking with his clients: In one video, he says that in Iran they call the sons of rich politicians ''aghazadeh,'' which translates roughly as gentlemen, but ''the real aghazadehs are the ones who earn their own living.''

On Dec. 24, the Supreme Court announced that it had upheld the verdict against Mr. Ghobadlou.

Saman Seydi (stage name Yasin), 24, a rapper and graphic artist.

Saman Seydi, known professionally as Yasin, was arrested on Oct. 2 in Tehran. He was accused of possessing a pistol and shooting three times in the air during protests. As evidence, the court relied on confessions that Amnesty said were forced under torture.

Mr. Seydi, a rapper and graphic artist, is from Iran's Kurdish minority and had lived with his parents and two sisters. He posted his music videos on his Instagram page, often rapping in Kurdish about social injustice.

''You never know how strong you are until you become someone's rock,'' he wrote on his page alongside a selfie.

Mr. Seydi's father, a veteran of the Iran-Iraq war, told the ILNA news agency that he worked in a wood factory and had lost one son in a car accident. He said that he and his family members had dedicated their lives to defending the Islamic Republic and many of them, including his brother, were martyrs of the war.

''My son is an artist, my son is not a rioter,'' Mr. Seydi's mother said in a video posted on social media.

Hamid Ghare Hassanlou, 53, a radiologist.

Hamid Ghare Hassanlou, a radiologist, was arrested on Nov. 4 in Karaj, just outside Tehran, and was accused of being involved in the killing of a Basij member during protests.

His wife, Farzaneh, 46, who was with him, has been sentenced to 25 years in prison without visitation rights. The court relied on confessions that Amnesty said were extracted under torture from his wife, who later withdrew them.

The Iranian medical community around the world has mobilized to stop Dr. Ghare Hassanlou's execution, with thousands of doctors demanding the release of him and his wife.

Dr. Ghare Hassanlou is known in Iran's medical community for having long served underprivileged areas. He built several schools in rural and low-income towns, donated medical equipment to clinics, treated patients for free and volunteered in a public clinic, according to his colleagues and his family's online posts.

The day before their arrest, Dr. Ghare Hassanlou and his wife were driving home from work when they encountered a large protest honoring a young woman who was killed by security forces. When they left their car in the traffic to walk, they were caught up in a melee of people assaulting a Basij member, according to his colleague and Amnesty.

In a video released by state media, Mrs. Ghare Hassanlou can be seen trying to stop the assault on the Basij member.

On Jan. 3, the Supreme Court announced that it had overturned Dr. Ghare Hassanlou's verdict, citing shortcomings in the investigation. The case was returned to the original judge for retrial, leaving the doctor still at risk of a death sentence.

Mohammad Mehdi Karami, 22, a karate champion.

Mohammad Mehdi Karami was arrested in Karaj in early November. He was accused in the killing of a Basij member during protests in that city. The court relied on forced confessions that were broadcast on state television, according to Amnesty.

Mr. Karami has won more than a dozen medals in national karate competitions, according to a video message made by his parents.

His family migrated from Kurdistan province to Karaj for work; his father told a newspaper, Etemad, that he sells napkins and tissues on the street.

A video of Mr. Karami competing in a karate match shows him with a red belt and an audience cheering his name. He bows at the end and gives a high five to another athlete.

On Jan. 3, the Supreme Court announced that it had upheld the verdict in his case, though there can still be an appeal.

Hossein Mohammadi, 26, a theater actor.

Hossein Mohammadi was arrested on Nov. 5 at his home in Karaj, and accused in the killing of a Basij member during a large protest in Karaj. The court used forced confessions aired on state television against him, according to Amnesty.

Mr. Mohammadi, an award-winning theater actor, wrote poems, sang and acted in several short films and plays, and won the best actor award at a local art festival.

On Jan. 3, the Supreme Court announced that it had overturned Mr. Mohammadi's verdict, citing shortcomings in the investigation. The case was returned to the original judge for retrial. He is still at risk of receiving a death sentence.

Manouchehr Mehman Navaz, 45.

Manouchehr Mehman Navaz was arrested on Sept. 25 in Gharchak, in Tehran province.

He was accused of setting fire to a government building and to several cars, and attacking a security guard's outpost by throwing Molotov cocktails. In its decision against him, the court relied on his text messages to a friend, which the judge said placed him in a protest, and grainy footage. Prosecutors requested he be hanged in public at the same place as the arson.

As with other defendants, very little information is publicly available about Mr. Mehman Navaz. He is married and has two teenage daughters, according to Iran Human Rights Network.

Sayed Mohammad Hosseini, 20.

Sayed Mohammad Hosseini was arrested in early November, and accused in the killing of a Basij member during a protest in Karaj.

After a visit to the prison where he was being held, his lawyer, Ali Sharifzadeh Ardakani, said on Twitter that his client had suffered physical abuse: ''He has been severely tortured, beaten up with tied hands and closed eyes, kicked in his head and falling unconscious, beaten up with an iron bar to his soles of the feet and given electric shocks on different parts of his body.''

There is very little personal information about him and his extended family has not spoken publicly to the media.

Mr. Mohammad Hosseini has said he was on his way to the cemetery where his parents are buried when he ran into traffic and was arrested. ''The knife I had on me was for planting flowers and plants around their graves,'' he told the court judge.

On Jan. 3, the Supreme Court announced that it had upheld the verdict against him, though there can still be an appeal.

Executed

Mohsen Shekari, 23, a barista hanged on Dec. 8.

Mohsen Shekari was executed by hanging on Dec. 8, less than three months after his arrest. He was the first protester known to be killed in an official execution.

He was accused of burning a trash can, blocking a road, stabbing a member of the Basij militia with a machete and threatening public safety.

Mr. Shekari had lived in Tehran with his parents. He worked at a coffee shop in a ***working-class*** neighborhood of Tehran. He liked baggy cargo jeans and bandannas wrapped around his wrist, photos on social media show.

In one video posted on social media, he can be seen singing at a cafe accompanied by a guitar.

''I now have one wish only, that is to see you one more time,'' he sang. ''You are my lone star.''

Majid Reza Rahnavard, 23, a shop worker hanged on Dec. 12.

Majid Reza Rahnavard was arrested on Nov. 19 in the northeastern city of Mashhad and was hanged from a crane in public on Dec. 12, less than a month after his arrest. He was the second protester known to be officially executed.

He was accused of stabbing to death two members of the Basij militia and wounding four other people in Mashhad.

A video shared with The Times by one of Mr. Rhanavard's relatives shows family members bringing flowers to his graveside. ''There is nothing I feared more than them taking my 23-year-old son,'' his mother can be heard saying through sobs. ''God damn all of you who killed my son.''

Mr. Reza Rahnavard worked at a shop selling women's clothing and shoes in Mashhad. He was an avid athlete who trained as a gymnast and a wrestler, according to his family.

In a video taken before his execution and verified by his family, Mr. Rahnavard appears blindfolded with a hand in a cast. In the video, he tells a reporter, ''I don't want them to cry at my grave, I don't want them to pray and recite the Quran for me. '' He adds, ''Be happy and play joyful music.''

Leily Nikounazar contributed reporting.Leily Nikounazar contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/article/iran-protests-death-sentences-executions.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/iran-protests-death-sentences-executions.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: An image from social media of Iranians marking 40 days since the death of Mahsa Amini, who perished in the custody of Iran's morality police. (PHOTOGRAPH VIA, AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page A6.

**Load-Date:** January 7, 2023

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[***Udo Kier’s Latest Provocation: Leading Man***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:639N-BJB1-DXY4-X20Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 6, 2021 Friday 02:43 EST

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**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 1235 words

**Byline:** Erik Piepenburg

**Highlight:** At 76, the German actor known for outré character roles says he had “no fear whatsoever” when it came to starring in the American tale “Swan Song.”

**Body**

In 1966, a pouty-mouthed Udo Kier made his movie debut in a zippy short called “Road to Saint Tropez,” playing a gigolo who has a fling with an older woman. Their day at Baie des Anges is a romp, but by the time they get to the film’s title beach town, he breaks her heart.

This summer, Kier is again in a movie that was shot by the water. But it’s nowhere near the French Riviera, and he’s no lady killer.

In [*“Swan Song,”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=heN0JtJu4pE) a new movie from the writer-director Todd Stephens, Kier plays Mr. Pat, a flamboyant former hairdresser languishing in a grim nursing home outside Sandusky, Ohio, a ***working-class*** city on the Lake Erie shore. With the promise of money, he hitchhikes into town to fulfill the wish of his recently deceased ex-client Rita (Linda Evans): that he style her corpse’s hair and makeup for her open-casket funeral.

While roaming Sandusky, Mr. Pat crosses paths with Dee Dee, a protégée turned rival (Jennifer Coolidge), and Dustin, Rita’s gay grandson (Michael Urie). But here’s the thing: Rita is a “demanding Republican monster,” as Mr. Pat sasses, and he’s torn over whether to “make a dead bitch look human.”

When it came to the role, Kier said he “had no fear whatsoever,” a tombstone-worthy way to describe his own career, which has been defined by unreserved performances as outré characters for renegade directors.

“I was looking forward to making the movie because I don’t ever want to say: I can’t do that,” he said. “I would go as far as to say it was like a dream project for me.”

“Swan Song,” now in theaters and [*on demand*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=heN0JtJu4pE) starting Aug. 13, completes Stephens’s indie Ohio Trilogy, which began with writing [*“Edge of Seventeen”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=heN0JtJu4pE) (1998) and co-writing and directing [*“Gypsy 83”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=heN0JtJu4pE) (2001), stories of Gen X gay boys itching to leave Sandusky for New York. With Mr. Pat, the trilogy shifts its spotlight to an older gay man who built a life in Ohio.

Stephens said he spent more than a year trying to cast the right actor to play a Stonewall-generation peacock who favors fancy fedoras and mint-green leisure suiting. Then a casting director brought up Kier.

“I hadn’t thought of him because he’s German,” said Stephens, who based the character on Pat Pitsenbarger, a hairdresser and drag performer he encountered as a teenager exploring his own sexuality in Sandusky’s gay circles in the ’80s. “I had always thought of him in villain roles. But on the other hand, he’s so amazingly fabulous. Mr. Pat had big blue eyes like Udo. As soon as I met him, I knew he was Mr. Pat.”

Over five decades as an actor, Kier has put those ice-blue eyes to provocative use as a vampire for Paul Morrissey ([*“Blood for Dracula”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=heN0JtJu4pE) in 1974), a psychiatrist for Dario Argento (“[*Suspiria”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=heN0JtJu4pE) in 1977), a john for Gus Van Sant ([*“My Own Private Idaho”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=heN0JtJu4pE) in 1991), and a demon and a baby for Lars von Trier ([*“The Kingdom”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=heN0JtJu4pE) series in the ’90s). He was Madonna’s dungeon companion in her[*1992 book*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=heN0JtJu4pE) “Sex.”

Still to come for the prolific actor are the dark comedy [*“My Neighbor, Adolf,”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=heN0JtJu4pE) in which he plays a man suspected of being Hitler, and [*a recurring role*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=heN0JtJu4pE) in the second season of the Amazon Prime series “Hunters,” about Nazi hunters.

With “Swan Song,” Kier scored a rarity for an actor at 76: a juicy leading role. Over the phone from his home in Palm Springs, Calif., Kier took the conversation in multitudes of directions. These are edited excerpts.

How does it feel to have a leading role?

In all the films I did, from [*“Blade”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=heN0JtJu4pE) to [*“Shadow of the Vampire,”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=heN0JtJu4pE) I always had — I hate that word supporting — I had smaller roles. This is the first time after [*“Dracula”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=heN0JtJu4pE) and [*“[Flesh for] Frankenstein”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=heN0JtJu4pE) that I played the lead. I’ve always wanted to play a villain in a James Bond film, but somehow that didn’t happen.

Tell me about shooting with Linda Evans.

In Germany, they called “Dallas” and “Dynasty” street cleaners because when they were on television, nobody was in the street. [Laughs] I first met her in a restaurant the night before we were going to shoot, and she was so normal. I was surprised because she wanted to rehearse and rehearse and rehearse. I liked that.

When we were shooting, we were real. There was no acting. I learned over the years that the good actors are the nicest people. It’s only the insecure who complain all the time. Linda is one of the nicest.

How much did Sandusky influence your making of the film?

Everything was wonderful, easy. The main street became for me like the studio at Paramount. I wanted to make the movie as chronologically as possible. Since we started in the retirement home, I slept there alone without a camera and got a feeling for the corridors and for the bathrooms. Then I had an apartment in Sandusky.

Was there a gay man from your past who inspired your performance?

There were many. There were still friends of the real Pat around, and they told me how he’d hold his cigarette. There were also little things over my life that I have seen in clubs or privately, how people, when they sit down, put one leg over the other just so. But I also wanted to go away from clichés. I did not want to say, “Yes, girl.”

Do you identify anywhere under the L.G.B.T.Q. umbrella?

When I was a young man in Germany, if two men lived together and the neighbors could hear erotic noises, they would call the police and the people would be arrested. I think it’s wonderful what has been achieved everywhere, especially in America.

You’ve worked with some true gay auteurs, including Fassbinder. What’s your favorite memory of him?

I met Fassbinder when he was 15, and I was 16, in Cologne in a ***working-class*** bar with a mix of truck drivers and secretaries. I went to London to work and learn English. One day I bought a magazine with his face on it calling him a genius and an alcoholic, and I thought, that’s Rainer from the bar.

When I went back to Germany, he offered me a role in [*“The Stationmaster’s Wife”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=heN0JtJu4pE) and that was our first work together. We made a lot of movies together. We also lived together. Somewhere it says that we had an affair, but that’s a lie. He was the only director who captured how Germany was after the war.

Is there a film of yours people might not know about but you wish they’d discover?

I did “[*House of Boys*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=heN0JtJu4pE) [*,*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=heN0JtJu4pE)” a very important film for the gay community. It’s set [in 1984] in a nightclub in Amsterdam, which my character runs. The boys are there doing stripping, and I come out like Marlene Dietrich. The film is important because AIDS was coming, and nobody knew what AIDS was. I think it’s something people should see.

In “Swan Song” and in real life, there’s a generational divide between older gay men who remember the worst years of AIDS and younger men who don’t.

Cookie Mueller, my good friend, [*died of AIDS*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=heN0JtJu4pE). I also lost many friends in Germany. In front of the camera, I had that in mind.

Have you thought about what you’d like to look like when you die?

[Laughs] I don’t care. I guess if someone said that I had seven hours to live, I would have a party with wonderful drinks. After seven hours, I would jump in my pool and not move anymore. People would say, “He’s so good! Look at how long he can hold his breath!”

The problem would be if I was 85 and I had no more hair. I would find somebody to polish the top of my head.

PHOTOS: From top: Udo Kier in Palm Springs, Calif.; in “Swan Song”; and with Dalila Di Lazzaro in Andy Warhol’s “Frankenstein” in 1973. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY RYAN PFLUGER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; CHRIS STEPHENS/MAGNOLIA PICTURES; COMPAGNIA CINEMATOGRAFICA CHAMPION)

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[***In Squad We Trust***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65M7-8GC1-DXY4-X0TD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 45; FICTION

**Length:** 1148 words

**Byline:** By Mary Beth Keane

**Body**

SEARCHBy Michelle Huneven

I'm not a good fit for any organized religion, but if there's a church out there for me the progressive Arroyo Unitarian Universalist Community Church (referred to by its members as ''Awk'') described in Michelle Huneven's fifth novel, ''Search,'' might be it. There's very little God here -- just (mostly) respectful exchanges of ideas, potluck dinners and theme cocktails.

Written in the form of a memoir, ''Search'' is told from the point of view of Dana Potowski, a famous restaurant critic and memoirist, who is invited to join the search committee for the AUUCC's new minister. Despite being a member of the church for 24 years, Dana is somewhat surprised to be offered a committee spot because she hasn't attended services lately. Instead, she prefers leisurely Sunday mornings at home with her coffee, enjoying her newly renovated kitchen. Joining the search committee would mean a commitment of several hundred hours over the course of a year. When she does reluctantly sign on, it's not because she's moved to be of service to her church, but because she's just come home from a successful book tour and happens to be casting around for a new idea. The search, she realizes, might fit the bill.

The committee, made up of eight members, is a perfectly diverse group in areas of race, age and gender. Dana, a witty and gimlet-eyed observer, is white, straight and in her mid-50s. She went to seminary school in her 30s and almost became a minister before she became a full-time food writer, so she's fluent in the language of liturgical life. The main conflict in the book is between the old guard and the younger generation within the committee. The older group wants the new minister to have experience above all and the younger generation lobbies for a fresh perspective.

The search is meant to be about the lifting of souls, but Jennie, the youngest and most annoying of the committee members, objects to all of Dana's favorite candidates and campaigns to get her fellow young people on her side. She describes one of Dana's favorites as a ''wussy bread baker with an all-face beard who wears black dress socks with his Birkenstocks.'' I could picture this man exactly, and it feels like a wicked pleasure that after all the lofty claims about wanting to enrich their spiritual lives, a man's style of facial hair will get him eliminated.

The only criterion the committee eventually agrees upon: The new minister must have ''two X chromosomes.'' Because Dana is closer to the older generation, and it's her memoir we're reading, we're signaled to root for the older group. But because Huneven is a wise storyteller, and Dana is not the reliable narrator she seems to be at first, we eventually come to understand that everyone on this committee is an equally stubborn ego-driven pain in a body part one wouldn't mention in church.

I enjoyed this book and found myself wanting to return to it so I could find out who ''won.'' However, I did have trouble nailing down the ''so what?'' of it all. At some point around halfway through, I noticed that I wasn't feeling quite worried enough about the outcome. I was following the action, but holding it at arm's length.

When we meet her, Dana shows no signs of regret about moving away from the church, so from the moment she decides to join the committee, I felt a little lost about what the stakes are here. Finding her next book's subject is a motivator, but it's not as if she'd cycled through many ideas for a new book and was feeling desperate. Perhaps there's something she's hiding from herself -- after all, what a character says, thinks and feels are often three very different emotional landscapes. But Dana as narrator looks outward, not inward. She reports, she doesn't reflect. The other people in her orbit who might give us hints about what she's really like are also only really concerned about themselves, getting a say and getting a (free) review lunch sometime.

At one point, the committee is asked to list what they like about the church and what they'd like to see change. They like the feeling of community. They dislike the ugly sanctuary. Curtis, a gay man who recently converted from a conservative Christian church, makes his suggestion: ''And don't you think there could be, I don't know, more religion?'' The rest of the committee simply stares at him. Later in the conversation, when someone else mentions God, Curtis asks, confused, ''So you do believe in God?'' But they don't, and what's more, based on that scene and some others, it's clear that believing in God would be embarrassing. I considered at this point whether the novel was in fact satirizing the state of modern faith (and faithlessness), but it's too earnest in too many places to be satire.

It's probably the old ***working-class*** Catholic foundation in me that asks what a church actually is if anything goes, including believing in God in the first place. This whole organization feels not unlike a highbrow book club, or a group exercise class where the participants are hugely devoted to their instructor and how much she inspires and motivates them. I love book clubs. I'm all for exercise. But if the book club disbands and the cycle studio closes, there's no great absence in anyone's life. You can still go on being a decent, morally upright person.

These eight very different types are searching for something and trying to find it in potlucks, under the banner of religion. There can be no one person who fits all the various criteria they put forth for their future leader -- a smart reader knows that from the outset -- so the search must really be about searching for meaning in their own individual lives. So then, once again, where does that leave the stakes in this novel? We know from the start that if the search fails for any reason, Dana will just go back to her beloved Sunday mornings at home. Her marriage (her husband is Jewish and attends synagogue), her career, her happiness will remain intact.

That aside, this novel has plot, character, structure and a delicious, deeply human pettiness that I think most honest readers will relate to. And speaking of delicious, Huneven's descriptions of food are the best I've ever read, by far the most vivid prose in the book. I perked up whenever I anticipated a meal. For instance: ''Our pan-fried dumplings arrived, some trailing a dark lace where their juices had leaked onto the grill.'' I could taste that savory lace. Dana brings her fellow committee members to review lunches, partly because she wants to know where everyone stands outside of the official meetings, and partly because it's her job. I would gladly take on a year of ''engineered intimacy,'' as Dana describes it at one point, to go on just one of those lunches.Mary Beth Keane's latest novel is ''Ask Again, Yes.''SEARCHBy Michelle Huneven390 pp. Penguin Press. $26.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/26/books/review/search-michelle-huneven.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/26/books/review/search-michelle-huneven.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Eleni Kalorkoti FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***A Rape Trial, and a Legal Travesty. In 1793.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65XP-2RK1-DXY4-X46B-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 14, 2022 Thursday 20:01 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 1315 words

**Byline:** Tali Farhadian Weinstein

**Highlight:** John Wood Sweet’s “The Sewing Girl’s Tale” tells the story of an unusual prosecution in 18th-century New York — and its contemporary relevance.

**Body**

THE SEWING GIRL’S TALE: A Story of Crime and Consequences in Revolutionary America

By John Wood Sweet

In the early morning hours of Sept. 5, 1793, a couple of blocks from what is now New York’s City Hall, a gentleman with a reputation as a “rake” raped a 17-year-old seamstress whom he had carried into a brothel by force. No doubt countless cases like this one are lost to history — papers didn’t report on them, records (if anyone kept them) rarely exist, and they rarely went to trial. In fact, in the decade since the end of British rule, there had only been two sexual assault prosecutions in the city of New York. But this case was unusual for several reasons: Lanah Sawyer, the young victim, had the mettle to report the crime. The state prosecuted it vigorously. And an English lawyer newly arrived in America with a personal interest in rape prosecutions (his patron’s son was under indictment for the same) decided to take notes, producing the first published report of such a trial in the United States and the material for “The Sewing Girl’s Tale,” John Wood Sweet’s excellent and absorbing work of social and cultural history.

Harry Bedlow’s capital trial on charges of rape (on an indictment for “being moved and seduced by the instigation of the devil” to “feloniously ravish and carnally know” Sawyer) began a month later. He faced a jury of his peers, not hers; women could not serve on juries, and the men in her family could not have met the property requirements. The trial lasted one long day. Sawyer’s testimony was clear, courageous and consistent: He asked her consent three or four times and she refused, calling him “a brute, a dog, a villain.” A dream team of six private defense attorneys argued on Bedlow’s behalf. The jury deliberated for 15 minutes before returning a verdict of not guilty.

Riots ensued; some 600 people took to the streets. In Sweet’s words, “what the trial had said about power was that a profligate gentleman mattered and a workingman’s daughter didn’t”; though somewhat paradoxically — if, sadly, in keeping with the misogynistic mores of the era — rioters targeted brothels, run largely by women in ***working-class*** neighborhoods, rather than the legal system itself. Soon thereafter, Sawyer attempted suicide.

Bedlow’s defense at trial centered on an idea that remains in circulation today: that a rape charge is often just a cover-up for a woman’s shame at having succumbed to her own desires. Bedlow was certainly helped by popular culture. The most popular American novel of the era, “Charlotte Temple,” told the story of a teenage girl, seduced by a wealthy rake and abandoned to a life of regret and destitution.

But the real assist came from the 17th-century lawyer Sir Matthew Hale, whose jurisprudence dominated the trial. Sir William Blackstone’s “Commentaries” on English criminal law supplied the Colonies and later new country with a basic understanding of many crimes, and Blackstone incorporated Hale’s ideas of what renders a rape prosecution plausible. According to Sweet, Hale, who was deeply anxious about malicious women bringing false accusations against innocent men, believed “the question was not simply whether a woman had been forced to have sex against her will but also whether her reputation was good enough, whether she had resisted vigorously enough, whether she had cried out loudly enough, whether she had sustained sufficiently conspicuous physical injuries and whether she had reported the crime soon enough.” Nearly every defense attorney funneled his questions through the Hale framework. And when it was the judge’s turn to instruct the jury in advance of their deliberations, he declared Hale’s ideas “just” and thus, as Sweet writes, completed “the transformation of Hale’s commentaries from suggestions written by a retired jurist into rigid rules that defined the nature of settled law and that were binding on the jurors.”

Perhaps we can’t imagine a defense attorney today saying, as one of Bedlow’s did: “Was it prudent to pick up a man in the streets, and become instantly acquainted with him? … Was it discreet to go on the Battery with this stranger, and amuse herself with him beyond midnight?” But rape myths persist: that a woman must do everything she can to repel her attacker, or that her resistance is a critical factor in determining the rapist’s culpability.

This is not Hale’s only legacy. The reader might recognize his name from Dobbs v. Jackson Women’s Health Organization, the Supreme Court’s decision overturning Roe v. Wade and permitting states (and the federal government) to criminalize abortion without apparent limit or exception. In the opinion, Justice Samuel Alito cites Hale’s treatise eight times as evidence that abortion was considered a crime at the time of the Constitution’s writing. Thus, according to the court, the Constitution cannot contain a right to choose to terminate pregnancy. The Dobbs opinion is undoubtedly correct about Hale’s status at the founding, and Sweet’s book confirms it. But the book also provides an opportunity, set apart from the heated politics of abortion regulation, to reflect on the power we give today to legal authorities whose views about basic matters — like what it means for a man to sexually assault women — are so different from what we think, or want to think we think, now.

The acquittal did not mark the end of the story. Sawyer and John Callahan, her stepfather, did not give up: Like modern litigants frustrated in criminal court, they turned to civil court. Exploiting the patriarchal laws of the day, Callahan sued Bedlow for seduction — a contrived claim, man against man, that Bedlow’s seduction of Sawyer cost Callahan losses of her labor. This is the first known time a seduction suit was used for redress in New York after a rape trial, and it worked; the jury awarded Callahan staggering punitive damages — 1,800 pounds, or $4,500 — enough money for Callahan “to buy the house he rented on Gold Street and half a dozen like it” and land Bedlow in debtors’ prison.

A second coda is emblematic of the delights to be found in this book, despite its grim subject. From prison, Bedlow hired Alexander Hamilton, former secretary of the Treasury, as his attorney. It’s an embarrassing cameo for Hamilton, for soon thereafter, Bedlow produced a letter purportedly written by a “Helenah Sawyer” retracting her accusations and begging his forgiveness. There is good reason to think Hamilton was behind the stratagem: A few years earlier, facing accusations that he had abused his office at Treasury by engaging in speculation with the shady James Reynolds, Hamilton had presented a congressional committee with letters that, he said, were written by Reynolds’s wife, Maria, whom Hamilton claimed to have seduced. According to Hamilton, he had merely been paying James hush money to keep the affair secret. This defense — in the words of a Hamilton adversary, “I am a rake, and for that reason I cannot be a swindler” — never made perfect sense (though it did make for a great song in the musical). But in the post-Revolutionary New York that Sweet revives, whose streets are familiar and whose specters haunt us today, it makes all the sense in the world.

Tali Farhadian Weinstein, a former federal and state prosecutor in New York, is a legal analyst on NBC News and MSNBC.

THE SEWING GIRL’S TALE: A Story of Crime and Consequences in Revolutionary America, by John Wood Sweet | Illustrated | 384 pp. | Henry Holt &amp; Company | $29.99

Tali Farhadian Weinstein, a former federal and state prosecutor in New York, is a legal analyst on NBC News and MSNBC.

PHOTOS: A drawing titled “Corner of Greenwich Street,” created sometime between 1769 and 1849. (PHOTOGRAPH BY THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY); The allegorical frontispiece from an 1819 illustrated book about Charlotte Temple. (PHOTOGRAPH BY FALES LIBRARY AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS)

**Load-Date:** July 14, 2022

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[***Clean Toilets, Inspired Teachers and Students: How India's Capital Is Fixing Its Public Schools***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:665S-7SP1-JBG3-6020-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Karan Deep Singh

**Body**

The Aam Aadmi Party, which rose to power in New Delhi, is overhauling an education system that serves as a lifeline for millions of families looking to break the cycle of poverty.

NEW DELHI -- Pradeep Paswan used to skip school for weeks, sometimes months. His classrooms with tin ceilings were baking hot in the summer. The bathrooms were filthy.

Now, he gets dressed by 7 a.m., in a blue shirt and trousers, eager to go to school, in a new building where the toilets are clean. ''I come to school because I know that I can become something,'' said Mr. Paswan, 20, who is in the 12th grade and dreams of becoming a top officer in India's elite bureaucracy.

In India, where millions of families look to education to break the cycle of poverty, public schools have long had a reputation for decrepit buildings, mismanagement, poor instruction, even tainted lunches. Mr. Paswan's school, in a ***working-class*** Delhi neighborhood, was known as ''the red school,'' for the regular brawls on campus and the color of its uniforms.

Today, it is a highly sought-after school, a beneficiary of the broader transformation of Delhi's education system. Last year, 100 percent of students in the school who took the standardized examinations for grades 10 and 12 passed, compared to 89 percent and 82 percent in 2014. The red uniforms have been swapped for navy blue and lavender.

The Aam Aadmi Party rose to power in Delhi on the promise to improve basic services: health, electricity, water and education. The party's leader, Arvind Kejriwal, who became Delhi's chief minister in 2015, said he wanted to ''revamp'' the system to a point where government ministers would feel comfortable sending their children to public schools.

Mr. Kejriwal committed billions of additional dollars to overhaul schools, some of which until recently had no drinking water or had been invaded by snakes. The school system partnered with top experts and universities to design new curriculums, while working with parents, students and teachers to improve day-to-day operations.

''The first strong thing that Delhi has signaled is that our children are worth it, our schools are worth it and our teachers are worth it,'' said Padma Sarangapani, a professor of education at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences in Mumbai.

The school system is still a work in progress, with student-to-teacher ratios high in some schools and many buildings still in need of basic upgrades. But Mr. Kejriwal is finding success, announcing in December that 250,000 students had left private schools in the last five years to attend government schools. (Some of those moved to public schools because of pandemic-related losses in family income.)

Almost 100 percent of students who appeared for their final high school examinations last year passed, compared to 87 percent who appeared in 2012, according to data from the Delhi government. And other state governments, including Telangana and Tamil Nadu, are now pushing to adopt ''the Delhi model.''

The work on education has helped generate solid political wins for the party, which in March gained control of a second state in India, Punjab. The party is taking its approach countrywide, campaigning on an education and basic-services platform in state elections this year in Himachal Pradesh and Gujarat.

The transformation of Delhi's schools started in 2015 with surprise visits by Manish Sisodia, Mr. Kejriwal's education minister, and his chief adviser on education at the time, Atishi. The two would question school officials, pointing to rundown classrooms, misleading records and leaky taps.

''You would enter a school and you could smell the toilets from 50 meters away,'' said Ms. Atishi, who goes by one name. ''The message was that if the government can't even clean schools, how is the government serious about education?''

The government enlisted private companies to clean hundreds of schools. It hired retired defense personnel as ''estate managers'' who oversaw repairs. The estate managers freed up school principals to focus on academic work.

Between 2015 and 2021, the Delhi government spent about $10 billion (769 billion rupees) on the 1,037 schools it runs, which serve about 1.8 million students. That was more than double what the previous governments, which did not see education as an election-winning issue, spent in the previous seven years, according to data from the Delhi government.

The new money was used to build new classrooms, laboratories and running tracks, as well as to develop curriculums and create a new board of education.

Officials also tried to address a fundamental problem: a lack of trust between students, teachers and parents.

In 2016, the Delhi government set up school management committees, groups of parents, teachers and local officials that provided a platform for airing concerns and holding the government accountable.

In monthly meetings, school heads and teachers discussed achievements and problems, and sought consent for new purchases or repairs. The government allowed the committees to hire teachers on an interim basis during the long process to fill the posts permanently.

It also invested in the teaching staff. Some had been absent or left school in the middle of the day, or were even found knitting sweaters during classes, according to government officials.

Changing attitudes in a long-stagnant system required a different approach, said Mr. Sisodia, the education minister.

In the summer of 2016, the government held training sessions with over 25,000 teachers. In addition to the usual subject-matter training, it selected teachers from within the public school system to offer training on the basics of teaching.

Those sessions focused on building a personal connection with students. For instance, teachers were encouraged to talk to students about their family backgrounds to understand if it impeded their ability to focus on class work.

''I felt empowered,'' said Anita Singh, a teacher who took the course and went to a public school herself. ''There was a realization that, as a teacher, if I think about this carefully and make it a part of daily learning, the students will get the actual learning.''

A year later, the government sent one teacher from almost every school in the city for further training at world-class institutions, including the University of Cambridge and the National Institute of Education in Singapore.

''We got exposure, and I got more confidence,'' said Atul Kumar, who attended a weeklong training session in London.

Until six months ago, Dr. Kumar was the head of Sarvodaya Vidyalaya, the public school where Mr. Paswan studies. Dr. Kumar said the school is now rejecting applications. Applicants far exceed the school's capacity of 3,500 students, said Zennet Lakra, the vice principal.

One recent afternoon, Indu Devi, a parent, dropped by Ms. Lakra's office to get her 17-year-old son, Sanjay Kumar, readmitted after nearly two years out of school. Ms. Devi, who works as a house cleaner, explained that the family had needed him to work during the pandemic.

''I want him to study in this school because it has a name,'' she said. ''I want him to do better than me.''

Aside from regular subjects, the students learn gardening and how to be happy and mindful, part of an effort to promote ''humane values'' and de-emphasize rote learning.

Delhi's education system seems to be working, experts say. The city's students achieved significantly better scores than their peers countrywide in English, science, mathematics and social sciences in 2017 and 2021, according to surveys by the Ministry of Education.

Still, challenges remain. Teachers and staff members complain about salaries and benefits that haven't been increased in years. It's also been tough to bring children back to school after two pandemic years.

At Mr. Paswan's school, about 150 students have dropped out. Many who returned have ''forgotten how to write their names,'' Ms. Lakra said.

Around 1 a.m. on a school night, Mr. Paswan, who works part time as a garbage collector to earn money for his family, hauled his cycle cart filled with cardboard and plastic to the tiny shack where his family lives. He had been collecting and sifting through garbage bins at subway stations, salons and gyms for about six hours.

His body was tired and his eyes bloodshot, but instead of crawling into his hard bed, he opened his Sanskrit notebook to start reading.

''My school is helping me,'' said Mr. Paswan, who at 20 is older than most of his classmates because he started school late and repeated a year. ''I can dream of doing something big, a job of respect.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/16/world/asia/india-delhi-schools.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/16/world/asia/india-delhi-schools.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Sarvodaya Vidyalaya, a public school in New Delhi, top and above. Billions have been spent to improve campuses, including by providing clean drinking water. The education minister, Manish Sisodia, left, pays visits to schools.

Lunchtime at Sarvodaya Vidyalaya. The improvements have helped bring back students who left during the pandemic, and even private school students are transferring. Some schools have to turn away applicants. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SAUMYA KHANDELWAL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 17, 2022

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[***How the G.O.P. Became The Party of the Left Behind***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y31-K3H1-DXY4-X3BC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Length:** 1954 words

**Byline:** By Eduardo Porter

**Body**

Dayton, Ohio, typifies the forces that have pushed those hurt by economic change toward the Republicans, while affluent places become more Democratic.

DAYTON, Ohio -- Shawn Hoskins used to vote Democratic down the line. For the son of a lifelong Teamster, ''it was the way I was raised -- it was the way it should be,'' he said. And after he went to work on the assembly line at General Motors' Moraine Assembly plant in suburban Dayton, ''I had a job and was in the union and liked the way things were going.''

But in 2008, G.M. closed the Moraine plant. At 42, with two toddlers, Mr. Hoskins found himself unemployed. As his fortunes soured, his politics changed: In 2012, for the first time, he voted for a Republican presidential candidate, Mitt Romney.

In 2016 he voted for Donald J. Trump, helping push Montgomery County, where Dayton sits, into the arms of the G.O.P. for the first time since George Bush took it in 1988. And Ohio -- which Mr. Trump took by eight percentage points -- fell into step with the political re-sorting that is transforming the Republican Party into the home of white Americans who feel left behind by globalization and technological change.

In the 1990s there was no strong correlation between the economic standing of a place and the partisan preference of its voters: The Republican Party received roughly the same share of the vote in richer and poorer counties. By 2000, however, the electoral map had started to shift. Since then, the Republican share of the vote has increased across the nation's most economically disadvantaged counties, while the most successful counties have moved toward the Democrats.

In the mid-1990s, Montgomery County's residents -- roughly three-quarters of them white, then as now -- enjoyed roughly the same living standard as the average American. G.M. was the big employer, but there were others, like Delphi and NCR. When big manufacturers left, Dayton suffered. By 2016, the county's income per person had fallen to under 87 percent of the national average. And Mr. Trump won the county by one percentage point.

Lela Klein, a former union activist who runs Co-op Dayton, a community development group, contrasts Dayton with Columbus, a relatively prosperous college town some 70 miles east. ''We haven't recovered from 2007, and they have,'' she said. ''We have become redder, and they have become bluer.''

Dayton's fate looks familiar in Macomb County, Mich., north of Detroit. Macomb County's income per person has dropped from 110 percent of the national average to 87 percent in the last two decades. And the G.O.P.'s share of the county's presidential vote rose to 54 percent in 2016, from 48 percent. In Columbus County, N.C., where textile mills and other manufacturers were once solid employers, the Republican share increased to 60 percent from 45 percent over the same period, as income per person fell from 71 percent of the national average to 61 percent.

On the flip side, the Republican share of the vote in Gallatin County, Mont., which includes the college town of Bozeman, declined from 59 percent to 44 percent during that time as the average income of its residents increased to 102 percent of the national average, from 83 percent.

By 2016, the nation's political map corresponded neatly to the distribution of prosperity: Mr. Trump won 58 percent of the vote in the counties with the poorest 10 percent of the population. In the richest, his share was 31 percent.

The Republican Party, which long identified itself with unbridled economic prosperity -- led by a powerful business constituency that favored free trade and the unfettered capital mobility that fueled the march of globalization -- came to be embraced by many parts of America that globalization upended.

And the Democrats, once accused of working to keep the poor poor in order to preserve a captive voting base, have instead come to represent the places that benefited most from the global economy of the late 20th century and early 21st.

Mr. Hoskins's transformation is telling. After losing his job, he collected unemployment benefits for a time, as he waited, unsuccessfully, for an opening at another G.M. plant anywhere. He took a job loading trucks at a supplier for McDonald's, earning less than half the $30 an hour he made in Moraine. ''It was a job for a younger man,'' he said. ''In six months, I lost over 50 pounds.''

He eventually got a better job, as a machinist at the Dayton-Phoenix Group, which makes electrical engines for locomotives. But he hasn't recovered the lost ground: Pay tops out at $22 an hour. Life seems somehow more precarious. Last May, when tornadoes coursed through town, taking the roof and walls of the Dayton-Phoenix plant with them, he feared he would be laid off. Luckily, he says, that didn't happen.

In a way he feels betrayed: In the face of economic insecurity, his loyalty to the union and the Democratic Party did not protect him. And the Republicans were an increasingly attractive alternative. He says he thought Mr. Romney could do a better job than President Barack Obama in reviving the economy after the recession. He says he likes the fact that Mr. Trump is a businessman. He criticizes Democrats for embracing higher taxes and blasts the hefty insurance premiums he was forced to pay under the Affordable Care Act.

But at the end of the day, ''when it came time for the doors to shut at G.M., the Democrats weren't looking out for me,'' Mr. Hoskins said. ''Losing my job opened my eyes. I had to pay attention to other things going on in the world.''

Dean Lacy, a political scientist at Dartmouth College, traces America's political rearrangement as far back as the emergence of ''Reagan Democrats'' in the 1980s -- ***working-class*** whites who switched to the Republican Party largely because of social issues like affirmative action and abortion. But he also notes that to the Democrats' old ***working-class*** base, the Clinton administration's embrace of international trade eventually felt like a sellout.

At the same time, the Democratic Party increasingly presented itself as the vanguard of a ''knowledge economy'' premised on the advent of a postindustrial age. That new order held rewards for the well educated, but little future for the manufacturing jobs that had long been a path to economic security.

''It is not one cause but a series of events that have moved the Democratic Party to win white college-educated voters that might have voted for the Republican Party 30 years ago,'' Professor Lacy said. But many of those voters felt they had lost an economic champion, he said. ''They don't know who is on their side on economic issues, so they look for who is on their side on guns and other cultural issues,'' he added. As blue-collar union jobs disappeared, the institutional glue that unions provided, tying the party to the ***working class***, lost its hold.

To white workers like Mr. Hoskins anxious over their loss of economic and social status, and eager to hear fighting words on their behalf, Mr. Trump -- an unusual Republican with a populist message -- was an ally.

To be sure, there are voters in both thriving and depressed areas, and of all races, whose decisions this year will be shaped by factors other than the economy, including Mr. Trump's divisive governing style and the Democrats' ability to articulate a case for change.

Dayton's Democratic mayor, Nan Whaley, resists the argument that Ohio has lost its position as a swing state and been driven irrevocably into the G.O.P.'s embrace. ''I don't think Ohio is solidly red,'' she said. But she agrees that voters' behavior is driven by frustration over their economic plight. ''They voted for Obama because they wanted to set the house on fire,'' she said. ''They voted for Trump because they wanted to set the house on fire.''

Still, frustrated workers on the losing side of change no longer seem to trust Democrats to be their champions.

''There were a lot of union votes that did flip,'' acknowledged Stacey Benson-Taylor, Dayton regional director of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. ''That's kind of hard to explain.''

Phil Plummer, the Montgomery County Republican chairman, argues that ''a lot of union people switched to the Republican Party because they felt the Democrats had left them.'' Ms. Klein of Co-op Dayton put it this way: ''Dayton consistently showed up for Democrats, and Democrats didn't show up for Dayton.''

Will Minehart, 45, votes Democratic, though his job as a machinist at Dayton-Phoenix pays $4 an hour less than he was making at G.M. in 2000. His party loyalty, however, is not unconditional. ''I am not a Republican nor a Democrat,'' he said. ''I'm ***working class***.''

It's not just white voters who feel disaffected. Quincy E. Pope Sr., the city manager of the heavily African-American city of Trotwood, which abuts Dayton from the west, argued that though ''Democratic policies align more with who we are, we are not in love with them.'' Looser trade barriers with Canada, Mexico and China ''were just as big a deal for the African-American community as for white workers,'' he added. ''They affected our way of life.''

Cameron Walker, who is 40 and black, doesn't have it easy making ends meet with freelance work in digital media. From her first vote in 2000 for Al Gore for president, she was long a solid Democrat. But in 2016 she flipped, not to the Republican Party but to the Green Party presidential candidate, Jill Stein. ''You begin to see there is a political deficit in both parties,'' she said. ''Dayton is feeling the impact of economic decisions that are made not in the interests of people here.''

And no matter whom the Democrats choose this year, the nominee will have a hard time replicating the excitement that drove so many African-Americans to the polls to vote for Mr. Obama. ''In 2016, the enthusiasm for Hillary just wasn't there,'' said the Rev. Perry Henderson, the pastor at First Corinthian Baptist Church, on the predominantly black west side of town. ''We couldn't convince them of the importance of voting. They just stayed home.''

Making things more difficult for Democrats, Mr. Henderson said, is a sense of disillusionment among many African-Americans after President Obama's two terms. ''They expected so much would be accomplished under Obama, and it wasn't,'' he said.

Dayton is now doing a little better. The average wage in Montgomery County was hovering around $24 a week in the second quarter of the year, still a long way from the $30 an hour of Mr. Hoskins's G.M. past. Still, there are certainly more jobs. In November, the jobless rate was 3.8 percent, only slightly higher than the national average.

Chris Shaw, a city commissioner, is hopeful that Democrats' traditional voters are ready to return to the fold. ''Folks are going to start to appreciate that they've been fed a bill of goods,'' he said.

And yet the forces pulling places like Dayton into the Republican column are persistent, delivering prosperity to a narrow set of superstar cities and bypassing much of the country. Referring to the economic lift provided by Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Mr. Minehart said, ''If it weren't for the Air Force base, Dayton would be another Flint.''

Mr. Minehart is heavily involved in local voter-turnout efforts by the A.F.L.-C.I.O. He is ''kind of leaning toward'' Senator Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts, who is running on the left of the Democratic presidential field. Still, he argues, none of the candidates ''know what real people go through.''

As for Mr. Hoskins, the Democrats have lost him for good. ''I hope Trump keeps rolling on,'' he said.

Susan Beachy contributed research.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/10/business/economy/dayton-economy-politics.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/10/business/economy/dayton-economy-politics.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: PHOTO (B1)

Cameron Walker, above, voted for the Green Party's Jill Stein in 2016, after long voting for Democrats. Shawn Hoskins, top right, was a Democrat until 2012, when he flipped, and now loves President Trump. Will Minehart, top left, remains a Democrat but says that more than a party loyalist, ''I'm ***working class***.'' (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDREW SPEAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (B6)

**Load-Date:** January 28, 2020

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[***How Fierce Primaries, Abortion and Inflation Transformed the 2022 Map; News Analysis***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66CR-G7W1-JBG3-60R0-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** Democrats enter the final sprint to November more optimistic than expected, especially in the race for the Senate. But Republicans remain bullish that they can sweep into a House majority.

**Body**

Democrats enter the final sprint to November more optimistic than expected, especially in the race for the Senate. But Republicans remain bullish that they can sweep into a House majority.

A grueling primary season riven by Republican infighting and [*the interventions of former President Donald J. Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/13/us/politics/trump-endorsement-primaries.html) finally ended on Tuesday with a slate of G.O.P. candidates that has raised Democratic hopes of preserving Senate control and a political atmosphere that has changed strikingly over the past six months.

Republicans still have the environment they wanted when the primaries began in Texas in March: [*high inflation*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/09/13/business/inflation-cpi-report/inflation-cpi-federal-reserve?smid=url-share), [*economic uncertainty*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/13/business/markets-inflation-stocks.html), an [*unpopular president*](https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/biden-approval-rating/?cid=rrpromo) and [*the perception that violent crime*](https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2022/08/23/abortion-rises-in-importance-as-a-voting-issue-driven-by-democrats/) is on the rise. But since then, Democrats have found strong themes they can run on: the [*fate of legal abortion*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/24/us/roe-wade-overturned-supreme-court.html) and, to a larger extent than they might have imagined, [*the future of democracy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/06/us/politics/biden-democracy-threat.html) and the rule of law.

As the last primary voters went to the polls in New Hampshire, Delaware and Rhode Island, Tuesday provided the perfect split screen for the coming general election.

The government’s official report on inflation made clear that [*Democrats are by no means out of the woods*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/13/business/bidens-inflation-economy.html?smid=url-share). Hours after its release, Senator Lindsey Graham, Republican of South Carolina, introduced legislation to [*ban abortion nationwide after 15 weeks*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/13/us/politics/lindsey-graham-abortion.html) of pregnancy, [*effectively spreading the abortion question*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/13/us/politics/republicans-abortion-national-ban.html) from red and purple states to blue states that may have felt insulated since the Supreme Court overturned Roe v. Wade.

Those issues and the re-emergence of Mr. Trump as a [*headline-grabbing political figure*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/08/us/politics/trump-fbi-mar-a-lago.html) have raised the stakes ahead of an Election Day that will determine not only which party will lead Congress but also which one will control statehouses, governorships and top election posts from Pennsylvania to Arizona, from Wisconsin to Florida, before the 2024 presidential contest.

“As a forecaster, I prefer it when all the signs are one way or the other,” joked J. Miles Coleman, a congressional election analyst at the University of Virginia’s Center for Politics. That is not the case in 2022.

The final day of primaries put an exclamation point on the season when Republican voters in New Hampshire nominated Don Bolduc, [*a retired general and Trump-style candidate who denies the legitimacy of the 2020 election*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/12/us/politics/new-hampshire-gop-primaries.html), to take on Senator Maggie Hassan, previously seen as one of the most vulnerable incumbents. Democrats considered Mr. Bolduc by far the easier candidate to face in November, and they bolstered his candidacy with [*advertising slamming his more mainstream Republican opponent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/02/us/politics/new-hampshire-ads-morse-bolduc.html), Chuck Morse, the State Senate president, as “another sleazy politician.”

Two right-wing House candidates in the state also won their primaries. [*Karoline Leavitt*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/13/us/politics/karoline-leavitt-nh-house-gop-primary.html), a 25-year-old former assistant in Mr. Trump’s White House press office, beat Matt Mowers, a onetime colleague in the former president’s administration. And Robert Burns, a Trump-aligned candidate, [*defeated*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/09/13/us/elections/results-new-hampshire-us-house-district-2.html) George Hansel, a more moderate rival seen as a more formidable challenger to the Democratic incumbent.

In Senate races beyond New Hampshire, a series of stumbling Republican candidates — including [*Herschel Walker*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/10/us/politics/herschel-walker-georgia-republicans.html) in Georgia, [*Blake Masters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/29/us/politics/blake-masters-fed-economy.html) in Arizona, [*Dr. Mehmet Oz*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/08/us/politics/pennsylvania-senate-oz-fetterman.html) in Pennsylvania and [*J.D. Vance*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/04/us/politics/jd-vance-trump-ohio-fox-news.html) in Ohio — made it through their primaries this year with the backing of Mr. Trump, keeping the race for the chamber competitive.

Meantime, Democratic candidates like Cheri Beasley in North Carolina, Mandela Barnes in Wisconsin and Representative Val Demings in Florida have proved resilient enough to expand the Senate map and stretch [*a Republican campaign machine that is low on cash*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/03/us/politics/senate-republican-committee-funds.html).

“On the whole, Republicans have nominated far stronger candidates in swing seats for the House than in swing states for the Senate,” said David Wasserman, a congressional analyst at the nonpartisan Cook Political Report.

But in House races, candidate quality tends to matter less. In election years past, House control has sloshed back and forth with larger political currents because House candidates are less familiar to voters than their Senate counterparts. The Democratic 31-seat wave — described by George W. Bush as [*a “thumping”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2006/11/08/washington/08bush-transcript.html) — in 2006 was followed by what Barack Obama called [*a “shellacking”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/07/us/politics/what-follows-a-shellacking-at-the-polls.html) in 2010, a 63-seat gain. Eight years later, the Democrats were back with a [*41-seat romp*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/06/us/politics/midterm-elections-results.html).

Voters tend to pull the lever based on the party that House candidates represent, not on distinctive policies or personalities they embody.

Both parties probably missed some opportunities with their House candidates, or at least made Election Day more competitive than it needed to be.

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Representative Abigail Spanberger of Virginia was once considered one of the most endangered Democrats, but [*missteps*](https://www.axios.com/2022/06/27/yesli-vega-pregnancy-rape-audio-recording) by her Republican opponent, Yesli Vega, have put her on more solid ground.

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Michigan’s 10th Congressional District, which was redrawn to lean Republican, has such [*a weak Democratic candidate*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xY2npDFmrKA) that the party has all but ceded it. And in a newly drawn South Texas district, designed to be evenly split between the parties, Democrats nominated a [*liberal political newcomer*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3DYkOKZl5pk) and flea market owner, [*Michelle Vallejo*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xvO7IoOiRQY), and the seat now leans Republican.

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Pressed by Mr. Trump, Republicans may well have outdone themselves in 2022. Mr. Walker, a former football star with no political experience, [*has struggled in his challenge*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/16/us/politics/herschel-walker-children.html) to Senator Raphael Warnock of Georgia, once seen as perhaps the most vulnerable Democrat up for re-election. With the political wind at his face, another freshman Democrat, Mark Kelly of Arizona, has benefited greatly from Mr. Masters’s inexperience and a past replete with [*oddball views*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/06/us/politics/blake-masters.html). Mr. Trump liked the celebrity of Dr. Oz but overlooked the potency of attacks over his wealth and his [*lack of connection to Pennsylvania*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/07/magazine/dr-oz-pennsylvania-senate-race.html).

And though Mr. Vance’s memoir [*“Hillbilly Elegy”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/03/us/politics/jd-vance-ohio-senate-primary-results.html) focused on his childhood in ***working-class*** Ohio, the candidate, a Trump favorite, has so far failed to open a clear lead in a state that Mr. Trump won in 2020 by [*eight percentage points*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-ohio.html).

Mr. Coleman, the election analyst, noted that in 2010, everything would have had to go the Republicans’ way if they were to dig themselves out of a nine-seat hole in the Senate. In November, they need a single seat to take control.

“This time, it could be more frustrating because they’re right there,” Mr. Coleman said. “They’re at the end zone.”

PHOTOS: Don Bolduc, a Trump-like Senate candidate in New Hampshire, is a 2020 election denier. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JOHN TULLY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Chuck Morse, Mr. Bolduc’s opponent in the primary, is seen as a more mainstream Republican. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JODI HILTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 14, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Primary Season Ends With a Political Landscape Vastly Transformed***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66CR-DXV1-JBG3-6060-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 14, 2022 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 23; NEWS ANALYSIS

**Length:** 1667 words

**Byline:** By Jonathan Weisman

**Body**

Democrats enter the final sprint to November more optimistic than expected, especially in the race for the Senate. But Republicans remain bullish that they can sweep into a House majority.

A grueling primary season riven by Republican infighting and the interventions of former President Donald J. Trump finally ended on Tuesday with a slate of G.O.P. candidates that has raised Democratic hopes of preserving Senate control and a political atmosphere that has changed strikingly over the past six months.

Republicans still have the environment they wanted when the primaries began in Texas in March: high inflation, economic uncertainty, an unpopular president and the perception that violent crime is on the rise. But since then, Democrats have found strong themes they can run on: the fate of legal abortion and, to a larger extent than they might have imagined, the future of democracy and the rule of law.

As the last primary voters went to the polls in New Hampshire, Delaware and Rhode Island, Tuesday provided the perfect split screen for the coming general election.

The government's official report on inflation made clear that Democrats are by no means out of the woods. Hours after its release, Senator Lindsey Graham, Republican of South Carolina, introduced legislation to ban abortion nationwide after 15 weeks of pregnancy, effectively spreading the abortion question from red and purple states to blue states that may have felt insulated since the Supreme Court overturned Roe v. Wade.

Those issues and the re-emergence of Mr. Trump as a headline-grabbing political figure have raised the stakes ahead of an Election Day that will determine not only which party will lead Congress but also which one will control statehouses, governorships and top election posts from Pennsylvania to Arizona, from Wisconsin to Florida, ahead of the 2024 presidential contest.

''As a forecaster, I prefer it when all the signs are one way or the other,'' joked J. Miles Coleman, a congressional election analyst at the University of Virginia's Center for Politics. That is not the case in 2022.

The final day of primaries put an exclamation point on the season. Republican voters in New Hampshire were deciding whether to nominate Don Bolduc, a retired general and Trump-style candidate who denies the legitimacy of the 2020 election, or a more mainstream Republican, Chuck Morse, the State Senate president, to take on Senator Maggie Hassan. The race was too close to call early Wednesday, but Mr. Bolduc held a narrow lead. Democrats had considered him by far the easier candidate for Ms. Hassan, once seen as one of the party's most vulnerable incumbents.

Two right-wing House candidates in the state also showed strength in their primaries. Karoline Leavitt, a 25-year-old former assistant in Mr. Trump's White House press office, beat Matt Mowers, a onetime colleague in the former president's administration. And Robert Burns, a Trump-aligned candidate, was locked in an undecided race early Wednesday against George Hansel, a more moderate rival seen as a more formidable challenger to the Democratic incumbent.

In Senate races beyond New Hampshire, a series of stumbling Republican candidates -- including Herschel Walker in Georgia, Blake Masters in Arizona, Dr. Mehmet Oz in Pennsylvania and J.D. Vance in Ohio -- made it through their primaries this year with the backing of Mr. Trump, keeping the race for the chamber competitive.

Meantime, Democratic candidates like Cheri Beasley in North Carolina, Mandela Barnes in Wisconsin and Representative Val Demings in Florida have proved resilient enough to expand the Senate map and stretch a Republican campaign machine that is low on cash.

''On the whole, Republicans have nominated far stronger candidates in swing seats for the House than in swing states for the Senate,'' said David Wasserman, a congressional analyst at the nonpartisan Cook Political Report.

But in House races, candidate quality tends to matter less. In election years past, House control has sloshed back and forth with larger political currents because House candidates are less familiar to voters than their Senate counterparts. The Democratic 31-seat wave -- described by George W. Bush as a ''thumping'' -- in 2006 was followed by what Barack Obama called a ''shellacking'' in 2010, a 63-seat gain. Eight years later, the Democrats were back with a 41-seat romp.

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Both parties probably missed some opportunities with their House candidates, or at least made Election Day more competitive than it needed to be.

For Republicans, flawed House primary winners include Sandy Smith, who is running in a competitive, open seat in northeastern North Carolina and has been accused of domestic violence; J.R. Majewski, a bombastic conspiracy theorist challenging Representative Marcy Kaptur in a Northwest Ohio district newly drawn to favor Republicans; and John Gibbs, a former Trump administration aide who once baselessly accused Hillary Clinton's campaign chairman, John Podesta, of taking part in a ''satanic ritual,'' then went on to defeat a moderate incumbent, Representative Peter Meijer. Mr. Gibbs must now try to capture a Democratic-leaning district around Grand Rapids, Mich.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/14/us/politics/election-abortion-midterms-inflation.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/14/us/politics/election-abortion-midterms-inflation.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Don Bolduc, a Trump-like Senate candidate in New Hampshire, is a 2020 election denier. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JOHN TULLY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Chuck Morse, Mr. Bolduc's opponent in the primary, is seen as a more mainstream Republican. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JODI HILTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 14, 2022

**End of Document**



[***With Every Move, Tracing a Link To Algerian Roots***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66K3-KV71-JBG3-628T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 9, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section AR; Column 0; Arts and Leisure Desk; Pg. 8

**Length:** 1670 words

**Byline:** By Madison Mainwaring

**Body**

Esraa Warda, who grew up in Brooklyn, takes the North African dances she learned as a child and brings them to the stage and dance studio.

When Esraa Warda participated in a residency in Algeria earlier this year, she was told that she should not perform in the final show in the town of Taghit. A representative from the Algerian Ministry of Culture warned that her dancing might be ''too controversial for a public audience,'' Warda said. Others told her she would not be safe under the spotlights -- that the crowd might throw things.

Warda specializes in dancing to raï, a popular, grass-roots form of Algerian music, historically associated with social protest. Movement is initiated by the feet, hips swaying in quick, precise arcs from side to side with each step; the upper body twists slightly, the arms light in the air.

While raï (pronounced rye) is an important part of Algerian culture -- officials there are recommending that it be added to UNESCO's World Heritage List -- the genre's subversive messaging still means that some consider it distasteful. The same applies to the accompanying dances, which are usually performed at private gatherings.

Warda went ahead and performed that night in Taghit, proving the Ministry of Culture wrong: Many in the audience cheered her on, she said, dancing along with her. Even toning down her movement for the occasion, ''people went wild, people were passing out,'' she said. ''It ended up being a rock 'n' roll moment, even though I wasn't doing anything crazy.''

Elenna Canlas, a keyboardist who played alongside Warda, said: ''Everybody was watching with the understanding that women don't usually dance in the presence of men there. It was profound that something as simple as dancing could be such a political statement.''

As both an artist and a teacher, Warda, who is Algerian-American, takes the North African dances she learned as a child and brings them to the stage and dance studio. Highlighting the musicality and endurance required for these styles, Warda shows that they are legitimate art forms, with specific techniques that change from one region and musical genre to the next.

This week, on Tuesday and Wednesday, Warda will be in New York, dancing at Joe's Pub. For this show, part of the Habibi Festival, she will dance with the all-female Moroccan band Bnat el Houariyat, from Marrakesh, in styles that accompany the group's percussive, polyrhythmic genres. These include chaâbi, which originated in ***working-class*** musical cultures, and houara, which blends Moroccan Arab and Indigenous traditions.

Many of the dances Warda performs involve movement of the hips. She is adamant, though, that they are not to be confused with belly dancing -- a technique, with Egyptian roots, that is more lifted and with broader movements of the upper body and arms.

''Because we're all lumped into the same category, we also get lumped into the same stereotypes,'' Warda said of Middle Eastern and North African dancers. ''We're somehow these colonial objects of desire.''

Warda was referring to the clichés of this region's dance found in Western literature, paintings and photographs. After the French invasion of Algeria in 1830 (Tunisia followed in 1881, Morocco in 1907), an industry developed around female dancers, with European photographers paying them to strike suggestive poses that had nothing to do with their art. They were used to create a ''phantasm of the Oriental female,'' Malek Alloula writes in ''The Colonial Harem'' (1981) -- unskilled, uncultured and sexually available.

This legacy of exploitation surrounding dance remained even after Algeria won independence, in 1962, making it stigmatized in many circles. ''My dancing is about trying to overcome the reasons I've been told I shouldn't dance, to overcome that internalized shame a lot of women grow up with,'' Warda said.

Though there are some regional dance troupes, raï, chaâbi, and hundreds of other dance styles are considered part of everyday culture, used more to celebrate family occasions than to promote a national heritage.

In Bay Ridge, Brooklyn, where Warda grew up, her profession as a dance artist and educator receives mixed reactions from her family's Algerian-American community. ''Some Algerians are like, 'Are you kidding?''' she said. '''Is raï being taught in a dance class? That's ridiculous.'''

Warda, 29, did not grow up believing she could perform and teach these dances, since no one else was doing it at the time. Her father, who immigrated in the 1990s, worked as a food vendor on 53rd Street and Lexington, and her mother was a caretaker; both encouraged her to pursue traditional career paths. Yet whenever she visited family in Algeria, she spent time in her relatives' living rooms, learning dance styles through patient observation.

In her early 20s, Warda managed a traditional arts program for students at Arab American cultural centers. Hiring other artists got her thinking about the dances she loved -- and why they were not valued as an art form. She started teaching workshops for free in Brooklyn.

''I created a dance system and code along the way, based on my own references,'' she said of her teaching method, ''based on what I'd learned dancing with my family.''

The largest North African immigrant population is in France, but the concentration on conservatory diplomas and certificates makes it difficult for those specializing in regional North African styles to work in dance. Raïssa Leï, who is French-Moroccan and directs the Kif-Kif Bledi company in Paris, said that her dancers cannot obtain the special artistic status that would allow them to freelance, and they struggle to book studios and other spaces. She sees Warda's work in the United States as important for keeping ''the chain of transmission'' going strong.

When Warda began to teach, she sought out chikhats, or elders, North African female musicians and dancers who have undergone extensive training. Traveling to Algeria, Morocco and France, she wanted to understand dance as these professionals did.

''It's about giving back,'' Warda said. ''These are people who spent their whole lives dedicated to a tradition, spent 30, 40, 50 years under the leadership of somebody else.''

By dancing with chikhats -- notably the raï singer Cheikha Rabia, based in Paris -- Warda is bringing visibility to an aspect of traditional performance. Before the form became more widespread in the 1980s, raï singers like Cheikha Djenia and Cheikha Rimitti would surround themselves with female dancers, who gave body to the rhythms of the songs and expressed longing through movement.

For someone used to watching Western styles, the raï dances and other North African styles might seem monotonous. Yet in their intricate foot patterns and unflagging dedication to the rhythm -- ''simple, subtle things repeated consistently in cyclical movements,'' as Warda described them -- they give expression to the fight for survival and the solidarity needed to do so.

Chikhats have historically lived together in all-women communities. Many in the North African mainstream consider the chikhats' public appearances to be raunchy and low-class. (Their name can be used as an insult.) They bring up tough, sometimes illicit topics: female desire, forbidden love, the complex feelings around emigration.

Yet while some chikhat singers have gained a global following, dancers are limited to cabarets and weddings. ''These dances are not readily commercialized or accessible in a globalized way -- which is what allows people to fantasize,'' Warda said.

Google ''North African dance class'' in the United States, and you will probably come across fusion (otherwise known as ''tribal'') belly-dancing. The style draws from a hodgepodge of dance cultures, including flamenco and Indian.

American fusion dancers use the facial markings of Indigenous North African tribes and traditional high-pitched ululations. Practitioners insist that despite references to this heritage, fusion technique is not cultural appropriation but its own creation. The steps, many improvised from colonial imagery, reinforce the idea that North African dances have no actual skill.

In Algeria or Morocco, the dances accompanying raï and chaâbi are less a staged spectacle than a part of daily life, with techniques passed between generations. In immigrant communities, recreating the environment needed to keep this up can be difficult, if not impossible.

Sumaya Bouadi started taking Warda's classes because, having been raised in the United States, ''it just wasn't something I could see a lot or have the opportunity to learn,'' she said in a phone interview.

For Algerian Americans, mastering these skills still represents a form of pride and cultural connection. Nacera Belal remembers when her aunt first saw her really dance as a teenager. ''She was so excited that I had figured out how to do it,'' Belal said in a phone interview. ''She was screaming, 'Oh, my God, look, look at how she dances.''' Belal sees her classes with Warda as a way to keep honing her style and musicality.

Warda teaches students where each step is from -- not just the country, but the region -- and how it's performed in a given context. ''To make historical points about why your dance is so specific to where you come from -- that's dangerous for an African woman to do,'' said Elle Williams, a former student, in a phone interview.

''Being a Black trans disabled femme, walking into any room is just never comfortable for me,'' Williams said. ''But in Esraa's class, I didn't feel any judgment, I didn't feel any stares. I've never felt that much camaraderie with femmes who did not look like me.''

While bringing North African dancing to a wider audience, Warda still returns to the living room, pointing out that outsiders have underestimated the agency women find in this practice. ''The traditions are still very much propelling forward in these private spaces -- and they always will be,'' she said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/06/arts/dance/esraa-warda-rai-north-african-dances.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/06/arts/dance/esraa-warda-rai-north-african-dances.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: The dancer and teacher Esraa Warda specializes in dancing to a grass-roots form of Algerian music. It involves the movement of the hips but should not be confused with belly dancing, she said. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHARLOTTE HADDEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (AR8

AR9)

**Load-Date:** October 9, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Édouard Louis, Miserable in the Spotlight; Theater Review***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65KJ-XJW1-JBG3-620R-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 2, 2022 Thursday 05:39 EST

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**Section:** THEATER

**Length:** 1225 words

**Byline:** Laura Cappelle

**Highlight:** The French writer played himself onstage and hated the experience, according to a new work he developed with the Swiss director Milo Rau. This time around, there’s an actor in the role.

**Body**

The French writer played himself onstage and hated the experience, according to a new work he developed with the Swiss director Milo Rau. This time around, there’s an actor in the role.

PARIS — Édouard Louis isn’t happy right now. That is one of the takeaways from “The Interrogation,” a new play he was set to star in, then canceled, then rewrote for another actor, working with the Swiss director Milo Rau. In May, “The Interrogation,” which was co-produced by the Belgian playhouse NTGent and had its world premiere in Amsterdam, made its way to [*the Théâtre de la Colline in Paris*](https://www.colline.fr/spectacles/interrogation) — and perhaps fittingly, left more questions than answers in its wake.

It is a deeply meta addition to what I guess we could now call the Édouard Louis theatrical universe. The recent onslaught of French and international productions based on his work — with star directors including Thomas Ostermeier and Ivo van Hove — has been curious to watch, because Louis doesn’t write primarily for the stage. Most of his books, including “[*The End of Eddy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/17/books/review-end-of-eddy-edouard-louis.html#:~:text=%E2%80%9CThe%20End%20of%20Eddy%2C%E2%80%9D%20however%2C%20is%20not%20just,far%20more%20realistic%20than%20most.&amp;text=From%20the%20time%20Eddy%2C%20the,he%20realizes%20he%20is%20gay.),” which delved into his difficult childhood as a closeted gay child in a homophobic, violent, ***working-class*** environment, have been billed as memoirs or autobiographical novels.

For a little while, it seemed as though Louis had happily rekindled an early passion through the medium, since theater classes were his escape as a teenager. Louis has even [*played himself onstage*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/20/theater/peter-brook-paris-thomas-ostermeier-edouard-louis.html) in Ostermeier’s version of “Who Killed My Father,” a monologue commissioned and originally performed by [*the French actor and director Stanislas Nordey*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/04/theater/simon-stone-trilogy-of-revenge-stanislas-nordey-who-killed-my-father.html).

Yet if Rau’s “The Interrogation” is to be believed, Louis hated that experience. In this production, he appears only through video and in voice-overs. Onstage, he is played by the Belgian actor Arne De Tremerie. “Something didn’t feel right” about his stage debut, we learn via De Tremerie; Louis also calls the life of an actor “exhausting” and “not the dream life I had hoped for.” It’s too bad, then, that while “The Interrogation” was on in Paris, Louis was [*in New York to perform “Who Killed My Father” at St. Ann’s Warehouse*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/23/theater/who-killed-my-father-review.html) (through June 5).

There is a mild absurdity to this situation, which goes unacknowledged in Rau’s self-serious production. It starts with a letter, read in voice-over, in which Louis apologizes to Rau and tells him he doesn’t want to commit to being onstage again. “The Interrogation,” which was originally supposed to premiere in May 2021, was hastily canceled as a result. “Once again, I failed at being happy,” Louis laments.

Enter De Tremerie, who took over so the production could go forward. With his blond hair and slight build, he can easily pass for Louis, and offers a heightened, more theatrical version. Where Louis, an inexperienced actor, aimed for naturalness onstage, De Tremerie has homed in on some of his quirks: the way he carries himself with his head slightly forward, the nervous flutter of his lips.

De Tremerie’s performance is commendable, yet “The Interrogation” doesn’t give him enough space to exist separately from Louis. In fact, Louis keeps appearing on a screen, in a hooded sweater identical to De Tremerie’s. At several points, De Tremerie looks up at Louis, or playfully imitates him; Louis, mostly shot in close-up, looks down at the stage. Fiction meets reality, a common trope in Rau’s stage work, but here, neither appears to enrich the other.

“The Interrogation” could have made much more of its central paradox. At its heart, it is about a literary star who unsuccessfully sought meaning in success, since he had pictured it as his “vengeance.” (“Now I exist,” De Tremerie says as Louis, after retracing his rise to the top.) Yet as the text zooms in on the backlash against Louis’s work, and the demands that come with fame, it becomes clear that the author’s dissatisfaction extends beyond acting.

At the same time, “The Interrogation” feeds the frenzy around Louis, whose story has become bigger than himself, at once a lightning rod and part of French folklore. The show pores over episodes of his life that he has already recounted elsewhere without much new insight, from the bullying he endured as a child to his life-changing encounter with the writer Didier Éribon, who became a mentor. “I feel like I’ve been robbed of my freedom,” De Tremerie says onstage of Louis’s situation, before addressing the audience directly: “I am not your little clown.”

But he doesn’t need to offer himself up for consumption so exhaustively. Just last year, Louis published two books that joined the flurry of stage productions. A TV adaptation of “The End of Eddy,” by the Oscar-winning screenwriter James Ivory, is also in the works, [*Louis said recently on Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/p/CKyj4BTg5ee/?hl=en). Near the end of “The Interrogation,” De Tremerie says with a sigh: “No more stories. No more revenge. Just life.” Perhaps Louis should take his own advice, at least for a time.

On a much smaller stage in Paris, another real-life figure who has unwittingly become a symbol found a striking home. “Free Will” (“Libre Arbitre”), a new play co-written by Léa Girardet and Julie Bertin (who also directed), delves into the life of [*Caster Semenya, the South African runner*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/28/sports/olympics/caster-semenya-olympics-gender.html) and Olympic gold medalist who has been repeatedly barred from competition since 2009 because of elevated testosterone levels.

Girardet had already scored a hit with [*a soccer-inspired one-woman show*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/18/theater/avignon-festival.html), “The Syndrome of the Bench,” and “Free Will” is equally lively and punchy, though darker. If you have lost track of the saga around Semenya, an intersex woman who was asked by World Athletics, the sport’s governing body, to take medication to suppress her natural hormones, this play is a sobering reminder.

Juliette Speck is quietly excellent when she portrays Semenya, and all four cast members perform multiple roles. They depict the sex verification tests Semenya had to undertake, imagine meetings between high-ranking members of World Athletics and recreate the 2019 case Semenya brought to the Court of Arbitration for Sport, using verbatim excerpts from the trial. At the end of the play, [*the court’s ruling*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/01/sports/caster-semenya-loses.html) — that the restrictions applied to Semenya were discriminatory, but a “reasonable” way to preserve the integrity of women’s sport — is, quite simply, heartbreaking.

Bertin and Girardet do a superb job of explaining the complex issues and vocabulary involved, with more playful scenes interspersed. In one, the cast pretends to call World Athletics to suggest a new category for competitions: “reassuring women,” whose dainty running style (in heels, complete with a demonstration) would be more in keeping with the expectations of femininity placed on athletes.

“Free Will” had its Paris premiere at the Théâtre Dunois, which caters to young people, but older adults have much to learn from it, too. Unlike Louis, Semenya isn’t in the spotlight enough for theater audiences to know the entirety of her journey — but her story deserves to be told.

The Interrogation. Directed by Milo Rau. Théâtre de la Colline.

Libre Arbitre. Directed by Julie Bertin. Théâtre Dunois. Further performances at the Théâtre 13 through June 4 and at the Théâtre Gérard-Philipe next season.

PHOTO: Arne De Tremerie as Édouard Louis, kneeling in front of a video screen showing the real Louis, in “The Interrogation,” directed by Milo Rau at the Théâtre de la Colline. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Tuong-Vi Nguyen FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Brazil Ejects Bolsonaro and Brings Back Leftist Former Leader Lula***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66RR-HS61-DXY4-X37P-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** Brazilians voted out their far-right leader, Jair Bolsonaro, after a single term and replaced him with former President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva.

**Body**

Brazilians voted out their far-right leader, Jair Bolsonaro, after a single term and replaced him with former President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva.

BRASÍLIA — Voters in Brazil on Sunday ousted President Jair Bolsonaro after just one term and elected the leftist former President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva to replace him, election officials said, a rebuke to Mr. Bolsonaro’s far-right movement and his divisive four years in office.

The victory completes a stunning political revival for Mr. da Silva — [*from the presidency to prison and back*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/29/world/americas/lula-bolsonaro-brazil-election.html) — that had once seemed unthinkable. It also ends Mr. Bolsonaro’s turbulent time as the region’s most powerful leader. It was the first time an incumbent president failed to win re-election in the 34 years of Brazil’s modern democracy.

For years, he attracted global attention for policies that[*accelerated the destruction*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/19/world/americas/brazil-amazon-deforestation.html) of the Amazon rainforest and[*exacerbated the pandemic*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/19/world/americas/bolsonaro-covid-19-brazil.html), which left nearly 700,000 dead in Brazil, while also becoming a major international figure of the far right for his brash attacks on the left, the media and Brazil’s democratic institutions.

More recently, [*his efforts to undermine Brazil’s election system*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/10/25/world/americas/brazil-bolsonaro-misinformation.html) drew particular concern at home and abroad, as well as worldwide attention to Sunday’s vote as an important test for one of the world’s largest democracies.

Without evidence, Mr. Bolsonaro criticized [*the nation’s electronic voting machines*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/10/25/world/americas/brazil-bolsonaro-misinformation.html) as rife with fraud and suggested he might not accept a loss, much like former President Donald J. Trump. Many of his supporters vowed to take to the streets at his command.

Yet in the hours after the race was called, far-right lawmakers, conservative pundits and many of Mr. Bolsonaro’s supporters had recognized Mr. da Silva’s victory. By 11 p.m. local time, Mr. Bolsonaro had not spoken publicly.

It was not all quiet. Truckers in the heart of Brazil’s central farming region started fires and tried to block a main highway important for the agriculture industry, according to videos posted on social media and local news reports.

Mr. da Silva won with the narrowest margin of victory for that same period, signaling the deep divide that he will confront as president. He won 50.90 percent of the vote, versus Mr. Bolsonaro’s 49.10 percent, with 99.97 percent of the votes counted Sunday night.

“I will govern for 215 million Brazilians, and not just for those who voted for me,” Mr. da Silva said in his victory speech Sunday night, reading from pages held by his new wife, whom he married this year. “There are not two Brazils. We are one country, one people, one great nation.”

Mr. da Silva, 77, a former metalworker and union leader with a fifth-grade education, led Brazil during its boom in the first decade of the century, leaving office with an 80 percent approval rating.

But years after he left office, the authorities revealed a vast government kickback scheme that had flourished during his administration. He was convicted on corruption charges and spent 580 days in prison.

Last year, the Supreme Court threw out those convictions, ruling that the judge in his cases was biased, though he was never cleared of any wrongdoing. Still, he was allowed to run for president and voters rallied behind the man known simply as “Lula.”

The scandal made him a flawed candidate, and a sizable portion of Brazil still views Mr. da Silva as corrupt. But the strong opposition to Mr. Bolsonaro and his far-right movement was enough to carry Mr. da Silva back to the presidency.

“He’s not the solution to every problem. But he’s our only hope,” said Stefane Silva de Jesus, a 30-year-old librarian, after she cast her ballot for Mr. da Silva in Rio de Janeiro.

Mr. da Silva’s victory pushes Brazil back to the left, extending a string of leftist victories across Latin America that were fueled by a wave of anti-incumbent backlash. Six of the region’s seven largest countries have now elected leftist leaders since 2018.

A left-wing firebrand who for decades made his name as a champion of the poor, Mr. da Silva now confronts significant challenges. Brazil faces environmental threats, rising hunger, a sputtering economy and a deeply divided population.

His central pitch to voters was that he would lift up the ***working class***, which he said had been forgotten in the four years under Mr. Bolsonaro. In his speech on Sunday, he promised to fight against discrimination and for equality.

“That’s the only way we’ll be able to build a country for all, an egalitarian Brazil whose priority is the people who need the most,” he said. “A Brazil with peace, democracy and opportunity.”

Mr. da Silva’s specific plans, however, have been vague.

His stump speech revolved around expanding services for the poor, including more social welfare payments, a higher minimum wage and programs to feed and house more people. To pay for it, he said, he would raise taxes on the rich but also simply increase government spending.

How much he will be able to get done is unclear.

Mr. Bolsonaro’s right-wing party holds the most seats in Congress and [*a powerful centrist bloc*](https://www.ft.com/content/6d1d94f9-dabf-447e-b901-bcfe2c1bf73a) controls both the House and Senate; the country faces worse economic conditions than during Mr. da Silva’s first administration; and the interventionist policies of Mr. da Silva’s handpicked successor as president [*led Brazil into a recession*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/11/world/americas/brazils-economic-crisis-intensifies-raising-pressure-on-president.html) in 2014 from which it has still not fully recovered.

His election, however, will most likely be good news for the health of the Amazon rainforest, which is vital to the fight against climate change. Mr. Bolsonaro championed industries that extract the forest’s resources while slashing funds and staffing for the agencies tasked with protecting it. As a result, deforestation soared during his administration.

Mr. da Silva has a much better track record on protecting the forest, reducing deforestation while president. He campaigned on a promise to eradicate illegal mining and logging and said he would push farmers to use areas of the forest that had already been cleared.

On Sunday, voting at polling stations went smoothly — but, for many voters, getting there did not. Across Brazil, federal highway agents stopped hundreds of buses carrying voters to the polls and questioned people, including in regions largely supportive of Mr. da Silva.

The elections chief said his agency’s initial investigation found that the stops had delayed the buses, but that they had all still reached their intended polling stations. No voters were blocked from casting their ballots, he said.

Mr. da Silva’s victory was in part thanks to a broad coalition, from communists to centrists, as the Brazilian electorate sought stability after Mr. Bolsonaro’s volatile term, which was marked by [*clashes with the courts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/26/world/americas/bolsonaro-brazil-supreme-court.html), a [*pandemic*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/31/world/americas/brazil-coronavirus-bolsonaro.html) that [*killed more people*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/09/world/americas/covid-brazil-600000-dead.html) than anywhere but the United States, and frequent attacks on the left, the media, academics, health professionals and the nation’s democratic institutions.

Mr. Bolsonaro, 67, has faced a variety of investigations in the Supreme Court and Congress, including for his statements attacking the election system, [*his handling of the pandemic*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/19/world/americas/bolsonaro-covid-19-brazil.html) and his potential involvement in disinformation operations.

So far, he has avoided any consequences from those inquiries, in part because of his immunity as president. After he leaves office on Jan. 1, those investigations could gain steam.

Mr. Bolsonaro has also had much of his activity as president shielded from government-transparency laws because his administration effectively classified many records for up to 100 years, including his vaccine status.

Mr. da Silva has vowed to declassify those records once president. “When we lift the carpet, you’re going to see the rot underneath,” he said at Friday’s debate.

Last year, Mr. Bolsonaro told his supporters there were only three outcomes to the election: He wins, he is killed or he is arrested. He then added, “Tell the bastards I’ll never be arrested.”

That sort of rhetoric raised alarms that Mr. Bolsonaro would not accept the results. He was one of the last world leaders to recognize President Biden’s victory in 2020, repeating Mr. Trump’s false claims that the election was stolen, including [*just two days*](https://www.reuters.com/world/americas/brazils-bolsonaro-casts-doubt-bidens-2020-election-win-ahead-meeting-him-2022-06-07/) before his first meeting with Mr. Biden earlier this year.

On Sunday, federal auditors inspected 601 polling stations to verify that their vote counts were accurately reflected in the national tally. The audit found no errors.

There is no credible evidence of fraud in Brazil’s electronic voting machines since they were introduced in 1996. Yet Mr. Bolsonaro has questioned the system for years.

Earlier this year, his criticism of the system took on new gravity [*when Brazil’s military joined in*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/12/world/americas/brazil-election-bolsonaro-military.html). Leaders of the armed forces pushed election officials for changes to the system, rattling a country that suffered under a military dictatorship from 1964 to 1985.

But eventually military and election officials [*agreed to a change to some tests*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/31/world/americas/brazil-bolsonaro-election-security-agreement.html) of the voting machines on Election Day, and military leaders have since suggested they are satisfied with the system’s security.

In recent weeks, military leaders also said privately that they would not support any efforts by Mr. Bolsonaro to challenge the results.

In the week leading up to the election, Mr. Bolsonaro largely stopped talking about the voting machines and began claiming other kinds of fraud. His campaign said that many radio stations had played far more ads from Mr. da Silva, which would violate election laws. But the evidence the campaign produced was incomplete and flawed, and Brazil’s elections chief quickly dismissed the complaint.

On Friday, in an interview after the final debate, Mr. Bolsonaro was asked directly whether he would accept the vote’s results, regardless of outcome.

“There’s no doubt,” he said. “Whoever gets more votes, takes it. That’s democracy.”

Flávia Milhorance and Ana Ionova contributed reporting from Rio de Janeiro, André Spigariol from Brasília, and Laís Martins from São Paulo.

Flávia Milhorance and Ana Ionova contributed reporting from Rio de Janeiro, André Spigariol from Brasília, and Laís Martins from São Paulo.

PHOTOS: Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva in São Bernardo do Campo, Brazil, on Sunday. Known simply as Lula, he faces a sputtering economy. (PHOTOGRAPH BY VICTOR MORIYAMA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A1); Reactions to Brazil’s election on Sunday: Above, supporters of President Jair Bolsonaro in Brasília; left, supporters of his challenger, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, in São Bernardo do Campo. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DADO GALDIERI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; VICTOR MORIYAMA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A7) This article appeared in print on page A1, A7.

**Load-Date:** October 31, 2022

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[***Transcript: Ezra Klein Interviews Barbara Kingsolver; The Ezra Klein Show***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68RW-YK71-DXY4-X11R-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** PODCASTS

**Length:** 8899 words

**Highlight:** The July 21, 2023, episode of “The Ezra Klein Show.”

**Body**

Every Tuesday and Friday, Ezra Klein invites you into a conversation about something that matters, like today’s episode with Barbara Kingsolver. Listen [*wherever you get your podcasts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/19/opinion/how-to-listen-ezra-klein-show-nyt.html).

Transcripts of our episodes are made available as soon as possible. They are not fully edited for grammar or spelling.

[MUSIC PLAYING] From New York Times Opinion, this is “The Ezra Klein Show.”

[MUSIC PLAYING]

EZRA KLEIN: So in 2023, the Pulitzer Prize for Fiction was won by two novels — “Trust” by Hernan Diaz and “Demon Copperhead” by Barbara Kingsolver. And Kingsolver, I think, is a literary legend in her own time. I mean, she wrote “The Bean Trees.” She wrote “The Poisonwood Bible.” She has won all kinds of prizes. But I think it’s fair to say “Demon Copperhead” is a kind of masterpiece. And it’s a kind of masterpiece she was trying to create. She set out to write — as she tells me in this conversation, she was setting out to write the great novel of Appalachia. And I think she did.

And this is a novel that is following loosely in the structure of “David Copperfield” by Dickens. It’s a novel set a little bit back in time. I think that so much of our thinking now about, this is political and places that go for Trump and places that don’t go for Trump. But the novel is set in the ’90s and in the 2000s, so a little bit before some of the current economic and political cleavages attain, at least the form we know them in.

And it’s a beautiful book. It’s a wrenching book. It’s a book that I routinely had to stop reading because I was so fused with the character and so fused with the story that when I could see something bad coming, I just couldn’t handle it before bed. I just couldn’t go through that with the main character. So that, I think, is about as much as you can say for fiction, when it almost feels more real than the life you’re living.

So I was grateful she was willing to come on the show and talk a bit about her life, how she came to writing the novel, the sort of experiences she brought to it, and the kind of argument she’s trying to have through it.

As always, my email: [*ezrakleinshow@nytimes.com*](mailto:ezrakleinshow@nytimes.com)

Barbara Kingsolver, welcome to the show.

BARBARA KINGSOLVER: Thank you for having me.

EZRA KLEIN: So you’ve said that you’re Appalachian through and through. What does that mean to you?

BARBARA KINGSOLVER: I’m Appalachian. And it’s a funny thing. It’s a marker. Appalachian means you say, I live in Appalachia. It’s a region that’s a little hard to pin down on a map because it includes parts of a lot of states, starting from north Georgia, eastern Tennessee, western North Carolina and Virginia, up into the coal country of Kentucky and West Virginia, and then up into the Ridge Country of Pennsylvania.

So that sounds complicated. But to us, it is a whole place. We’re more connected with each other, culturally and geographically, than we are with the far ends of our own states. It’s a place, and it’s a mind-set.

We are connected by our mountains, our economies, and the fact that, for a couple of centuries, we have been treated almost like an internal colony of the U.S. We have suffered the exploitation of extractive industries, managed by and profited from outside companies that come in and take what they can and leave a mess.

So it started out with the timber industry. Then it was coal. Then it was tobacco. And now, the latest car in this coal train of exploitations has been the opioid epidemic, which was, again, quite deliberately perpetrated on us as a vulnerable population.

EZRA KLEIN: We’re going to come back very much to the opioid epidemic. But before we do, I want to talk a bit about just your geographic history. Because you grew up in Kentucky but then moved to the Congo. Tell me a bit about the various places you’ve lived and why and what it was like coming back then, later in life.

BARBARA KINGSOLVER: OK. I grew up in the eastern part of Kentucky, sort of the foothills of Appalachia. And that was really my home for my whole schooling years up until I was 18 and left. Because of, sort of, a very unusual history, my dad was a physician who was dedicated to serving — well, he was from poverty. He was the first person in his family to go to get higher education.

And he was determined, after he became a doctor, to serve people who really needed a doctor. And so for most of that time, that meant the rural parts of Kentucky, where he’d grown up, one of the more economically depressed parts of the U.S. But from time to time, he would get invitations from his colleagues to go to places where people needed a physician even more.

And so that took us to the Congo, to rural Congo, for about a year of my life — I call it the what I did instead of second grade — and a few other places, once a stint in the Caribbean. So those were, kind of, adventures in my childhood.

But we always came back to Kentucky. So I still consider myself a Kentuckian. But I was the one among my classmates who had lived on another continent. I mean, most of my classmates never left the county, so it did distinguish me. I was a person who had seen the world.

And maybe because of that, I had a sense of the world and that I wanted to see it on my own terms. So when I was 18, I went to college in the exotic, faraway land of Indiana. And I was lucky to do it. Very few of us in Nicholas County High School ever went to college.

That was a really rare thing. Nobody in my school was telling me, you need to take these things called SATs. Nobody was advising me. I just kind of clawed my way into a scholarship. And I got to Indiana, DePauw University. And to my amazement, there, I discovered I was a hillbilly. I’d never thought of myself as a backward — coming from a backward place. But oh, my goodness. I needed only to cross the river into Indiana to discover what ignorant, backward folk we were from Kentucky.

And people laughed at my accent. People actually — I was a curiosity on campus. People I didn’t know would come over to me in the dining hall and say, say this. Say this world. What’s this? They wanted to hear me say syrup and mayonnaise and these other words that they thought were hilariously charming.

And so I set about slowly, not even that intentionally, altering my persona in the world, erasing my Kentuckian affect just so that people would hear my words instead of making fun of them. And so now, I’ve tried to become this imaginary cosmopolitan person.

I always wrote. I just didn’t think that I could be a writer. But that was an important and really dark phase of my own writing. I tried to write from that place of this imaginary cosmopolitan Barbara. And it was just the most ridiculous, fakey nonsense you’ve ever read.

EZRA KLEIN: And then, to fast forward a little bit here, you lived as an adult in Arizona for quite some time and then moved back in the 2000s, I believe, to Virginia, to where you live now. And I always thought of you, I think because I read you in that period, as a writer in Arizona. But now I understand more of the complexity of it. So tell me about the decision to move from Arizona back to Virginia.

BARBARA KINGSOLVER: It was all a part of the — my exodus from Kentucky was driven by what, I think, drives most small-town kids. We want to kick the little-town dust from our shoes and go see the world. If we’re lucky enough or [CHUCKLES] fierce enough or resourceful, we do that.

And after college, I actually backpacked around Europe for several years, doing the low-paying jobs that you can do as an expat living out of a backpack. And I really wasn’t sure I wanted to come home, whatever home was. But I had to because of visa problems in the late ’70s.

I lost my work visa, so I had to come back to the U.S. and just decided to try out Tucson, Arizona because I wanted to see the West — it seemed the next step in my exploration of the big world — and didn’t really plan to stay in Tucson. But things happen. When you’re at that stage in your mid-20s, you get a job, and then you get a little better job. And then you meet somebody, and then you have a house, and then you have a kid. I went to grad school. And next thing I knew, I was really pretty settled in Tucson.

It didn’t feel like home, not really. No place I’d ever lived outside of Kentucky felt like home. There were things I really loved about Paris and Athens and rural northern France. And there were things I really loved about Tucson. But it never felt to me like the desert wanted me there. I missed towering green trees and mossy creeks and the sound of crickets at night and birds in the morning. It just was — it never felt right. And I ached to come home, whatever home was.

Then, after grad school, I began working as a freelance writer, and I was working as a journalist. And so I learned a lot about the territory. And I was trying to write a southwestern novel. And then I had this epiphany.

Someone actually gave me Bobby Ann Mason’s short story collection, “Shiloh and Other Stories,” which was a very big book that year in the world. She’s from Kentucky. That book broke out that year with a lot of praise from the American literati.

And I read it. And I was amazed because it was people who talked like me and who worked at Walmart. There were cashiers, and they did shift work, and they were ***working-class*** Kentuckians. And the scales fell from my eyes. I understood that I had been holding my light under a bushel, that my own voice could be something that people might want to hear.

And so then I did a deep dive back into these Kentucky writers I had known but needed to reread with new respect — Wendell Berry, Robert Penn Warren, poets, James Still, Harriette Arnow. And I re — it’s not exactly a recovery. It’s more like a re-acquaintance with and embracing of my own Kentucky voice.

And I found this voice. And I named her Taylor Greer. And I put her in charge of telling this Arizona novel. She was a character who came from Kentucky, moved to Arizona. She did not have my life. It’s not autobiographical. But I knew her voice and her story and her mannerisms and everything.

And I put her in Tucson, Arizona. And she told the story. And that was “The Bean Trees.” It was the first fiction I wrote that was successful because I had decided to own myself, my Appalachian background.

EZRA KLEIN: This book has a lot of that dynamic to it. And one thing that is threaded through it is Demon, the narrator, balancing the pride he feels in the place he comes from and the shame he feels, or the shame he has been told to feel, in the place he comes from. And you’ve talked in interviews about having internalized the shame of your upbringing, of where you come from. What is that shame?

BARBARA KINGSOLVER: Well, this place where I live, just over the mountains from Kentucky in southwestern Virginia, is the perfect home. We live on a farm. And it’s just exactly where I want to be, among people I want to be with and to claim as my own and as my neighbors.

So here I am, as an Appalachian writer, and it was finally with Demon Copperhead that I could tell the most Appalachian story I’ve ever told. I really [LAUGHS] — I know this probably sounds ridiculous, but I wanted to write the great Appalachian novel.

I wanted this novel to hold the entire story, the whole background, of why, why it is we are who we are, all of the things that people look down on, how they are not our fault, how they were perpetrated against us as, sort of, an economic program exploiting us, and, also, all of the good stuff, that we are people made of community, that we are the most resourceful Americans you’re probably going to find anywhere.

So what is that shame that I had internalized? Well, look, it wasn’t just in college. It was everywhere. Just about every time you speak with someone who is from outside of your region, they make some remark like, [SARCASTIC LAUGH] you seem really educated for a Kentuckian or, more crudely, ha-ha, you’re wearing shoes — I’m not kidding — or, more subtly, are there any people there you want to be friends with in MAGA country?

How many people, well-meaning people, have asked me, how could I live there, in the middle of nowhere? People, this is my everywhere. This is my everything. I live on a farm that grows food where water comes out of the mountain among trees that make oxygen. City folks are depending on us for a lot of things that they routinely discount or make fun of.

It’s been a very long program in the development of the world that economies and governments have urged people into the cities, away from the countryside, tried to get land-based people into the cities because — there are a lot of reasons, but it boils down to this — people in the money economy can be taxed. People in a land economy produce a lot of what they consume on the spot. So if you’re growing your own food and eating it, there’s no way to pull taxes out of that.

So I know this sounds really simplified, but it is the bottom line. And I can point you to points in history where this has become overtly an issue — the Whiskey Rebellion. George Washington marched the whole army into Appalachia because people were making whiskey, and the government wanted to tax it. Well, there’s no money changing hands, so you can’t. And that was the reason for a war.

It feels like an impossibly simple thing. But if you look at all the ways that rural people are stigmatized, it comes down to their self-sufficiency that’s being mocked. If you look at the cartoon, “Hillbilly,” he’s got a fishing pole — that’s food self-sufficiency — he’s got the jug with the XXX on it — that is alcohol self-sufficiency — and he’s got a straw hat on. That’s because he’s a farmer. It’s all about what he’s making and consuming himself.

It’s so insidious people don’t realize it. But this long, long-term brainwashing has resulted in a widespread notion that city people have got it, city people are the advanced form of humans, and rural people are sort of having this provisional existence. They just haven’t made it yet into the real life. And so everybody looks down on the country people. And the country people sort of absorb that. You can’t help but absorb it.

So when I set out to write my great Appalachian novel, I was paralyzed with self-doubt. Because I mean, my starting point was that I wanted to write about the opioid epidemic, which has become a huge assault on our culture, our families, our communities. It’s devastated so many of the good things about this region that we value and that we love.

And so I wanted to write about these kids who’ve been damaged and this place that’s been damaged. And it seemed like a really hopelessly sad story. Plus, it’s about people that I didn’t feel the outer world cared about. And so I just really — I spent a couple of years walking around and around this story, trying to figure out how to break into that house. Because I really felt sure nobody wants to read it.

EZRA KLEIN: I think there’s so much power in that. And it’s something I was thinking about a lot during the book. And let me try to see if I can hold two things in tension here because everything you say is true. And I think your point about the ways in which people from rural areas are visually stereotyped, having a lot to do with self-sufficiency, is true.

And this is something that, I’ll be honest, sometimes I think grates on us city dwellers. So I come from a people who, over and over again, were driven out of land. I come from Jews driven by pogroms, again and again, off of land where they could have been self-sufficient, and into cities, into one city and then into another city and then into another city. Part of my family comes to America by way of Brazil. Another family comes by way of Eastern Europe.

And there has always been this tension, I think, broadly, it particularly afflicts Jews, the sort of rootless cosmopolitan stereotype. But then there’s also this side thread in America — I won’t speak for it in other countries — of, oh, the city dwellers aren’t real Americans. They’re not on the land. What they do isn’t real work.

I remember George W. Bush winning the election in 2004. Oh, Democrats have lost the heartland. There’s a part of this country that is its real heart. And the other parts, they’re not real. You’re not a real American. You’re something else.

I think all the contempt you talk about is real. And yet it also does, in this strange way, go the other way. And maybe that is a kind of cliché, a kind of pat on the back where your economy is destroyed, but, oh, you’re a real American.

But there is something I always think about when I hear this — that it has never felt to me that the contempt actually only goes one way. As a Jewish urbanite, I have definitely often felt that it is very easy for people in all parts of American politics, but I’ve mostly heard it on the right, to talk about cities and talk about people like me and with my history as if they are completely alien to this place.

BARBARA KINGSOLVER: You’re absolutely right. It’s a dialectic. It’s an antagonism. It’s like there’s no point in asking who started this because it’s a really, really old antagonism. And you know, I was just talking about a larger framework of development that has really tried to get people off of the land.

But here we are, in the middle of it, with a lot of rock throwing in both directions. And it’s become devastating for American politics. Because rural people, who are less frequently called heartland as called flyover country, it’s a sort of a self-defense, saying, well, they hate us. We hate them back.

And let’s talk about who gets seen and who gets to tell the story in the U.S. I think that’s probably what’s most critical right now is that all of our entertainment, our news media, it’s all made in cities. And I think this has left rural people feeling so unseen and their problems so trivialized or ignored that they have gotten vulnerable to a damaged extent so that they’re ready to vote for the person who comes along and says, look, I see you, and I’m going to blow up the system.

OK, not the right answer, not the right guy, but I understand why so many people, for the first time, felt like — for the first time in many election cycles, somebody was paying attention. And now we’ve got a mess because that validated this urban notion that those people, they’re voting against their own interests. They’re not well-educated, so they can’t make good choices, so we don’t really need to listen to them, so we just hate them.

So it’s worse than it’s ever been in my life, this urban-rural antipathy, to the point where conversations are really difficult to have because we will only take information from people we trust. That’s just human. That’s the animal we are. We only listen to people that we feel like are on our side and going to look out for us.

So if you open a conversation with, you bonehead, then that conversation is over. And those are the only conversations that are happening now in a political arena, and it’s scary. So this is something I feel like I can do, in my small way, as an Appalachian who has also been lucky enough to have a higher education. And I can read a lot of stuff, and I’ve lived in a lot of parts of the world, and I can come back to my home and see what’s good about it and what’s challenging about it. And I can try to talk across this divide.

I mean, “Demon Copperhead” is my attempt to speak to people — well, it’s doing two things. I want it to be a window and a mirror, as they say books can be. I wanted it to be a mirror for my people to feel seen — and that’s been an amazing experience, to hear from kids in the foster care system, from teachers, from so many people in Demon’s walk of life saying, I never knew that anybody else could see how hard this is — but at the same time, to let people from elsewhere understand the complexity of our lives here, the nuance of Appalachian culture, the value of our communities, the whole ecosystems of characters that we are — the bad and the good — and the ways that we take care of ourselves. I wanted this book to be a conversation about that divide. And it is being read mostly by people who are not from here.

EZRA KLEIN: So I’m sitting here in the epicenter of urban journalism at “The New York Times.”

BARBARA KINGSOLVER: Yeah. Well, yeah, exactly, exactly.

EZRA KLEIN: Which has gotten much worse over time. It used to be that you had much more geographic dispersion of the papers people read — not so much the TV they consumed — but local radio stations were stronger, newspapers were more regional or more local. And that is not gone but is even weakened from when I was a kid.

BARBARA KINGSOLVER: Oh, it’s so nearly gone. It’s really scary to me.

EZRA KLEIN: Even in a place like California, where you still have The L.A. Times and The Chronicle and others, The New York Times is the biggest paper in California. It’s based in New York. And I was thinking about this for a bunch of different reasons.

But one of the things that, even if you think — and I do think this — that, then, some of the quality of journalism people get is better. You can get amazing national and international journalism, which was much harder to get when I was growing up.

But what even a great international paper can’t do is create a sense of local identity and pride. When you are growing up somewhere that is not New York and you read The New York Times, there is a function that regional media, that local media, played that is not being played for you that I would be very different if I hadn’t had when I was growing up.

BARBARA KINGSOLVER:

EZRA KLEIN:

BARBARA KINGSOLVER: Well, and identity aside, just the information.

EZRA KLEIN: Yes, just the information, of course.

BARBARA KINGSOLVER: And about maybe 2 percent of what we see and read about is about us. So it’s a void that’s — how do we address that? It’s really profoundly debilitating not to see yourself anywhere. And we’re aware of this in terms of other — we’ve made huge strides just in the last decade in terms of identity politics.

Yes, we understand people with disabilities need to see themselves in ads and in shows, in film. We understand that people of color need to see themselves to feel validated. OK, rural people need to see ourselves, too. Farmers need to see ourselves, too. And we’re not.

And so I hope it’s understandable that we’re really mad, that we’re really tired of being overlooked. And the economic aid that goes to farmers really goes to factories, industrial farms that are producing soybeans and corn that are going into fast food. And that’s not helping people.

Another unique quality of Appalachia is that we’re one of the last strongholds of small family farms because of our topography. Because in the mountains, there’s no flat land. A farm might have a half an acre of one acre that’s flat. And all the rest is too steep to plow.

So we don’t have the giant combines. We don’t have the giant wheat fields and tractors that look like they came out of “Star Wars.” If we ever see farming on TV, it’s that. And that’s not real people. To us, that’s not farming.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

EZRA KLEIN: I want to move us into the universe of the book. And there’s a particular character who I think bridges a bunch of the conversations we’re having here, which is Tommy. So can you tell me a bit about Tommy?

BARBARA KINGSOLVER: The ghost in the room here is Charles Dickens. Because I owe him everything with respect to this book. Charles Dickens is the key I finally found to the door of that house of this novel.

When I decided to write this as a modern-day “David Copperfield,” he gave me, I guess, the chutzpah to tell the story. Because people really liked his version of it. And I thought that could surely help. He gave me a crackerjack plot and all these amazing characters. And he gave me Tommy, who was called Tommy in “David Copperfield.”

And I will say here, as the disclaimer I always make, you do not have to read “David Copperfield” before or after you read “Demon Copperhead.” It’s not necessary at all.

EZRA KLEIN: There’s not a test?

BARBARA KINGSOLVER: There’s no test, no. But I took “David Copperfield” as my template, and I just laid my book right over it because it worked so well. And then, of course, I had to use some of the characters in other ways. And Tommy, he was called Tommy Traddles in “David Copperfield.” In my version, he was called Tommy Waddles. Everybody has a nickname here.

So Tommy, who’s Demon’s best friend in his first foster home, which is a horrible foster home — it’s this farmer who uses foster kids as enslaved labor on his farm, basically. He uses the money that he gets for being a foster home to pay off his farm taxes, and he uses the kids for free labor. And he’s really pretty horrible, and he doesn’t feed them enough, and that’s really sad.

But these boys bond. And Tommy’s a sweet, sad character who makes the best of everything, but he knows he’s never ever going to have a real foster home. Nobody wants — he says, nobody wants the fat kids. He’s really big for his age. But he’s a reader.

Demon is fascinated by the fact that Tommy brings home armloads of books from his school library, and he stashes them under the bed. And at night, he tells Demon the plots of all the “Magic Tree Houses” he’s ever read and all — he reads the Boxcar kids. So even though Demon is not himself a reader, he’s introduced to — I guess Tommy is the first intellectual he’s ever known.

And as they grow up in their own hardscrabble ways, they reconnect. That’s a Dickensian thing, the great Dickensian coincidences. They run into each other a few years later in a pharmacy where [LAUGHS] Demon is picking up his illicit drugs. He runs into Tommy, who’s now working at a newspaper. He’s a janitor, but he’s found a job.

And he works his way, actually, into the newspaper business. And he puts his education to good use, being a copy writer for ads in the local little newspaper, which is — it’s sad because those local little newspapers hardly exist anymore. But I worked on one when I was in high school, so I know how that all works, how you lay stuff out on the table with wax.

You cut them out, and you lay the columns out. And that was really fun to write about. The whole place smells like hot wax. And they form a partnership, actually, Demon and Tommy, that becomes Demon’s extraordinary way out of his situation — or a part of it.

EZRA KLEIN: One thing you’ve taught me to do really effectively, I thought, is talk about how, even what might seem like sympathetic coverage of Appalachia reads within. So he gets very upset, for instance, over a headline that just says, “Rural Drop-Out Rates on the Rise,” which seems like a pretty neutral headline. So what does he hate about it?

BARBARA KINGSOLVER: What he hates about it is that’s all anybody ever hears about us is the bad stuff. And yeah, this is Tommy’s education, like me and like all of the kids in this book, have no idea how we are seen by outsiders. We’re just people. These kids have never thought about being Appalachian.

And now that Tommy’s working in a newspaper and he’s seeing the headlines that come in over the AP thing and he’s working for this little town newspaper in Pennington Gap, they’re looking desperately for some syndicated stories that have relevance to the local area. He’s attending to this, and he’s seeing what’s coming through.

He’s dismayed that the only thing that outsiders ever seem interested in noticing is how poor the place is, the dropout rates, the poverty rates, the unemployment rates. What about the good stuff? They’re living all the good stuff, too — all the mamaws that look after every kid in the neighborhood, the fact that you know who your neighbors are all the time, and they’re always going to be there for you — unless they’re not, but that’s important, too.

Demon tries to explain this in Demon psychology. This is what he knows. He says, look, everybody needs somebody to punch when they get mad. Because this is all he’s ever known. So the stepdad punches his wife or the girlfriend. The girlfriend punches the kid. The kid has to go kick the dog. Everybody needs somebody to look down on.

When Demon explains all this to Tommy, about how everybody has to look down on somebody, and then has these conversations with Tommy about how much condescension, how they’re seen by the rest of the world, he says, well, we’re the dog of America.

Now that Tommy’s become aware of this, he sees it everywhere. He sees the TV has a festival of stupid hillbilly movies — “Deliverance,” whatever, “Hillbilly Chainsaw Massacre” or whatever it is.

Now that his eyes are opened, he’s seeing it everywhere. And he gets really upset about it because he’s got this email girlfriend from eastern Pennsylvania. And he’s afraid to meet her because he says she’s going to think I’m a stupid hillbilly. And her whole family is going to think we’re stupid hillbillies.

So this becomes Tommy’s quest, to figure out how this happened and why. And so that becomes, this is a way for the reader to follow Tommy on this quest to understand how this happened. And so Tommy, as the nearest thing we have in this book to an intellectual, he reads some social history, and he figures it out.

And so it allows the reader of this novel — and this is just a tiny part of the book — but there is a moment where the reader gets to learn about land-based economies and money-based economies. And Demon, in his short stints of living in cities, visiting or living — when he’s in rehab, he lives in Knoxville — and he lives this. And he gives you the story in Demon speak.

So he says, there’s country poor, and there’s city poor. When you’re in the country, at least you have food. He says, in the city, where are people even going to raise their tomatoes in Knoxville? He feels the desperation of people who have no access to the fundamental needs, like apples and tomatoes.

He has a job in the produce section of Walmart. When the artificial rain comes on every 15 minutes to keep the produce wet, he says, this is the closest thing people are ever going to see to rain on a real vegetable. And he feels sad for them.

EZRA KLEIN: As you mentioned, Demon and Tommy meet in foster care. And foster care makes up a lot of the first half-ish of the book. And it’s really — I mean, as somebody with young kids, it’s hard to read.

And something you’re focusing on there is the way in which the opioid epidemic hasn’t just harmed those who have been killed or have ended up in rehab or struggling with addiction but how many children have simply lost parents. Can you talk a bit about what you found when you were researching that, or seeing it around you, and how you began to think about the scale of what it has done to children now?

BARBARA KINGSOLVER: Yeah. That was my point of entry into this novel. That’s what I really wanted to write about — the orphans. It’s a whole generation of kids. The counties around where I live have enormous — I can’t give you exact statistics. I’ve heard anything from 15 percent to 35 percent of kids in some of these counties who are being raised by someone other than their parents because their parents are addicted or incarcerated or dead.

We have a generation of orphans coming up through our schools. Some of them have gone into foster care, but the system is so incredibly overloaded, which you learn about in the nove. There’s so many more kids in need than there are social networks to catch them — but the caseworkers are so overloaded and so pathetically underpaid.

They make less than schoolteachers. They don’t make enough, really, to live, these caseworkers. The turnover is really rapid. The files get lost. These kids are just lost. I didn’t even know until I did more research into this that’s where we are.

This is something that I think the world needs to know about, this country — voters — need to know about. We need to know how this epidemic has left a generation of innocents that nobody’s taking decent care of.

The story of the big players in the opioid epidemic — Purdue Pharma, the attorneys and the D.E.A. and all of that big story has broken. And it’s been told beautifully by a handful of journalists have done a great job of cracking and telling us that story, Beth Macy among them, with her fantastic book “Dopesick.”

So that was my point of entry in this novel. The story I wanted to tell was not about the big guys but about the little people. These kids have been left behind. Our burdened public school systems are being asked to raise these kids.

Our public schools are the point of delivery for pretty much all the social services that these kids may get. They get most of their food from free school lunches. A lot of them are not getting fed at home.

They get their mental health care through the school system. It’s not the public school that delivers it, but county mental health agencies deliver the care. The counseling they do is in the schools because they can’t expect families to take kids to counseling.

So this is a burden on our public school system and on our libraries and on everything that we have here that nobody outside of this region is even aware of. So we need resources, not just for treating addiction, which is an immense need, but that’s only one part of the damage. A bigger part of the damage is what we do for these kids.

And so that’s the story I wanted to tell. I want to just tell the story of the orphans. And that’s why Dickens came calling and told me, orphan stories can work. Let me give you an idea.

EZRA KLEIN: You had a passage here that I found extraordinarily moving. This is how Demon becomes an orphan but also how he has to think about, and over his life has to process, his mother and her relationship to him and what her death meant in terms of her care for him. So do you mind reading the passage on page 109, beginning with “I had roads to travel”?

BARBARA KINGSOLVER: Sure. And this is at his mother’s funeral. His mother overdosed on his birthday. And he couldn’t help but feel pretty furious at his mom for this abandonment. And now he’s looking back, because this narration, this first-person narration, is told from the — it’s a retrospective from later in his life, the advanced age of, maybe, 25 or something.

So he says here, he steps slightly outside of the funeral scene and says, “I had roads to travel before I would know it’s not that simple, the dope versus the person you love, that a craving can ratchet itself up and up inside a body and mind at the same time that body’s strength for tolerating its favorite drug goes down and down, that the longer you’ve gone hurting between fixes, the higher the odds that you’ll reach too hard for the stars next time. That big first rush of relief could be your last.

In the long run, that’s how I’ve come to picture Mom at the end, reaching as hard as her little body would stretch, trying to touch the blue sky, reaching for some peace, and getting it. If the grown-up version of me could have one chance at walking backward into this story, part of me wishes I could sit down on the back pew with that pissed-off kid in his overly tight church clothes and dark hawk attitude and tell him, you think you’re giant, but you are such a small speck in this screwed-up world. This is not about you.”

EZRA KLEIN: You have an interesting way of putting his mother in context in this part of the book. And you talk about her as the unknown soldier. You talk about the way in which nobody cries over someone’s bad personal decisions — not nobody but society does not cry over one person’s weakness.

But then, when there are a mountain of bodies, then a story is called for. Then a narrative takes hold. Then it’s not their fault. It becomes a societal force pressing down on them. But the people who fall at the beginning, they don’t get that grace, not publicly and even, at that time, not in their own families. Because it’s in their own families where these narratives have to take hold.

I’d like to just hear you talk a bit more about that, about how you thought about the respect we do or don’t give to people who end up addicted to, or dying from, medications that they were given and told by people with medical degrees or people who were there — the nurse in the doctor’s clinic — that this was, safe and somebody had checked this out for them.

BARBARA KINGSOLVER: Exactly. That’s the crime, that this drug was so addicting. And the doctors who prescribed it were told otherwise. And this region was singled out as particularly vulnerable, partly because health care delivery in rural places is stretched so thin that there’s very little opportunity for follow-up.

They often see people on the one sick day that that person has in a year from work.

So, of necessity, it’s prescription pad doctoring. And Purdue saw this as an opportunity because there are so many people here with work injuries, old mining injuries, disability. And so they just thought, aha, we can make a killing here. And they literally did.

And to research this book, I spent time — I sat down with a lot, a lot, of people who had been through this whole journey to learn about the inside of addiction in ways that — and just the logistics, like, here’s a pill. How does it get into your veins — a lot of the specifics that I, fortunately, don’t know from firsthand experience.

So I listened to a lot of stories. And I shed a lot of tears with people who told me their stories of how they became addicted. And most of them started with a legal prescription from a doctor they trusted, a doctor who was going on the best advice, who said, you have to stay ahead of the pain.

You set your clock. You take this on whatever timetable you’re supposed to take it. Don’t miss a pill. Take this painkiller. And by the end of their 30-day scrip, they were addicted.

And so this was done to them. Nobody wants to be addicted.

But what I’ve found, and what I thought so much about in the course of writing this novel — I realized that was another of the prejudices I knew I was going to be up against. Because people have such firm ideas of addiction as a moral failing, as a failure of willpower, a failure of virtue.

And that’s been done to us. That’s a brainwashing — that the so-called war on drugs, which I think hit its 50th anniversary this year, has been a whole lot of brainwashing on how the answer to this problem is, just say no. The answer to this problem is incarceration.

We have been trained, culturally trained, to think of addiction in this way, as a personal failing that needs to be punished.

Incarceration does not cure addiction any more than it cures cancer. Addiction is a disease.

It’s a disease of the brain, of dopamine and neurons in the brain that have been damaged and rewired so that if you don’t keep getting this drug, you get so sick that you feel like you’re going to die. You wish you’re going to die. And you might die.

It’s impossible to describe how terrible this disease is, not just the dope sickness of it but the fact that your entire life has to become just a really difficult, hard work in process of, every morning, getting your means, getting your fix, getting through another day. And nobody wants to live like that.

So one of my hopes with this novel is that, by portraying this process of addiction from the inside, people might have more compassion for it as a disease and think of people with addiction as diseased.

I mean, even in our own families, we see this. Nobody would tell their daughter with cancer, OK, I’m going to kick you out. I’m going to wait till you hit bottom. And then you can have chemo.

That’s how we treat the disease of addiction. And it’s incredibly inhumane. And effective treatment will only happen after we switch over from putting this in the hands of the police and the prisons to medical workers who can meet addicted people where they live and offer them the first steps of clean needles and fentanyl test strips so that they won’t die in the weeks that it will take for them logistically, physically, emotionally, to get to the beginnings of treatment.

There’s still a lot of people who have a sort of, I guess, a moral objection to harm reduction centers that just give people the basics of clean needles and fentanyl test strips to keep them alive. It’s as if people feel that addicted people deserve to die. Imagine if we looked at any other disease that way.

EZRA KLEIN: One thing that I think you describe really well here is that the desire of the market, the demand for OxyContin and for other similar drugs in the period, was also an outcome of the kind of work we have people do and the kind of lives we have them live.

You describe OxyContin, then, as, quote, “God’s gift for the laid-off deep-hole man with his back and neck bones grinding like bags of gravel, for the bent-over lady pulling double shifts at Dollar General, with her shot knees and A.D.H.D. grandkids to raise by herself.” And there is something — I mean, all addictions are a kind of horror — but there’s a literalness that is often a little bit obscured with other drugs.

This was a drug people got on to treat real pain — and pain they often had to go through because they were trying to make a living and being made to do repetitive tasks that the human body is not built for. And there is just both a horror to that but so much of this book, both in the foreground, at times, but in the background, a lot of times, is about the economics of the area. And one of the economics of the area is the kind of work people have to do.

BARBARA KINGSOLVER: Exactly. It was so predatory. It was so intentional. And we know this now, that Purdue Pharma looked at metrics. They looked all over the country to see — and identified, as I understand it, three regions. It was a combination of mining and a lot of physically taxing labor that left a lot of people with disability and pain.

They’re using people’s pain for profit. So that was part one was to find these areas where a lot of people live in pain and have work injuries that they’ve carried for, in many cases, decades.

And the other thing is, as I mentioned before, this very stretched-thin health care delivery system.

I think that one of many things that people in cities don’t understand is how hard it is for us to get to see doctors in the country. The county where I live, for many years, did not have — it’s a big county, too — but we did not have one physician here who could deliver a baby, not one. We had to go to Tennessee.

One of the characters in this novel, Dori, ends up having to quit school when her father is sick. Her mother is dead, and her father is gravely ill. And she has to drive to get him to heart-lung specialists and the different doctors he has to see almost every week. She has to drive to another state.

That’s the case. I have driven with my kids to see specialists. Many times, I’ve driven to doctors who lived four or five hours away in the nearest city. This is something that’s just — that we live with here. There are not enough physicians to meet our needs. And so you have to wait a long time to get into one.

And that doctor doesn’t have the chance to follow you up. He’s got one chance to help your, in this case, terrible pain. And he’s got this drug.

I mean, they knew this was going to work. They knew that they would be able to pump into these counties, in many cases, more than one or two pills for every man, woman and child in the county.

I mean, the flow of these drugs into these counties in the very short time, the relatively few years that it was allowed — sort of before the whistle blew — is phenomenal. And once that addiction has begun, it doesn’t go away after the drug is reformulated. The next step is heroin.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

EZRA KLEIN: One thing the book really emphasizes is both the protections and, I would also say, the predations of community, something that is there in Lee County in the world of the book — I think also, in many ways, in real life — is a knowingness. Over and over again, Demon runs into people from his past or finds that there is a connection to somebody from his past. And it’s like, well, that’s Lee County for you. Everybody’s connected to everybody.

And there’s both these moments of incredible grace in that, in the story you tell about him. And then, also, I feel this interesting dark side of it, where he’s preyed upon by people in his community over and over again, or allowed to fall through the cracks over and over again, that the community is not able to be that protective and, at times, is even the source of the danger.

So I’m curious how you thought about that. Because it’s clearly something that you love about the place — I mean, it comes through — but also something that you didn’t allow that to be an easy answer. And many of the worst things done to him are done to him not by a faraway economic force but somebody living right down the street.

BARBARA KINGSOLVER: I think that’s so much of the damage that happens is because of the way that community where he lives has become damaged and unraveled by the drug epidemic.

But just to back up and talk more generally about community, something, sort of a mantra for me in my teenage years, growing up in a real little town, was the great thing about community is everybody knows your business. And the thing that sucks about community is everybody knows your business.

So if you’re a teenager trying to do something that your parents don’t know about, it’s not going to happen. They’re going to know. You’re going to have a flat tire, and the guy that pulls up to help you is going to tell your dad within minutes.

If you make an enemy, you’re going to run into him again. It’s a funny thing. And that’s really Appalachian. We are people made of community, for better and for worse, but mostly, I’m going to say, for better. You are your people.

And when you meet somebody new for the first time and you sit down with them, the first conversation is always the same. I would title that conversation, who are your people? You sit down, and you talk about, like, who are you, and what do you do? And then you just keep talking until you find out that your papaw is related to their second cousin, or they worked together at one time, or you find that point of connection.

And then you relax. And then you have whatever other conversation you’re going to have.

But that’s just how it is. We don’t even think about it. We are just all aware of how we’re related to each other. And for the most part, that’s a rare and beautiful thing, I think, especially in the United States of America, which has become, since World War II, so mobile that it’s very common for people to live in communities where they’re not related to anybody.

We know everybody. We live among our people. And families function — when a family member gets taken out, there’s a larger family to absorb. Up to a point, it really works well. It’s sort of our own — another level of our self-sufficiency.

When somebody dies, everybody brings food. You know your neighbors. You look everybody in the eye. When you drive down the road, there’s this way of waving that people put one finger up from the steering wheel. It’s like everybody waves at everybody.

And this comes through in the novel when Demon goes to the city, and he feels like an alien. He feels invisible because nobody looks him in the eye. Nobody waves to him. Nobody looks at anybody.

And his friend there, who’s a city guy, says, well, they’re saving their juice. You gotta save your juice. You can’t just give it away to everybody because you have to save it for your own people. And if you gave it away to everybody you saw, you’d be done with your juice by 9 o’clock in the morning.

And so Demon ponders this. And he realizes we, in Appalachia, are the juice economy. I mean, we give ourselves to everybody. Ladies get together on front porches, and they make quilts to give to the girls in high school that are pregnant. That’s a real thing. Ladies get together and make sack dinners to give to the kids at school that are going to go home for the weekend and not have any dinner.

It is how I think we have adapted to these centuries of exploitation from the outside, just taking care of ourselves. And that’s Mrs. Peggot in the novel, who looks after Demon and knows more than he realizes about his situation.

But it can only get you so far when you have something on the level of this addiction crisis cutting through whole generations of families, taking out so many people, and also putting so many people in a position that they have to steal to live. It’s the most tragic part of the whole story, I think, is what it has done to communities.

EZRA KLEIN: You talked about, and you mentioned earlier, feeling like a bit of an ambassador between worlds here and this book, in particular, being a way of explaining where you come from and where you live to people who are in a very different world who are picking up the latest Pulitzer Prize winner in fiction at the bookstore.

If you were doing the ambassadordom in the other way, in the other direction, trying to communicate what’s beautiful about cities, about some of these other parts of America, to the people you live with or to the people you’re describing in this book, what would you emphasize in the way that you emphasize community going in the current direction?

BARBARA KINGSOLVER: I would talk about the value of, the richness and the privilege, of living among many people who are very, very different from you, who aren’t related to you, who come from a different country. I mean, I just think about, for years and years, until she died, when I ever came to New York City, I stayed with my agent, Frances Goldin, in her apartment on East 11th Street.

And I just think about that part of New York City, the Lower East Side, and how I would just walk down the street and hear people speaking different languages and pass the Italian place and the Polish place. All of the world is there. And how much you can absorb from people who are not like you who are white and not white, people of color, people of so many colors, people of so many orientations, people who are gay and straight and trans.

And acceptance and comfort with difference comes with proximity. And that’s something that’s hard for us here. Because just as a product of history, of the settlement of this region and the fact that there was really no good reason, after it was settled mainly by the Scots-Irish, there was no good reason — there were no employment opportunities or other reasons — for people from outside, from other countries people who are non-white, not white, to come here.

So here we are. There’s a whole lot more diversity in Appalachia than outsiders may think. We aren’t a dull monoculture. But it’s also possible to go to school, and it’s usual to go to school, with people who are mostly like you, mostly your race and your class and your caste.

And so one good thing about what kids get and, well, adults get from television is exposure to people who are different. But that’s not the same as having a friend who’s different from you. And so that’s something that I wish we had more of here.

EZRA KLEIN: I think it’s a lovely place to end. So always, our final question on the show, what are three books that have influenced you that you would recommend to the audience?

BARBARA KINGSOLVER: I would choose two books that are Appalachian about my place. One of them is by Arwen Donahue. The full title is “Landings — a Crooked Creek Farm Year.” And I love this book. It’s a graphic memoir. It’s not like most books you’re going to see.

She’s an artist. So this book is a memoir of her year on her farm, which is in the county where I grew up. And every page is, on the left-hand side, a pen and ink watercolor drawing of a scene of a day of a life in her farm. And it’s paired with really lovely prose that just describes their year on their small farm, growing vegetables for a farmer’s market.

And I said earlier that it’s really rare to see descriptions of farming that are not either condescending or romanticized. This is neither. This is real. It’s just a real look at what life is like for a family that’s very attached to a piece of land and making their living from it.

I recommend Beth Macy’s follow-up to “Dopesick,” which is called “Raising Lazarus.” It’s a great piece of journalism on where we are now with this epidemic and what can be done, what’s being done, and what we need to do more of.

And then the third is a novel that I just read that knocked my socks off. And it’s nothing to do with where I live. It’s actually set entirely in the ocean. It’s called “Pod” by Laline Paull. And it is set entirely in the ocean. It’s not science fiction. It’s realistic. It’s set in the here and now. And none of the characters are human. I’ll just tell you that. And it’s fascinating.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

EZRA KLEIN: Barbara Kingsolver, thank you very much.

BARBARA KINGSOLVER: You’re welcome. Thanks for your interest.

EZRA KLEIN: This episode of “The Ezra Klein Show” is produced by Annie Galvin. Fact-checking by Michelle Harris, Kate Sinclair and Mary Marge Locker. Mixing by Sonia Herrero. Our senior editor is Rogé Karma.

The show’s production team also includes Emefa Agawu, Jeff Geld, Rollin Hu and Kristin Lin. Original music is by Isaac Jones. Audience strategy by Kristina Samulewski and Shannon Busta. The executive producer of New York Times Opinion Audio is Annie-Rose Strasser.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

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[***For One City, Rainforest Is Both Lifeline and Junkyard***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65WW-B4P1-JBG3-63HF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 11, 2022 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 4; IVORY COAST DISPATCH

**Length:** 1247 words

**Body**

ABIDJAN, Ivory Coast -- The clangs of the men's chisels and hammers were deafening as they dismantled a rusty truck, the din only fading as it reached the dense forest encircling them.

The mechanics were working in the biggest junkyard in Ivory Coast, where the skeletons of thousands of disused vans, buses and taxis spread out endlessly and engine oil soaked into the muddy soil.

But they were also working inside the confines of Banco National Park, one of the world's last primary rainforests to survive within a major metropolis. The park is an endangered gem of lush greenery in the busy economic hub of Abidjan, an oasis that the Ivorian authorities are trying to revitalize, despite all of the environmental threats it faces.

After losing around 85 percent of its forest cover over the past 60 years, Ivory Coast has vowed to protect what remains, and to reforest as much as it can.

In Abidjan, a metropolitan area of some 5.5 million people, the authorities have turned Banco National Park -- 10 times as large as Central Park in New York -- into a poster child of their conservation efforts, wooing Ivorians who have long avoided biking and hiking expeditions there as part of a nascent ecotourism plan.

But in doing so, the authorities have pitted conservationists against residents of nearby neighborhoods whose ancestors once owned the land -- and against the informal workers operating in the protected area. Both of these groups said they recognized that the forest needed to be protected but felt excluded by the government's approach.

''We're asked to protect the forest and leave, but without receiving land to settle in,'' said Amara Camara, a mechanic who sat at the entrance of the truck graveyard on a recent afternoon, a park ranger on the wooden bench beside him. ''So where do we go?''

The ranger, Lt. Kodjo Casimir Aman -- who is the park's head of security tasked with protecting it against informal workers and poachers -- pointed out that people were just one of his problems, and a more movable one.

''Even if we kick you out,'' he told Mr. Camara, ''where are we going to put all these wrecks?''

With many African cities living under rising temperatures, facing alarming levels of air pollution and lacking green spaces, Banco National Park makes Abidjan stand out. Its nearly 8,500 mostly wooded acres serve as a carbon pit and flood regulator that conservationists say is vital to the city. The park's groundwater table provides 40 percent of the city's drinking water.

But unregulated urban expansion and illegal activities like the vehicle graveyard have steadily infringed upon the park. Landfills are contaminating its springs, and poachers are endangering the pangolins, chimpanzees and other species populating it.

A wall will soon encircle Banco park, making it more appealing for some, and less accessible for others: Any entry outside the main entrance, where it costs 1,000 CFA for Ivorian and most West African visitors, or $1.60, is illegal. International visitors pay about $7.75.

There was a time, however, when nearby residents would let their cattle graze freely by the forest, or grow crops of coffee, cocoa, cassava and maize inside it. Children would swim and fish in its ponds, and boys would go into the forest for initiation ceremonies.

In the neighboring Agban-Village commune, a highway now separates houses from the forest that residents said belonged to their ancestors. Parts of their neighborhood have been requisitioned to build a bus station, others for a subway line. The local cemetery no longer exists.

Rodrigue Djro, the local leader, said the authorities were grabbing land without letting area residents expand into the park.

''We're making this sacrifice for the common good,'' Mr. Djro said. ''What do we get in return?''

Gen. Adama Tondossama, the head of the national parks and reserves office, said the state had owned the land for decades. The local authorities have promised to hire young people from surrounding neighborhoods as guides and park employees, although General Tondossama acknowledged that tourism revenues would most likely be limited until the park developed more activities.

''We need domestic visitors,'' he said.

For decades, the Banco park has both fascinated and scared Ivorians.

It is surrounded by ***working-class*** communes that were involved in the civil war in 2010 and 2011 that killed more than 3,000 people. During an earlier political crisis in 2000, dozens of bodies were discovered on the park's edge.

The park now welcomes visitors with a sign promising ''guaranteed safety.'' On weekends, hundreds come to breathe some fresh air, discover fish farming in one of the many ponds dotting the park, or ride mountain bikes on its paths.

''There were legends of bandits and spirits haunting the park,'' said Amira Amian, 22, a law student who biked there with a friend for the first time on a recent Saturday. Snapping selfies, she added, ''Now, it's quite cool to discover our forests and the benefits of nature.''

Children living nearby look at the park's potential for fun with longing eyes, but most do not venture inside, instead playing hide and seek and elastics (a game combining elements of hopscotch and jump rope) on the sandy alleys leading to it. Teenagers and young adults brave enough to go inside risk being detained by patrolling rangers like Lieutenant Aman.

Many still think it is worth it. They hide on the forest's edge to smoke marijuana, or set traps to capture guinea fowl, which they sell to local restaurants. They scavenge for guavas and berries, or banana leaves on which fermented cassava is served.

''It belongs to us, too,'' said Ahmed Akhadri, 23, who said his father had once given him a turtle from a hunting expedition in the park.

But some actions by those who live near the park are more environmentally damaging: Residents chop down trees for firewood, and dozens of men wash clothes in a pond linked to the forest, contaminating some of its streams with soap and dye.

Still, local residents are not the only ones degrading the park. The authorities bear responsibility, too. A high-voltage power line built decades ago cut the northeastern part of the park, and mechanics settled in the cleared area underneath. Alongside the newly erected wall, a 20-yard-wide strip of forest was recently razed for a road.

Nahounou Daleba, an activist for JVE Côte D'Ivoire, an environmental group based in Abidjan, said the authorities were eating away at the park without acknowledging the effect of their own actions on its biodiversity.

''We can't even plant a seed in the forest,'' he said, ''but they just destroyed parts of it without accountability.''

On a hill overlooking the forest on a recent afternoon, Lieutenant Aman parked his motorcycle and scanned the park, spotting a woman picking leaves illegally on its edge. His gaze moved to two children dumping waste into a stream snaking into the forest.

''We can't prevent everyone from interacting with the forest,'' he said. Lieutenant Aman included himself in that statement: He gets his car repaired at the junkyard in the park.

Mr. Camara, the mechanic and a single father of a 16-year-old boy, said he was ready to leave if given the opportunity to relocate. He said the reforestation of the park was one of his dreams. But he added, ''Right now we're focusing on how to live.''

Loucoumane Coulibaly contributed reporting.Loucoumane Coulibaly contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/10/world/africa/ivory-coast-abidjan-banco-park.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/10/world/africa/ivory-coast-abidjan-banco-park.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: A highway separates Banco National Park from Abidjan, the economic hub of Ivory Coast. The park, a rare rainforest within a metropolis, has lost 85 percent of its forest cover over the past 60 years.

Above, workers dismantling a truck at a junkyard inside the park. Top right, a wall being built around the forest

the plan is to have one entrance and to charge a fee. Top left, Lt. Kodjo Casimir Aman, a forest ranger, looking for poachers. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDREW CABALLERO-REYNOLDS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 11, 2022

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[***In Metropolis of 5 Million, Rainforest Is a Lifeline and a Junkyard; Ivory Coast Dispatch***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65WR-D901-JBG3-63CC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 10, 2022 Sunday 11:40 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; africa

**Length:** 1317 words

**Highlight:** An endangered gem of lush greenery in Abidjan, Ivory Coast’s economic hub, is at the center of government efforts to promote ecotourism. Those who live and work there worry about what it means for them.

**Body**

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After losing around 85 percent of its forest cover over the past 60 years, Ivory Coast has vowed to protect what remains, and to reforest as much as it can.

In Abidjan, a metropolitan area of some 5.5 million people, the authorities have turned Banco National Park — 10 times as large as Central Park in New York — into a poster child of their conservation efforts, wooing Ivorians who have long avoided biking and hiking expeditions there as part of a nascent ecotourism plan.

But in doing so, the authorities have pitted conservationists against residents of nearby neighborhoods whose ancestors once owned the land — and against the informal workers operating in the protected area. Both of these groups said they recognized that the forest needed to be protected but felt excluded by the government’s approach.

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With many African cities living under [*rising temperatures*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/28/climate/climate-change-ipcc-report.html), facing alarming levels of [*air pollution*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/05/world/africa/on-dakars-streets-working-out-is-a-way-of-life-pollution-is-spoiling-the-rush.html) and lacking green spaces, Banco National Park makes Abidjan stand out. Its nearly 8,500 mostly wooded acres serve as a carbon pit and flood regulator that conservationists say is vital to the city. The park’s groundwater table provides 40 percent of the city’s drinking water.

But unregulated urban expansion and illegal activities like the vehicle graveyard have steadily infringed upon the park. Landfills are contaminating its springs, and poachers are endangering the pangolins, chimpanzees and other species populating it.

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**Load-Date:** July 11, 2022

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[***Democrats Worry as Republican Attack Ads Take a Toll in Wisconsin***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66JM-S8W1-DXY4-X1JT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 7, 2022 Friday

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 14

**Length:** 1724 words

**Byline:** By Reid J. Epstein

**Body**

Mandela Barnes, the party's Senate candidate, is now wobbling in his race against Ron Johnson, the Republican incumbent. Democratic nominees in other states face similar challenges.

MADISON, Wis. -- Politicians who visit diners know the deal: In exchange for photos establishing their ***working-class*** bona fides, they must cheerfully accept heaping portions of unsolicited advice.

But on Tuesday at Monty's Blue Plate Diner here in Madison, one of the first people to approach Lt. Gov. Mandela Barnes, the Democratic nominee for Senate in Wisconsin, took the tradition to a new level, presenting him with a typed-up list of concerns about his campaign.

The supporter, Jane Kashnig, a retired businesswoman who has spent recent weeks going door to door to speak with voters, told Mr. Barnes his backers were jittery about his inability to repel an unending volley of attack ads from Senator Ron Johnson and his Republican allies.

Show more fire, Ms. Kashnig urged the Democrat and his campaign. ''The people on the doors want him to fight,'' she said.

Democrats in Wisconsin are wringing their hands about how Mr. Barnes's political fortunes have sagged under the weight of the Republican advertising blitz. Grumbling about his campaign tactics and the help he is receiving from national Democrats, they worry that he could be one of several of the party's Senate candidates whose struggles to parry a withering G.O.P. onslaught could sink their candidacies and cost Democrats control of the chamber.

Beyond Wisconsin, Republican Senate candidates and their allies in Pennsylvania, Nevada and Georgia have alarmed Democrats with their gains in the polls after an enormous investment in television advertising. In those three states, Republicans and their allies outspent Democrats in September, according to data from AdImpact, a media-tracking firm.

The Republican wave of ads has helped counteract the Democratic momentum that followed the Supreme Court's decision in June to end the constitutional right to an abortion. Republicans have shifted the debate to more friendly terrain, focusing in Wisconsin and other places on crime.

''There were weeks where we would get outspent two-to-one on TV,'' Mr. Barnes said in an interview. ''There has been an unprecedented amount of negative spin against me.''

It has been an abrupt turnaround for Mr. Barnes since late summer, when he won the Democratic primary by acclamation and opened up a lead in polls over Mr. Johnson, who has long had the lowest approval ratings of any incumbent senator on the ballot this year. But the hail of attack ads from Mr. Johnson and allied super PACs has tanked Mr. Barnes's standing, particularly among the state's finicky independent voters.

Republicans have seized in particular on Mr. Barnes's past progressive stances, including his suggestion in a 2020 television interview that funding be diverted from ''over-bloated budgets in police departments'' to social services -- a key element of the movement to defund the police. Since then, Mr. Barnes has disavowed defunding the police and has called for an increase in funding.

Race has also been at the center of the televised assault on Mr. Barnes, who is Black. Mail advertising from Republicans has darkened Mr. Barnes's skin, while some TV ads from a Republican super PAC have superimposed his name next to images of crime scenes.

Those overtones come as no surprise to Wisconsin Democrats. He is only the third Black statewide official in Wisconsin's history; the first two both lost re-election in campaigns widely regarded as racist. And Democratic strategists and voters are well aware that fighting back aggressively has its dangers.

''It's real easy to go from 'fired up for change' to 'the angry Black guy from Milwaukee' in the public perception,'' said Alexia Sabor, the Democratic Party chairwoman in Dane County, which includes Madison.

For all of the Republican optimism, Mr. Barnes still has a path to victory. Wisconsin elections over the last two decades have been very close, with Donald J. Trump and Joseph R. Biden Jr. each winning the deeply polarized state by fewer than 25,000 votes in their successful presidential campaigns. And Wisconsin Democrats have a record of winning tight races: Including nonpartisan State Supreme Court elections, the party has won nine of the 10 statewide elections since 2018. Mr. Johnson is also less popular in the state now than he was when he won narrow victories in 2010 and 2016.

''I have not met somebody who's like, 'Oh, gee, how should I vote in the Senate race?''' said Mayor Katie Rosenberg of Wausau, a longtime friend and political supporter of Mr. Barnes. ''I mean, mostly people know.''

Mr. Barnes entered the primary as a favorite of the progressive wing of the Democratic Party. When he first ran for office, in 2012, he wrote on Twitter that progressive candidates who moved to the political center were ''compromising all integrity.'' In 2019, he delivered the Working Families Party's response to Mr. Trump's State of the Union address.

Mr. Barnes, 35, a former state legislator who was elected lieutenant governor in 2018, consistently led in the primary polls. Two weeks before the primary, his leading rivals dropped out and endorsed him one by one, saying they hoped to give him a runway to raise money and begin attacking Mr. Johnson.

''I gave him a two-week head start,'' said Tom Nelson, the Outagamie County executive, who was the first Democratic Senate candidate to end his campaign and back Mr. Barnes.

But now, Mr. Nelson said, ''The campaign needs to fire its media consultant.'' He added, ''They're losing.''

The Republican ads have been remarkably effective. Shortly after the Aug. 9 primary, Mr. Barnes led Mr. Johnson by seven percentage points overall and by 15 points among independent voters, according to a poll conducted by Marquette University Law School. But 41 percent of voters still didn't have an opinion about Mr. Barnes. A month later, Mr. Johnson led by a point overall and by two points among Wisconsin's independents.

Mr. Johnson declined an interview request. In an interview with a conservative talk radio host in Milwaukee last month, Mr. Johnson accused Democrats of ''playing the race card,'' adding, ''That's what leftists do.''

Mr. Barnes, who announced on Wednesday that he had raised $20 million during the three-month fund-raising period that ended Sept. 30, has responded to Mr. Johnson with gentle advertisements in which he speaks to the camera and calmly asserts that the senator is lying about his record. In one, he is at a kitchen table making a peanut butter and jelly sandwich. Only on Monday did the Barnes campaign begin airing an ad criticizing Mr. Johnson's opposition to abortion rights.

Some Democrats also worry that Mr. Barnes is not sufficiently motivating Black voters, a key constituency largely concentrated in Milwaukee. Most of the city's leading Black elected officials endorsed other candidates during the Senate primary.

''The progressives have been Mandela's base from the day that he was elected -- it really has never been the Black community,'' said Lena Taylor, a Black Democratic state senator from Milwaukee whom Mr. Barnes unsuccessfully challenged in a 2016 primary for her seat. ''Because of that, he does have to do a little bit more with what other people would have seen as his natural base.''

Even Mr. Barnes's longtime supporters are frustrated that his campaign has allowed Republicans to frame the contest as being about crime rather than Mr. Johnson's past support for overturning the 2020 election and the misinformation he continues to spread about the Jan. 6, 2021, attack on the Capitol.

''To call what happened on Jan. 6 an armed insurrection, I just think is not accurate,'' Mr. Johnson said on Tuesday during remarks to the Rotary Club of Milwaukee.

Senior Democrats in Wisconsin and Washington concluded long ago that condemning Mr. Johnson over Jan. 6 in television ads is not a winning argument with swing voters.

''To make Mandela and Black folks endure the relentless racist attacks, then not hit back on treason, corruption and lies, is unfortunate,'' said Francesca Hong, a state representative from Madison who was an early supporter of Mr. Barnes.

In the interview with Mr. Barnes, held after a campaign stop at a brewery in Racine, he both reiterated his support for increasing funding for law enforcement and said he had not changed any progressive positions he took earlier in his political career.

''Things haven't changed, right? But it's what we talk about,'' he said. ''My positions are the same and where I stand on those issues is the exact same.''

He also said he did not believe he faced extra hurdles running to represent Wisconsin as a Black Democrat from Milwaukee -- the state's largest city but one that has long punched below its weight in statewide elections. Since 1913, when the ratification of the 17th Amendment provided for the direct election of senators, Wisconsin has elected only one from Milwaukee, Herb Kohl, who served four terms.

''There's a Black dude from Chicago whose middle name was Hussein,'' Mr. Barnes said, referring to former President Barack Obama. ''He won Wisconsin twice.''

Perhaps the clearest sign of Mr. Barnes's political challenges is the lack of eagerness by some of his fellow Democrats to campaign with him.

Three hours before Mr. Barnes's stop at the Madison diner, Gov. Tony Evers, a Democrat locked in a tight re-election race of his own, held a rally on the steps of the State Capitol calling on voters to punish Republicans for refusing to consider changes to the state's 1849 law banning abortion. Those present included the state's attorney general, treasurer, Democratic state legislators and the state Democratic Party's chairman.

Mr. Barnes wasn't there, and the parade of speakers barely mentioned him.

''It wasn't that he wasn't invited or was invited,'' Mr. Evers said afterward. ''He just scheduled something different at the same time to talk about the same thing.''

Mr. Johnson, for his part, appears to be in a jubilant mood. On Wednesday, he thanked the Tavern League of Wisconsin, the state's trade association for bars, for endorsing him by posting a video in which the 67-year-old senator chugs a Miller Lite in four seconds.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/06/us/politics/mandela-barnes-wisconsin-senate.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/06/us/politics/mandela-barnes-wisconsin-senate.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Sarah Kerch, 36, played with her daughter as she waited for a photo-op with Mandela Barnes in Madison, Wis., on Tuesday. Left, women at a mingling event in Little Brewery in Racine. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HAIYUN JIANG/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 7, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Is a Red Wave Coming for Biden’s Presidency?; Spencer Bokat-Lindell***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:641Y-2SS1-JBG3-60D6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 9, 2021 Tuesday 16:10 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

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**Byline:** Spencer Bokat-Lindell

**Highlight:** The Republican Party has a lot of news to celebrate after last week’s elections. Why are voters cooling toward the Democratic Party?

**Body**

This article is part of the Debatable newsletter. You can [*sign up here*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) to receive it on Tuesdays and Thursdays.

The Republican Party, you may have heard by now, has a lot of news to celebrate after [*last week’s elections*](https://www.nytimes.com/news-event/elections-2021). In Virginia, a state that President Biden won by [*10 points*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-virginia.html) last year, it took back the governor’s mansion, a feat it hadn’t managed in over a decade. Republicans also came within striking distance of doing the same in New Jersey, a more deeply blue state that Biden won [*by about 16 points*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-new-jersey.html). And in New York, Democrats [*lost ground*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2021/11/new-york-city-2021-election-results-gop-wave-hit-big-apple.html) in local races too.

What does the G.O.P.’s rebound tell us about how the electorate is changing, and what does it portend for the country’s political future in 2022 and beyond?

The thermostat strikes back

In 1995, the political scientist Christopher Wlezien developed a theory known as the [*thermostatic model*](https://www.jstor.org/stable/2111666) of American politics: The idea, as Vox’s Zack Beauchamp [*explains*](https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2021/11/4/22761168/virginia-governor-glenn-youngkin-critical-race-theory), is “to think of the electorate as a person adjusting their thermostat: When the political environment gets ‘too hot’ for their liking, they turn the thermostat down. When it gets ‘too cold,’ they turn it back up.”

In practice, the thermostatic nature of public opinion means that the president’s party tends to struggle in off-year elections. Such swings have been observed for decades:

The effect occurs for two reasons, The Washington Post’s Perry Bacon Jr. [*explains*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/11/03/an-abnormal-republican-party-was-treated-normally-by-voters-new-jersey-virginia/). “First, there is often a turnout gap that favors the party that doesn’t control the White House,” he writes. “Off-year elections have much lower turnout than presidential ones, but typically more people from the party that doesn’t control the presidency are motivated to vote in opposition to whatever the incumbent president is doing.” A turnout gap was certainly in evidence last week.

The second reason for thermostatic backlash is that some voters switch from the president’s party, which also appears to have happened last week: Exit polls suggested that 5 percent of 2020 Biden voters backed Glenn Youngkin, the Republican candidate, while just 2 percent of those who voted for Donald Trump in 2020 supported Terry McAuliffe, the Democrat. “That only accounts for a few points,” Bacon notes, but given that Youngkin won by less than [*two percentage points*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/11/02/us/elections/results-virginia.html), “those small shifts matter.”

[*[“How shocking were New Jersey and Virginia, really?”]*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/11/03/how-shocking-were-new-jersey-virginia-really/)

So why are voters cooling toward the Democrats?

As Democrats make sense of their losses, “one fact stands out as one of the easiest explanations,” The Times’s Nate Cohn [*wrote*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/11/02/us/elections/results-new-jersey.html). “Joe Biden has lower approval ratings at this stage of his presidency than nearly any president in the era of modern polling.”

Why?

* Some argue that Biden is performing poorly because he has tacked too far left on policy. Representative Abigail Spanberger, a Virginia Democrat, [*told The Times*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/03/us/politics/democrat-losses-2022.html): “Nobody elected him to be F.D.R., they elected him to be normal and stop the chaos.”

1. [*Others*](https://www.cnn.com/videos/politics/2021/11/05/don-lemon-james-carville-democrats-stupid-wokeness-newday-vpx.cnn)blame a more general political-cultural gestalt: “wokeness.” “Wokeness Derailed the Democrats,” the Times columnist Maureen Dowd [*wrote*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/06/opinion/sunday/democrats-elections.html) last weekend. This line of argumentation has [*drawn criticism*](https://twitter.com/perrybaconjr/status/1457426158216175620) for being [*deliberately*](https://twitter.com/AdamSerwer/status/1457503034645221383), even [*insidiously vague*](https://twitter.com/nhannahjones/status/1457405257701543943). But when it comes to last week’s elections, much of the “wokeness” debate, on [*both sides of the aisle*](https://twitter.com/townhallcom/status/1455693642866298887), has revolved around the so-called critical race theory controversy in K-12 schools, which this newsletter [*explored at length in July*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/13/opinion/critical-race-theory.html).

There are strong counterarguments to both of these explanations. As Beauchamp [*writes*](https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2021/11/4/22761168/virginia-governor-glenn-youngkin-critical-race-theory), while Youngkin did at one point vow to ban what has [*disingenuously been called*](https://twitter.com/realchrisrufo/status/1371541044592996352) critical race theory in public schools, his campaign wasn’t nearly as focused on the issue as some pundits made it out to be. Nor does the “critical race theory” controversy explain the election results in New Jersey, where there was a similar backlash against Democrats despite the race’s not being [*“particularly culture-war focused.”*](https://twitter.com/MattGrossmann/status/1455856766667874304)

The Times columnist Michelle Goldberg [*argues*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/08/opinion/public-school-enrollment.html) that the real reason education was such an incendiary issue this election cycle “likely had less to do with critical race theory than with [*parent fury*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/03/us/elections/in-virginia-frustration-with-schooling-during-the-pandemic-played-a-part-in-youngkins-win.html) over the drawn-out nightmare of online school.” Zachary D. Carter [*agrees*](https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2021/11/virginia-election-youngkin-education/620596/): “A lot of suburban parents lost faith in Virginia’s public schools over the past year, and as a result, they’re more open to conservative narratives about problems in public schools.”

As for the idea that the Democrats’ underperformance owes to Biden’s leftward shift on policy, one could just as easily — if not more easily — [*take the opposite*](https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2021/nov/08/if-democrats-return-to-centrism-they-are-doomed-to-lose-against-trump) reading of events: During his campaign, Biden openly aspired to a presidency [*that would rival*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/26/us/politics/biden-wanted-an-fdr-presidency-hows-he-doing-so-far.html) or even [*eclipse that of F.D.R.*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/05/joe-biden-presidential-plans.html); in office, however, his legislative agenda, which remains [*broadly popular*](https://www.dataforprogress.org/blog/2021/9/17/the-build-back-better-plan-remains-popular), has been stripped down and delayed by his own party. Couldn’t disappointment, not backlash, be to blame for his party’s low turnout?

Some say that last week’s electoral shifts have even more general causes. Put simply, Americans are in a gloomy mood. A chief reason appears to be the pandemic, which has disrupted everyday life and the economy for longer than many expected.

In the words of [*The Atlantic’s Derek Thompson*](https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2021/11/democrats-economy-election/620626/), Democrats are losing the “vibe wars”: “Despite many positive economic trends, Americans are feeling rotten about the state of things — and, understandably, they’re blaming the party in power.”

3 trends worth watching

Republicans can succeed — and are perhaps even stronger — without Trump. As the G.O.P. pollster Kristen Soltis Anderson [*notes*](https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/restoring-america/faith-freedom-self-reliance/op-eds/four-lessons-from-youngkins-big-win), Youngkin was able to enjoy the advantages of Trump — who over the past five years turned many formerly disengaged voters into habitual Republican voters — without incurring any of his liabilities. He did so mainly by neither embracing nor disavowing the former president.

“In the current political environment, the Trump coalition seems primed to turn out and stick it to the Democrats even if Trump isn’t on the ballot himself,” she writes. And that means that “trying to use the fear of Trump to hold on to swing voters doesn’t seem as viable a strategy for Democrats.”

Democrats’ problem with white non-college-educated voters is getting worse. For decades now, left-wing parties [*around the world*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/why-americans-dont-vote-their-class-bernie-sanders-marxist-electoral-theory.html) have been losing support among their traditional ***working-class*** base. The Democratic Party has also suffered from this phenomenon, as the white electorate has become [*less polarized by income*](https://twitter.com/mbarber83/status/1457714326219857925) and more [*polarized by educational attainment.*](https://twitter.com/mbarber83/status/1457714323573264391)

That trend appeared to assert itself in Virginia’s election last week, [*according*](https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/how-virginias-electorate-shifted-toward-republicans/) to FiveThirtyEight, as the divide between white voters with and without a college degree grew.

It’s not just white voters. In recent years, Democrats have also [*lost ground among Latino voters*](https://catalist.us/wh-national/) and, to a smaller extent, Black and Asian American voters, with the [*sharpest drops*](https://cookpolitical.com/analysis/national/national-politics/democrats-lost-ground-non-college-voters-color-2020) among those who did not attend college.

The writer and researcher Matthew Thomas argues that there are signs that the racial depolarization of the electorate may be accelerating: In New York’s mayoral election last week, he notes, Queens precincts that are more than 75 percent Asian swung 14 points toward Republicans from four years ago, while Queens precincts that are over 75 percent Hispanic swung 30 points toward Republicans.

“There’s no easy solution to the decades-long demobilization of ***working-class*** voters,” he [*writes*](https://vulgarmarxism.substack.com/p/new-york-democrats-keep-losing-ground). “But the left can’t afford to chalk up all of our defeats to whitelash alone. This country is in the midst of a profound realignment along axes of culture and education that are about to make race and class seem like yesterday’s news.”

[*[“Why Americans Don’t Vote Their Class Anymore”]*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/04/why-americans-dont-vote-their-class-bernie-sanders-marxist-electoral-theory.html)

So are Democrats — and free and fair elections — doomed?

As Bacon [*notes*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/11/03/an-abnormal-republican-party-was-treated-normally-by-voters-new-jersey-virginia/), the results from last week suggest that the Republican Party will suffer few electoral consequences in 2022 for its recent [*anti-democratic turn*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2020/11/12/republican-party-trump-authoritarian-data/). “In normal circumstances, I’d see that as a bad thing, since my policy views are closer to the Democrats,” he writes. “But in our current abnormal circumstance, with U.S. democracy on the precipice because of the extremism of the current G.O.P., everyone needs to understand that normal could well be catastrophic.”

How should Democrats respond?

* Some argue that they should tack to the center: “Congress should focus on what is possible, not what would be possible if Joe Manchin, Kyrsten Sinema and — frankly — a host of lesser-known Democratic moderates who haven’t had to vote on policies they might oppose were not in office,” the Times editorial board [*writes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/04/opinion/democrats-election-results.html).

1. Samuel Moyn, a professor of history and law at Yale, [*thinks*](https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2021/nov/08/if-democrats-return-to-centrism-they-are-doomed-to-lose-against-trump) that’s precisely the wrong approach given the popularity of progressive economic policies: “Even if progressives were to secure a welfare package and retain influence in their party, Trump — or an even more popular Republican — could still win the presidency. But this outcome is a near certainty if the Democrats return to centrist form — as seems the likeliest outcome now.”

In the end, as Moyn suggests, policy may not have the power to save Democrats from defeat. As The Times’s David Leonhardt noted last week, some political scientists [*believe*](https://twitter.com/MattGrossmann/status/1446611213073461258) that Democrats overweight the electoral importance of policy and don’t talk enough about values.

And the values Biden ran on were, in effect, a liberal answer to Trump’s “Make America Great Again” creed, a promise to restore [*“the soul of America”*](https://www.motherjones.com/politics/2021/01/joe-biden-soul-of-a-nation/) to its former self. “Joe Biden promised normality, Americans got abnormality, and Democrats got punished at the polls for it,” Thompson [*writes*](https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2021/11/democrats-economy-election/620626/) in The Atlantic. “The path toward a more successful midterm election for Democrats in 2022 flows through the converse of this strategy. First, make things feel better. Then talk about it.”

Do you have a point of view we missed? Email us at [*debatable@nytimes.com*](mailto:debatable@nytimes.com). Please note your name, age and location in your response, which may be included in the next newsletter.

READ MORE

[*“What Moves Swing Voters”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/09/briefing/swing-voters-us-elections.html) [The New York Times]

[*“Why Virginia’s And New Jersey’s Elections Could Suggest A Red Wave In 2022”*](https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/why-virginias-and-new-jerseys-elections-could-suggest-a-red-wave-in-2022/) [FiveThirtyEight]

[*“The Powerful G.O.P. Strategy Democrats Must Counter if They Want to Win”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/04/opinion/democrats-republicans-virginia-race.html)[The New York Times]

[*“Bill Clinton Saved His Presidency. Here’s How Biden Can, Too.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/08/opinion/biden-democrats-2022-2024.html) [The New York Times]

[*“How to Rebuild the Democratic Party”*](https://newrepublic.com/article/164314/democrats-labor-local-organizing-midterms) [The New Republic]

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[***Bill Clinton Saved His Presidency. Here’s How Biden Can, Too.; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:641N-00J1-JBG3-63CP-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1673 words

**Byline:** Mark Penn and Andrew Stein

**Highlight:** The new bipartisan infrastructure law is a first step, but only a broader course correction to the center will give Democrats a fighting chance.

**Body**

Swing voters in two blue-leaning states just sent a resounding wake-up call to the [*Biden*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/joe-biden) administration: If Democrats remain on their current course and keep coddling and catering to progressives, they could lose as many as 50 seats and control of the House in the 2022 midterm elections. There is a way forward now for President Biden and the Democratic Party: Friday’s passage of the bipartisan physical infrastructure bill is a first step, but only a broader course correction to the center will give Democrats a fighting chance in 2022 and a shot at holding on to the presidency in 2024.

The history of the 2020 election is undisputed: [*Joe Biden*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/joe-biden) was nominated for president because he was the moderate alternative to Bernie Sanders and then elected president as the antidote to the division engendered by Donald J. Trump. He got off to a good start, especially meeting the early challenge of Covid-19 vaccine distribution. But polling on key issues show that voters have been turning against the Biden administration, and rejecting its embrace of parts of the Bernie Sanders/Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez playbook.

According to our [*October Harvard CAPS/Harris Poll*](https://mcusercontent.com/ca678077bc522bd7bd74bacbf/files/f5e7728d-554a-39d2-2939-8c4849d081c6/HHP_October_12PM_vF.pdf), only 35 percent of registered voters approve of the administration’s immigration policies (which a majority view as an open-borders approach); 64 percent oppose eliminating cash bail (a progressive proposal the administration has backed); and most reject even popular expansions of entitlements if they are bundled in a $1.5 to $2 trillion bill based on higher taxes and deficits (the pending Build Back Better initiative). Nearly nine in 10 voters express concern about inflation. And 61 percent of voters blame the Biden administration for the increase in gasoline prices, with most also preferring to maintain energy independence over reducing carbon emissions right now.

Progressives might be able to win the arguments for an all-out commitment to climate change and popular entitlements — but they haven’t because they’ve allowed themselves to be drawn into a debate about the size of Build Back Better, not its content. Moderate Democrats have always favored expanded entitlements, but only if they meet the tests of fiscal responsibility — and most voters don’t believe Build Back Better does so, even though the president has promised it would be fully paid for. Putting restraints on these entitlements so that they don’t lead to government that is too big, and to ballooning deficits, is at the core of [*the moderate pushback*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/04/us/politics/house-democrats-biden.html) on the bill that has caused a schism in the party.

Senator Joe Manchin and Senator Kyrsten Sinema are not outliers in the Democratic Party; they are, in fact, the very heart of the Democratic Party, given that 53 percent of Democrats classify themselves as moderates or conservative. While Democrats support the Build Back Better initiative, 60 percent of Democrats (and 65 percent of the country) support the efforts of these moderates to rein it in. It’s Mr. Sanders from Vermont and Ms. Ocasio-Cortez from New York who represent areas ideologically far from the mainstream of America.

The economy and jobs are now the top national issues, and 57 percent see it on the wrong track, up from 42 percent a few months ago, generating new basic kitchen-table worries. After the economy and jobs, the coronavirus, immigration and health care are the next top issues, but Afghanistan, crime, school choice and education are also serious areas of concern for voters.

To understand the urgency for future Democratic candidates, it’s important to be cleareyed about those election results. Some progressives and other Democrats argue that the loss in the Virginia governor’s race, where culture war issues were a factor, should not be extrapolated to generalize about the administration. The problem with that argument is that last week’s governor’s race in New Jersey also showed a double-digit percentage point swing toward Republicans — and in that election, taxes mattered far more than cultural issues. The swing is in line with the drop in President Biden’s approval rating and the broader shift in the mood of the country.

Terry McAuliffe, the Democratic nominee in Virginia, ran for governor in 2013 and won by offering himself as a relative moderate. This time, he deliberately nationalized his campaign by bringing in President Biden, Vice President Kamala Harris and former President Barack Obama, and he closed out the race with the head of the teachers’ union, an icon on the left. He may not have brought in the progressive Squad, but he did hug a range of left-of-center Democratic politicians rather than push off the left and try to win swing voters.

It’s hard to imagine Democratic candidates further to the left of Mr. McAuliffe, and of Gov. Phil Murphy of New Jersey, doing any better with swing voters, especially when the math of elections requires two new voters to turn out to equal a single voter who switches from Democrat to Republican. It’s easy to dismiss individual polls that may or may not be accurate — but you can’t dismiss a [*clear electoral trend*](https://www.cnn.com/election/2021/november/exit-polls/virginia/governor/0): the flight from the Democrats was disproportionately in the suburbs, and the idea that these home-owning, child-rearing, taxpaying voters just want more progressive candidates is not a sustainable one.

After the 1994 congressional elections, Bill Clinton reoriented his administration to the center and saved his presidency. Mr. Biden should follow his lead, listen to centrists, push back on the left and reorient his policies to address the mounting economic issues people are facing. As a senator, he was a master at building coalitions; that is the leadership needed now.

This would mean meeting the voters head on with stronger borders, a slower transition from fossil fuels, a focus on bread-and-butter economic issues (such as the price of gas and groceries), fixes to the supply chain fiasco that is impacting the cost of goods and the pursuit of more moderate social spending bills. Nearly three in four voters see the border as a crisis that needs immediate attention. Moving to the center does not mean budging from core social issues like abortion rights and L.G.B.T.Q. rights that are at the heart of what the party believes in and are largely in sync with suburban voters. But it does mean connecting to voters’ immediate needs and anxieties. As Democrats found in the late ’90s, the success of the administration begets enthusiasm from the base, and we actually gained seats in the 1998 midterms under the theme of “progress not partisanship.”

Mr. Biden’s ratings since the Afghanistan withdrawal have fallen from nearly 60 percent approval to [*just above 40 percent*](https://news.gallup.com/poll/356504/biden-job-approval-steady-lower-level.aspx) in most polls. By getting the physical infrastructure bill passed with Republican votes, Mr. Biden has taken a crucial step to the center (79 percent of Democrats and 57 percent of Republicans supported it in the Harris Poll). Follow that infrastructure success by digging into the pending Congressional Budget Office analysis of Build Back Better and then look closely at bringing in more of the popular benefits for people (such as expansion of Medicare benefits for dental and vision and family leave) and cutting out some of the interest group giveaways like creating [*environmental justice*](https://biologicaldiversity.org/w/news/press-releases/biden-urged-to-prioritize-environmental-justice-in-build-back-better-act-2021-10-26/) warriors.

Of course, this may require some Houdini-like leadership to get votes from the Progressive Caucus for a revised Build Back Better bill. But this is the best strategy to protect Democratic candidates in 2022.

Yelling “Trump, Trump, Trump” when Mr. Trump is not on the ballot or in office is no longer a viable campaign strategy. Soccer moms, who largely despised Mr. Trump, want a better education for their kids and safer streets; they don’t see the ghost of Trump or Jan. 6 behind Republican candidates like now Gov.-elect Glenn Youngkin of Virginia. Remember that only about one quarter of the country classifies itself as liberal, and while that is about half of the Democratic Party, the rest of the electorate nationally is moderate or conservative. While many rural and ***working-class*** voters are staying Republican, the message from last Tuesday is that the Democrats have gone too far to the left on key issues for educated suburban voters. Even Bergen County in New Jersey, a socially liberal bedroom community outside New York City, almost swung into the Republican column.

While Mr. Youngkin waded directly into racially divisive issues, he also based his campaign on positive messages of striving for excellence in the schools and for re-establishing the American dream as a worthy goal. Those messages tapped into the aspirations of voters in ways that in the past were at the heart of the Democratic message. These are enduring values, as is reaffirming the First Amendment and the power of free speech.

Demographics is not destiny. We live in a 40-40-20 country in which 40 percent are hard-wired to either party and 20 percent are swing voters, primarily located in the suburbs. After losing a game-changing slice of Midwestern ***working-class*** voters, who had voted for Mr. Obama, over trade, immigration and cultural policies, Democrats were steadily gaining in the suburbs, expanding their leads in places like New Jersey and Virginia. Without voters in these places, the party will be left with only too small of a base of urban voters and coastal elites. Unless it recenters itself, the risk is that the Democratic Party, like the Labour Party in Britain, will follow its greatest success with an extended period in the desert.

Mark Penn served as an adviser and pollster to President Bill Clinton and Senator Hillary Clinton from 1996 to 2008. Andrew Stein is a former president of the New York City Council.

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[***Chicago's Poor Grow Impatient Over Washington's Compromises***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:641V-KNF1-DXY4-X1YN-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Astead W. Herndon

**Body**

CHICAGO -- Democrats in Washington want to talk about what has made it into President Biden's domestic legislation. Chris Brown on Chicago's West Side wants to talk about what has been cut.

For many in the North Lawndale neighborhood, affordable housing has a direct link to curbing gun violence in the area, where five people were shot near an elementary school this year. One proposed solution -- which includes building thousands of homes and rehabbing vacant lots -- could hinge on how much federal investment makes it from the halls of the Capitol to the West Side.

''We needed this 20 years ago,'' said Ms. Brown, a longtime homeowner in North Lawndale who works with an advocacy group called United Power for Action and Justice. ''It's gotten like this here because nobody has cared.''

After months of legislative wrangling, congressional Democrats passed a $1.2 trillion bipartisan infrastructure bill and are also closing in on a wide-ranging budget agreement that funds a range of liberal priorities, including universal prekindergarten and an expansion of the child tax credit.

But the protracted negotiations over both spending packages have forced Democrats to cut several initiatives partly or entirely: tuition-free community college, a clean energy standard to combat climate change, billions of dollars for affordable housing assistance and measures to lower the price of prescription drugs.

That long slog has resulted in a political challenge for Democrats going forward: how to persuade liberal activists and organizers to focus on what made it into the bills and not on what was axed, to unify and energize the party's base heading into next year's midterm elections.

Places like the West Side may still receive record amounts of federal assistance. But the tug of war leading up to Friday's passage of the infrastructure bill -- and still looming as Congress awaits a vote on the $1.85 trillion social-safety-net package -- has delayed the party from what may be an even bigger challenge: selling the investments to voters.

And that task can be even harder among those who live and work in communities of greatest need, including impoverished areas on the West Side and South Side of Chicago.

While some moderate Democrats who represent heavily white suburban districts have recently criticized President Biden for his New Deal-style ambitions, arguing that the election results last week were a sign that most voters backed him for stability and calm, these community leaders are working against decades of disinvestment and political skepticism.

For them, building back better is a must -- both to address glaring needs in their neighborhoods and to combat what they describe as a too-familiar political phenomenon: campaign promises to prioritize the poor and disenfranchised that are later sacrificed in Washington in the name of getting things done.

''The political conversation is always around the middle class,'' said Richard Townsell, who works with United Power and leads several community groups focused on housing. ''I don't think the left or the right really care about poor people or about working folks.''

Democrats are seeking to rebuff that cynicism with a unified party message on the historic investments in the legislation, including on issues that uniquely affect Black and Latino communities.

The budget agreement, which is supported by Democratic groups like the Congressional Black Caucus, includes money for historically Black colleges and universities, community violence prevention efforts and aid to disadvantaged farmers.

Still, after years of disinvestment in areas like North Lawndale, the need ''vastly exceeds even the $3.5 trillion figure that was the starting point for this bill,'' said Nick Brunick, another affordable housing advocate in Chicago. The creation of new affordable housing, advocates say, leads homeowners to be more invested in their communities and helps eliminate vacant homes and lots where gangs often operate.

Yet housing investments including assistance to first-time home buyers and money for developing new units -- crucial to efforts like those by United Power -- were cut by half in Washington, to about $150 billion from more than $300 billion.

Another issue being closely watched by Chicago community groups, an initiative to replace lead service lines that can cause toxic drinking water, will receive $15 billion in the infrastructure bill and could get another $10 billion in the social-safety-net package, according to environmental groups that have negotiated with lawmakers. That is well short of the $60 billion sought by industry experts and the $45 billion Mr. Biden originally proposed.

And a proposal that would have invested $20 billion to reconnect Black and Latino communities that were split by the construction of highways was cut to $1 billion in the infrastructure bill, though more money could be added in the larger spending package.

Representative Jesús García, a House Democrat who represents a ***working-class*** district in Chicago, said those cuts ''will limit what we can do.''

Still, the bill represents a tremendous amount of government aid that will be disbursed over the span of a decade, and no one yet knows precisely how much money will be pumped into programs that will affect communities like the West Side. Its fate and ultimate size remain unclear as the Congressional Budget Office appraises the bill's true cost.

''It's been really tough, because in particular, two actors in the Senate were constantly proposing reductions and coming out against the larger, more significant transformative investment that we've sought to make,'' Mr. García said, referring to the two Democrats who pushed the White House to make most of the spending cuts, Senators Joe Manchin III of West Virginia and Kyrsten Sinema of Arizona. ''Obviously, it's been disheartening.''

The debate in Washington illustrates the widening gulf between what is politically possible for Democrats in a polarized Congress and the desires of many of the party's most loyal constituencies, who are asking them to do more.

This year, Mr. Biden and other party leaders spoke of breaking from the political strategy of Democratic predecessors, including former President Barack Obama, who was criticized for not doing enough to rally the party toward more ambitious legislation.

Now, Mr. Biden finds himself in a similar position, pitching his budget agreement as the best of what's feasible rather than the broad fulfillment of his Build Back Better plan.

In Pilsen, a predominantly Latino neighborhood that is also on the city's West Side, an activist who works with a local environmental group that focuses on clean drinking water said the drawn-out negotiations over Mr. Biden's budget could prompt people to feel that the party takes them for granted.

Several of the measures nixed by Democrats poll well among voters, like raising the minimum wage and lowering drug prices. Such issues are tangible to even casual political observers.

''Next time a politician comes here and has a taco and thinks they're going to win over all the blue voters, remember this,'' said the activist, Troy Hernandez, an environmental scientist from Pilsen Environmental Rights and Reform Organization. He is now a member of the local Green Party and is running for office.

Other local leaders, including progressives and organizers who are similarly skeptical of mainstream Democrats, said such pessimism was unwarranted. Most voters have not followed the negotiations on Capitol Hill, they said, and Democrats still have time to pass additional legislation that fills the gaps in Mr. Biden's budget or other areas, including voting rights or policing measures.

Jeremy Orr, an environmental lawyer with the Natural Resources Defense Council who focuses on Chicago and the Midwest, said Mr. Biden's administration should be commended for its efforts on lead pipe removal, even if the funding was not as robust as initially intended. Chicago is estimated to have more than 350,000 lead pipes bringing water into homes, schools and businesses -- more than any other city in the country.

''This is the first time we've had the administration actually step up and say, 'We want to tackle this problem head on,''' Mr. Orr said. ''But we need more than federal dollars. They need to prioritize communities that are hit the hardest, and we know where those communities are.''

Mr. García, the Democratic congressman, said it was now the job of Democrats to make the case to voters that Mr. Biden's agenda still represents a transformative investment in their communities.

''On the housing front, significant investments will be made on vouchers and down-payment assistance for first-time home buyers, and that's really key,'' Mr. García said. ''So Latinos and African Americans stand to benefit greatly from that aspect of the housing assessments that we are making.''

But while politicians measure themselves against previous administrations, voters measure politicians against their immediate needs.

Marcelina Pedraza, 46, an electrician, said she had learned last year that her Chicago home had significant lead levels. She cannot afford to replace the line herself, and since she does not qualify for the city's program, she and her 10-year-old daughter have resorted to an ad hoc system of water filters and crossed fingers.

''It's just the same to me -- Democrats versus Republicans,'' Ms. Pedraza said. ''People are definitely tired of hearing the same old, same old.''

In North Lawndale, those at United Power are hoping their focus on addressing housing inequities will receive a boost from newly promised federal funds. Already, their ''Reclaim Chicago'' campaign has helped reduce shootings in one target area by 60 percent after vacant properties and blighted homes were rehabilitated, organizers said.

Their work comes 55 years after the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. moved to the neighborhood to highlight the slumlike conditions of the Northern Black ***working class***. Mr. Townsell, a lifelong Chicagoan who builds homes in North Lawndale to help raise Black homeownership rates, recently walked through two model homes the group built, radiating with unbridled pride.

''We got to keep our foot on their neck,'' he said, just blocks from where Dr. King lived. ''Because I'm sick and tired of being sick and tired.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/08/us/politics/democrats-budget-bill-cuts-infrastructure.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/08/us/politics/democrats-budget-bill-cuts-infrastructure.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Chris Brown ''We needed this 20 years ago,'' said Ms. Brown, a longtime homeowner. ''It's gotten like this here because nobody has cared.''

Troy Hernandez A local candidate, Mr. Hernandez said drawn-out talks over the Biden budget could make people feel taken for granted.

Richard Townsell ''I don't think the left or the right really care about poor people,'' said Mr. Townsell, who works on Black homeownership.

Marcelina Pedraza ''It's just the same to me -- Democrats versus Republicans,'' said Ms. Pedraza, an electrician with home lead problems.

Housing investments that would help neighborhoods like North Lawndale, above, were cut in half. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY AKILAH TOWNSEND FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A18)

**Load-Date:** November 9, 2021

**End of Document**



[***From Her Algerian Family’s Living Room to the Dance Stage***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66JG-0BC1-DXY4-X0D4-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** ARTS; dance

**Length:** 1693 words

**Byline:** Madison Mainwaring

**Highlight:** Esraa Warda, who grew up in Brooklyn, takes the North African dances she learned as a child and brings them to the stage and dance studio.

**Body**

Esraa Warda, who grew up in Brooklyn, takes the North African dances she learned as a child and brings them to the stage and dance studio.

When Esraa Warda participated in a residency in Algeria earlier this year, she was told that she should not perform in the final show in the town of Taghit. A representative from the Algerian Ministry of Culture warned that her dancing might be “too controversial for a public audience,” Warda said. Others told her she would not be safe under the spotlights — that the crowd might throw things.

Warda specializes in dancing to raï, a popular, grass-roots form of Algerian music, historically associated with social protest. Movement is initiated by the feet, hips swaying in quick, precise arcs from side to side with each step; the upper body twists slightly, the arms light in the air.

While raï (pronounced rye) is an important part of Algerian culture — officials there are recommending that it be added to UNESCO’s World Heritage List — the genre’s subversive messaging still means that some consider it distasteful. The same applies to the accompanying dances, which are usually performed at private gatherings.

Warda went ahead and performed that night in Taghit, proving the Ministry of Culture wrong: Many in the audience cheered her on, she said, dancing along with her. Even toning down her movement for the occasion, “people went wild, people were passing out,” she said. “It ended up being a rock ‘n’ roll moment, even though I wasn’t doing anything crazy.”

Elenna Canlas, a keyboardist who played alongside Warda, said: “Everybody was watching with the understanding that women don’t usually dance in the presence of men there. It was profound that something as simple as dancing could be such a political statement.”

As both an artist and a teacher, Warda, who is Algerian-American, takes the North African dances she learned as a child and brings them to the stage and dance studio. Highlighting the musicality and endurance required for these styles, Warda shows that they are legitimate art forms, with specific techniques that change from one region and musical genre to the next.

This week, on Tuesday and Wednesday, Warda will be in New York, dancing at Joe’s Pub. For this show, part of the Habibi Festival, she will dance with the all-female Moroccan band Bnat el Houariyat, from Marrakesh, in styles that accompany the group’s percussive, polyrhythmic genres. These include chaâbi, which originated in ***working-class*** musical cultures, and houara, which blends Moroccan Arab and Indigenous traditions.

Many of the dances Warda performs involve movement of the hips. She is adamant, though, that they are not to be confused with belly dancing — a technique, with Egyptian roots, that is more lifted and with broader movements of the upper body and arms.

“Because we’re all lumped into the same category, we also get lumped into the same stereotypes,” Warda said of Middle Eastern and North African dancers. “We’re somehow these colonial objects of desire.”

Warda was referring to the clichés of this region’s dance found in Western literature, paintings and photographs. After the French invasion of Algeria in 1830 (Tunisia followed in 1881, Morocco in 1907), an industry developed around female dancers, with European photographers paying them to strike suggestive poses that had nothing to do with their art. They were used to create a “phantasm of the Oriental female,” Malek Alloula writes in “The Colonial Harem” (1981) — unskilled, uncultured and sexually available.

This legacy of exploitation surrounding dance remained even after Algeria won independence, in 1962, making it stigmatized in many circles. “My dancing is about trying to overcome the reasons I’ve been told I shouldn’t dance, to overcome that internalized shame a lot of women grow up with,” Warda said.

Though there are some regional dance troupes, raï, chaâbi, and hundreds of other dance styles are considered part of everyday culture, used more to celebrate family occasions than to promote a national heritage.

In Bay Ridge, Brooklyn, where Warda grew up, her profession as a dance artist and educator receives mixed reactions from her family’s Algerian-American community. “Some Algerians are like, ‘Are you kidding?’” she said. “‘Is raï being taught in a dance class? That’s ridiculous.’”

Warda, 29, did not grow up believing she could perform and teach these dances, since no one else was doing it at the time. Her father, who immigrated in the 1990s, worked as a food vendor on 53rd Street and Lexington, and her mother was a caretaker; both encouraged her to pursue traditional career paths. Yet whenever she visited family in Algeria, she spent time in her relatives’ living rooms, learning dance styles through patient observation.

In her early 20s, Warda managed a traditional arts program for students at Arab American cultural centers. Hiring other artists got her thinking about the dances she loved — and why they were not valued as an art form. She started teaching workshops for free in Brooklyn.

“I created a dance system and code along the way, based on my own references,” she said of her teaching method, “based on what I’d learned dancing with my family.”

The largest North African immigrant population is in France, but the concentration on conservatory diplomas and certificates makes it difficult for those specializing in regional North African styles to work in dance. Raïssa Leï, who is French-Moroccan and directs the Kif-Kif Bledi company in Paris, said that her dancers cannot obtain the special artistic status that would allow them to freelance, and they struggle to book studios and other spaces. She sees Warda’s work in the United States as important for keeping “the chain of transmission” going strong.

When Warda began to teach, she sought out chikhats, or elders, North African female musicians and dancers who have undergone extensive training. Traveling to Algeria, Morocco and France, she wanted to understand dance as these professionals did.

“It’s about giving back,” Warda said. “These are people who spent their whole lives dedicated to a tradition, spent 30, 40, 50 years under the leadership of somebody else.”

By dancing with chikhats — notably the raï singer Cheikha Rabia, based in Paris — Warda is bringing visibility to an aspect of traditional performance. Before the form became more widespread in the 1980s, raï singers like [*Cheikha Djenia*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sgl7PIvxEaU) and [*Cheikha Rimitti*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K0fBuzC75a8) would surround themselves with female dancers, who gave body to the rhythms of the songs and expressed longing through movement.

For someone used to watching Western styles, the raï dances and other North African styles might seem monotonous. Yet in their intricate foot patterns and unflagging dedication to the rhythm — “simple, subtle things repeated consistently in cyclical movements,” as Warda described them — they give expression to the fight for survival and the solidarity needed to do so.

Chikhats have historically lived together in all-women communities. Many in the North African mainstream consider the chikhats’ public appearances to be raunchy and low-class. (Their name can be used as an insult.) They bring up tough, sometimes illicit topics: female desire, forbidden love, the complex feelings around emigration.

Yet while some chikhat singers have gained a global following, dancers are limited to cabarets and weddings. “These dances are not readily commercialized or accessible in a globalized way — which is what allows people to fantasize,” Warda said.

Google “North African dance class” in the United States, and you will probably come across fusion (otherwise known as “tribal”) belly-dancing. The style draws from a hodgepodge of dance cultures, including flamenco and Indian.

American fusion dancers use the facial markings of Indigenous North African tribes and traditional high-pitched ululations. Practitioners insist that despite references to this heritage, fusion technique is not cultural appropriation but its own creation. The steps, many improvised from colonial imagery, reinforce the idea that North African dances have no actual skill.

In Algeria or Morocco, the dances accompanying raï and chaâbi are less a staged spectacle than a part of daily life, with techniques passed between generations. In immigrant communities, recreating the environment needed to keep this up can be difficult, if not impossible.

Sumaya Bouadi started taking Warda’s classes because, having been raised in the United States, “it just wasn’t something I could see a lot or have the opportunity to learn,” she said in a phone interview.

For Algerian Americans, mastering these skills still represents a form of pride and cultural connection. Nacera Belal remembers when her aunt first saw her really dance as a teenager. “She was so excited that I had figured out how to do it,” Belal said in a phone interview. “She was screaming, ‘Oh, my God, look, look at how she dances.’” Belal sees her classes with Warda as a way to keep honing her style and musicality.

Warda teaches students where each step is from — not just the country, but the region — and how it’s performed in a given context. “To make historical points about why your dance is so specific to where you come from — that’s dangerous for an African woman to do,” said Elle Williams, a former student, in a phone interview.

“Being a Black trans disabled femme, walking into any room is just never comfortable for me,” Williams said. “But in Esraa’s class, I didn’t feel any judgment, I didn’t feel any stares. I’ve never felt that much camaraderie with femmes who did not look like me.”

While bringing North African dancing to a wider audience, Warda still returns to the living room, pointing out that outsiders have underestimated the agency women find in this practice. “The traditions are still very much propelling forward in these private spaces — and they always will be,” she said.

PHOTOS: The dancer and teacher Esraa Warda specializes in dancing to a grass-roots form of Algerian music. It involves the movement of the hips but should not be confused with belly dancing, she said. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHARLOTTE HADDEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (AR8; AR9)

**Load-Date:** October 7, 2022

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[***Whither the Democrats?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60GX-W3F1-DXY4-X44X-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 10; NONFICTION

**Length:** 1460 words

**Byline:** By James Traub

**Body**

THE PEOPLE, NOA Brief History of Anti-PopulismBy Thomas FrankECONOMIC DIGNITYBy Gene Sperling

Is the central truth of the 2016 election that Donald Trump won by capitalizing on the racism, xenophobia and fear of cultural displacement of older white voters? Or is it that he saw more clearly than others the frustration and anxiety of those who had been left behind in a globalized, winner-take-all economy? Democrats have not arrived at a clear answer, which is why the last two candidates left standing in the primaries were Joe Biden, who promised to restore the status quo ante, and Bernie Sanders, who promised to overthrow the forces that oppressed and immiserated American workers.

Biden may have won the nomination but he did not win the battle of ideas. According to Sanders, the centrists who have dominated the Democratic Party for the last generation have sold out the party's base -- and the ***working-class*** whites who became Trump's base -- to the forces of reaction. In ''The People, No,'' the historian Thomas Frank, very much in the Sanders camp, traces that story yet further back, to the first popular cries against the dominion of Wall Street. Frank describes an indigenous radical tradition that descends from Jefferson and Paine and stretches forward to Franklin Roosevelt and Martin Luther King Jr. He insists that the proper name for that tradition derives from the agrarian radicals of the late 19th century who form the core of his narrative: populism.

Why does it matter what we call it? Because, Frank says, the rise of Donald Trump, and of figures like Viktor Orban in Hungary and Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil, has turned ''populism'' into a scare word. In a raft of books written since 2016 (including my own, ''What Was Liberalism?''), populism has come to be understood not as an ideology of the left (or the right), but rather as a means of marshaling an imagined ''people'' against ''others,'' whether political opponents, racial or ethnic minorities or elites. The ''core claim of populism,'' as the political scientist Jan-Werner Müller writes, is that ''only some of the people are really the people.'' Populism is a kind of heresy of democracy.

Those are fighting words for Frank, who championed the populists in a well-known earlier book, ''What's the Matter With Kansas?'' He regards ''antipopulism'' as itself an ideology, one that ''always serves as a tool for justifying unaccountable power.'' In the most compelling passages of ''The People, No,'' Frank unearths the populists from the rubble piled atop them by historians like Richard Hofstadter, who used the movement as evidence not of native radicalism but of native paranoia and protofascism. In fact, Frank writes, the populists were not reactionaries, protectionists, obscurantists, xenophobes or racists. He quotes the Georgia populist Tom Watson addressing Black and white farmers: ''You are kept apart that you may be separately fleeced of your earnings.'' In sickening detail, Frank describes the ruthless assault that Republicans launched against this threat to white hegemony and free-market ideology in the 1896 presidential election.

But there's a problem with this narrative: Watson would later go on to help refound the Ku Klux Klan, though you won't learn about that here. Frank mentions ''the South Carolina demagogue Ben Tillman'' without noting that only a few years earlier, Pitchfork Ben had stood high in the populist pantheon. He writes glowingly of William Jennings Bryan, the Democrat whom the Populist Party endorsed for president in 1896, but does not remind the reader that Bryan ended his career ranting about the evils of modern science in the Scopes monkey trial. Demagogy may not have been the populists' ''true'' nature; their heroism, and tragedy, were real. But how, given this history, can one wholly dismiss the kinship between the populists and the followers of Orban and Trump? Is it really a sign of elitism and hostility to democracy to regard invocations of ''the people,'' whether by right-wing nationalists or left-wing activists, as dangerous invitations to exclude the not-people?

Frank's purpose here is explicitly polemical: He wants to realign history in order to force us to reimagine the present. The great cleavage of the past century, he insists, is not between ''progress'' and ''reaction,'' or ''liberal'' and ''conservative,'' but between ''ordinary people'' and the elite of both parties. Thus Franklin Roosevelt was a populist while ''progressive'' Teddy Roosevelt was an agent of reaction -- even though Franklin traced his own ideological descent to Teddy as well as to Jefferson.

In Frank's view, Bernie's with the people, and the Democratic establishment -- the Biden faction -- is in the pocket of the fat cats. The bottom line is class. But this poses another problem for Frank, because even before our Black Lives Matter moment much of the activist left cared less about class than about issues of identity. Frank treats identity politics as yet another species of elitism. Who, then, are ''the people''? Are they the older ***working-class*** African-Americans who put Biden over the top in the Democratic primaries? Apparently not. But it was the white ***working class*** that provided Donald Trump with his margin of victory in 2016. How could that be? These Trump voters were, Frank explains -- as he did in his earlier book on Kansas -- beguiled by the ''phony populism of the right.'' By bad populism, not good populism.

Yet many of the Democratic leaders and policy experts whom Frank accuses of antipopulism now agree that liberal centrism has reached a dead end. The combination of the calls for racial justice that have filled our streets and the need for enormous government intervention in the face of the coronavirus pandemic will only hasten that leftward movement. Exhibit A would be Gene Sperling, a former senior economic official in the administrations of Bill Clinton and Barack Obama. In ''Economic Dignity,'' this consummate insider lays out an agenda closer to Sanders than to Biden. Sperling writes of ''forces of domination and humiliation'' that define the lives of many low-wage earners. Unorganized workers, he argues, need labor rights and the full panoply of social protections; unionized workers need a voice in corporate affairs, as they enjoy in places like Sweden. Though Sperling prefers direct payments to people suffering dislocation to a wholly universal basic income, in most respects he has gone full Nordic.

Sperling does not thoroughly explain, or even acknowledge, his own conversion; he appears to be one of the many centrists who were shaken out of their neoliberal faith in the marketplace by the 2016 election. In seeking some orienting principle beyond economic growth and incremental redistribution, Sperling has landed on the idea, unavoidably amorphous, of ''dignity.'' Liberals tend to look on talk of ''values'' as a cynical distraction from matters of economic justice; that is, in fact, the central theme of ''What's the Matter With Kansas?'' Yet Sperling makes a forceful case that only by speaking to matters of the spirit can liberals root their belief in economic justice in people's deepest aspirations -- in their sense of purpose and self-worth.

What would a focus on ''economic dignity'' entail? Sperling takes issue with conservatives who claim that free-market competition offers each of us the opportunity for self-realization. Does an Uber driver barely making enough to pay the rent have a sense of self-worth? In a true ''compact of contribution,'' Sperling asserts, an activist state would ''support and give every opportunity to every American to experience the sense of dignity that comes from adding value and pursuing purpose.'' The state must help the market provide employment for all, and that employment must be ''meaningful.''

Sperling does not seem to have a theory of change. He is content to suggest that ''Congress could'' pass this or that among his proposals. But it might not, even under a President Biden. Frank would tell Sperling that his ambitious agenda cannot be enacted without directly challenging entrenched interests. The movement to raise the minimum wage to $15 an hour, for example, succeeded through street activism and strikes. Since Sperling praises the movement, I suspect he would agree. It is a cheering thought that the gulf between the populists and the antipopulists may not be quite so great as Thomas Frank supposes.James Traub, the author of ''What Was Liberalism?'' and other books, is writing a biography of Hubert Humphrey.THE PEOPLE, NOA Brief History of Anti-PopulismBy Thomas Frank320 pp. Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt & Company. $26.99.ECONOMIC DIGNITYBy Gene Sperling384 pp. Penguin Press. $28.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/14/books/review/the-people-no-thomas-frank-economic-dignity-gene-sperling.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/14/books/review/the-people-no-thomas-frank-economic-dignity-gene-sperling.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Graham Roumieu FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Old Latin Mass Finds New American Audience***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66W5-S3N1-DXY4-X502-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1805 words

**Byline:** By Ruth Graham

**Body**

DETROIT -- Eric Agustin's eight children used to call the first day of the week ''Party Sunday.'' The family would wake up, attend a short morning Mass at a Catholic parish near their house, then head home for lunch and an afternoon of relaxing and watching football.

But this summer, the family made a ''big switch,'' one of his teenage sons said on a recent Sunday afternoon outside St. Joseph Shrine, the family's new parish. At St. Joseph, the liturgy is ornate, precisely choreographed and conducted entirely in Latin. The family drives an hour round trip to attend a service that starts at 11 a.m. and can last almost two hours.

The traditional Latin Mass, an ancient form of Catholic worship that Pope Francis has tried to discourage, is instead experiencing a revival in the United States. It appeals to an overlapping mix of aesthetic traditionalists, young families, new converts and critics of Francis. And its resurgence, boosted by the pandemic years, is part of a rising right-wing strain within American Christianity as a whole.

The Mass has sparked a sprawling proxy battle in the American church over not just songs and prayers but also the future of Catholicism and its role in culture and politics.

Latin Mass adherents tend to be socially conservative and tradition-minded. Some, like the Agustin family, are attracted to the Mass's beauty, symbolism and what they describe as a more reverent form of worship.

Others have also been drawn to the old form through a brand of new hard-right rhetoric and community they have found in some Catholic communities online. They see the pope's attempt to curb the old Latin Mass as an example of the perils of a world becoming unmoored from Western religious values.

The traditional Latin Mass, also referred to as the ''extraordinary form,'' was celebrated for centuries until the transformations of the Second Vatican Council in the 1960s, which were intended in part to make the rite more accessible. After the Council, Mass could be celebrated in any language, contemporary music entered many parishes and priests turned to face people in the pews.

But the traditional Latin Mass, with all its formality and mystery, never fully disappeared. Though it represents a fraction of Masses performed at the 17,000 Catholic parishes in the United States, it is thriving.

The United States now appears to have at least 600 venues offering the traditional Mass, the most by far of any country. More than 400 venues offer it every Sunday, according to one online directory.

This growth is happening as Pope Francis has cracked down, issuing strict new limits on the rite last year. His immediate predecessor, Pope Benedict XVI, had widened access to the old Mass, but Francis has characterized it as a source of division in the church and said that it is too often associated with a broader rejection of the aims of the Second Vatican Council.

On one level, the split over the old Mass represents a clash of priorities and power struggles in church leadership. In pews and parishes, it is more complicated. Many Catholics say they are attracted to the Mass for spiritual reasons, bolstered by aesthetic and liturgical preferences rather than by partisanship.

''There's a reverence that's next-level,'' Mr. Agustin said of the Mass at St. Joseph Shrine.

Dozens of large, young families have flocked to St. Joseph Shrine since it began offering the traditional Latin Mass regularly in 2016. A historically German parish with a 19th-century building that once struggled to keep the lights on is now bustling with people, including many couples with five or more children.

High Mass on Sundays begins with holy water sprinkled up the aisle, and it features plumes of incense and the sounds of bells, a pipe organ and Gregorian chant. Men tend to wear suits and ties and most women wear skirts and lace mantillas on their heads, the latter a traditional sign of humility and femininity. Parking nearby is hard to find on Sundays.

''It's nothing exceptional here,'' demurred Rev. Canon J.B. Commins, 33, who lives in the brick rectory next door. ''In other places where the traditional Mass is being celebrated, it's exponential growth.''

Leaning into the demands of intense religious experience, many supporters of the Latin Mass seek a return not just to old rituals but to old social values and gender roles. Here, the arcane and rigorous are not barriers to accessibility but attractions that tie believers to a long history of spiritual clarity, which they see as sharply contrasting with the modern church.

The pandemic accelerated the divide, as mainstream parishes generally stayed closed longer, driving some Catholics to seek out new parishes. Many attendees say they discovered traditionalist podcasters and influencers who turned them onto the older Mass.

Although Catholics as a whole are a politically diverse cohort in the United States, frequent Mass attendees tend to be more conservative: 63 percent of Catholics who attend Mass at least monthly supported Donald J. Trump in the 2020 presidential election, compared with 53 percent of less-frequent attendees, according to the Pew Research Center. Informal surveys have found that Latin Mass attendees not only attend Mass more often but hold almost universally conservative views on topics like abortion and gay marriage.

Before the 11 a.m. Mass at St. Joseph one Sunday in early October, attended by some 300 people, Canon Commins read an announcement from Archbishop Allen Vigneron of Detroit, urging Catholics to ''take action'' to defeat a ballot amendment that would enshrine a right to abortion in the state's constitution. (Voters in the state later approved the measure.)

Political and theological conservatives see in Pope Francis' restriction of the traditional Latin Mass a troubling disregard for orthodoxy more broadly.

Since Francis became pope in 2013, he has emphasized inclusivity, and attempted to soften the church's approach to flashpoints like abortion and homosexuality. He has also issued a major encyclical on environmental stewardship, prayed for immigrants at the U.S.-Mexico border, and appointed women to historically significant roles in church operations.

Francis' 2021 document ''Traditionis Custodes,'' comparable to an executive order, limited where and when the old Mass can be celebrated. And this summer, he outraged traditionalists further with a new document making clear that the tensions around the Mass are more than a question of taste. ''I do not see how it is possible to say that one recognizes the validity of the Council -- though it amazes me that a Catholic might presume not to do so -- and at the same time not accept the liturgical reform,'' he wrote.

The crackdown helped fuel what some call the ''liturgy wars.''

''It's a whole vision of the church and what it means to be a Christian and a Catholic that's at stake here,'' said John Baldovin, a priest and a professor at the Boston College School of Theology and Ministry who has written often about liturgical issues. ''You can't say it's just about a beautiful Mass.''

The conflict is particularly fierce in the United States, where conservatives dominate the bishops' conference and high-profile critics and media outlets regularly challenge Francis' leadership.

At a conference in Pittsburgh this fall, Catholic critics of Pope Francis laid out three ''articles of resistance'' against the Vatican and its current leadership. Their top objection was to ''Traditionis Custodes,'' which they called an act of ''religious discrimination against Traditional Catholics.''

Some bishops, including those in Chicago and Washington, have drastically reduced the availability of the traditional Latin Mass this year.

''It's something I couldn't imagine, having to beg and plead for the traditional Latin Mass,'' said Noah Peters, who organized a five-mile ''pilgrimage'' in September from a cathedral in Arlington, Va., to one in Washington in protest of the restrictions in both dioceses.

Mr. Peters was raised as a secular Jew and was drawn to Catholicism through the traditional Latin Mass ''because it had this beauty, timelessness and reverence about it,'' he said.

Like Mr. Peters, almost all Latin Mass devotees use a version of the word ''reverent'' unprompted, contrasting the tone of the Latin Mass with oft-cited if rare examples in modern parishes featuring nontraditional elements like puppets and balloons, a casual treatment of the Eucharist, or music and dance they consider disrespectful. The popular traditionalist podcaster Taylor Marshall often tells a story about feeling driven away from the Novus Ordo when he was served the Eucharist by a layperson wearing a Grover T-shirt.

In Detroit, Archbishop Allen Vigneron has allowed the Latin Mass to flourish basically unimpeded.

Alex Begin, a Detroit-area real estate executive, trains priests in the liturgy and helps parishes that want to start offering the Mass.

On a recent drive starting in downtown Detroit and winding through former ***working-class*** German and Polish neighborhoods, Mr. Begin pointed out churches that have begun offering the Latin Mass, and some that plan to start. Mr. Begin has a taste for the arcane: His hobbies include maximizing frequent flier rewards and collecting indulgences, which he refers to as ''Heaven's frequent flier program.''

Mr. Begin sees Pope Francis' antagonism toward the Latin Mass as working against his goal of unity. ''You're going to drive people to breakaway groups,'' he said.

At Old St. Mary's, a 19th-century parish in the city's touristy Greektown neighborhood, some 150 people gathered in October for the monthly Latin Mass service, complete with a Gregorian choir.

Congregants knelt, rose, crossed themselves and murmured prayers. Incense wafted through the vast, dimly lit room. When it was time to receive the Eucharist, they filed silently forward and knelt, their faces slightly upturned.

''Corpus Dómini nostri Jesu Christi custódiat ánimam tuam in vitam ætérnam. Amen,'' the priests prayed as they placed a thin wafer on each tongue. May the Body of Our Lord Jesus Christ preserve your soul unto life everlasting. Amen.

The Latin Mass ''brings the true Catholics out,'' said Kristin Kopy, 41, after the service.

Mrs. Kopy's husband works for Church Militant, a hard-right multimedia site that rails against homosexuality, pandemic restrictions and Pope Francis.

Mrs. Kopy was holding her sleeping 2-week-old daughter, Philomena, as her older children played nearby. She and her husband have been attending the Latin Mass for the last six years. They felt something was missing in their experiences of the new Mass that they now have found in the old.

''I don't speak Latin,'' she said. ''But it feels like you're connecting more with God.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/15/us/latin-mass-revival.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/15/us/latin-mass-revival.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Clockwise from top left: A woman wearing a mantilla praying before a Latin Mass began at St. Joseph Shrine in Detroit

Rev. Canon J.B. Commins giving communion to a parishioner

Alex Begin, who trains priests in the liturgy and helps parishes offer the Mass

parishioners at St. Joseph. (A12)

Devotees of the Latin Mass describe it as a more reverent form of worship, but its resurgence is part of a rising right-wing strain within American Christianity. Pope Francis has tried to discourage it. Altar servers, top, kneeling after communion. The altar missal, above, a text used during Mass. (A12-A13)

Devotees of the Latin Mass describe it as a more reverent form of worship, but its resurgence is part of a rising right-wing strain within American Christianity. Pope Francis has tried to discourage it. Altar servers, top, kneeling after communion. The altar missal, above, a text used during Mass. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY NICK HAGEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A13) This article appeared in print on page A1, A12, A13.

**Load-Date:** November 16, 2022

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[***Changing Language Won't Solve Our Problems***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65JR-G6X1-DXY4-X3KH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 29, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 7; JOHN MCWHORTER

**Length:** 1223 words

**Byline:** By John McWhorter

**Body**

The left these days gets a bad rap for policing language. It can be irritating to feel like you have to watch how you say things or keep up with the latest lingo when the old lingo still seems perfectly fine. This is especially the case with counterintuitive ideas such as referring not to ''pregnant women'' but to ''people who are pregnant'' -- a phrase now used on Planned Parenthood's website -- or the even less intuitive ''birthing people,'' which we're asked to embrace as inclusive, and therefore progressive, despite that both reduce women to being biological vessels.

I'm certainly not arguing for intolerance toward those who can become pregnant but don't identify as women. I'm saying that even if we're not being forced to use the new terms, the way they're introduced, almost as if by fiat, can make it seem as if sticking with the old ones is a kind of thought crime. But it isn't that those on the left have some weird, childish yen for control. Rather, they seem to be operating under an attractive but shaky idea that language channels thought: Change how people say things and you change how they think about things and then the world changes.

That's not how it works, though. Good intentions frequently don't translate into efficacy. So, the question is, how much does changing terminology really accomplish?

In the late 1980s, the Rev. Jesse Jackson said the term ''African American'' had more ''cultural integrity,'' and ''Black'' was, therefore, out of date. But I'd be hard-pressed to say that the Black community today has a greater measure of cultural integrity or is any prouder than it was then. And though a recent poll showed that a majority of Black Americans see being Black as central to their identity, the younger they are, the less central it is -- suggesting less significance, as time goes on, about what we call ourselves.

I think also of Nina Simone's musicalization of Lorraine Hansberry's phrase ''To be young, gifted and Black.'' Watch Simone perform this song in Questlove's Oscar-winning documentary, ''Summer of Soul,'' with her vocal emphasis, full of conviction, on the word ''Black.'' Singing ''African American'' wouldn't -- couldn't -- ring with the same richness. Black America added meaning to and wrested pride out of a word that was supposed to have negative connotations by thinking of ourselves as beautiful and determined. I'm not sure ''African American,'' just as a term, has furthered that at all: ''To be young, gifted and African American''?

Remember, too, the ''euphemism treadmill'' described by the Harvard University psychology professor Steven Pinker, who explained in a 1994 Times Opinion essay: ''People invent new 'polite' words to refer to emotionally laden or distasteful things, but the euphemism becomes tainted by association and the new one that must be found acquires its own negative connotations.'' For example, the pathway from ''crippled'' to ''handicapped'' to ''disabled'' to ''differently abled.'' New words ultimately don't leave freighted ideas behind; they merely take them on.

Consider the phrase ''urban renewal.'' Starting in the 1930s, there were initiatives in American cities to raze ***working-class***, often Black neighborhoods. They would eventually be replaced with various civic projects, such as new highway construction. One term for this, embraced by city planning éminences grises such as Robert Moses in New York City, was ''slum clearance.''

As the years passed, the downsides of this destruction of modest but cohesive communities became more apparent, and the term ''slum clearance'' was gradually supplanted by the term ''urban renewal,'' starting in the 1950s. But calling it urban renewal didn't persuade a range of writers, thinkers and displaced residents to celebrate this destructive dislocation. Other than by, perhaps, some city planners, urban renewal was increasingly perceived as a glum business -- the same business -- as slum clearance. James Baldwin memorably coined it with the more reality-based term, ''Negro removal.''

Even when factoring in Pinker's treadmill, I understand the impulse to refer to ''enslaved people'' rather than ''slaves'' -- not all new terminology is pointless. Describing someone as a ''slave'' can be taken as indicating that servitude is an inherent trait rather than an imposed condition. But I suspect that after a while, the term ''enslaved person'' will continue its lexical drift and we'll need a new term. Why? Because of what happened to ''homeless person,'' which began as an enlightened replacement for terms such as ''bum'' and ''bag lady,'' but is now itself being slowly replaced by referring to someone who is ''unhoused.''

It is, then, reasonable to surmise that terms such as ''pregnant people,'' while pleasing a certain contingent, will not deter most people from continuing to perceive the world according to an old-fashioned gender binary. Basic perception will remain that most pregnant people are cisgender women, such that it will still feel natural to think of being pregnant as something women experience, and it will feel forced to use gender-neutral language, even as we acknowledge that there are people who identify as men or nonbinary who can become pregnant.

As I've discussed before in this newsletter, research has shown that language can influence thought, but sometimes only slightly. And what pops up in a psychological experiment may not track with real-life behavior: The Implicit Association Test, more than two decades old, has often been used to demonstrate how implicit bias is supposed to work -- how negative associations with terms such as ''Black'' may correlate with people exhibiting prejudice or bigotry. But a more recent analysis argues that there is no evidence that quietly associating negative terms with Black people rather than white people in such tests correlates with racist behavior.

Today's predilection for newspeak neglects all of this. Frankly, I think it is partly because generating new labels offers instant gratification, especially with the internet handy. It's easier to introduce new terms than to change the way different groups referred to by those terms are really perceived. In that way, never-ending calls to change the way people talk and write is less an advance than a cop-out.

Terminology will, of course, evolve over time for various reasons. But broadly speaking, thought leaders and activists of past eras put their emphasis on what people did and said -- not on ever-finer gradations of how they might have said it.

Far better to teach people what you think they should think about something, and why, instead of classifying the way they express themselves about it as a form of disrespect or backwardness. After a while, if you teach well, they won't be saying what you don't want them to say. Mind you, you may not be around to see the fruits of the endeavor -- a frustrating aspect of change is that it tends to happen slowly. But ''Change words!'' is no watchcry for a serious progressivism.

Have feedback? Send a note to [*McWhorter-newsletter@nytimes.com*](mailto:McWhorter-newsletter@nytimes.com)

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/24/opinion/woke-words.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/24/opinion/woke-words.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Delcan and Co. FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 29, 2022

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[***Andy Barr Defeats Amy McGrath in Kentucky House Race, Buoying Republican Hopes***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5TNP-5R71-DXY4-X2W3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 17, 2020 Wednesday 11:37 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 844 words

**Byline:** Michael Tackett

**Highlight:** Representative Andy Barr defeated his well-financed Democratic challenger, Amy McGrath, on Tuesday, buoying Republican hopes of minimizing their losses.

**Body**

RICHMOND, Ky. — Representative [*Andy Barr*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/17/us/politics/carol-barr-dead.html), an incumbent Republican, defeated one of the Democratic Party’s most prominent challengers, Amy McGrath, on Tuesday in a deeply conservative district here, according to The Associated Press, giving his party hope of limiting losses in the race for control of the House.

The contest took on national importance as a proxy for whether Democrats could win over white ***working class*** voters in rural areas and whether women would rise up against the barbed-wire rhetoric and harsh policies of the Trump presidency.

It was among about 30 tossup districts, including many, like Mr. Barr’s, where Republicans held a distinct partisan advantage. Public polling seesawed between a Republican lead and a Democratic lead, [*ending this week in an exact tie*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/17/us/politics/carol-barr-dead.html). Mr. Barr’s victory on Tuesday signaled that Republican-controlled districts were still asserting their allegiance to the president, and may have been swayed by the issue of immigration and the Supreme Court nomination fight over Justice Brett M. Kavanaugh.

[See the results for the [*House of Representatives*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/17/us/politics/carol-barr-dead.html), the [*Senate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/17/us/politics/carol-barr-dead.html) and [*governors’ races*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/17/us/politics/carol-barr-dead.html), and [*read our analysis*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/17/us/politics/carol-barr-dead.html).]

Mr. Barr tethered himself closely to the president and to the Senate majority leader, Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, as he cast Ms. McGrath as an unreconstructed liberal in the mold of Representative Nancy Pelosi of California, who was for open borders and abortions as late as the ninth month of pregnancy.

He was aided by millions of dollars of spending on attack ads against Ms. McGrath funded by the Congressional Leadership Fund, the super PAC supported by Speaker Paul D. Ryan whose largest contributor is the casino magnate Sheldon Adelson. Ms. McGrath refused to respond with her own attack ads, instead [*choosing to mock Mr. Barr, often with the tagline, “Is that all you got?”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/17/us/politics/carol-barr-dead.html)

Mr. Barr is well known in the district for attending all manner of local festivals and delivering on legislation that affects the area. But he found himself on the defensive over tariffs imposed by Mr. Trump that hurt the local bourbon and automotive industries along with soybean farmers.

In the closing weeks of the campaign, he returned to themes that echoed the ones that Mr. Trump was emphasizing.

The president had put his personal popularity on the line in the race, recently coming to campaign for Mr. Barr one day after former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. came to Owingsville, Ky., a rural part of the district, to support Ms. McGrath and to emphasize his party’s need to reconnect with the white ***working class***.

In Ms. McGrath, whose biography as a Marine aviator gave her star power and a huge fund-raising advantage, Mr. Barr found himself running against a résumé that he could not match. So he emphasized his conservative ideology, and prevailed.

[Make sense of the country’s political landscape [*with our newsletter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/17/us/politics/carol-barr-dead.html).]

The district is anchored in Lexington, its most populous city by far and typically a Democratic stronghold, and the state capital of Frankfurt, another source of Democratic votes. But those cities are surrounded by mostly rural counties that are ardently conservative. In 2016, Mr. Trump won the district by 15 percentage points and Mr. Barr won by 22 points.

Ms. McGrath’s campaign opened campaign offices in all 19 counties, and she aggressively targeted rural areas, with yard signs tailored to individual counties, some even in Republican red, and by writing op-eds that her campaign placed in weekly newspapers.

That strategy served her well in her primary campaign against Jim Gray, the popular mayor of Lexington, who was better known and had stronger financial backing. But she defeated Mr. Gray easily, and built on her strengths in rural areas during the fall campaign against Mr. Barr, pulling votes from people who were ancestral Democrats but vote for Republicans in federal office.

[[*Follow our live briefing for the latest election updates.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/17/us/politics/carol-barr-dead.html)]

Ms. McGrath started out underfinanced, but her campaign money fortunes changed drastically in August 2017 when she released a two-minute video online that captured her Marine combat experience, the struggles of women and her reasons for running for office. The ad generated millions of page views and contributions, enabling her to have rough parity with Mr. Gray, and then build on an emerging national profile.

“The video catapulted her to legitimacy,” Mark Nickolas, Ms. McGrath’s campaign manager, said.

But it was not enough to overcome the power of Mr. Barr’s incumbency, a district that was structurally advantageous to Republicans and the closing moves of the president to roust his political base and make the election a referendum on him.

PHOTO: Representative Andy Barr spoke at a rally with President Trump in Richmond, Ky., last month. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Al Drago for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Related Articles**

* [*In Kentucky House Race, a Battle of Ideology vs. Résumé*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/17/us/politics/carol-barr-dead.html)

1. [*Amy McGrath Is Avoiding Attack Ads. Can a Congressional Candidate Win Without Them?*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/17/us/politics/carol-barr-dead.html)
2. [*In Conservative Kentucky, Power of Female Candidates Is Tested in Key House Race*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/17/us/politics/carol-barr-dead.html)

**Load-Date:** July 14, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Conservatives Are Thrust Into a 'Moment of Reinvention'***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65W7-DFH1-DXY4-X2H7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 8, 2022 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 8

**Length:** 1321 words

**Byline:** By Stephen Castle and Megan Specia

**Body**

The choice of Britain's next prime minister falls to the governing Conservatives, whose lawmakers pushed Boris Johnson to resign and now have to reinvent their party without him.

LONDON -- Rarely free from scandal and never out of the headlines as Britain's charismatic prime minister, Boris Johnson dominated British politics, overshadowed his rivals and reinvented his governing Conservative Party in his own compelling, polarizing image.

So for all the acrimony his leadership brought with it, Mr. Johnson's departure leaves a gaping void in the stewardship of a country charting a troubled post-Brexit future and a dire economic backdrop.

Despite Mr. Johnson's missteps, there is no prospect of an imminent general election under Britain's parliamentary system, leaving the ultimate choice of Britain's next leader to the roughly 200,000 members of the Conservative Party.

The political crisis is far from over for Britons weary of Mr. Johnson's nonstop dramas, anxious about spiking inflation and a possible recession, and in the dark about where the next prime minister will lead them.

Whoever the party chooses for that role -- the list of possible candidates is long and more diverse than in recent years -- the selection will mark a turning point, as the country shifts away from Mr. Johnson's brand of personality-driven politics.

''There is an opportunity for the Conservative Party to regain its footing with renewal and a honeymoon,'' said Matthew Goodwin, a professor of politics at Kent University. ''But the policy offering is going to have to be very different -- they are going to have to offer a very different zeitgeist, and do so quickly, because the Conservative brand is associated with Johnson and is not in a good place.''

He added, however, that the Conservative Party ''has always reinvented itself: It did it through Johnson, and now the contenders to succeed him have to set out a convincing case for why they meet this moment of reinvention.''

That will mean answering fundamental questions about the type of country they want to build, including many that were never addressed because of the fallout from the 2016 Brexit vote and the pandemic.

Jill Rutter, a former civil servant and a senior fellow at the Institute for Government, a London-based research group, also predicted ''a battle over direction,'' citing debates over Brexit, taxation and the economy.

''The real question is: Are they capable of putting a team back together in the longer term without Boris Johnson?'' she asked, adding that many of those in the more prominent positions in the government were appointed, primarily, for loyalty to their leader.

There will be no shortage of candidates: The number of lawmakers putting their names forward is likely to reach double figures. Some will run to raise their profiles, and a series of ballots among Conservative lawmakers will whittle the real contenders down to two.

One of them will then be chosen as the country's next prime minister by members of the Conservative Party around the end of the summer, though questions swirled on Thursday about whether Mr. Johnson should be allowed to remain as caretaker prime minister until then.

Leading contenders to fill the job include Nadhim Zahawi, the recently appointed chancellor of the Exchequer; Rishi Sunak, his predecessor; Liz Truss, the foreign secretary; Ben Wallace, the defense secretary; and Jeremy Hunt, the former health and foreign secretary.

Ms. Rutter said that, before Mr. Johnson's resignation, there was a mind-set that Conservatives would likely have two years until an election, which would have given the party time to effectively resolve the outstanding aspects of Brexit, ''get the economy back on track and restore a bit of faith'' in the leadership. Now those challenges are more urgent.

Yet after three years in Downing Street, Mr. Johnson leaves an ideologically confused legacy, presenting successors with a challenge to unite their fractious party.

Mr. Johnson won a landslide election in 2019 promising to ''get Brexit done'' after three years of gridlock over how -- or whether -- to proceed with Britain's exit from the European Union.

With his populist pro-Brexit message, Mr. Johnson managed to realign British politics, winning over millions of voters from the Labour Party in so-called ''red wall'' former industrial regions in the north and middle of Britain. He also promised to ''level up'' prosperity to those areas, sometimes to the alarm of traditional Conservative voters in the south who thought they might lose out.

Labour is still trying to recover in northern seats where support for Brexit was strong and where its left-wing previous leader, Jeremy Corbyn, proved unpopular. The current leader, Keir Starmer, is widely regarded as competent but uncharismatic, and has made solid but unspectacular progress.

That could be thrown off course if Mr. Starmer is fined by the police for breaking lockdown rules, however. Under such circumstances he has promised to quit, something that would precipitate a Labour leadership contest.

''The extraordinary thing is that by the end of next week we could have no leader of the Conservative Party and no leader of the Labour Party,'' said Peter Lilley, a Conservative member of the House of Lords and a former cabinet minister.

Yet the contest inside the Conservative Party is the more pressing and important one, as it will determine the next prime minister.

Although the Tories see themselves as committed to reducing taxes, the burden of taxation soared as public services were strained during the pandemic. Mr. Johnson, always a fan of big infrastructure projects, often favored public spending and described himself as a ''Brexity Hezza'' -- a reference to the interventionist (but pro-European) Conservative politician Michael Heseltine, who served in cabinet in the 1980s and 1990s.

Yet the free-spending model was anathema to Brexit hard-liners, who thought the party had lost its ideological moorings and saw Britain's departure from the European Union as the prelude to a major reduction in the role of the state, a concept nicknamed Singapore-on-Thames.

''There is going to be a long slate of candidates and they will have to set out their vision of post-Brexit conservatism, which is very different to pre-Brexit conservatism, of how they will take with them the ***working-class*** red wall areas along with the graduate, middle-class shires,'' said Professor Goodwin.

The candidates would have to describe their vision of Britain's post-Brexit trading plans, cultural issues and progressivism, immigration and the economy, he said, adding that, for now, there is no compelling set of ideas.

Tobias Ellwood, a senior Conservative lawmaker and critic of Mr. Johnson, said his colleagues were divided roughly into three groups: lawmakers from ''red wall'' seats who entered Parliament in 2019; moderate, more internationalist lawmakers known as the One Nation group; and hard-line Brexit supporters.

''Whoever can sit in the middle and then attract support from all three groups will become the prime minister,'' Mr. Ellwood said.

Mr. Lilley, who ran for the party leadership in the 1990s, said that because the final choice is made by party activists, who tend to be more ideological than the general public, ''the more right wing of the two wins.''

In this case, he said, that would favor a candidate who wanted to cut taxes and continue Mr. Johnson's hard-line policy on changing post-Brexit trading rules for Northern Ireland without E.U. agreement.

But Professor Goodwin said that to salvage their party's fortunes, contenders to be the next prime minister would have to produce a broader vision for modern Britain and a more thoughtful policy program than simply offering tax cuts.

The Conservative Party, he added, ''is in a very fragile position and this will either go well, or very, very badly.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/07/world/europe/boris-johnson-successor.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/07/world/europe/boris-johnson-successor.html)

**Load-Date:** July 8, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Old Latin Mass Finds New American Audience, Despite Pope’s Disapproval***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66W1-1F51-DXY4-X4H4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 15, 2022 Tuesday 08:56 EST

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 1953 words

**Byline:** Ruth Graham

**Highlight:** An ancient form of Catholic worship is drawing in young traditionalists and conservatives. But it signals a divide within the church.

**Body**

DETROIT — Eric Agustin’s eight children used to call the first day of the week “Party Sunday.” The family would wake up, attend a short morning Mass at a Catholic parish near their house, then head home for lunch and an afternoon of relaxing and watching football.

But this summer, the family made a “big switch,” one of his teenage sons said on a recent Sunday afternoon outside St. Joseph Shrine, the family’s new parish. At St. Joseph, the liturgy is ornate, precisely choreographed and conducted entirely in Latin. The family drives an hour round trip to attend a service that starts at 11 a.m. and can last almost two hours.

The traditional Latin Mass, an ancient form of Catholic worship that Pope Francis has tried to discourage, is instead experiencing a revival in the United States. It appeals to an overlapping mix of aesthetic traditionalists, young families, new converts and critics of Francis. And its resurgence, boosted by the pandemic years, is part of a rising right-wing strain within American Christianity as a whole.

The Mass has sparked a sprawling proxy battle in the American church over not just songs and prayers but also the future of Catholicism and its role in culture and politics.

Latin Mass adherents tend to be socially conservative and tradition-minded. Some, like the Agustin family, are attracted to the Mass’s beauty, symbolism and what they describe as a more reverent form of worship.

Others have also been drawn to the old form through a brand of new hard-right rhetoric and community they have found in some Catholic communities online. They see the pope’s attempt to curb the old Latin Mass as an example of the perils of a world becoming unmoored from Western religious values.

The traditional Latin Mass, also referred to as the “extraordinary form,” was celebrated for centuries until the transformations of the Second Vatican Council in the 1960s, which were intended in part to make the rite more accessible. After the Council, Mass could be celebrated in any language, contemporary music entered many parishes and priests turned to face people in the pews.

But the traditional Latin Mass, with all its formality and mystery, never fully disappeared. Though it represents a fraction of Masses performed at the 17,000 Catholic parishes in the United States, it is thriving.

The United States now appears to have at least 600 venues offering the traditional Mass, the most by far of any country. More than 400 venues offer it every Sunday, according to one online directory.

This growth is happening as Pope Francis has [*cracked down*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/16/world/europe/pope-francis-old-latin-mass.html), issuing strict new limits on the rite last year. His immediate predecessor, Pope Benedict XVI, had widened access to the old Mass, but Francis has characterized it as a source of division in the church and said that it is too often associated with a broader rejection of the aims of the Second Vatican Council.

On one level, the split over the old Mass represents a clash of priorities and power struggles in church leadership. In pews and parishes, it is more complicated. Many Catholics say they are attracted to the Mass for spiritual reasons, bolstered by aesthetic and liturgical preferences rather than by partisanship.

“There’s a reverence that’s next-level,” Mr. Agustin said of the Mass at St. Joseph Shrine.

Dozens of large, young families have flocked to St. Joseph Shrine since it began offering the traditional Latin Mass regularly in 2016. A historically German parish with a 19th-century building that once struggled to keep the lights on is now bustling with people, including many couples with five or more children.

High Mass on Sundays begins with holy water sprinkled up the aisle, and it features plumes of incense and the sounds of bells, a pipe organ and Gregorian chant. Men tend to wear suits and ties and most women wear skirts and lace mantillas on their heads, the latter a traditional sign of humility and femininity. Parking nearby is hard to find on Sundays.

“It’s nothing exceptional here,” demurred Rev. Canon J.B. Commins, 33, who lives in the brick rectory next door. “In other places where the traditional Mass is being celebrated, it’s exponential growth.”

Leaning into the demands of intense religious experience, many supporters of the Latin Mass seek a return not just to old rituals but to old social values and gender roles. Here, the arcane and rigorous are not barriers to accessibility but attractions that tie believers to a long history of spiritual clarity, which they see as sharply contrasting with the modern church.

The pandemic accelerated the divide, as mainstream parishes generally stayed closed longer, driving some Catholics to seek out new parishes. Many attendees say they discovered traditionalist podcasters and influencers who turned them onto the older Mass.

Although Catholics as a whole are a politically diverse cohort in the United States, frequent Mass attendees tend to be more conservative: 63 percent of Catholics who attend Mass at least monthly supported Donald J. Trump in the 2020 presidential election, compared with 53 percent of less-frequent attendees, according to the Pew Research Center. Informal surveys have found that Latin Mass attendees not only attend Mass more often but hold almost universally conservative views on topics like abortion and gay marriage.

Before the 11 a.m. Mass at St. Joseph one Sunday in early October, attended by some 300 people, Canon Commins read an announcement from Archbishop Allen Vigneron of Detroit, urging Catholics to “take action” to defeat a ballot amendment that would enshrine a right to abortion in the state’s constitution. (Voters in the state later [*approved the measure*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/09/us/abortion-rights-ballot-proposals.html).)

Political and theological conservatives see in Pope Francis’ restriction of the traditional Latin Mass a troubling disregard for orthodoxy more broadly.

Since Francis became pope in 2013, he has emphasized inclusivity, and attempted to soften the church’s approach to flashpoints like abortion and homosexuality. He has also issued a major [*encyclical on environmental stewardship*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/06/18/world/europe/encyclical-laudato-si.html), [*prayed for immigrants*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/18/world/americas/pope-francis-ciudad-juarez.html) at the U.S.-Mexico border, and [*appointed women*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/13/world/europe/pope-vatican-women-bishops.html) to historically significant roles in church operations.

Francis’ 2021 document “Traditionis Custodes,” comparable to an executive order, limited where and when the old Mass can be celebrated. And this summer, he outraged traditionalists further with a new document making clear that the tensions around the Mass are more than a question of taste. “I do not see how it is possible to say that one recognizes the validity of the Council — though it amazes me that a Catholic might presume not to do so — and at the same time not accept the liturgical reform,” he wrote.

The crackdown helped fuel what some call the “liturgy wars.”

“It’s a whole vision of the church and what it means to be a Christian and a Catholic that’s at stake here,” said John Baldovin, a priest and a professor at the Boston College School of Theology and Ministry who has written often about liturgical issues. “You can’t say it’s just about a beautiful Mass.”

The conflict is particularly fierce in the United States, where conservatives dominate the bishops’ conference and high-profile critics and media outlets regularly challenge Francis’ leadership.

At a conference in Pittsburgh this fall, Catholic critics of Pope Francis laid out three “articles of resistance” against the Vatican and its current leadership. Their top objection was to “Traditionis Custodes,” which they called an act of “religious discrimination against Traditional Catholics.”

Some bishops, including those in Chicago and Washington, have drastically reduced the availability of the traditional Latin Mass this year.

“It’s something I couldn’t imagine, having to beg and plead for the traditional Latin Mass,” said Noah Peters, who organized a five-mile “pilgrimage” in September from a cathedral in Arlington, Va., to one in Washington in protest of the restrictions in both dioceses.

Mr. Peters was raised as a secular Jew and was drawn to Catholicism through the traditional Latin Mass “because it had this beauty, timelessness and reverence about it,” he said.

Like Mr. Peters, almost all Latin Mass devotees use a version of the word “reverent” unprompted, contrasting the tone of the Latin Mass with oft-cited if rare examples in modern parishes featuring nontraditional elements like puppets and balloons, a casual treatment of the Eucharist, or music and dance they consider disrespectful. The popular traditionalist podcaster Taylor Marshall often tells a story about feeling driven away from the Novus Ordo when he was served the Eucharist by a layperson wearing a Grover T-shirt.

In Detroit, Archbishop Allen Vigneron has allowed the Latin Mass to flourish basically unimpeded.

Alex Begin, a Detroit-area real estate executive, trains priests in the liturgy and helps parishes that want to start offering the Mass.

On a recent drive starting in downtown Detroit and winding through former ***working-class*** German and Polish neighborhoods, Mr. Begin pointed out churches that have begun offering the Latin Mass, and some that plan to start. Mr. Begin has a taste for the arcane: His hobbies include maximizing frequent flier rewards and collecting [*indulgences*](https://www.nytimes.com/2009/02/10/nyregion/10indulgence.html), which he refers to as “Heaven’s frequent flier program.”

Mr. Begin sees Pope Francis’ antagonism toward the Latin Mass as working against his goal of unity. “You’re going to drive people to breakaway groups,” he said.

At Old St. Mary’s, a 19th-century parish in the city’s touristy Greektown neighborhood, some 150 people gathered in October for the monthly Latin Mass service, complete with a Gregorian choir.

Congregants knelt, rose, crossed themselves and murmured prayers. Incense wafted through the vast, dimly lit room. When it was time to receive the Eucharist, they filed silently forward and knelt, their faces slightly upturned.

“Corpus Dómini nostri Jesu Christi custódiat ánimam tuam in vitam ætérnam. Amen,” the priests prayed as they placed a thin wafer on each tongue. May the Body of Our Lord Jesus Christ preserve your soul unto life everlasting. Amen.

The Latin Mass “brings the true Catholics out,” said Kristin Kopy, 41, after the service.

Mrs. Kopy’s husband works for Church Militant, a hard-right multimedia site that rails against homosexuality, pandemic restrictions and Pope Francis.

Mrs. Kopy was holding her sleeping 2-week-old daughter, Philomena, as her older children played nearby. She and her husband have been attending the Latin Mass for the last six years. They felt something was missing in their experiences of the new Mass that they now have found in the old.

“I don’t speak Latin,” she said. “But it feels like you’re connecting more with God.”

PHOTOS: Clockwise from top left: A woman wearing a mantilla praying before a Latin Mass began at St. Joseph Shrine in Detroit; Rev. Canon J.B. Commins giving communion to a parishioner; Alex Begin, who trains priests in the liturgy and helps parishes offer the Mass; parishioners at St. Joseph. (A12); Devotees of the Latin Mass describe it as a more reverent form of worship, but its resurgence is part of a rising right-wing strain within American Christianity. Pope Francis has tried to discourage it. Altar servers, top, kneeling after communion. The altar missal, above, a text used during Mass. (A12-A13); Devotees of the Latin Mass describe it as a more reverent form of worship, but its resurgence is part of a rising right-wing strain within American Christianity. Pope Francis has tried to discourage it. Altar servers, top, kneeling after communion. The altar missal, above, a text used during Mass. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY NICK HAGEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A13) This article appeared in print on page A1, A12, A13.

**Load-Date:** November 16, 2022

**End of Document**



[***A Tumultuous Term Ends With a Jaw-Dropping Exit***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65W7-DFH1-DXY4-X2H6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 8, 2022 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 10; NEWS ANALYSIS

**Length:** 1247 words

**Byline:** By Mark Landler

**Body**

The risk-taking bravado of Britain's colorful prime minister was not enough to compensate for his shortcomings, or overcome a catastrophic loss of party support.

LONDON -- The end, when it finally came, was just as chaotic, messy and jaw-dropping as every other chapter of Boris Johnson's political career.

Holed up in Downing Street on Wednesday night, the prime minister faced an open rebellion of his cabinet, a catastrophic loss of support in his Conservative Party and a wholesale exodus of ministers, which threatened to leave significant parts of the British government without functioning leadership.

Yet far from surrendering, Mr. Johnson's aides put out word that he would continue to fight. It looked like a last roll of the dice by one of the great gamblers in British politics. His brazen refusal to bow to reality invited comparisons to Donald J. Trump's defiance in the chaotic days after he lost the 2020 presidential election.

By Thursday morning, however, political gravity had finally reasserted itself. For one of the few times in his career, Mr. Johnson was unable to bend the narrative to his advantage through the sheer force of his personality.

At midday, the prime minister went to a lectern in front of 10 Downing Street to announce he was relinquishing the leadership of a party that no longer supported him, and giving up a job he had pursued for much of his adult life.

''I want to tell you how sad I am to be giving up the best job in the world,'' Mr. Johnson said. Then, defusing the solemnity of the moment with a wry line from the pool halls of America, he added, ''Them's the breaks.''

As the political post-mortems on Mr. Johnson are written, the tumultuous events of the last week may come to encapsulate his career -- one defined by a gleeful disregard for the rules, a shrewd instinct for public opinion, an elastic approach to ethics and a Falstaffian appetite for the cut-and-thrust of politics.

''Most prime ministers would have gotten the message sooner,'' said Andrew Gimson, one of Mr. Johnson's biographers. ''The element of exaggeration, of turning up the volume, is very characteristic of his style.''

Mr. Gimson once likened Mr. Johnson to Admiral Nelson, the 18th-century naval hero who vanquished Napoleon in the Battle of Trafalgar. ''Nelson said the boldest measures are the safest,'' he said.

In the end, however, Mr. Johnson's risk-taking bravado was not enough to compensate for his shortcomings. He engaged in behavior that critics said revealed a sense of entitlement and a belief that the rules did not apply to him, his staff or his loyalists. Critics accused him of being disorganized, ideologically and administratively.

After leading Britain out of the European Union in 2020, the prime minister did not have much of a plan for what to do next. He quickly became hostage to events, lurching from crisis to crisis as the coronavirus pandemic engulfed Britain. A pattern of scandals, which followed him throughout his career, soon overtook Downing Street.

Mr. Johnson had long thrived by thumbing his nose at political convention. His disheveled crop of blonde hair seemed a metaphor for a messy personal and professional life, which some British voters savored while others merely tolerated it.

But Mr. Johnson's lack of truthfulness finally caught up with him. His constantly shifting accounts of his conduct -- whether in attending illicit parties at Downing Street during lockdowns, attempting to use a Tory Party donor to finance the costly refurbishment of his apartment, or promoting a Conservative lawmaker with a history of sexual misconduct allegations against him -- finally exhausted the patience of his party and many voters.

Mr. Johnson's role in campaigning to leave the European Union, then carrying out Brexit and then seeing Britain through the pandemic, will guarantee him a place in the ranks of significant British prime ministers. Beyond that, he leaves behind a checkered policy legacy, and he never escaped suspicions that his agenda was driven not by ideological conviction but by the cynical calculation of what political advantages he could extract from it.

In the end he may be most remembered for his confounding mix of strengths and weaknesses.

From the start, Mr. Johnson represented something new in British politics. A journalist-turned-politician, he was able to fuse the forces of celebrity culture with an opportunistic, ideologically flexible approach to the issues. To most Britons, he was simply ''Boris,'' a first-name familiarity enjoyed by no other British politician.

With his rumpled suits and untucked shirts, Mr. Johnson affected a louche, upper-class insouciance that somehow also connected with ***working-class*** voters. His antics as the mayor of London -- he once famously dangled from a zip line above photographers, waving a pair of Union Jacks -- turned him into a clown prince.

But all the tomfoolery -- aside from drawing attention to himself -- also helped make him a serious electoral contender. With Britain caught up in an anguished debate over its future in the European Union, Mr. Johnson latched on to an issue that would propel him to the top of the Conservative Party. First, of course, he famously dithered about which side of the Brexit debate to embrace -- leave or remain -- drafting newspaper columns that made the case for both.

Once he had thrown in his lot with ''Vote Leave,'' Mr. Johnson became an energetic campaigner. He helped win the 2016 referendum against European Union membership, used the issue to drive out the woman who became prime minister in its aftermath, Theresa May, and rode a promise to ''Get Brexit Done'' to a thrashing of the Labour Party in the 2019 general election.

That victory, which awarded the Conservative Party its largest majority since 1987, emboldened Mr. Johnson when his standing collapsed under the weight of serial ethical scandals. He invoked his ''colossal mandate'' as a response to those who said he should step down, saying he owed it to his 14 million voters to go on.

Unlike in the United States, however, Mr. Johnson governs in a parliamentary, not a presidential, system. Those 14 million people voted for the Conservative Party, not for Mr. Johnson, who merely served as the party's leader, at the pleasure of its lawmakers. When they withdraw that support, the leader is replaced.

At a parliamentary committee hearing on Wednesday, Mr. Johnson pointedly declined to rule out trying to call an early general election -- in effect, bypassing the Conservative Party to throw his fate back to the voters.

That evening, a delegation of cabinet ministers and party officials traveled to Downing Street to appeal to Mr. Johnson to step down. He rejected their entreaties and instead fired one of his most senior ministers and allies, Michael Gove, who had been among those warning him that his time was up.

The palace intrigue, combined with Mr. Johnson's initial refusal to accept his situation, drew comparisons to Mr. Trump.

''We have this habit in Britain of following American politics, a couple of years later,'' said Jonathan Powell, who served as chief of staff to a Labour prime minister, Tony Blair. ''We have ended up with a poor man's Trump, in the form of Johnson.''

The United States, Mr. Powell said, was still living with the aftereffects of Mr. Trump's presidency. ''In Britain, because our system is different, we should be in a position to heal more quickly,'' he said.

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Downing Street on Thursday, where Boris Johnson stepped down as Britain's prime minister in a speech outside the residence. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HENRY NICHOLLS/REUTERS)

Mr. Johnson in 2016. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SCOTT HEPPELL/A.F.P. -- GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** July 12, 2022

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[***Democrats Say Racism Is the Real Messaging in Republican Crime Ads***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66PP-6TS1-DXY4-X0T0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 26, 2022 Wednesday

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**Length:** 1880 words

**Byline:** By Jonathan Weisman

**Body**

Running ads portraying Black candidates as soft on crime -- or as ''different'' or ''dangerous'' -- Republicans have shed quiet defenses of such tactics for unabashed defiance.

As Republicans seize on crime as one of their leading issues in the final weeks of the midterm elections, they have deployed a series of attack lines, terms and imagery that have injected race into contests across the country.

In states as disparate as Wisconsin and New Mexico, ads have labeled a Black candidate as ''different'' and ''dangerous'' and darkened a white man's hands as they portrayed him as a criminal.

Nowhere have these tactics risen to overtake the debate in a major campaign, but a survey of competitive contests, particularly those involving Black candidates, shows they are so widespread as to have become an important weapon in the 2022 Republican arsenal.

In Wisconsin, where Lt. Gov. Mandela Barnes, who is Black, is the Democratic nominee for Senate, a National Republican Senatorial Committee ad targeting him ends by juxtaposing his face with those of three Democratic House members, all of them women of color, and the words ''different'' and ''dangerous.''

In a mailer sent to several state House districts in New Mexico, the state Republican Party darkened the hands of a barber shown giving a white child a haircut, next to the question, ''Do you want a sex offender cutting your child's hair?''

And in North Carolina, an ad against Cheri Beasley, the Democratic candidate for Senate, who is Black, features the anguished brother of a white state trooper killed a quarter-century ago by a Black man whom Ms. Beasley, then a public defender, represented in court. The brother incredulously says that Ms. Beasley, pleading for the killer's life, said ''he was actually a good person.''

Appeals to white fears and resentments are an old strategy in American elections, etched into the country's political consciousness, with ads like George Bush's ad using the Black convict Willie Horton against Michael Dukakis in 1988, and Jesse Helms's 1990 commercial showing a white man's hands to denounce his Black opponent's support for ''quotas.''

If the intervening decades saw such tactics become harder to defend, the rise of Donald J. Trump shattered taboos, as he spoke of ''rapist'' immigrants and ''shithole countries'' in Africa and the Caribbean. But while Republicans quietly stood by advertising that Democrats called racist in 2018, this year, they have responded with defiance, saying they see nothing untoward in their imagery and nothing to apologize for.

''This is stupid, but not surprising,'' said Chris Hartline, a spokesman for the Republican Senatorial Committee, whose ads in North Carolina and Wisconsin have prompted accusations of racism. ''We're using their own words and their own records. If they don't like it, they should invent a time machine, go back in time and not embrace dumb-ass ideas that voters are rejecting.''

Amid pandemic-era crime increases, legitimate policy differences have emerged between the two parties over gun violence, easing access to bail and funding police budgets.

But some of the Republican arguments could scarcely be called serious policy critiques.

This month, a Republican senator, Tommy Tuberville of Alabama, said Democrats favored reparations ''for the people that do the crime,'' suggesting the movement to compensate the descendants of slavery was about paying criminals. And Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene, Republican of Georgia, made explicit reference to ''replacement theory,'' the racist notion that nonwhite, undocumented immigrants are ''replacing'' white Americans, saying, ''Joe Biden's five million illegal aliens are on the verge of replacing you.''

Such language, as well as ads portraying chaos by depicting Black rioters and Hispanic immigrants illegally racing across the border, have prompted Democrats and their allies to accuse Republicans of resorting to racist fear tactics.

''I think that white people should be speaking out. I think that Black people should be speaking out,'' said Chris Larson, a Democratic state senator in Wisconsin who is white and has denounced Republican ads against Mr. Barnes. ''I think that all people should be speaking out when there is vile racism at work.''

Democrats themselves are dealing with intraparty racial strife in Los Angeles caused by a leaked recording in which Latino leaders are heard using racist terms and disparaging words toward their Black constituents.

But it is Republicans' nationwide focus on crime that is fueling many of the attacks that Democrats say cross a line into racism.

The conservative group Club for Growth Action, backed by the billionaires Richard and Elizabeth Uihlein, Diane Hendricks and Jeff Yass, pointed with pride to the crime ads it has run against Ms. Beasley. ''Democrats across the country are getting called out for their soft-on-crime policies,'' said the group's president, former Representative David McIntosh. ''Now that their poor decisions have caught up with them, they're relying on the liberal media to call criticisms of their politically inconvenient record racist, and it won't work.''

The 2022 midterms include the most diverse slate of Republican congressional candidates ever, competing against Democratic candidates who would add to the House's representatives of color and improve on the Senate's lack of diversity. But it is also the first cycle since Mr. Trump's presidency, when he set a sharply different tone for his party on race.

It was at a rally with Mr. Trump in Arizona this month that Mr. Tuberville and Ms. Greene made their incendiary comments. At another rally in Wilmington, N.C., late last month with a Senate Republican candidate, Representative Ted Budd, Mr. Trump told the audience that President Vladimir Putin of Russia had mentioned ''the N-word. You know what the N-word is?'' When the audience hooted, he corrected them, ''No, no, no, it's the nuclear word.''

Representative Alma Adams, Democrat of North Carolina, who is Black, said, ''Donald Trump is fueling this fire.''

Still, a rise in violence recently has given openings to both parties.

In North Florida, a flier distributed by a Democratic group depicts the face of a Black Republican, Corey Simon, who is challenging a white state senator, on what Republicans have called a shooting target and Democrats call a school easel, with bullets shown strewn underneath. The message was about gun control and school shootings, staples of Democratic campaigns, and identical mailers targeted two other Republican candidates, who are white and Latino.

Republicans say their attacks are capturing voters' anxieties, not feeding them.

Defending Mr. Tuberville, a former football coach at Auburn University, Byron Donalds of Florida said crime had become a leading issue because of ''soft-on-crime policies and progressive prosecutors in liberal cities.'' Mr. Donalds, one of two Black Republicans in the House, added, ''As a coach and mentor to countless Black men, Tommy Tuberville has done more to advance Black lives than most people, especially in the Democratic Party.''

Ms. Greene and Mr. Tuberville did not respond to requests for comment.

Then there is the Republican mailer in Wisconsin that clearly darkened the face of Mr. Barnes.

''If you can't hear it when they pick up the bullhorn that used to be a dog whistle, you can see it with your own eyes,'' said Mr. Larson, the Wisconsin state senator.

The darkening of white hands in a stock photo of a barber on a Republican mailer in New Mexico prompted outrage there. The New Mexico Republican Party said that Democrats were trying to divert attention from their record on crime. A Republican leader in the state House of Representatives, Rod Montoya, told The Albuquerque Journal that the hands were darkened to make the fliers ''gloomy.''

Some liberal groups do seem intent on discerning racism in any message on crime. After Gov. Kim Reynolds of Iowa, who is white, ran an ad opening with a clip of Representative Cori Bush of Missouri, who is Black, calling for defunding the police, Iowa Democrats called it racist because Ms. Reynolds's Democratic challenger, Deidre DeJear, is also Black, and, as she has said, bears a resemblance to Ms. Bush.

Progressive groups say their concern is merited.

''Crime in America has always, at least in modern times, been racially charged,'' said Christopher Scott, chief political officer at the liberal group Democracy for America. ''The ads aren't getting to policy points. They are images playing on their base's fears.''

But the policy differences between the two parties are real. Democrats have pushed for cashless bail, saying the current system that requires money to free a defendant before trial is unfair to poor people. Republicans say cash bail is meant to get criminals off the streets. Democrats have expressed solidarity with racial justice protesters and helped bail out some who were arrested after demonstrations over the murder of George Floyd turned destructive. Republicans have said those actions condoned and encouraged lawlessness.

Skin color is beside the point, said Jonathan Felts, a spokesman for Mr. Budd's campaign in North Carolina, as he defended the blitz of crime advertising against Ms. Beasley. One ad toggles between images of white children -- victims of brutal crimes -- and the face of Ms. Beasley, her expression haughty or bemused.

''The images used in the ad match up to the victims of the criminals she went easy on,'' Mr. Felts said. ''Are you suggesting the ad makers should make up fake victims, or are you suggesting she shouldn't be held accountable for her judicial and legal record?''

In fact, the judicial and legal records portrayed in at least one of the ads have been determined to be distorted, at best. The first version of the Republican Senatorial Committee's ad, which portrayed child crime victims from different races, was pulled down by North Carolina television stations in June after they agreed that some of the assertions were false. In a later version, the committee made slight word changes to satisfy the channels but added a more overt racial contrast.

''All communities are concerned about public safety,'' said State Representative Brandon Lofton, a Democratic Black lawmaker whose South Charlotte district is largely white. ''There is a way to talk about it that is truthful'' and does not cross racial lines, he said.

The campaigns themselves have steered clear of charging racism.

Dory MacMillan, a spokeswoman for Ms. Beasley, said, ''Our race remains a dead heat, despite Congressman Budd and his allies' spending millions of dollars to distort Cheri's record of public service.''

In Wisconsin, a spokeswoman for Mr. Barnes, Maddy McDaniel, similarly declined to go further than to say that ''the G.O.P.'s fear-mongering playbook failed them last cycle, and it will fail again.''

Mr. Barnes, for his part, seemed to make playful use of his portrayal in one of the Republican attack ads as ''different'' during his first debate with Senator Ron Johnson, the two-term incumbent. He was, indeed, different, Mr. Barnes said, ''We don't have enough ***working-class*** people in the United States Senate.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/25/us/politics/crime-ads-racism-republicans.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/25/us/politics/crime-ads-racism-republicans.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Recent ad campaigns have prompted Democrats and their allies to accuse Republicans of resorting to racist fear tactics with voters. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CLUB FOR GROWTH ACTION, NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE

CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP FUND) This article appeared in print on page A19.

**Load-Date:** October 26, 2022

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[***Making The Leap From Fire To Frying Pan***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66PP-6TS1-DXY4-X0SW-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 1798 words

**Byline:** By Brett Anderson

**Body**

Two years ago, the Almeda fire tore through southern Oregon. Many people haven't fully recovered, but farmers, chefs and others have rallied to sustain the area.

ASHLAND, Ore. -- When she decided to leave Texas, Sarah Cook dreamed of her ideal new home. She shared what she imagined with friends: a small city that offered natural beauty, a slower pace and an audience for the kind of artful, intricate food she made at KyÅten Sushiko, a six-seat omakase restaurant in Austin that closed during the pandemic.

''I was describing Ashland before I'd ever even heard of it,'' Ms. Cook said.

Her dream seemed to be coming true in June, after she became chef at Nama, a 20-seat restaurant in this city of 21,000, which she calls ''perfect in a lot of ways.''

But, she recalled, ''there was a day when it was orange outside, and you could see ash falling.''

''It was apocalyptic,'' she said.

This split screen -- paradise on one side, disaster on the other -- illustrates an uneasy tension here in the Rogue Valley, one that has pushed its food community into a period of transition and innovation.

The vision of turning the region into a laid-back alternative to the West's more celebrated culinary destinations appears on the cusp of being realized, thanks to the emergence of dynamic restaurant and wine scenes and the return of tourism.

But climate change has become that vision's most imposing threat -- one that turned tragically undeniable two years ago, when the Almeda fire tore through the valley, destroying more than 3,000 businesses and homes, according to the Oregon Department of Forestry. As many as 8,500 residents were left homeless.

Ashland is the cultural capital of the Rogue Valley, where wineries, farms and orchards are abundant. Even in years when flames don't threaten the area, smoke is a perennial problem, carried by wind from fires elsewhere and trapped in the valley by the mountains and warmer temperatures high in the atmosphere.

The new reality is startling for locals who recall a time, not long ago, when the valley was a smoke-free Eden.

''We can't expect that the fire seasons won't affect us anymore,'' said Amber Ferguson, an Ashland native and the director of Rogue Food Unites, a relief organization she co-founded to feed fire victims.

She was sitting outside Mix Bakeshop in July of 2021, on a day when smoke made it appear as if dusk had arrived in midafternoon. The conditions were hazy again last month, around the second anniversary of the fires, when Ms. Ferguson observed, ''We're still recovering from what happened two years ago.''

The Almeda fire started in Ashland, three blocks from Ms. Ferguson's house, but caused the most damage in the neighboring towns of Talent and Phoenix.

Rogue Food's initial mission was to use state recovery funds to collaborate with local chefs and restaurants, many shuttered by the pandemic, to provide food to residents living in temporary housing.

''It just sort of came together like this beautiful dream of let's find money, pay the restaurants, buy from farms, feed the people,'' said Ms. Ferguson, who was a manager at the Portland restaurants Beast and Toro Bravo before moving to Ashland in 2016. ''It's a resilience program and feeding program all at once.''

It has also become a permanent entity, Ms. Ferguson said, with contracts to feed current and future fire victims in five southern Oregon counties.

The fires laid bare local social and economic inequities by causing disproportionate harm to low-income residents in Talent and Phoenix, which are less affluent and more diverse than Ashland. CoaliciÃ³n Fortaleza, an advocacy group for local Latino and Indigenous communities, has been working to develop affordable alternatives to homes lost in the fire. Locals say the replacement costs for mobile homes far exceed the means of most farm and hospitality workers.

Like Rogue Food, Fortaleza formed after the fires. They are among a number of charity organizations that have helped forge solidarity between hospitality and farm workers, expanding views on what relief work should provide in the process.

CelinÃ©s Garcia, 26, a Fortaleza organizer, was raised in a mobile home in Talent by a mother who came from Mexico to work in the orchards. Her father lost his home to the fire.

Rogue Food, she said, ''always just seems to be there, giving people food and meals. And we still need them.''

More than 50 Ashland-area families remain in temporary housing, according to the Oregon Department of Human Services, but relief workers say that number obscures widespread economic pain, particularly for a ***working class*** reeling from an affordable-housing crisis the fires aggravated. Rogue Food created a new mobile farmers' market to meet those customers where they are.

During the market's debut, at a fair in Medford, Lucas Wedeman, a Rogue Food employee, helped fill customers' bags with locally grown zucchini, tomatoes and more. The produce, much of it provided by Fry Family Farm, was restaurant quality -- and free.

Mr. Wedeman, 27, started doing relief work after watching the fires burn nearly every building around his house in Talent.

''We were so blessed that we didn't lose our home,'' he said. ''That reinforced my drive to volunteer.''

Flavio Martinez, 42, was similarly grateful that the fire spared El Comal Taqueria, his restaurant in Phoenix. He was among the local chefs and restaurateurs who started pitching in at Rogue Food soon after the fire. He has since opened a third El Comal location.

''I grew up here,'' Mr. Martinez said. ''It wouldn't be fair for me not to help when there is so much need.''

Rogue Food is just one example of the communal spirit and creative thinking coursing through the valley.

Pioneering winemakers, especially in the Applegate Valley, have elevated southern Oregon wines, historically overshadowed by the Willamette Valley, to the north. Their work developing techniques for growing grapes in the arid climate is mirrored at small and midsize farms nearby.

Kelsey Jacques moved from her native Michigan to start Orange Marmalade Farms last year. She's optimistic about expanding beyond the quarter acre she cultivates in Ashland, even though competition for land and water is fierce, particularly from the fast-growing local cannabis industry, and despite an inaugural season in which she, like many local farmers, suspects smoke prevented crops from flourishing.

''There's so much I can learn here'' she said. ''It's just a pocket of knowledge.''

Ms. Jacques's potential customer base is growing in Ashland, not far from her rows of Siskiyou orange tomatoes and sweet Walla Walla onions. Osteria La Briccola, the Korean-inspired Miss Yoon and the natural wine-focused Bar Julliet have all opened in Ashland since last summer, when the Oregon Shakespeare Festival, an important driver of local tourism, was still hobbled by the pandemic.

Carla Guimaraes moved to Ashland from Santa Barbara, Calif., in 2020, in the thick of Covid lockdowns and just before the fires. The next year she opened Vida Baking Company, which specializes in gluten-free pÃ£o de queijo, the popular cheese bread from her native Brazil.

She looked forward to the Shakespeare Festival's returning to its full schedule this year -- only to be disappointed when outdoor performances were canceled because of heat and smoke.

''People vanished from the streets,'' Ms. Guimaraes said. She figures that Vida's business was down 25 percent in August and September from a year earlier.

After more than a decade of cooking in Ashland restaurants owned by others, Josh Dorcak opened MAÌˆS, a 16-seat tasting menu restaurant, in 2018. The California native wanted his first business to be small, in part to insulate it from economic turbulence.

''Today it's blue skies, tomorrow could be a completely different story,'' he said. ''If I have to shut down, it's only me and a few other people I have to worry about.''

The forced discipline, coupled with inspiration from an immersive tour of Tokyo's izakayas and sushi bars, caused Mr. Dorcak to re-evaluate his cooking and his adopted home.

''It went from feeling claustrophobic and small to like, 'Wait a second, I actually live in a chef's dreamland,' '' he said. ''We have so much at our fingertips.''

His cooking, which he calls Cascadian cuisine, highlights local and regional ingredients in precise, tiny dishes, like poached Pacific oysters dressed with cantaloupe aguachile or figs in shiso custard with crÃ¨me anglaise.

Ms. Cook brings kindred skill and passion to Nama, the 20-seat restaurant Mr. Dorcak opened last fall, next door to MAÌˆS. In a recent meal, amberjack slices came in a slick of grapefruit juice, finished with dried flowers and oil infused with herbs from Orange Marmalade Farms. Ms. Jacques, the farm's owner, waits tables at Nama on weekends.

''If someone thinks the carrot they just had is amazing, I can tell them, 'Talk to the person who grew it,''' Ms. Cook said.

The new era of vitality that these and other chefs are bringing to the Rogue Valley rests on a foundation built by Charlene and Vernon Rollins, according to Mr. Dorcak. The couple opened New Sammy's Cowboy Bistro in Talent, just outside Ashland, in 1989. It was destroyed by the Almeda fire.

Ms. Rollins was the chef at Sammy's (named for their son), and Mr. Rollins its host and sommelier; much of the restaurant's produce came from gardens on the acre and a half of land, where the Rollins family also lived.

''We owe it to Charlene and Vernon for educating travelers who come here about what they can expect from the culture,'' said Mr. Dorcak. Bamboo that grew around Sammy's appears in artwork hanging at Nama.

The charred remains of Sammy's had yet to be cleared when Ms. Rollins, 74, gave a tour of the property in July 2021. She explained how she spent the months after the fire furiously cooking Sammy's dishes -- paper copies of the recipes burned -- before she forgot them.

''I made so many different ice creams,'' she said, standing near a fig tree that survived the fire.

This summer Ms. Rollins moved into a modest, fire-resistant house built on land above her old restaurant site. She walked through her gardens last month, stopping to admire the tomatillos, cantaloupe and tromboncino squash. She looked forward to cooking for friends in her new kitchen, but will not rebuild Sammy's. The property is for sale.

Mr. Rollins, who died in March at age 77, is buried near the new house. Ms. Rollins planted a fig tree at the center of his grave, she said, ''because fig trees never die.''

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/25/dining/ashland-or-food-fires.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/25/dining/ashland-or-food-fires.html)

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[***Fetterman’s Debate Showing Raises Democratic Anxieties in Senate Battle***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66PS-72D1-DXY4-X1MD-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** The Democratic nominee’s performance in Pennsylvania thrust questions of health to the center of a pivotal Senate race, adding uncertainty to the contest and worrying some in his party.

**Body**

The Democratic nominee’s performance in Pennsylvania thrust questions of health to the center of a pivotal Senate race, adding uncertainty to the contest and worrying some in his party.

The debate performance on Tuesday night by Lt. Gov. John Fetterman, the Democratic nominee for Senate in Pennsylvania, left party officials newly anxious, injecting a fresh dose of unpredictability into one of the country’s most important contests less than two weeks before Election Day.

Five months after surviving a serious stroke, Mr. Fetterman cut a sharp contrast with Mehmet Oz, a quick-spoken former talk show host, as he haltingly provided answers to questions using closed captioning to accommodate the auditory processing impairments he has been confronting. At times, Mr. Fetterman seemed to pause to seek the right words or offered a jumble of sentences to express his positions. In some cases, he contradicted himself or appeared to state the opposite of his actual view.

The [*contentious matchup*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/25/us/politics/fetterman-oz-debate-senate-pa.html) between Mr. Fetterman and Dr. Oz, his Republican rival, was a kind of political duel rarely seen in American life, upending the traditional pageantry of rapid-fire debates.

Mr. [*Fetterman’s performance*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/27/us/politics/fetterman-stroke-debate.html) thrust questions about health and disability into the center of the final weeks of [*a nearly deadlocked race*](https://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2022/senate/pa/pennsylvania_senate_oz_vs_fetterman-7695.html). Even as doctors and disability rights advocates praised his delivery, saying that his speech did not reflect any cognitive impairment and that he had offered an inspiring model for others with disabilities, some Democrats worried that ordinary voters might see it differently.

“I was nervous before the debate began, and I’m still nervous,” said Ed Rendell, a Democratic former governor of Pennsylvania, who added that the format — with 60-second answers and 15- and 30-second rebuttals — made it more difficult for Mr. Fetterman to respond fluidly. “You never know which way this goes.”

One senior Democratic official in the state described an intense level of anxiety, and an awareness that the debate could be decisive.

Republicans clearly saw an opening.

“Fetterman proved he’s incapable of the physical and communication demands of the job,” said former Representative Ryan Costello, a Republican from the Philadelphia suburbs who also criticized Mr. Fetterman over issues of transparency.

“This is a six-year term,” he said. “This is a serious job.”

The outcome of the contest could decide control of the Senate — determining whether President Biden will be able to keep confirming federal judges, and whether he will confront investigations and conservative legislation from both chambers of Congress or only [*from what is widely expected to be a Republican-controlled House*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/25/us/politics/blue-states-midterm-landscape.html).

For many voters, the verdict on Mr. Fetterman will be decided in the days to come. Few voters watch entire debates, leaving most to learn about what happened through videos that circulate in the days and weeks that follow.

Democratic officials and campaign operatives in Pennsylvania quickly seized on a statement by Dr. Oz that abortion decisions should be up to “women, doctors, local political leaders.” Those involved with the Fetterman campaign said they had made the right decision in going forward with the debate, arguing that it had given them a politically damaging moment for Dr. Oz that would linger longer than Mr. Fetterman’s overall performance.

On Wednesday, the Fetterman team turned Dr. Oz’s remark into an ad for television and digital platforms and blasted it across social media.

“I want women, doctors, local political leaders — letting the democracy that’s always allowed our nation to thrive — to put the best ideas forward so states can decide,” Dr. Oz said on Tuesday, after [*repeatedly declining*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/25/us/politics/debate-fracking-abortion-fetterman-oz.html) to say directly whether he would support a 15-week federal ban on abortion.

The comment, Fetterman allies said, allows Democrats to tie Dr. Oz to Doug Mastriano, the [*struggling Republican nominee for governor*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/26/us/politics/doug-mastriano-campaign-pennsylvania.html), who has vowed to ban abortion without exceptions. Mr. Fetterman’s campaign said it had raised $2 million since the debate, a number it said illustrated the steadfast commitment of the party’s base.

“John obviously struggled with some words,” said Mike Mikus, a Democratic strategist in Pennsylvania. “I thought he would have performed better. But in the end, mashing up some words is not going to matter to swing voters.”

Republicans, looking to capitalize on the debate, highlighted a moment when Mr. Fetterman was questioned on his views on fracking. [*In a 2018 interview*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0Jm3zKxZ3IA), he expressed opposition to it; he now says that he has “always” supported the practice — a major issue in the state. But it was also a moment that showed Mr. Fetterman’s difficulties with articulating his thoughts. Mr. Fetterman said the captions did not make clear that the question was directed to him, causing him to pause before answering, according to a senior campaign aide.

When pressed on his previous opposition, Mr. Fetterman paused and said: “I do support fracking and, I don’t, I don’t — I support fracking and I stand — I do support fracking.”

Earlier in the race, the Oz campaign mocked Mr. Fetterman repeatedly over his health. But at a campaign event on Wednesday in Harrisburg, Pa., as he appeared with Nikki R. Haley, the former United Nations ambassador, Dr. Oz sought to keep his focus firmly on matters of public safety, in keeping with Republican efforts to tar Mr. Fetterman as radically anti-law enforcement, a message he has vehemently rejected.

“Last night’s debate focused on my desire to bring balance to Washington, a desire to bring together left and right, on issues that are bipartisan in their very nature,” Dr. Oz said.

Still, Dr. Oz’s allies are not being so sensitive about Mr. Fetterman’s health. A [*new ad*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G_bnesFZGmQ) from a super PAC affiliated with former President Donald J. Trump says that the Pennsylvania Democrat “just isn’t right.”

During the debate, Mr. Fetterman tried to reposition his difficulties as a symbol of his grit, part of his brand as a tattooed former mayor of a battered steel town who can relate to ***working-class*** Pennsylvanians. His campaign had sought to lower expectations ahead of the clash, sending a memo to reporters that highlighted Mr. Fetterman’s challenges with auditory processing and noting that even before the stroke, debates were not his strong suit.

Even as some pundits and strategists argued that skipping a debate would ultimately be forgiven, Mr. Fetterman wanted to appear, campaign officials said, because he believed Pennsylvania voters deserved an opportunity to hear from their candidates.

In his opening remarks, he said of the stroke, “It knocked me down, but I’m going to keep coming back up.” He added, “This campaign is all about, to me, is about fighting for everyone in Pennsylvania that got knocked down, that needs to get back up, and fighting for all forgotten communities all across Pennsylvania that also got knocked down that needs to keep to get back up.”

After the debate, his campaign said the caption system it had requested was “delayed” and “filled with errors” — a [*claim the media host denied*](https://twitter.com/RobertShermanTV/status/1585215708128071681).

During the debate, Mr. Fetterman would not commit to releasing additional medical records.

A [*CBS News/YouGov poll*](https://www.cbsnews.com/news/pennsylvania-midterm-election-opinion-poll-economy-abortion-2022-09-14/) released last month found that 59 percent of registered voters in Pennsylvania believed Mr. Fetterman was healthy enough to serve.

But for many voters, the debate was their first chance to watch and listen to Mr. Fetterman — or any politician who recently had a life-threatening stroke — for an extended period of time.

Over the years, strokes have sidelined several senators, who have sometimes needed recoveries as long as a full year. Early this year, Senator Ben Ray Luján, Democrat of New Mexico, had a stroke, [*sending a jolt through his party given its narrow control of the Senate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/05/us/politics/ben-ray-lujan-stroke-interview.html). He returned to work a month later, saying he was “90 percent” recovered.

If Mr. Fetterman wins, his work in the Senate is unlikely to be significantly affected by his condition, said Senator Bob Casey, a Democrat from Pennsylvania who is supporting his bid. Mr. Casey said he had seen Mr. Fetterman rapidly improve since the summer.

“He’s ready to do this job right now,” Mr. Casey said. “And I think by the time he would take the oath, he’ll be able to have then even additional recovery.”

Mr. Fetterman [*had the stroke*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/15/us/politics/john-fetterman-stroke.html) on the Friday before the May primary election, though he waited until Sunday to disclose it. On Primary Day, he had a pacemaker and defibrillator implanted, which his campaign described as a standard procedure that would help address “the underlying cause of his stroke, atrial fibrillation.”

In [*a statement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/03/us/politics/john-fetterman-heart-condition.html) in early June, his cardiologist said he also had a serious heart condition called cardiomyopathy. Mr. Fetterman spent much of the summer off the campaign trail, returning in mid-August for [*a rally*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/12/us/politics/fetterman-oz-senate-pennsylvania.html) in Erie, Pa.

Since then, he has ramped up his appearances, regularly holding rallies and giving television interviews, and his team has been open about his lingering auditory processing challenges and his use of closed captions.

This month, Mr. Fetterman released [*a letter*](https://johnfetterman.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/JKF-Health-Letter-10.15-.pdf) from a different doctor — his primary care physician — that said “he has no work restrictions and can work full duty in public office.”

Neurologists who have experience treating stroke patients with aphasia, which can disrupt a person’s ability to express speech, complimented his performance on Tuesday night.

A political debate “is probably the most adversarial environment that someone with aphasia could face,” said Dr. Lee Schwamm, a vascular neurologist at Massachusetts General Hospital. “It doesn’t mean he can’t think, but his immediate ability to absorb information rapidly and deliver that canned message that all candidates practice is clearly impaired.”

Disability advocates were thrilled with Mr. Fetterman’s showing, saying his appearance carried import beyond party politics by providing a positive image for the 26 percent of Americans living with disabilities.

Darlene Williamson, the president of the National Aphasia Association and a speech language pathologist, praised Mr. Fetterman.

“To have someone exhibit — the best word I can use is bravery — is enormously important to our families who live in a situation where people do not necessarily understand the language problems and oftentimes equate it with loss of intelligence,” she said. “And that is completely untrue.”

Reporting was contributed by Gina Kolata, Maggie Astor, Trip Gabriel and Michael C. Bender.

Reporting was contributed by Gina Kolata, Maggie Astor, Trip Gabriel and Michael C. Bender.

PHOTO: Watching Lt. Gov. John Fetterman at a party in Philadelphia. Mr. Fetterman had a stroke on the Friday before the May primary vote. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CAROLINE GUTMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A19) This article appeared in print on page A1, A19.

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[***For Boris Johnson, a Tumultuous Tenure Ends With a Messy Exit; news analysis***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65W3-12J1-DXY4-X1J8-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** The risk-taking bravado of Britain’s colorful prime minister was not enough to compensate for his shortcomings, or overcome a catastrophic loss of party support.

**Body**

The risk-taking bravado of Britain’s colorful prime minister was not enough to compensate for his shortcomings, or overcome a catastrophic loss of party support.

LONDON — The end, when it finally came, was just as chaotic, messy and jaw-dropping as every other chapter of Boris Johnson’s political career.

Holed up in Downing Street on Wednesday night, the prime minister faced an open rebellion of his cabinet, a catastrophic loss of support in his Conservative Party and a wholesale exodus of ministers, which threatened to leave significant parts of the British government without functioning leadership.

Yet far from surrendering, Mr. Johnson’s aides put out word that he would continue to fight. It looked like a last roll of the dice by one of the great gamblers in British politics. His brazen refusal to bow to reality invited comparisons to Donald J. Trump’s defiance in the chaotic days after he lost the 2020 presidential election.

By Thursday morning, however, political gravity had finally reasserted itself. For one of the few times in his career, Mr. Johnson was unable to bend the narrative to his advantage through the sheer force of his personality.

At midday, the prime minister went to a lectern in front of 10 Downing Street to announce he was relinquishing the leadership of a party that no longer supported him, and giving up a job he had pursued for much of his adult life.

“I want to tell you how sad I am to be giving up the best job in the world,” Mr. Johnson said. Then, defusing the solemnity of the moment with a wry line from the pool halls of America, he added, “Them’s the breaks.”

As the political post-mortems on Mr. Johnson are written, the tumultuous events of the last week may come to encapsulate his career — one defined by a gleeful disregard for the rules, a shrewd instinct for public opinion, an elastic approach to ethics and a Falstaffian appetite for the cut-and-thrust of politics.

“Most prime ministers would have gotten the message sooner,” said Andrew Gimson, one of Mr. Johnson’s biographers. “The element of exaggeration, of turning up the volume, is very characteristic of his style.”

Mr. Gimson once likened Mr. Johnson to Admiral Nelson, the 18th-century naval hero who vanquished Napoleon in the Battle of Trafalgar. “Nelson said the boldest measures are the safest,” he said.

In the end, however, Mr. Johnson’s risk-taking bravado was not enough to compensate for his shortcomings. He engaged in behavior that critics said revealed a sense of entitlement and a belief that the rules did not apply to him, his staff or his loyalists. Critics accused him of being disorganized, ideologically and administratively.

After leading Britain out of the European Union in 2020, the prime minister did not have much of a plan for what to do next. He quickly became hostage to events, lurching from crisis to crisis as the coronavirus pandemic engulfed Britain. A pattern of scandals, which followed him throughout his career, soon overtook Downing Street.

Mr. Johnson had long thrived by thumbing his nose at political convention. His disheveled crop of blonde hair seemed a metaphor for a messy personal and professional life, which some British voters savored while others merely tolerated it.

But Mr. Johnson’s lack of truthfulness finally caught up with him. His constantly shifting accounts of his conduct — whether in attending illicit parties at Downing Street during lockdowns, attempting to use a Tory Party donor to finance the costly refurbishment of his apartment, or promoting a Conservative lawmaker with a history of sexual misconduct allegations against him — finally exhausted the patience of his party and many voters.

Mr. Johnson’s role in campaigning to leave the European Union, then carrying out Brexit and then seeing Britain through the pandemic, will guarantee him a place in the ranks of significant British prime ministers. Beyond that, he leaves behind a checkered policy legacy, and he never escaped suspicions that his agenda was driven not by ideological conviction but by the cynical calculation of what political advantages he could extract from it.

In the end he may be most remembered for his confounding mix of strengths and weaknesses.

From the start, Mr. Johnson represented something new in British politics. A journalist-turned-politician, he was able to fuse the forces of celebrity culture with an opportunistic, ideologically flexible approach to the issues. To most Britons, he was simply “Boris,” a first-name familiarity enjoyed by no other British politician.

With his rumpled suits and untucked shirts, Mr. Johnson affected a louche, upper-class insouciance that somehow also connected with ***working-class*** voters. His antics as the mayor of London — he once famously dangled from a zip line above photographers, waving a pair of Union Jacks — turned him into a clown prince.

But all the tomfoolery — aside from drawing attention to himself — also helped make him a serious electoral contender. With Britain caught up in an anguished debate over its future in the European Union, Mr. Johnson latched on to an issue that would propel him to the top of the Conservative Party. First, of course, he famously dithered about which side of the Brexit debate to embrace — leave or remain — drafting newspaper columns that made the case for both.

Once he had thrown in his lot with “Vote Leave,” Mr. Johnson became an energetic campaigner. He helped win the 2016 referendum against European Union membership, used the issue to drive out the woman who became prime minister in its aftermath, Theresa May, and rode a promise to “Get Brexit Done” to a thrashing of the Labour Party in the 2019 general election.

That victory, which awarded the Conservative Party its largest majority since 1987, emboldened Mr. Johnson when his standing collapsed under the weight of serial ethical scandals. He invoked his “colossal mandate” as a response to those who said he should step down, saying he owed it to his 14 million voters to go on.

Unlike in the United States, however, Mr. Johnson governs in a parliamentary, not a presidential, system. Those 14 million people voted for the Conservative Party, not for Mr. Johnson, who merely served as the party’s leader, at the pleasure of its lawmakers. When they withdraw that support, the leader is replaced.

At a parliamentary committee hearing on Wednesday, Mr. Johnson pointedly declined to rule out trying to call an early general election — in effect, bypassing the Conservative Party to throw his fate back to the voters.

That evening, a delegation of cabinet ministers and party officials traveled to Downing Street to appeal to Mr. Johnson to step down. He rejected their entreaties and instead fired one of his most senior ministers and allies, Michael Gove, who had been among those warning him that his time was up.

The palace intrigue, combined with Mr. Johnson’s initial refusal to accept his situation, drew comparisons to Mr. Trump.

“We have this habit in Britain of following American politics, a couple of years later,” said Jonathan Powell, who served as chief of staff to a Labour prime minister, Tony Blair. “We have ended up with a poor man’s Trump, in the form of Johnson.”

The United States, Mr. Powell said, was still living with the aftereffects of Mr. Trump’s presidency. “In Britain, because our system is different, we should be in a position to heal more quickly,” he said.

PHOTOS: Downing Street on Thursday, where Boris Johnson stepped down as Britain’s prime minister in a speech outside the residence. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HENRY NICHOLLS/REUTERS); Mr. Johnson in 2016. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SCOTT HEPPELL/A.F.P. — GETTY IMAGES)

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[***To Pick Johnson’s Successor, Britain’s Conservatives Confront the Void He Leaves Behind***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65W3-GRN1-DXY4-X1MP-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** The choice of Britain’s next prime minister falls to the governing Conservatives, whose lawmakers pushed Boris Johnson to resign and now have to reinvent their party without him.

**Body**

The choice of Britain’s next prime minister falls to the governing Conservatives, whose lawmakers pushed Boris Johnson to resign and now have to reinvent their party without him.

LONDON — Rarely free from scandal and never out of the headlines as Britain’s charismatic prime minister, Boris Johnson dominated British politics, overshadowed his rivals and reinvented his governing Conservative Party in his own compelling, polarizing image.

So for all the acrimony his leadership brought with it, Mr. Johnson’s departure leaves a gaping void in the stewardship of a country charting a troubled post-Brexit future and a dire economic backdrop.

Despite Mr. Johnson’s missteps, there is no prospect of an imminent general election under Britain’s parliamentary system, leaving the ultimate choice of Britain’s next leader to the roughly 200,000 members of the Conservative Party.

The political crisis is far from over for Britons weary of Mr. Johnson’s nonstop dramas, anxious about spiking inflation and a possible recession, and in the dark about where the next prime minister will lead them.

Whoever the party chooses for that role — the[*list of possible candidates*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/07/world/europe/next-prime-minister-uk.html) is long and [*more diverse*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/07/world/europe/conservative-party-tory-diversity.html) than in recent years — the selection will mark a turning point, as the country shifts away from Mr. Johnson’s brand of personality-driven politics.

“There is an opportunity for the Conservative Party to regain its footing with renewal and a honeymoon,” said Matthew Goodwin, a professor of politics at Kent University. “But the policy offering is going to have to be very different — they are going to have to offer a very different zeitgeist, and do so quickly, because the Conservative brand is associated with Johnson and is not in a good place.”

He added, however, that the Conservative Party “has always reinvented itself: It did it through Johnson, and now the contenders to succeed him have to set out a convincing case for why they meet this moment of reinvention.”

That will mean answering fundamental questions about the type of country they want to build, including many that were never addressed because of the fallout from the 2016 Brexit vote and the pandemic.

Jill Rutter, a former civil servant and a senior fellow at the Institute for Government, a London-based research group, also predicted “a battle over direction,” citing debates over Brexit, taxation and the economy.

“The real question is: Are they capable of putting a team back together in the longer term without Boris Johnson?” she asked, adding that many of those in the more prominent positions in the government were appointed, primarily, for loyalty to their leader.

There will be no shortage of candidates: The number of lawmakers putting their names forward is likely to reach double figures. Some will run to raise their profiles, and a series of ballots among Conservative lawmakers will whittle the real contenders down to two.

One of them will then be chosen as the country’s next prime minister by members of the Conservative Party around the end of the summer, though questions swirled on Thursday about whether Mr. Johnson should be allowed to remain as caretaker prime minister until then.

Leading contenders to fill the job include Nadhim Zahawi, the recently appointed chancellor of the Exchequer; Rishi Sunak, his predecessor; Liz Truss, the foreign secretary; Ben Wallace, the defense secretary; and Jeremy Hunt, the former health and foreign secretary.

Ms. Rutter said that, before Mr. Johnson’s resignation, there was a mind-set that Conservatives would likely have two years until an election, which would have given the party time to effectively resolve the outstanding aspects of Brexit, “get the economy back on track and restore a bit of faith” in the leadership. Now those challenges are more urgent.

Yet after three years in Downing Street, Mr. Johnson leaves an ideologically confused legacy, presenting successors with a challenge to unite their fractious party.

Mr. Johnson won a landslide election in 2019 promising to “get Brexit done” after three years of gridlock over how — or whether — to proceed with Britain’s exit from the European Union.

With his populist pro-Brexit message, Mr. Johnson managed to realign British politics, winning over millions of voters from the Labour Party [*in so-called “red wall” former industrial regions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/25/world/europe/uk-election-conservatives-labour.html)in the north and middle of Britain. He also promised to “level up” prosperity to those areas, sometimes to the alarm of traditional Conservative voters in the south who thought they might lose out.

Labour is still trying to recover in northern seats where support for Brexit was strong and where its left-wing previous leader, Jeremy Corbyn, proved unpopular. The current leader, Keir Starmer, is widely regarded as competent but uncharismatic, and has made solid but unspectacular progress.

That could be thrown off course if Mr. Starmer is fined by the police for breaking lockdown rules, however. Under such circumstances [*he has promised to quit,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/09/world/europe/starmer-labour-covid-rules.html) something that would precipitate a Labour leadership contest.

“The extraordinary thing is that by the end of next week we could have no leader of the Conservative Party and no leader of the Labour Party,” said Peter Lilley, a Conservative member of the House of Lords and a former cabinet minister.

Yet the contest inside the Conservative Party is the more pressing and important one, as it will determine the next prime minister.

Although the Tories see themselves as committed to reducing taxes, the burden of taxation soared as public services were strained during the pandemic. Mr. Johnson, always a fan of big infrastructure projects, often favored public spending and described himself as a “Brexity Hezza” — a reference to the interventionist (but pro-European) Conservative politician Michael Heseltine, who served in cabinet in the 1980s and 1990s.

Yet the free-spending model was anathema to Brexit hard-liners, who thought the party had lost its ideological moorings and saw Britain’s departure from the European Union as the prelude to a major reduction in the role of the state, a concept nicknamed Singapore-on-Thames.

“There is going to be a long slate of candidates and they will have to set out their vision of post-Brexit conservatism, which is very different to pre-Brexit conservatism, of how they will take with them the ***working-class*** red wall areas along with the graduate, middle-class shires,” said Professor Goodwin.

The candidates would have to describe their vision of Britain’s post-Brexit trading plans, cultural issues and progressivism, immigration and the economy, he said, adding that, for now, there is no compelling set of ideas.

Tobias Ellwood, a senior Conservative lawmaker and critic of Mr. Johnson, said his colleagues were divided roughly into three groups: lawmakers from “red wall” seats who entered Parliament in 2019; moderate, more internationalist lawmakers known as the One Nation group; and hard-line Brexit supporters.

“Whoever can sit in the middle and then attract support from all three groups will become the prime minister,” Mr. Ellwood said.

Mr. Lilley, who ran for the party leadership in the 1990s, said that because the final choice is made by party activists, who tend to be more ideological than the general public, “the more right wing of the two wins.”

In this case, he said, that would favor a candidate who wanted to cut taxes and continue Mr. Johnson’s hard-line policy on changing post-Brexit trading rules for Northern Ireland without E.U. agreement.

But Professor Goodwin said that to salvage their party’s fortunes, contenders to be the next prime minister would have to produce a broader vision for modern Britain and a more thoughtful policy program than simply offering tax cuts.

The Conservative Party, he added, “is in a very fragile position and this will either go well, or very, very badly.”

**Load-Date:** July 8, 2022

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[***This Wasn't the Vibe Shift Democrats Had in Mind***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66PG-7KT1-JBG3-610D-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 22; THE CONVERSATION

**Length:** 1650 words

**Byline:** By Gail Collins and Bret Stephens

**Body**

Gail Collins: Bret, as you know, I always try to avoid discussing foreign affairs -- never been my specialty -- but I do want to ask you about the British, um, situation.

Bret Stephens: You mean the country that seems to have switched places with Silvio Berlusconi's Italy, politically speaking, and Cristina Fernández de Kirchner's Argentina, economically speaking, and Groucho Marx's Freedonia, comically speaking? Go on.

Gail: The Tory prime minister, Liz Truss, set a record for failure before she slunk out of office last week. She came into 10 Downing Street promising to cut taxes on the rich, and she did, and she ... nose-dived.

Any message there for the rest of us?

Bret: When Margaret Thatcher was pressed on whether she would switch course on her free-market policies, she famously said, ''The lady's not for turning.'' She went on to be one of the longest-serving prime ministers in British history. Truss turned against her own policies almost immediately and wound up being turned out of office almost immediately.

So the first lesson is that if you announce a policy, have the guts to stick to it or face political destruction.

Gail: Well, in this case I think we'd have seen political destruction either way. The tax cut idea was disastrous.

Bret: I'd say it was the execution, not the idea: Tax cuts usually stimulate a sluggish economy. The second lesson is that Britain's economic mess isn't the result of a month and a half of Truss but 12 years of big-government Toryism under David Cameron, Theresa May and Boris Johnson. Britain just isn't an attractive country to live or invest in anymore, particularly after it made the foolish decision to leave the European Union.

Bottom line: Have the courage of your convictions and the wit to defend them. Your take?

Gail: That cutting taxes on the rich isn't the magic answer to economic problems. I believe in a lot of what you'd call big government, but sooner or later, you've gotta pay for stuff.

Bret: Gail Collins, fiscal conservative ...

Gail: Speaking of debt, President Biden's plan to start his program of canceling student loans to poor and middle-class borrowers is facing a slew of Republican court challenges.

I'm rooting for him to win the fight -- a matter on which I believe we disagree.

Bret: Totally against loan forgiveness. We've increased the national debt from $20 trillion to $31 trillion in barely five years, and now higher interest rates are going to make it more expensive to service that debt. And we are supposed to write off $400 billion in college loans -- including to couples making up to $250,000 -- without even giving Congress an opportunity to weigh in? It's bad policy and worse politics.

Gail: Let me quickly point out that many of the folks who are spending their lives paying off big student loans signed up for the deal when they were little more than kids, some not ready for the programs they were recruited into and some who were assured that their major in medieval history would lead to high-income jobs that would make it easy to pay off the debt. The system did not work.

Bret: I probably shouldn't say this, but anyone who thought, at any age, that a degree in medieval history would lead to a life of riches needs stupidity forgiveness, not loan forgiveness.

I guess we'll find out soon enough if the courts even allow the plan to go through, though I did find it interesting that Amy Coney Barrett effectively sided with the administration on this issue. Nice to see a Trump nominee show some independence.

Gail: Agreed. Meanwhile, I've been wanting to ask you about the Senate races. The whole world is watching! Or at least the politically obsessed part of America. Anything grabbing your interest?

Bret: The most interesting Senate race is in Ohio. I really don't see Tim Ryan beating J.D. Vance, but the fact that he's even competitive in a state Trump won in 2020 by eight points suggests he's found a formula for how Democrats win back white, ***working-class*** votes from the Republicans. Mainly that means running as far away as possible from Joe Biden, Nancy Pelosi and the progressive wing of his party.

How about you?

Gail: Since Cincinnati is my hometown, I've been watching Ohio pretty intently. I think Ryan has a chance -- he's in a pretty red state, but one that's elected Democrats before. Including the state's other senator, Sherrod Brown, who's considered liberal.

Bret: True. And just by outperforming expectations, Ryan is forcing Republicans to pour a ton of money in the race just to hold the seat.

Gail: Plus Ryan is running against a truly terrible candidate. Vance seems to have an unending supply of mini-scandals about his financial dealings.

Bret: I thought Vance did fine in the debate last week. What bothers me about him aren't his financial dealings. It's the crass opportunism it took for him to flip almost overnight from Never Trumper to MAGA Republican. And the fact that he represents the isolationist wing of the conservative movement. Hard to overstate how dangerous that is in the face of the new axis of evil in Moscow, Tehran and Beijing.

Gail: Also interested in New Hampshire, where the Democratic incumbent, Maggie Hassan, seemed doomed in a Republican-leaning year, given that she won her last election by only about 1,000 votes.

But her opponent, the retired general Don Bolduc, has been another awful candidate -- all over the map, trying to be a right-wing stalwart in the primaries and now metamorphosing into a moderate who wants to raise Social Security taxes on the wealthy.

Who would you vote for there?

Bret: Hassan, no question. She's a good senator, willing to work across the aisle. I would have supported the Republican governor, Chris Sununu, if he'd decided to run, but apparently the sanity gene runs too strongly in his family, so he stayed out of the race. And Bolduc isn't just an election denier or even an election-denier denier -- in that he retracted his denialism after he won the primary. It's that he subsequently denied that he denied being a denier. Which means he should be denied the election.

Gail: Bret, either you are the most fair-minded commentator in the country or this is yet another marker for how far the Republican Party has sunk. Even its defenders can't defend many of this year's candidates.

I'm inclined to say both are true, by the way.

Bret: Thanks! Can we switch to some of the races for governor? In New York the Republican candidate, Lee Zeldin, seems to be zooming up in the polls.

Gail: Aauugh. If this was a New York Republican like your old fave George Pataki, I'd be unshocked -- Gov. Kathy Hochul hasn't exactly set the world on fire. But Zeldin is terrible! If you want to get a really good feel for this contest, read our editorial board's very powerful Hochul endorsement.

Bret: Zeldin is doing well because New Yorkers are doing badly. We have the highest overall tax burden in the country if you count income, property, sales and excise taxes, but we are very far from having the best school districts, the best infrastructure or the safest streets. The only area in which we lead the country is in losing people to other states. And one-party rule is bad for governance. There are things I don't like about Zeldin, starting with his proximity to Donald Trump, but I'll vote for him next month.

Gail: Looking elsewhere -- how about Arizona? The race pits Katie Hobbs, the Democratic secretary of state, against Kari Lake, a Republican TV personality. I certainly think Hobbs would make the better governor. But if Lake wins, I could see her turning into a possible vice-presidential candidate on a Trump ticket.

Bret: Our news-side colleague Jack Healy wrote a devastating report about Hobbs, whose personal strengths apparently don't include campaigning. She refuses to debate her opponent on the grounds that Lake is an election denier, which seems to me like an especially good reason to debate. My bet is that the governorship stays in Republican hands -- and that it might push Blake Masters to victory in his Senate race against the incumbent Democrat, Mark Kelly.

Gail: It was a great piece, which did note that Lake refuses to answer any questions from the state's major newspaper.

Bret: Bigger picture, Gail, I suspect it's going to be a pretty good November for Republicans, despite all of the lousy candidates they've put forward. Do you see this as just part of a natural cycle in which the incumbent party usually does badly in midterms? Or would you put some blame on the way Biden has handled the presidency so far?

Gail: In a world full of war, energy shortages, health crises and political polarization, our president is doing a decent job of keeping things calm. Wish he had a more electric personality, but we've certainly learned there are worse things than a chief executive who isn't great on camera.

It is true that the incumbent party usually does poorly during the midterms. Fortunately, the Republicans under Trump have nominated so many terrible candidates that there's a chance the results won't be quite as dire for Biden's side.

What do you think? And more important, which side are you rooting for?

Bret: I'm rooting for Biden to succeed because we can't allow Trump to come back, Vladimir Putin to win or the country to come even more unglued and unhinged than it already is.

Of course, my way of rooting for success is to scold Biden nonstop whenever I think he's screwing up. It's a formula my mom has been using with me for nearly 49 years. She's confident that in a few years more, she might even succeed.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/24/opinion/midterms-truss-student-loans.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/24/opinion/midterms-truss-student-loans.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Kari Lake, the G.O.P. candidate for governor in Arizona, appears to be on a roll. (PHOTOGRAPH BY REBECCA NOBLE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A22.

**Load-Date:** October 25, 2022

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[***Trumpism Beyond Trump***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66PH-0HW1-JBG3-6292-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1790 words

**Byline:** Lisa Lerer

**Highlight:** Which version of the Republican Party will win out?

**Body**

Which version of the Republican Party will win out?

For years, pundits and political strategists have speculated about Donald Trump’s hold on the Republican Party. It is an essential question for the party and, as a result, the country: Could there be Trumpism without Trump? And what, exactly, would that look like?

Two weeks before the first midterm elections since Trump left office, the answer to the first question seems clear. Trumpism is embedded in the DNA of the party. Most of those who refused to pledge fealty to the former president lost their primaries or retired to avoid defeat. With only a handful of exceptions, the Republicans running for office are strongly in Trump’s camp, embracing some version of his denials of his 2020 election loss.

Candidates from Arizona to Pennsylvania have adopted his views, bombastic style and anti-establishment attitude and made them their own. Today, I will examine three Republicans who are putting forward their own versions of Trumpism — some of which might help Trump win if he were to run for president again, and others that might someday defeat him.

Trump with polish

Kari Lake, the Republican candidate for governor of Arizona, is the Trumpism queen of the midterms. Lake, a former news anchor who had never run for office, transformed from a nonpartisan presence on a Fox affiliate in Phoenix into an anti-establishment Republican insurgent.

Lake is running as a political outsider, bashing the media and promising to be “the fake news’s worst nightmare.” She has called the 2020 election “stolen” and “corrupt,” and said she would not have certified President Biden’s victory. Last week, in an interview with CNN, she refused to say that she would accept the results of her election if she lost.

But unlike Trump, who is easily sidetracked — recall his digressions on topics like [*flushing toilets*](https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2019/12/donald-trump-forces-america-to-ponder-his-toilet-habits) — Lake is a polished speaker, the result of a quarter century in television news. She’s quick with a viral zinger and rarely says anything to upset her base. One interviewer [*asked her*](https://news.yahoo.com/lake-says-she-going-serve-190938936.html) this past weekend whether she would run as Trump’s vice-presidential nominee in 2024. (Lake insisted she would remain governor if she won.)

If she wins her tightly contested race, Lake will have shown that her smoother version of Trumpism can work even in places where Trump lost.

Trump in overdrive

Ron DeSantis, the governor of Florida, has tried to out-Trump Trump, adopting inflammatory stances that excite core conservative supporters and that position him as a 2024 front-runner.

In March, he signed legislation [*prohibiting classroom instruction and discussion*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/18/us/dont-say-gay-bill-florida.html) about sexual orientation and gender identity in some elementary school grades, a law that opponents derided as the “Don’t Say Gay” bill. It also placed DeSantis squarely in the culture-war debate over transgender rights, a theme he has continued to address. In a debate last night against his Democratic challenger, former Gov. Charlie Crist, DeSantis gave a graphic and inaccurate description of gender-affirming care for transgender children, [*suggesting falsely*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/24/us/politics/takeaways-desantis-crist-debate-florida.html) that doctors were “mutilating” minors.

Last month, DeSantis prompted liberal condemnation and conservative applause when [*he sent two chartered planeloads*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/19/us/politics/desantis-migrant-flights-politics.html) of undocumented migrants from Texas — hundreds of miles from the Florida state line — to Martha’s Vineyard, the moneyed Massachusetts vacation spot frequented by celebrities and former Democratic presidents. It was an idea that Stephen Miller, a Trump policy adviser, had [*pursued while working in the White House*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/11/us/politics/busing-migrants-republicans-trump.html), but that others in the administration rejected.

And unlike Lake, who has remained loyal to Trump, DeSantis has criticized him from the right, [*saying*](https://www.cnn.com/2022/01/14/politics/desantis-trump-covid-response/index.html) that he regretted not speaking out against Trump’s early Covid shutdowns. While Lake has fielded questions about running with Trump, DeSantis seems more likely to run against him in 2024. DeSantis refused to say in last night’s debate whether he would serve a full, four-year term if re-elected. (Here are [*four takeaways*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/24/us/politics/takeaways-desantis-crist-debate-florida.html) from the debate.)

The Never Trumpers’ Trump

Glenn Youngkin is not running for office now — he won Virginia’s governor’s race last year — but he has emerged as an in-demand surrogate for candidates at all levels of the Trump spectrum.

Youngkin presents what some strategists think is the most politically viable national model for Republicans in a post-Trump era. He does not share Trump’s fiery style, packaging himself as a fleece-vest-wearing suburbanite who can keep Trump’s coalition intact while picking up a significant share of the suburban voters that determine elections in his home state. While he was campaigning, Youngkin liked to say he could bring together “forever Trumpers and never Trumpers.”

But on policy, he has embraced many of the issues that rally the base. He has called for a ban on abortions after 15 weeks of pregnancy, prohibited the teaching of critical race theory, restricted transgender students’ rights and expressed anger over pandemic lockdowns. He acknowledges that Biden won the 2020 election, but has campaigned for election deniers, including Lake.

Youngkin has insisted that he is not yet thinking about a presidential run in 2024. But his carefully crafted national profile — as well as his meetings with megadonors in New York City — hints otherwise.

More midterms news

* Fearing significant election losses, Democrats are rushing to craft [*a new message that acknowledges the pain of rising prices*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/24/us/politics/democrats-midterms-economy.html).

1. Detroit, which is 77 percent Black, may not have [*a Black representative in Congress*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/24/us/detroit-congress-black-thanedar.html) for the first time since 1955.
2. On [*“The Ezra Klein Show,”*](https://nytimes.com/2022/10/25/opinion/ezra-klein-podcast-mark-leibovich.html) the reporter Mark Leibovich talked about how the Republican Party fell under Trump’s influence, the subject of his new book.

THE LATEST NEWS

Supreme Court

* Justice Clarence Thomas [*temporarily shielded*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/24/us/politics/supreme-court-graham-thomas-testimony.html) Senator Lindsey Graham from having to answer a grand jury’s questions about efforts to overturn Georgia’s 2020 election results.

1. Justice Samuel Alito, who wrote the opinion overturning Roe v. Wade, [*assured Senator Ted Kennedy in 2005*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/24/us/politics/alito-kennedy-abortion.html) of his respect for it, according to diary excerpts in a new book.

Britain

* Rishi Sunak is Britain’s [*prime minister*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/24/world/europe/rishi-sunak-uk-prime-minister.html). He’s the first person of color to lead the country and at 42, the youngest British prime minister in two centuries. [*Follow our updates*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/10/25/world/uk-prime-minister-rishi-sunak).

1. Sunak and his wife are extremely wealthy — by one estimate, they are [*worth more than $800 million*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/24/world/europe/rishi-sunak-wealth-worth.html).
2. His ascent [*has inspired*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/24/world/europe/uk-rishi-sunak.html) some members of Britain’s Indian diaspora, though some question his ability to relate to them.

Other Big Stories

* A gunman [*killed a 16-year-old girl and a 61-year-old woman at a St. Louis high school*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/24/us/st-louis-high-school-shooting.html). He died in a shootout with the police.

1. Officials at New York State’s largest Hasidic school [*admitted they illegally diverted millions of dollars*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/24/nyregion/hasidic-yeshiva-fraud-central-united-talmudical-academy.html), including from food aid for children that they spent on parties.
2. Ukrainians returning to towns that Russia had occupied are finding [*destruction and a lack of vital services*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/24/world/europe/ukraine-devastation-russian-retreat.html).
3. The fashion industry is [*distancing itself from Ye*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/24/arts/music/kanye-west-adidas-balenciaga-yeezy.html), formerly known as Kanye West, after his antisemitic outbursts. His talent agency also dropped him.
4. #MeToo led to more diversity in the entertainment industry. But Hollywood [*has started to regress*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/24/business/media/hollywood-metoo.html) in subtle ways.
5. WhatsApp, the messaging platform, [*went down in several countries*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/25/technology/whatsapp-down-outage.html) this morning.

Opinions

Crime in the U.S. rose substantially in 2020. The perception that it was [*all in big cities run by Democrats is false*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/24/opinion/rising-crime-democrats.html), Paul Krugman writes.

Frustrated with polling? [*Pollsters are, too*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/10/24/opinion/frustrated-with-polling-pollsters-are-too.html), Quoctrung Bui argues.

Detached from the ***working class***, [*Rishi Sunak won’t save Britain*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/25/opinion/rishi-sunak-uk-prime-minister.html), Kimi Chaddah says.

MORNING READS

New York wool festival: A decades-old fair is [*drawing young knitters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/22/style/ny-sheep-wool-festival.html).

Icy-white hair: Would you go “[*Targaryen blond*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/23/style/house-of-the-dragon-blond-hair.html)”?

Rebrand: Restoration Hardware was known for selling furniture. [*Why is it opening restaurants*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/24/dining/restoration-hardware-restaurant.html)

Pickleball is expanding: [*Tennis is mad*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/21/style/pickleball-tennis-courts.html).

Well: It’s the time of year when you may notice [*symptoms of seasonal depression*](https://www.nytimes.com/explain/2022/seasonal-depression).

Advice from Wirecutter: A [*good air purifier*](https://www.nytimes.com/wirecutter/reviews/best-air-purifier/) can improve your life.

Lives Lived: The comic actor Leslie Jordan became a familiar face on shows like “Will &amp; Grace,” then found new fame with his pandemic videos. [*He died at 67*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/24/arts/television/leslie-jordan-dead.html).

SPORTS NEWS FROM THE ATHLETIC

Bears beat Patriots: Led by the quarterback Justin Fields, the Chicago Bears [*dominated New England*](https://theathletic.com/3727242/2022/10/24/mac-jones-bailey-zappe-patriots-bears-justin-fields/) 33-14 on the road last night, a surprising result in the N.F.L. landscape.

The Lakers’ problem: Los Angeles is 0-3 and its point guard, Russell Westbrook, [*is shooting poorly*](https://theathletic.com/3722039/2022/10/24/lakers-0-3-russell-westbrook/). Darvin Ham, in his first year as Lakers head coach, indicated Westbrook’s role could change.

Jets trade: New York acquired the Jaguars running back James Robinson yesterday, a clear sign that the team [*intends to capitalize*](https://theathletic.com/3727214/2022/10/24/james-robinson-jets-jaguars-trade/) on a promising 5-2 start. The move comes after the star rookie running back Breece Hall [*tore his A.C.L*](https://theathletic.com/3723907/2022/10/24/breece-hall-injury-jets-trade-options/).

ARTS AND IDEAS

Targeting art for climate change

In recent months, climate activists in Europe have glued themselves to paintings by Picasso and Botticelli, thrown [*mashed potatoes on a Monet*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/23/arts/claude-monet-mashed-potatoes-climate-activists.html) and tossed [*tomato soup on a van Gogh*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/14/arts/design/soup-van-gogh-sunflowers-climate.html). In a video, Phoebe Plummer, 21, who threw the soup, asked: “What is worth more: art or life?”

The activists didn’t damage the paintings (they were protected by glass) but targeted world-famous art to garner publicity for their cause. The stunts have started a conversation online. Some people are asking how defacing famous artworks helps address climate change, and Plummer has an answer: It’s to [*direct attention “to the questions that matter*](https://twitter.com/michaelmezz/status/1582184473252098049).”

For more: In The Guardian, the art historian [*Katy Hessel explains*](https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2022/oct/24/just-stop-oils-van-gogh-soup-stunt-is-the-latest-streak-of-radical-art-protest-by-women) how the protests build on a history of using art for activism.

PLAY, WATCH, EAT

What to Cook

Miso and butter create a [*simple yet flavorful pasta*](https://cooking.nytimes.com/recipes/1022636-miso-butter-pasta-with-butternut-squash).

Theater

The novel [*“A Little Life” comes to the stage*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/21/theater/a-little-life-review.html), raising the question: How much suffering can the protagonist (and the audience) endure?

What to Read

In “[*The Women of Rothschild*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/23/books/review/the-women-of-rothschild-natalie-livingstone.html),” Natalie Livingstone focuses on generations of the banking family’s wives and daughters.

Late Night

James Corden [*addressed his restaurant ban*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/25/arts/television/james-corden-ban-balthazar.html).

The pangram from yesterday’s Spelling Bee was infantry. Here is [*today’s puzzle*](https://www.nytimes.com/puzzles/spelling-bee).

Here’s [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/crosswords/game/mini), and a clue: Polluted air (four letters).

And here’s [*today’s Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/games/wordle/index.html). After, [*use our bot*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/upshot/wordle-bot.html) to get better.

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow.

P.S. The word “[*forshmak*](https://twitter.com/NYT_first_said/status/1584615972434071552?s=20&amp;t=TOLe9mTfRh9G56LwUc8gaQ)” — chopped herring — appeared for the first time in The Times yesterday [*in a story about a new food market*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/24/dining/olly-olly-market-nyc.html).

Here’s [*today’s front page*](https://static01.nyt.com/images/2022/10/25/nytfrontpage/scan.pdf).

“[*The Daily*](https://www.nytimes.com/thedaily)” is about the European energy crisis.

Matthew Cullen, Lauren Hard, Lauren Jackson, Claire Moses, Ian Prasad Philbrick, Tom Wright-Piersanti and Ashley Wu contributed to The Morning. You can reach the team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](mailto:themorning@nytimes.com).

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Rebecca Noble for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***With Ads, Imagery and Words, Republicans Inject Race Into Campaigns***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66PH-CS41-JBG3-62B8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

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**Highlight:** Running ads portraying Black candidates as soft on crime — or as “different” or “dangerous” — Republicans have shed quiet defenses of such tactics for unabashed defiance.

**Body**

Running ads portraying Black candidates as soft on crime — or as “different” or “dangerous” — Republicans have shed quiet defenses of such tactics for unabashed defiance.

As Republicans seize on crime as one of their leading issues in the final weeks of the midterm elections, they have deployed a series of attack lines, terms and imagery that have injected race into contests across the country.

In states as disparate as Wisconsin and New Mexico, ads have labeled a Black candidate as “different” and “dangerous” and darkened a white man’s hands as they portrayed him as a criminal.

Nowhere have these tactics risen to overtake the debate in a major campaign, but a survey of competitive contests, particularly those involving Black candidates, shows they are so widespread as to have become an important weapon in the 2022 Republican arsenal.

In Wisconsin, where Lt. Gov. Mandela Barnes, who is Black, is the Democratic nominee for Senate, a National Republican Senatorial Committee [*ad targeting him*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zpo6j1ufjF4&amp;t=22s) ends by juxtaposing his face with those of three Democratic House members, all of them women of color, and the words “different” and “dangerous.”

In a [*mailer sent to several state House districts in New Mexico*](https://www.abqjournal.com/2536044/nm-gop-needs-to-explain-doctored-mailer.html), the state Republican Party darkened the hands of a barber shown giving a white child a haircut, next to the question, “Do you want a sex offender cutting your child’s hair?”

And in North Carolina, [*an ad against Cheri Beasley*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gipaxcSHoaA), the Democratic candidate for Senate, who is Black, features the anguished brother of a white state trooper killed a quarter-century ago by a Black man whom Ms. Beasley, then a public defender, represented in court. The brother incredulously says that Ms. Beasley, pleading for the killer’s life, said “he was actually a good person.”

Appeals to white fears and resentments are an old strategy in American elections, etched into the country’s political consciousness, with ads like [*George Bush’s ad using the Black convict Willie Horton*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/03/us/politics/bush-willie-horton.html) against Michael Dukakis in 1988, and Jesse Helms’s 1990 commercial showing a [*white man’s hands*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KIyewCdXMzk) to denounce his Black opponent’s support for “quotas.”

If the intervening decades saw such tactics become harder to defend, the rise of Donald J. Trump shattered taboos, as he spoke of [*“rapist”*](https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/politics/first-draft/2015/06/16/choice-words-from-donald-trump-presidential-candidate/) immigrants and [*“shithole countries*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/11/us/politics/trump-shithole-countries.html)” in Africa and the Caribbean. But while Republicans quietly stood by [*advertising that Democrats called racist*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/22/us/politics/republicans-race-divisions-elections-caravan.html) in 2018, this year, they have responded with defiance, saying they see nothing untoward in their imagery and nothing to apologize for.

“This is stupid, but not surprising,” said Chris Hartline, a spokesman for the Republican Senatorial Committee, whose ads in North Carolina and Wisconsin have prompted accusations of racism. “We’re using their own words and their own records. If they don’t like it, they should invent a time machine, go back in time and not embrace dumb-ass ideas that voters are rejecting.”

Amid pandemic-era crime increases, legitimate policy differences have emerged between the two parties over gun violence, easing access to bail and funding police budgets.

But some of the Republican arguments could scarcely be called serious policy critiques.

This month, a Republican senator, Tommy Tuberville of Alabama, [*said Democrats favored reparations*](https://apnews.com/article/tuberville-comments-reparations-19d58a87c23b57c1e9a6c8ca7f8fcb70) “for the people that do the crime,” suggesting the movement to compensate the descendants of slavery was about paying criminals. And Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene, Republican of Georgia, [*made explicit reference to “replacement theory*](https://www.c-span.org/video/?523358-101/introductory-speakers-president-trumps-rally-arizona-republicans),” the racist notion that nonwhite, undocumented immigrants are “replacing” white Americans, saying, “Joe Biden’s five million illegal aliens are on the verge of replacing you.”

Such language, as well as ads portraying chaos by depicting [*Black rioters*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-ahs9_LDFBM&amp;t=16s) and [*Hispanic immigrants*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0HWDXCfGd0Q) illegally racing across the border, have prompted Democrats and their allies to accuse Republicans of resorting to racist fear tactics.

“I think that white people should be speaking out. I think that Black people should be speaking out,” said Chris Larson, a Democratic state senator in Wisconsin who is white and has denounced Republican ads against Mr. Barnes. “I think that all people should be speaking out when there is vile racism at work.”

Democrats themselves are dealing with [*intraparty racial strife in Los Angeles*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/20/us/la-city-council-politics-black-hispanic.html) caused by a leaked recording in which Latino leaders are heard using racist terms and disparaging words toward their Black constituents.

But it is Republicans’ nationwide focus on crime that is fueling many of the attacks that Democrats say cross a line into racism.

The conservative group Club for Growth Action, backed by the billionaires Richard and Elizabeth Uihlein, Diane Hendricks and Jeff Yass, pointed with pride to the crime ads it has run against Ms. Beasley. “Democrats across the country are getting called out for their soft-on-crime policies,” said the group’s president, former Representative David McIntosh. “Now that their poor decisions have caught up with them, they’re relying on the liberal media to call criticisms of their politically inconvenient record racist, and it won’t work.”

The 2022 midterms include [*the most diverse slate of Republican congressional candidates*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/11/us/politics/republicans-house-black-latino-asian.html) ever, competing against Democratic candidates who would add to the House’s representatives of color and improve on the Senate’s lack of diversity. But it is also the first cycle since Mr. Trump’s presidency, when he set a sharply different tone for his party on race.

It was at a rally with Mr. Trump in Arizona this month that Mr. Tuberville and Ms. Greene made their incendiary comments. At [*another rally in Wilmington, N.C.*](https://www.c-span.org/video/?522967-1/president-trump-holds-rally-wilmington-north-carolina), late last month with a Senate Republican candidate, Representative Ted Budd, Mr. Trump told the audience that President Vladimir Putin of Russia had mentioned [*“the N-word. You know what the N-word is?*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lx0rDWdouLM)” When the audience hooted, he corrected them, “No, no, no, it’s the nuclear word.”

Representative Alma Adams, Democrat of North Carolina, who is Black, said, “Donald Trump is fueling this fire.”

Still, a rise in violence recently has given openings to both parties.

In North Florida, [*a flier distributed by a Democratic group*](https://www.cityandstatefl.com/politics/2022/10/black-gop-candidate-depicted-ad-shooting-target-contentious-north-florida-senate-race/377985/) depicts the face of a Black Republican, Corey Simon, who is challenging a white state senator, on what Republicans have called a shooting target and Democrats call a school easel, with bullets shown strewn underneath. The message was about gun control and school shootings, staples of Democratic campaigns, and identical mailers targeted two other Republican candidates, who are white and Latino.

Republicans say their attacks are capturing voters’ anxieties, not feeding them.

Defending Mr. Tuberville, a former football coach at Auburn University, Byron Donalds of Florida said crime had become a leading issue because of “soft-on-crime policies and progressive prosecutors in liberal cities.” Mr. Donalds, one of two Black Republicans in the House, added, “As a coach and mentor to countless Black men, Tommy Tuberville has done more to advance Black lives than most people, especially in the Democratic Party.”

Ms. Greene and Mr. Tuberville did not respond to requests for comment.

Then there is the Republican mailer in Wisconsin that [*clearly darkened the face of Mr. Barnes*](https://www.jsonline.com/story/news/politics/elections/2022/09/22/mandela-barnes-supporters-accuse-republicans-airing-racist-ads-race-us-senate-race-ron-johnson/8074904001/).

“If you can’t hear it when they pick up the bullhorn that used to be a dog whistle, you can see it with your own eyes,” said Mr. Larson, the Wisconsin state senator.

The darkening of white hands in a stock photo of a barber on a Republican mailer in New Mexico prompted outrage there. The New Mexico Republican Party said that Democrats were trying to divert attention from their record on crime. A Republican leader in the state House of Representatives, Rod Montoya, told [*The Albuquerque Journal*](https://www.abqjournal.com/2536044/nm-gop-needs-to-explain-doctored-mailer.html) that the hands were darkened to make the fliers “gloomy.”

Some liberal groups do seem intent on discerning racism in any message on crime. After Gov. Kim Reynolds of Iowa, who is white, [*ran an ad*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jxPI1P8Eo7A) opening with a clip of Representative Cori Bush of Missouri, who is Black, calling for defunding the police, Iowa Democrats called it racist because Ms. Reynolds’s Democratic challenger, Deidre DeJear, is also Black, and, as [*she has said*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-JYjfoRoVYc), bears a resemblance to Ms. Bush.

Progressive groups say their concern is merited.

“Crime in America has always, at least in modern times, been racially charged,” said Christopher Scott, chief political officer at the liberal group Democracy for America. “The ads aren’t getting to policy points. They are images playing on their base’s fears.”

But the policy differences between the two parties are real. Democrats have pushed for cashless bail, saying the current system that requires money to free a defendant before trial is unfair to poor people. Republicans say cash bail is meant to get criminals off the streets. Democrats have expressed solidarity with racial justice protesters and helped bail out some who were arrested after demonstrations over the murder of George Floyd turned destructive. Republicans have said those actions condoned and encouraged lawlessness.

Skin color is beside the point, said Jonathan Felts, a spokesman for Mr. Budd’s campaign in North Carolina, as he defended the blitz of crime advertising against Ms. Beasley. One[*ad toggles*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TidAbar7E2U) between images of white children — victims of brutal crimes — and the face of Ms. Beasley, her expression haughty or bemused.

“The images used in the ad match up to the victims of the criminals she went easy on,” Mr. Felts said. “Are you suggesting the ad makers should make up fake victims, or are you suggesting she shouldn’t be held accountable for her judicial and legal record?”

In fact, the judicial and legal records portrayed in at least one of the ads have been determined to be [*distorted, at best*](https://www.politifact.com/factchecks/2022/jun/07/national-republican-senatorial-committee/nrsc-exaggerates-effect-beasley-rulings-sex-offens/). The [*first version*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tb_62Zbr75s) of the Republican Senatorial Committee’s ad, which portrayed child crime victims from different races, was [*pulled down by North Carolina television stations*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/03/us/politics/cheri-beasley-attack-ad.html) in June after they agreed that some of the assertions were false. In a later version, the committee made slight word changes to satisfy the channels but added a more overt racial contrast.

“All communities are concerned about public safety,” said State Representative Brandon Lofton, a Democratic Black lawmaker whose South Charlotte district is largely white. “There is a way to talk about it that is truthful” and does not cross racial lines, he said.

The campaigns themselves have steered clear of charging racism.

Dory MacMillan, a spokeswoman for Ms. Beasley, said, “Our race remains a dead heat, despite Congressman Budd and his allies’ spending millions of dollars to distort Cheri’s record of public service.”

In Wisconsin, a spokeswoman for Mr. Barnes, Maddy McDaniel, similarly declined to go further than to say that “the G.O.P.’s fear-mongering playbook failed them last cycle, and it will fail again.”

Mr. Barnes, for his part, seemed to make playful use of his portrayal in one of the Republican attack ads as “different” [*during his first debate with Senator Ron Johnson*](https://twitter.com/TheOtherMandela/status/1578551867885244417), the two-term incumbent. He was, indeed, different, Mr. Barnes said, “We don’t have enough ***working-class*** people in the United States Senate.”

PHOTOS: Recent ad campaigns have prompted Democrats and their allies to accuse Republicans of resorting to racist fear tactics with voters. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CLUB FOR GROWTH ACTION, NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE; CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP FUND) This article appeared in print on page A19.

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[***Transcript: Rogé Karma interviews Martin Wolf; The Ezra Klein Show***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68V7-XN81-JBG3-642K-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** PODCASTS

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**Highlight:** The Aug. 1, 2023 episode of “The Ezra Klein Show.”

**Body**

Every Tuesday and Friday, Ezra Klein invites you into a conversation about something that matters, like today’s episode, guest-hosted by Rogé Karma, with Martin Wolf. Listen [*wherever you get your podcasts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/19/opinion/how-to-listen-ezra-klein-show-nyt.html).

Transcripts of our episodes are made available as soon as possible. They are not fully edited for grammar or spelling.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

EZRA KLEIN: From New York Times Opinion, this is “The Ezra Klein Show.”

ROGÉ KARMA: Hey, everyone. As you’ve probably noticed already, there’s a different voice behind the mic today. My name is Rogé, and I’m the senior editor for the show. Ezra is officially on book leave for the next few months, so we’re going to be having a range of different guest hosts subbing in while he’s away, starting with yours truly. So let’s get to it.

A few months ago, the U.S. national security adviser, Jake Sullivan, gave a speech that I think is the single clearest distillation of how the Biden administration is thinking about this moment for the global economy. In that speech, he argued that the world is experiencing something of an economic paradigm shift. For a whole host of reasons, from climate change to the rise of China to Russia’s weaponization of its energy resources, the era of unfettered globalization and free markets is ending, and according to Sullivan, we’re entering into a new era that requires very different kinds of policies and institutions.

The speech really stood out to me because over the last few years, most economics coverage has been dominated by the inflation story, but this, to me, is the much bigger economic story that’s been simmering in the background. The global economy is undergoing a series of big tectonic shifts, many of which are years and years in the making, and policymakers around the world are trying to figure out how exactly to respond to them.

So for a while now, I’ve wanted to spend an episode focused on that bigger story, and in my view, there’s just no better person to do that with than Martin Wolf. Wolf is a former senior economist at the World Bank and currently the chief economics commentator at “Financial Times” as well as the author of numerous books, including most recently the excellent book “The Crisis of Democratic Capitalism.”

A few months ago, I happened to be at an event with Wolf, and when I asked him about how he’s thinking about all of this, he outlined this framework that I found to be the most helpful analytical model for understanding this moment in the global economy. And so I asked him to come on the show and walk me through it.

As is always the case, the show’s email is [*ezrakleinshow@nytimes.com*](mailto:ezrakleinshow@nytimes.com) Here is Martin Wolf.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

Martin Wolf, welcome to “The Ezra Klein Show.”

MARTIN WOLF: It’s a great pleasure to be with you.

ROGÉ KARMA: Great pleasure to have you. So I want to start with the big picture. Tell me about your shifts-shocks-fragilities framework and why you think that’s a helpful way to think about the global economy.

MARTIN WOLF: Well, I think we have to step back first. It’s obvious, really starting with the global financial crisis, that a lot of things have been happening in a very disorderly and confusing way over the last 15 years, and obviously, these processes started earlier, which have surprised and shocked people. And so the normal way of thinking about the world — let’s just try and forecast the next year or two or three — doesn’t really work very well. One needs a more analytical framework.

And I’ve been thinking about this for quite a while with a number of different approaches, but the one I found most useful is to think about where we are in terms of these three aspects of the global environment and focusing very much on the economy.

So the first is shifts, by which I mean long-term structural processes that are occurring and are likely to continue to occur over a generation or more, things that most of the time we don’t think about, but they’re constantly changing the environment we’re in.

And then the second, rather different set of things are shocks and events that were always conceivable. You couldn’t really forecast them because the probabilities and the processes weren’t known well enough, but they could happen. And it so happens a lot of them have very recently. We’ve been through a period of exceptional shocks in terms of their rapidity and their impact.

And the final aspect of the world’s economic system, if you like, is the underlying fragilities, the things that make the shocks so powerful, and those are both economic and political. And the political also includes institutional processes. And I argue that the fragilities are extremely important in understanding why we find it so difficult to cope with both the underlying shifts and the shocks well.

ROGÉ KARMA: Well, I want to dig into each of these, and I want to start with the shifts because, as you said, they’re the ones we often ignore, even if they are often changing the global economic environment more than anything. So let’s start with the first one. Tell me about the rise of China and how it has shaped the global economy.

MARTIN WOLF: Well, this is, I think, probably the most visible and unexpected thing if you look at the world from the point of view of 40 years ago.

So I can remember very well because I was working in the World Bank at the time in — I think it was 1980, when, for the very first time, the World Bank was visited by a few Chinese officials, senior ones. And they were wearing Mao suits, and they really seemed to us almost like a visit from Mars. We didn’t know anything about China, its potential impact. The economy was very, very poor, very undeveloped. And we didn’t really think it was particularly important, and we didn’t think about what it meant.

Now, four decades later, four decades — this is the fastest economic transformation, I think, in world history, even faster than the rise of the United States in the late 19th century and early 20th century — China is a superpower. And it is part of the biggest part of a broader rise of East and South Asia, which, you have to remember, contains half of the world’s population and which was, one might say, the center of civilization for a very long time. So that China in particular and the broader rise of Asia has completely transformed the balance of economic influence and power and so global power.

And it has changed patterns of trade. It has changed the nature of competition, both economic and political. It has changed the Western sense of itself. Remember, this was a world that the West essentially ran for several centuries, and suddenly, we got this non-Western, non-liberal power erupting into the middle of it.

So I think that is pretty obviously the biggest shift and the most rapid shift in the world. Today, China and Russia, if you add them together — it depends on your weighting — are about half the economic size of all the Western economies together, and that’s a huge shift in power.

ROGÉ KARMA: And you started getting at it in that answer, but what are some of the specific ways that the global economy is different today in large part because of the rise of China, because of the rise of South and East Asia? How is it different than it was when you were at the World Bank in 1980 because of these trends?

MARTIN WOLF: Well, it’s important to stress — and I’ll come to the ways in which it isn’t really different, and that’s quite important. The most important one of all is the shifts in world trade and world markets. So for many countries around the world, particularly the commodity exporters but also countries quite close to China, this is far and away their biggest market. This is the market whose rise and fall, both in the medium term and in the shorter term, really shapes what’s going on the prices of commodities, their opportunities, and so forth. So that’s on the export side.

It has also created a completely new set of suppliers, a new set of competitors. Very large number of developing and emerging countries but also developed countries have found that industries that they thought were well established and stable have been outcompeted by China and have disappeared.

And that’s become a very big political factor not just in the U.S. where, clearly, if you look at the background to what President Biden is doing — but also in Europe, the Germans are very worried about Chinese competition. And many developing countries in South America — also India — feel that they’re exposed to the threat of deindustrialization. A lot of the progress they made is being reversed because China is such a phenomenal competitor.

And then finally and crucially, because of this new emerging power on these multiple dimensions and the growing difficulty of cooperating with them successfully, we’re beginning to see real fragmentation in the world system. It’s not quite decoupling, very far from it, but there is much less of the sense that there is a single global order overseen by the dominant Western powers, above all the U.S. These are really profound transformations.

At the same time, it is important to stress where the West remains absolutely dominant. The world’s dominant currencies are those of the United States and its allies. The dollar remains the single most important currency by far. The Western capital markets financial markets, particularly those based in New York, to a lesser extent London, remain the dominant financial markets.

And overall, I would say that — and this is shown with the recent developments in artificial intelligence, that the Western countries remain technologically in the lead. But even there, there’s certainly much more real competition than there used to be, so on multiple dimensions, we live in a very, very different world from the one that we took for granted four decades ago.

ROGÉ KARMA: There is so much in there I want to follow up on and that we will, but I want to stay with China for a second because I think China’s ascendancy — its continued ascendancy, at least — was considered inevitable a few years ago. But in the last year or two, the narrative has really flipped in a lot of ways.

So first, you have the “zero Covid” lockdowns that really hurt the Chinese economy entire. Cities were locked down. Unemployment spiked. There was this major protest movement.

But then last December, the country lifted its lockdowns, and the belief was that growth would surge. It would continue on its previous path, and that just hasn’t really happened. Growth for China has been much lower than expected.

The unemployment rate among China’s urban youth recently reached the highest number on record, over 20 percent. The country’s real estate sector, which has long been the engine of its growth, looked like it was recovering and then started tumbling again.

So given how important China’s rise has been for the global economy, how it’s shifted so many things, what do you make of the trajectory now? What’s actually going on with the Chinese economy, and why hasn’t it gotten back on track as quickly as people expected?

MARTIN WOLF: So actually, I’ve written a number of pieces on this possibility, and these were quite a long time ago, six or seven years ago, both in the Financial Times and elsewhere. And I think we have to start by saying it’s not yet clear whether this is a fundamental break in China’s rise or merely an interruption, and that depends partly on what the Chinese do and partly what happens in the world.

If it is a break then there’s, of course, a crucial question of how profound the break is, so let’s just consider these aspects. And it really involves understanding what’s going on.

So the growth rate that China had up to about 2012 — so a few years after the financial crisis — it was close to 10 percent a year. There wasn’t any doubt that that wasn’t going to be sustained. It was going to slow, and the slowdown occurred partly because export growth couldn’t be sustained at that rate because China had just become too big and it had saturated so many markets.

But also, they had done so much of the investment that was needed. Their infrastructure had already become superlative, really almost overdeveloped for the size of the economy as it was, and they needed to find some other way of maintaining growth. And what they went for was the biggest real estate boom or bubble, I think, in world history, which meant that they then started generating huge increases in debt to finance this huge real estate boom on which demand was heavily dependent.

And so China, in the last decade or so, started showing many of the characteristics of Western countries before the global financial crisis. I think of it — sometimes, I refer to this as the law of the conservation of financial bubbles. We stopped, and they immediately had to run into one. They blow up one, which is indeed what they did.

And it was obvious by 2016 — I was starting to write about it — that was not a sustainable driver of growth in China, and at some point, they were going to stop it. And in the last year or two, three, they really have stopped this. But that, of course, knocked out or weakened a massive part of demand in the economies, and that’s one big structural reason why demand has been weak and growth has been weak and employment has been weak. That’s, as it were, the macroeconomic structural challenge they have.

And Japan has faced the same problems since the end of the bubble in the ’80s, and the bubble in the 80s — and I’ve been writing this for about 30 years — in Japan was motivated by the desire to do exactly the same thing in Japan after their high-growth period ended. So it’s the transition from ultra high growth to merely fast growth that really breaks this debt-accumulation, high-investment model.

Then even more, I think, important, certainly as important, is the second huge problem, which goes something like this. The Chinese system tried to achieve something quite extraordinary — and I think only Deng Xiaoping would have had the nerve to do it — which was to combine a communist political system with a capitalist economy. And most of us would have said, can you do that? And asked in 1980, we said it’s impossible.

And I think Deng was prepared to do this because he knew they needed the growth, but one consequence of that sort of growth within a Communist system with no rule of law is that corruption clearly exploded. And it was inevitable that it would because all the resources above all the land that capitalists needed to do their business — all this depended on permissions from government.

And the officials who provided it — well, quite naturally, they wanted a share of the winnings, and the capitalists were perfectly prepared to give them a share of the winnings. And in the process, the capitalist system and the party system merged, and it started making people feel this was a completely corrupt system.

And there was lots of protests about this, and Xi Jinping was clearly — who was obviously a bit of a control freak — also thought this was threatening to the viability of the Communist Party. So what he did then was to crack down on corruption. But if you crack down on corruption, you are cracking down on the market economy in China because the — I’ve written this many times — corruption is part of the system.

And so the more he cracks down on corruption, the more difficult it is to sustain the dynamism of China’s capitalist system. Many of the capitalists get frightened. Some of them leave the country. Some of them stop doing the risk-taking they did before. The bureaucrats become more cautious, and the underlying growth dynamic of the system also slows.

It seems to me this macroeconomic problem that I’ve described has coincided with this deep problem of how can you run a capitalist economy indefinitely in a politically accessible way within a system in which all power is concentrated in the Communist Party. How do you do that? They don’t know how to do that.

Then, of course, along came the great shock — we’re going to get to the most important shocks of the last few years, indeed, the most important — the pandemic, and that really started destabilizing the system, frightened the wits out of the people, constrained economic activity and slowed down the whole engine.

And a lot of the growth in a system like this depends on the expectation that growth will continue. As soon as businessmen conclude that actually the economy isn’t going to grow very much, then they conclude, well, we shouldn’t invest so much. And if they decide that they’re not going to invest so much, then the growth will slow and then you are in a trap.

And I think their danger is that now they are in moving into such a growth trap, and that means that where China is going to go over the next 20, 30 years is, I think, one of those great uncertainties that we have to contemplate. And other countries — I’ve written a lot about this recently — like India may well be doing better.

ROGÉ KARMA: Well, let’s talk about that because if the story of the global economy over the last 20, 30 years has been the rise of China, now, for all the reasons we’ve been talking about, we’re beginning to see a pretty significant shift in certain kinds of investments away from China and towards countries like India but also Vietnam, Thailand, Malaysia.

So for instance, right now, the vast majority of iPhones — and this has been the case for a long time. The vast majority of iPhones are made in China as opposed to about one in 20 in India. But by 2025, the share of iPhones made in India is expected to rise to closer to one in four.

And then you have other companies, from Sony, Google, Microsoft, shifting production from China to places like Vietnam and Thailand, and so one prediction, as you sort of alluded to there, is that as China continues to become less and less attractive, both for the structural reasons you talked about in addition to the West’s encirclement of it and the geopolitical risk of investing there, that you’re going to see a shift in the regions and, really, the world’s economic center of gravity away from China specifically and to this broader set of Asian countries centered around India and others.

And so I’m wondering what you make of that possibility and then what you think it would mean for the world economy if it did happen.

MARTIN WOLF: Now people are really beginning to look at India with interest. And of course, India is like China, inconceivably vast. Its population is now the same size as China’s, and it is expected that in the course of this century, it will become maybe 400 or 500 million or more bigger. So the human resource potential is essentially limitless.

Now, hitherto, India did liberalize in the 1990s, and its trade opened. It has never made itself a really successful base for manufacturing production, though it has been quite successful in some aspects of services.

There is no doubt that this government in India is very determined to find ways to get India into the production of goods for export, part of the global supply chain within this China-plus-one context, and of course, they would certainly like there to be more services coming from India — consulting, I.T. services, and so forth. There is no doubt there’s potential there.

There’s also no doubt that providing the quality of infrastructure, the quality of the bureaucracy, the integration of production systems that China has created will be immeasurably difficult. So my assumption at the moment is that China will remain a central part of supply chains for many products for the foreseeable future, but there will be additional countries playing a part. It will become, as it were, more Asian and less Chinese.

From our point of view in the West, this probably means that in the things that China has been so successful at — like you mentioned, the assembly of iPhones and the production of so many other products — it won’t mean things will be so different. And it is also worth stressing that in some areas — and I think one of the most interesting is in automobile manufacture, where China’s market is far and away the biggest in the world and where they are real leaders in electric vehicles, and more broadly, they are leaders in solar cells, in many aspects of the Green Revolution more broadly — China’s lead might actually grow.

So it’s going to be a very complicated pattern, but I do think it is plausible if people play their hand right that the desire of our companies to diversify their source of production and to resist being swallowed by China will lead to greater diversification of the location of production across Asia and a little bit — but I suspect less — bringing back production in certain areas home, back to our homes.

But it’s going to be a complicated process, and I think it’s incredibly important to stress that, at least for the foreseeable future, removing China altogether, given the immense efficiency of its productive systems, the concentration and agglomeration of skills in particular areas — removing China altogether just seems, to me, wildly infeasible.

ROGÉ KARMA: Well, that, in a lot of ways, brings us to the second big shift that you talk about, which is deglobalization. So you’ve been starting to get at it here already, but first, how has globalization shaped the world economy over the past, say, 40 years? And then also, how is that beginning to change now?

MARTIN WOLF: Well, this is a very big and complicated story, so let’s look at it in the big picture. I think it’s first very important to understand that globalization is not just trade and certainly not just trade in goods. It includes trade in services. It includes flows of capital, foreign direct investment, portfolio capital, the integration of capital markets.

It’s flows of ideas. It’s flows of people. It is the creation of sets of institutions which are, to some extent, global ones. The World Trade Organization is a feature of this.

So it’s a very complicated process, and that makes it rather difficult to discuss simply. So it’s very important to understand some of these things could change radically, and others could endure. And my core belief is that, given modern technology, the way we can spread information around the world, however hard we try to control it, that the complete end of our, as it were, global self-awareness, the awareness that we are sharing economic systems and, indeed, the planet will continue, in many ways, to grow, and the environmental crisis is one aspect of that. I think it’s very important.

If I focus more narrowly on trade and the related investments, I think the things we can say are something like this. First of all, if you use standard measures, ratios of trade to world G.D.P., the proportion of a value added in a product which comes from many different countries because the components and the assembly are all in different places, in all those sorts of dimensions and perhaps even more important, certainly as important, the extent to which companies became transnational, genuinely organized their production systems across borders — in all those respects, what happened between, let’s say, 1980 and 2010 or so — 2008 to ’10 — is completely unprecedented in world history.

We became more integrated on all those dimensions by a really very large factor than it ever happened before. China was a big part of that, but it wasn’t the only part of that. Essentially, the system that the West had created for itself, particularly, say, in Europe, in the postwar period went global.

And what we can say now is if we look at it in terms of policy and in terms of actual flows of trade and capital, that ceased to be dynamic. It ceased to grow faster than the world economy about 15 years ago.

And since then, we haven’t had a huge reversal on the evidence, but it hasn’t continued to grow. So as it were, we’ve passed peak globalization in all those dimensions.

There are other aspects. Give you the most obvious one — data flows. Data flows are absolutely exploding across borders just as they are within our countries. So it’s a very complicated picture, but in the big picture, globalization hasn’t continued.

It hasn’t reversed, at least not in a dramatic way, but politics are now against it. And I’m not at all sure that will reduce trade. It will shift it around. It becomes more politicized.

The liberalization process that was dominant for some decades has clearly halted and — most of the evidence suggests — is now somewhat reversing. We’re becoming more regional, and we’re becoming more suspicious of trade with countries we deem potential adversaries. That’s a very important development. How far that will go towards reversing the globalization process, we don’t know, but we’re seeing that.

ROGÉ KARMA: I really appreciate that answer because I think there’s been a narrative over the past few years that what we’re witnessing is sort of the cracking up of globalization, and that’s not really what you see in the data, right?

MARTIN WOLF: Yeah.

ROGÉ KARMA: Trade and capital flows, while, as you said, as a percentage of world G.D.P. tended to peak around 2008, they’ve generally in absolute terms been increasing over the past few decades. And then Covid was a setback, and everyone sort of thought this was a big setback moment for globalization. But by 2021, global trade had recovered to past prepandemic levels.

And then global flows dipped again in the wake of Russia’s invasion, but overall trade actually increased in 2022. And that’s even true in areas where there’s been the most talk of deglobalization, right? The dollar value of trade between the U.S. and China set a new record last year.

MARTIN WOLF: Yes, absolutely.

ROGÉ KARMA: Oil and gas markets have basically completely adjusted to Russia’s invasion. And so I think one view of this is that when you look at the data, it looks like the story of the last few years isn’t one of globalization’s downfall but globalization’s resilience.

But on the other hand, I think what you’re getting at in the end of that answer when you talk about geopolitics is what I’ve recently come to think about as the paradox of this moment in deglobalization or globalization.

And this is a point made in a recent paper by Pinelopi Goldberg at Yale and Tristan Reed at the World Bank that I found really helpful. What they argue is, yes, when you look at the data, globalization looks fine, but the argument they make is that the data on trade flows in particular is actually a lagging indicator. Trade is downstream from trade policy. Policy is downstream from political sentiment.

And when you look at the policies being made right now, when you look at the way that political rhetoric around being tough on China and onshoring industry — it seems like we’re clearly moving in the direction of deglobalization. And their argument is, eventually, it could really show up in the data in a significant way, but that data is just a lagging indicator. And so I’m wondering what you think about that theory.

MARTIN WOLF: I think that’s perfectly plausible. As with all turning points in world history, including world economic history, it’s very difficult during those moments to identify what’s going to happen, at least unless you have the start of World War I, in which case things are pretty dramatic, very, very, very quickly.

So if the, for example, actual hostilities between the U.S. and China over Taiwan, God forbid, then things could change very rapidly because I think we’d move quite rapidly into something like a global blockade, and the impact of that is sort of unthinkable. It’s certainly gigantic. It would be a transformational moment, as the Great Depression was in the ’30s and, of course, World War II.

So I think this is very perceptive. But I would like to introduce another nuance, which is, I think, very, very important. The U.S. debate on trade is sui generis because the U.S. is sui generis, and I think it’s important, particularly if we’re talking to Americans, for them to understand — this point I made often — is that things like this don’t look the same elsewhere.

And there are two or three aspects of this which are crucial. First, the U.S. sort of thinks — and it’s the only economy that can think like this at all — that it is possible and possibly even desirable to be close to self-sufficient. The United States became the biggest economy in the world largely as a self-sufficient country with a very small amount of trade and highly protectionist trade policies in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

When it liberalized trade, it did it in large measure — not entirely — because it wanted to promote the development of its allies, particularly in Europe, and it was perfectly prepared to open its markets to help them as long as it didn’t disrupt its own economy too much. And that worked out quite well. So it created a global order, which it sort of assumed wouldn’t be too dramatic in its effects upon itself, and the similar attitude continued, since this worked quite well, through the ’80s and ’90s while China was blowing up, blowing up in the sense of becoming such a gigantic player.

But more recently, it’s pretty obvious that the Americans have suddenly said to themselves something that everybody else knew, took for granted. My god, this trade stuff is changing our economy dramatically. We’re losing lots of jobs. We’re being forced to specialize in areas we’re good at, and we’re losing labor-intensive manufacturers. We don’t like this. Why don’t we go back to being self-sufficient?

And in addition, we expect to be a completely secure superpower. We don’t depend on crucial imports from other countries. We can basically make everything ourselves.

And because of its resources and scale, that’s not a completely ludicrous proposition for Americans.

But if you look at any other country in the world or even Europe as a whole, we can’t be self-sufficient. We’re always going to be huge net importers of commodities, as China is. Our markets aren’t large enough and our technologies are not in aggregate advanced enough to be self-sufficient in all the products we need, and that’s even truer of the smaller countries within them, let alone all the countries around the world.

In other words, all the prosperous countries in the world today other than, perhaps, the United States know that their standard of living depends on sustained, enormous trade with one another. Some of it’s regional within Europe, and some of it’s global. I won’t go into the individual countries. So they look on this as a de-risking process in the genuine sense.

Yes, there are some risks, and they want to manage it. They want to maintain crucial technological strengths. Germany is very concerned about that. Japan is concerned about that.

But there is no debate that I can see, not really, anywhere about actually ending globalization, reversing the great process of integration of the last 50 or 60 years because they know it’s completely and utterly infeasible. And so the nature of the debate, the rhetoric about this is, in a very profound way, different from the U.S. And all the Asian countries I mentioned — India has a little bit of this dream of self-sufficiency, though I think it’s absurd.

And this means — I’m not trying to say that the U.S. isn’t crucial. Of course, it is. But it means that what might actually happen are very different from what Americans might envisage or imagine or conceive of from their own debate. It’s just not the same debate elsewhere.

ROGÉ KARMA: I think that’s a really important point about the uniqueness of America here. But also, I think it’s important to point out that there are also, I think, some really key debates within America and within the American conversation. And something that I’ve noticed when we’re talking about how the U.S. views the future of globalization is that there are really two major critiques of globalization here that I think are often conflated but lead to very different policy prescriptions.

So one is what you can think of as sort of the China shock argument, which, as the now-famous paper by David Autor and colleagues showed, was that globalization and the sort of outsourcing of jobs to China led to a pretty significant loss of manufacturing jobs in a lot of Midwestern factory towns in the U.S. that many believe helped fuel the rise of Donald Trump.

And then the second argument is what you can think of as the China entanglement argument, which is that the U.S. economy is now deeply entangled with and dependent on the economy of a country that is increasingly authoritarian and hostile, which makes us really vulnerable if China decides to weaponize certain chokepoints in the global economy, like Russia recently did with energy.

And often, in the U.S., I think these two different critiques are made together, but often in practice, they can lead to very different policy directions. So to take one example, one of the big questions in the U.S. right now is what to do about critical minerals, because if you want to manufacture, say, electric vehicle batteries, which the U.S. wants to do a whole lot of, you need a bunch of lithium and cobalt and nickel, and the same is true with different minerals for a whole lot of clean energy technologies, including solar and wind.

And right now, a huge percentage of critical minerals are processed by China, and so there’s this question of how we want to go about getting those minerals here. And the Inflation Reduction Act was pretty clear about this. It said that for an E.V. to be eligible for one of the major tax credits in the bill, it needed to be made with a certain percentage of critical minerals processed in the U.S. or one of the handful of countries that the U.S. has a free trade agreement with, and the intention there was to onshore a lot of the critical minerals processing back here to America.

But something the Biden administration has been doing as a way to work around the law is to create these new so-called critical minerals agreements with certain allies like Japan and Europe so that EVs with minerals sourced from those countries can qualify for the tax credit. Now, that is very nerdy and in the weeds, I know, but this is where the divide in the U.S. comes in, because if your main worry is about the U.S. being too entangled with China, then you are clearly going to favor those kinds of agreements because they help you to untangle from China quickly.

But if your main worry is about creating more domestic blue-collar jobs, then those agreements look terrible because we should be mining and processing those materials right here in the U.S. with U.S. labor, and you sort of see this divide within the Democratic Party right now. The Biden administration signed one of these agreements with Japan earlier this year, and it got attacked by a bunch of high-ranking Senate Democrats and not just the usual suspects like Joe Manchin but folks like Richard Neal, like Ron Wyden, who are usually pretty staunch administration allies and who hold really key positions.

And so it really does seem like even within the U.S., there’s multiple different critiques of globalization, one, sort of, that leads you towards more of this onshoring, “we need to do it all alone” approach and one that’s much more in favor of a friendshoring, “let’s together try to disentangle from China” approach, and it seems those really lead in different directions. And so I guess I’m wondering if that’s something you’ve seen as well and more broadly how you understand some of these different cleavages or divides within the deglobalization conversation.

MARTIN WOLF: I think that that’s a perceptive and important distinction. Obviously, if you look at the recent discussions in the United States and the way these issues were handled in these very significant speeches by Janet Yellen, secretary of the Treasury, and then Jake Sullivan, national security adviser, they are trying to converge on a view which is more, as it were, in the latter camp, as you defined it.

Yes, they talk about a foreign policy — or Sullivan talks about a foreign policy for the middle class, which brings these dilemmas right into the open, obviously. But it looks as though the insistence that we’re not decoupling, we’re de-risking, is more security oriented than it is jobs oriented, and therefore, I can understand, from the point of view of those Democrats who are really concerned about the latter, it doesn’t look as though where the core of the administration is landing is where they want them to land.

But I think there’s also an analytical aspect of this. Obviously, these are very different issues, as you’ve implied, which means that trade policy gets very complicated when you have all those different concerns. I mean, my own view is that there is obviously real issues about generating employment and good employment in America, but the China shock is ancient history. If you look at the data, basically, it happened in roughly the first decade of this century, and since then, actually, the share of manufacturing in total employment in the U.S. has been remarkably stable. And there’s been no repeat of this extraordinary shift.

Trying to bring back all the industries that went, then, is, I think, going to be very costly and mostly very unproductive, and in other countries, I don’t think many of us really think that we can bring back the sorts of industries that were lost to China at that stage. The reason this is such a huge issue in America is that America failed so completely to generate place-based adjustment policies that allowed crucial parts of your economy and particularly places in your country to adjust to these shocks, and that’s a much broader policy error than just a trade policy error.

But we do get absolutely clearly into two fundamental longer-run issues, which we can see. The one is obviously of huge concern to Americans, which is, can we avoid losing our technological leadership to China? My view is the main issues there will be the nature of domestic policy, the ability to sustain innovation and make sure that innovation and innovation hubs continue to be dynamic, because I think the U.S. clearly has the best systems in the world. It should be more confident about that.

And the second aspect is, of course, straight national security things, which is, can we produce the things that are actually essential for our capacity to fight wars if we have to fight them, God forbid? And there’s the economic security. We don’t want countries to be able to turn off the taps, and that’s why we want to diversify.

We want to diversify production to friendly places, but that doesn’t lead you necessarily to producing at home. It isn’t the case that if everybody produced their own protective equipment at the beginning of Covid, we would all be more secure. The probability is we would have ended up in that situation with chronically inadequate domestic supply. It would have been just as bad. So we have to be very subtle in the way we think about economic and national security in the policies we frame.

There’s one final element, which is, how does this all look to China? The U.S. thinks it’s very vulnerable. The Chinese know they’re vulnerable. They feel very vulnerable to embargoes of all kinds. I think that reciprocal vulnerability, the Chinese awareness that they need trade, that they need investment, that they need technology, is actually a stabilizing force in the world. It means that there will be very strong voices in China arguing against a hostile policy because the interests in favor of avoiding that are so great.

If we really cut China off, quite apart from the huge economic threats, costs to us — and they will be sizable — it’s inevitable the Chinese will then feel they have nothing to lose by hostility because we’ve cut off all the gains. So we have to be very, very careful about this policy of trying to reduce China’s capacities against us and reduce our dependence on China because it means it also reduces China’s dependence on us, which I think has significant strategic value.

And I do think, again, that the recent visits by Secretary Blinken and Secretary Yellen to China indicates that these nuances are understood in the administration. I understand fully why congresspeople might take a different view because they still remember and they represent places which have been hit by Chinese competition, but I think focusing on that and trying to pursue a policy designed to reverse that is very likely to prove a costly failure.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

ROGÉ KARMA: So I’m glad you mentioned the Jake Sullivan and Janet Yellen speeches, because we’ve been talking a lot about these big structural shifts in the global economy — the rise of China, deglobalization. We haven’t got to talk explicitly about your third big shift, climate change, but for those who want to understand more about the policy response to that, we just did a great episode on the Inflation Reduction Act with Rob Meyer that we can link in the show notes. And it’s very clear that these shifts have really been top of mind for the Biden administration.

So the speech you alluded to — in April, Biden’s national security adviser, Jake Sullivan, gave a speech outlining what he called a foreign policy for the middle class that I felt was the sort of clearest articulation of the Biden administration’s thinking to date, and I really think of it in sort of two separate parts. I’ll do my best to summarize it here.

One is the diagnosis, which is that the era of unfettered globalization and free markets was a failure on multiple fronts. Geopolitically, it enabled the rise of an authoritarian China and empowered a rogue Russia. Economically, it created a disastrous climate, fragile supply chains, skyrocketing inequality. Politically, it made the U.S. vulnerable to the rise of populists like Donald Trump.

And then the second part of the speech is really the prescription, which is more or less that industrial policy, the kinds of policies like the Inflation Reduction Act, the CHIPS Act — that these kinds of policies can help address all of these different pillars at once — that with these bills, we can simultaneously decarbonize the U.S. economy, become less dependent on China and Russia, and deliver a more equal economy all at the same time.

And the reason I make that distinction is because you just wrote this really great book, “The Crisis of Democratic Capitalism,” where I think you share a lot of the Biden administration’s core diagnosis, especially this part about economic forces making the U.S. political system vulnerable to a politician like Donald Trump. But in your recent columns, you’ve been a little bit more critical of the Biden administration’s proposed solutions to that problem.

So I’d just love to hear from you. I know you got at it a little bit already, but what does this vision, this policy vision of the Biden administration, get right, and what parts of it are you more worried or skeptical of?

MARTIN WOLF: So this is obviously a central question. My view is that their analysis, broadly defined, of what’s gone wrong in America and the political consequences of the erosion of the sense of security of what you would call the middle class and their sense of vulnerability and insecurity, which is reinforced in complex ways by cultural changes, has been a very important economic and political process, which has led, among other things, to their attraction for a classic authoritarian demagogue in Donald Trump.

And that’s very, very frightening. It has world significance. Obviously, it has significance for the U.S. And they’re entirely right in recognizing that and wanting to do something about it.

So the question is, beyond the rhetoric, are they broadly on the right lines with what they are proposing? And I think there are probably two ways of thinking about that, which indicate why I’m a bit skeptical.

The general approach of economists — and I plead guilty to this — is that if you’ve got all these different objectives, you want to make your economy more secure. You want to get more jobs for the middle class, the ***working class***, as you define it.

You want to improve national security. You want to promote decarbonization of your economy. You want to do something that really reduces carbon emissions.

You would say, well, you will need multiple instruments of policy, very distinct instruments of policy, to achieve those objectives because that’s the basic rule of thinking about policy. You need at least one instrument for every objective, and sometimes, you need more than one.

So I think that they are expecting too much from what is essentially an industrial policy. It is a multifaceted industrial policy, but nonetheless, I think they’re expecting too much.

In particular, I think they won’t end up by generating anything like the scale of permanent employment they hope for. They will not, I think, generate genuinely globally competitive industries to the extent that they want from this. A lot of them will need subsidies indefinitely, and most importantly, the amount of resources, money that is going into this is just not big enough fundamentally to reshape the economy.

Where it might work is improving national security in a few areas, which seem to me quite important. I do understand, for example, why the U.S. does feel very vulnerable in its dependence on imports for semiconductors, which are truly essential products and are produced in very few places in the world. And similarly, I can see the concern about — though I’m less worried about this — the dependence on Chinese solar panels, but even there, I think the discussion of how you define what your economic and security vulnerabilities are and how you respond to it optimally is rather inadequate, somewhat naïve.

So I’m concerned that the policy has great rhetoric. It has a few quite visible totemic activities, but it’s not going to change U.S. emissions very much. It’s not going to change U.S. manufacturing trajectory very much. In the end, it’s not going to change the political environment that much, and a lot of that might be because, really and truly, Congress and therefore the American people aren’t prepared to make the really radical changes that might actually do much about this.

So I would consider myself sympathetic with the objectives, understanding the politics of the objectives, but I’m less than confident that we will, 5 or 10 years from now, look back on this set of policies and say, this was truly transformative. And as I pointed out in some of my columns, U.S. has a fairly long history of industrial policy. Some of it has been a magnificent success, but a lot of it has been a pretty bad failure.

And once you start on this in the political system the U.S. has, rent-seeking by people trying to get a hold of subsidies can easily lead to massive distortions, in fact, distortions in the economy, which are not so terribly distinct from the rent-seeking we’re already seeing in many of the U.S. economy’s most important sectors. I may be wrong. I hope I’m wrong, but my view is there’s too much expected from what are really overall quite totemic changes.

ROGÉ KARMA: I think that’s really well put, but to put on my Biden administration hat for a minute — because I have talked to a lot of folks in the administration or who recently served in the administration, and I want to respond how I think they would. And I think the first way they would respond, which is something you alluded to, is that, of course, these bills weren’t perfect, but they were the best that could be done within the constraints of the American political system.

The Biden administration had a 50/50 Senate that hinged on one senator in particular, Joe Manchin, in a highly polarized society with a budget reconciliation process that forced everything into one bill. And it had tried to include things like an expanded child tax credit, care agenda, and that just didn’t work. The only way you could get enough political support was to go with this more industrial policy approach.

But I think the second thing they would say is, look, we don’t know if these industrial policy bets are going to pay off, but when you look at what’s been happening already, it seems like they’re already working and not only working but surpassing basically everyone’s expectations.

So according to the administration’s estimates, more than $500 billion in private-sector manufacturing investments have been announced since they took office.

Biden himself recently pointed out that while spending on manufacturing, construction only increased 2 percent in the four years of the Trump presidency, it’s increased 100 percent in just the first two years of his presidency. And it seems like every week, there’s a new battery-making plant or chip fab or solar project being announced. So I think part of the case they would make is, look, it’s working.

And then you look at the projections outward, and I think some of the best, most extensive modeling of this has been done by the Princeton-led REPEAT Project. They’re looking at the modeling of the jobs that Biden’s legislation could create, and they’re specifically looking at the Inflation Reduction Act and the bipartisan infrastructure bill. And under their middle-of-the-road scenario, they estimate that the combination of just those two bills alone will create around 1.5 million additional jobs by 2030 and 2.5 million by 2035.

And you mentioned you’re not sure how many of these jobs will be permanent, but of those 2.5 million jobs created by 2035, just over 600,000 are in construction. The rest are in other areas like manufacturing that will continue past the construction phase.

And then lastly, I think a point they’ve made to me is that it is truly important to build up a domestic manufacturing base not just because of the jobs it could create or the dependency on China in particular but also because it’s important to have the kind of flexibility to adapt to the challenges of tomorrow. And I think China here is ironically the go-to example, right? When Covid hits, China is quickly able to manufacture a ton of P.P.E. that it is then exporting while the rest of the world struggles with shortages, and the reason is because it has these deep reservoirs of experience and know-how and infrastructure needed to manufacture at scale.

And when you talk to folks in the Biden administration, they talk about wanting to build that same capacity here not just because it will help with the industries of today but because we live in an uncertain world. And in an uncertain world, we don’t know what challenges we’re going to face next, and it’s important to have that sort of core industrial capability right here at home.

And so I know that was a lot. It’s political constraints. It’s the fact that the I.R.A. and these bills are already working. It’s the need for a domestic manufacturing base. But I’m just wondering how you think about those arguments from me as the quasi representative of the Biden administration here.

MARTIN WOLF: Well, let’s respond in turn. On the first one, I am really sympathetic to the argument, and that’s one of the reasons why, unlike many of my friends — and I’ve been criticized by some of my friends on this, and you probably would guess who some of them are — I have been more open to the view that this is worth trying. And it’s worth trying because I think something had to be done politically. I’ll come to the economics in a moment.

And as you rightly say, given the nature of American politics in general and specifically today, this was probably the best that could be done, and I accept that. So it’s conceivable that if I’d been asked by anybody in the Biden administration what they should do and they told me this is all they could get through, I would have said, OK, of course, go for it. So that seems to me perfectly reasonable.

The second is — and Paul Krugman, whom I admire and respect, has made this point particularly forcefully — it does seem that these programs have led to more investment than most people expected. And that is important, and it might last. And I’m just putting the qualifications because we really don’t know how this is going to end up and whether viable industries will be produced.

And you put forward, in fact — and this is where the buck comes in — some figures on gross jobs that might be generated. Now, we know that a lot of these jobs will go to people who are already employed, and many of those people will be people who are already employed in manufacturing. So how much of it will be a net capacity increase in manufacturing is, I think, at least not clear to me.

The third element, which I think is probably true — and it comes back to our earlier discussion about the desire for a pretty large amount of self-sufficiency — is that to be a strong economy, one needs a strong, flexible and resilient manufacturing sector. And that’s certainly how everybody thought about this from the middle of the 19th century on until relatively recently.

How far this is true in current circumstances, how far it is true that you can move people who have skills and capacities in one area to the ability to produce effectively in another area that is particularly sensitive for you is not clear to me. You pointed out that the Chinese could produce more protective equipment quickly than anyone else could, but of course, they did actually export a lot of this. It was available.

How much the U.S. should have invested in the capacity to produce something that they thought most of the time they were not going to need, I think, is at least an open question. The overall economic benefits of focusing on the revitalization of manufacturing in a very highly advanced, high-wage economy like the United States is something that one just has to be a little skeptical about, and I think that there could still be substantial disappointment in this.

But I do reckon — and this is the final point — the U.S. is the only economy in the West that can plausibly have a go at this. And it might be — because of the scale of the economy and therefore the economies of scale that can be generated within it, it might turn out that quite a few of these industries are reasonably viable, and they give, therefore, correspondingly reasonable degrees of increased security. I can understand those sorts of arguments.

But the real test will be how costly this is going to be, how much of it will generate truly competitive industries in the long run. Is the electric vehicle industry going to end up as an American industry fully competitive with the Chinese industry or not? These are pretty fundamental questions, and the only test there is the test of time.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

ROGÉ KARMA: So we’ve been talking a lot about these bigger shifts in the global economy and how the Biden administration is responding to them, but there are plenty of more immediate crises that the administration is responding to as well. So I want to pull in the second half of your framework here. Tell me about the shocks and fragilities facing the global economy.

MARTIN WOLF: Well, the shocks that we’ve been going through — I’m going to put aside the global financial crisis, though, actually, I think we’re very much been living in its shadow. It’s not gone. But the shocks that matter obviously were the pandemic, then the impact of the recovery from the pandemic with the pandemic itself on global supply chains and the disruptions caused there, and then, in my view, largely as a result of these two things together, the sudden and completely unexpected rise in inflation.

Suddenly, we were having inflation in the way we hadn’t seen for 40 years, and it was linked, of course, to an energy shock, partly before the Russian invasion of Ukraine but reinforced by it. So it had inevitably, for someone like myself, echoes of the ’70s and early ’80s. And that has led, of course, to something really important, which was a big rise in interest rates. I noticed that many economists think that the Fed has now finished its tightening of monetary policy, but it’s quite a tightening. And it’s been quite sudden.

And of course, this then links to the fragilities, because the most important fragility in the economic space, as it were, which is global and national in the U.S. case — we have extraordinarily highly indebted economies. It’s particularly true in the U.S. for government debt, which is very high levels by historical standards — that’s overt government debt — very high levels and, of course, debt in the non-financial corporate sector. The financial sector’s leverage and the household sector’s leverage is less of a problem.

If we look at the world as a whole — and we talked about China, but that’s true almost everywhere — we have the most highly leveraged economy as far as we can see from the data, which are limited, that we’ve ever had. And the general rule for economists is if you’ve got lots and lots of debt around and it gets much more expensive — and it is — that you’re likely to see financial shocks, financial crises. And we’ve seen some of those, and we could well see more of them.

This then all interacts of course with other fragilities, which the most important are political, but those are the shocks which are now interacting with one of our most important fragilities, creating a real question about what the next 5, 10 years will be like. A crucial element here is how quickly does the legacy of the shocks dissipate, and here, I think, recent evidence might make one a bit more confident about the path of inflation. That suggests one might be more confident about the future of interest rates, in which case we may be OK. But right now, we don’t know.

ROGÉ KARMA: Let’s talk about the inflation picture then and interest rates because this is one area where the nature of the shock has really changed in recent months. So we’re recording this in late July, and according to the June C.P.I. report, headline inflation has come down from around 9 percent at its peak last year to around 3 percent. Basically, every other indicator — even though stripping out things like energy and food and rent are down as well.

And meanwhile, unemployment in the U.S. has remained below 4 percent, which is something that most economists really didn’t think could happen. Six months or a year ago, the story was that a recession was inevitable if you wanted to bring inflation down, and that just hasn’t been the case so far. So give me your read of the current inflation story. What’s happening, and where do you think it goes next?

MARTIN WOLF: I think that’s really important, and I think an honest statement from me — and so often, including this discussion — is I don’t know. But my perspective has been that I got something importantly right and I got something importantly wrong, and the question is where this plays out.

I was one of the people who was concerned about the inflationary consequences of the pandemic quite early. I thought that the huge expansion of fiscal deficits combined with the huge monetary expansion of the 2020 and the continuation of that in 2021 created very severe inflation risks, and so I was relatively hawkish on this in 2020 and ’21. And that proved to be correct.

And I argued this wasn’t going to be temporary in the sense that the Fed could just ignore it, so I supported the tightening policy. And I think it was broadly correct.

Now, I was one of the people who thought that once inflation began to be entrenched, particularly in labor markets — and you were seeing it in wages and earnings across much of the Western world — that it would be very difficult to disinflate smoothly without a rise in unemployment, and there were a number of others who took very similar views. And right now, it’s beginning to look as though that was too pessimistic.

I think there is one quite interesting reason why that might be wrong, and that is that, actually, unemployment is not a good measure of labor slack and that in particular, there is, as I understand it, a reduction in hours worked in some economies. I’m not sure how much in the U.S., but certainly elsewhere. And that’s, of course, also an indication of labor slack. And of course, there’s a reduction in vacancies, and that is also an indication of labor slack.

And it may be that now, with our very much more competitive labor markets than 50 years ago and much more flexible labor markets, a reduction in vacancies and perhaps, to some extent, hours is itself enough of a loosening of the labor market, a reduction in excess demand, that all of its own — it will eliminate or vastly reduce the pressure on wages and so might the reduction in headline inflation, even though it’s not a reduction in 2 percent levels, the target levels of core inflation. So at this sense, I think —

ROGÉ KARMA: Can I just jump in there just to clarify, just to make sure? Because I think this is a really important point. So what you’re saying is that one reason why we might not have seen sort of unemployment have to rise for inflation to come down is because when you look at typical models of the core drivers of inflation, a huge one is wages.

And so the belief is that as long as labor markets remain tight — and usually, employment is a measure of the tightness of labor markets — wages will keep pushing up, and so inflation will keep pushing up. And the typical way to solve that is that the Fed raises interest rates, which causes unemployment to rise, and things cool off.

But what you’re saying is that actually what we’re seeing is that the labor market seems to be cooling off without unemployment rising because there are these other sort of metrics, like hiring is back to prepandemic levels. Vacancies are down. Workers aren’t quitting as frequently.

And so what we’re seeing and what economists might have not expected is that wage growth itself is starting to slow down. The labor market is starting to cool, but it didn’t require a big spike in unemployment to do that. I just wanted to make sure that I’m clear on that.

MARTIN WOLF: Yes, and that is an argument that one of the Fed governors — if I think, it was Governor Waller — made and I was rather skeptical about it. But it looks more plausible now or at least less implausible. And let’s be very clear. I would be very, very happy if that turned out to be the case, that we can eliminate the danger of a sort of wage-price spiral without actually raising employment significantly.

It will mean, of course, that for many workers, their real wages will have declined, which is not a good thing, because, after all, there has been now an extended period of high inflation and that — we’re not expecting negative inflation. So the price level will be higher, and wages won’t have fully caught up.

And of course, as the Bank for International Settlements recently pointed out, the last mile might be the most difficult because we haven’t got back to core inflation of 2 percent yet, and that’s presumably the target. And it might turn out that, actually, we’re not going to be there so easily.

So I’m somewhat agnostic about the future. I think it’s still quite possible that getting core inflation back to 2 percent, which I think is the right objective — we can discuss that separately — in the circumstances, though there’s a lot to be said on that — that getting there will still require a slowdown which shows itself up in open unemployment.

But it now looks to me at least more plausible than I thought a year or so ago that the disinflation process can be carried out without any significant rise in unemployment, and that would seem to me wonderful. And it shows that the labor market and the economy, which is not surprising in a way, doesn’t operate now in the way it did half a century ago and in a way that is rather cheerful. And if that’s the case, it’s quite plausible that the Fed has reached peak interest rates now, and in the next year, interest rates will start coming down. And things will look better.

ROGÉ KARMA: So I take your point that getting from 3 percent or 4 percent down to 2 percent inflation could be much harder and more painful than getting to this point and that core inflation should be the right measure of that. But I think there are a few responses you’ll hear from some of the more dovish economists to that argument, and I want to hear what you think of them.

So the first one is that core inflation actually isn’t the right indicator because a huge component of core inflation — and just for people, core inflation is inflation excluding certain volatile prices like energy and food. But a huge component of core inflation, about 40 percent, actually, is shelter. It’s rents.

And the price of rents has a well-known lag in the data of about a year because most people have one-year leases. And so the current rent prices baked into the core inflation measure are still reflecting the housing market of a year before and, in this case, the housing market of mid 2022. And we just know from a lot of different sources that rents have been falling for some time now, even if that hasn’t been reflected in the numbers.

And so I think the first response you’ll get from economists is, look, when you look at core inflation, it’s sort of artificially high, but if you look at something like super core, which also strips out rent, it’s much lower. So that’s sort of the first argument, is like, maybe core inflation isn’t the right measure.

But then the second and, I think, more important response is, why are we even shooting for 2 percent in the first place, especially if that might require really bringing the hammer down on the labor market?

So when I look at the current economy, G.D.P. growth is the highest in the G7 in the U.S. right now. Labor force participation for prime-age workers is the highest it’s been in decades. Real wages are on the rise for the first time since March 2021, which means that even with inflation at its current levels, workers across the board are coming out ahead. We mentioned earlier the low unemployment rate.

And so in many ways, this feels like exactly the kind of pro-worker, fast-growing economy that we’ve been hoping for, really, ever since 2008. And so it feels strange to say that we’re going to bring the hammer down, and we’re going to throw people out of work. We’re going to possibly risk another banking crisis just to get inflation down from 4 percent or 3 percent down to 2 percent. The 2 percent target itself is a pretty arbitrary one anyways. And so I’m wondering how you think about both of those points, both the core inflation point and then also the, is it even worth trying to get down 2 percent if it’s going to require some pain?

MARTIN WOLF: So excellent points and excellent questions, and I think I would divide my responses into the time horizon and the target. They’re very different.

So the crucial point — as I think our earlier discussion shows, there’s huge uncertainty about what’s going to happen, and you’ve indicated some of the aspects of that. I think that the Fed has already done a very substantial tightening, and I would not — I think I probably wouldn’t have supported the last rise.

And it would be perfectly sensible for the Fed to say, given the lags in monetary policy, that we’ve already done a sizable tightening in response to this unexpected surge in inflation. That may well be one of the reasons why inflation is slowing, that people are aware that we’re not going to accommodate anything, but there’s no reason whatsoever to tighten further. Given the lags, we’ll see what happens.

And if these arguments about shelter are correct, we’ll begin to see over the next six months to a year a very appreciable slowdown in core inflation, and we don’t need to act given that tightening we’ve got in the bank already preemptively against bring down the hammer as you put it any more than we’ve done. Maybe we’ve even done too much. We’re going to watch and see. And I think that would have been and would be a perfectly sensible policy.

And if it becomes obvious that core inflation is indeed, for the reasons you suggest, beginning to fall rapidly towards our target and we finally hit it a year or a year and a half or even two years from now, that’s not a big problem. And as soon as it’s obvious that’s happening, we’re going to start loosening and probably quite aggressively. I think that would be a perfectly reasonable approach for the Fed to take. The time horizon combined with the uncertainty would suggest to me, and given the arguments you made, that the right thing to do now possibly to have done is nothing and just see what happens.

Then there’s the question of what the objective is. Now, I think that targets are, to some extent, arbitrary. And whether it’s 2 percent or 2.5 percent really doesn’t excite me very much, and I wouldn’t worry if it ended up at 2.5 percent. And there is an argument to be made that maybe inflation should be a bit higher. I won’t go into that argument now because it’s complicated, but one could make it.

I think there are two considerations, nonetheless, that the Fed does and, I think, should bear in mind in deciding this. First, if the Fed decides to change its target significantly just because it’s difficult after an unexpected period of inflation to get back down to it, it is going to undermine ineluctably the credibility of any target.

And I think one of the great benefits of where we’ve been and one of the reasons we got through this crisis without a huge spike in underlying core inflation, including wages, is actually very clear from the figures that the credibility of inflation expectations in the medium to long run has not been undermined. And so the Fed risks undermining its long-term effectiveness by being showing itself willing to change the target, not the timing of getting back to the target but the target itself, just because it gets a bit difficult. So that’s the one reason.

The second is, if it creeps up, you start getting to a situation in which inflation is high enough that people start thinking about it all the time. One of the reasons for 2 percent is — and Alan Greenspan said this a long time ago, and I happened to agree with this point, which is — the important thing we want to do is have a rate of inflation at which basically nobody really thinks about inflation. It’s just something that — it’s not part of decision making. It’s not part of wage setting . It just goes away.

So for those two reasons, provided you don’t overdo it now — that’s very important. There’s no reason they have to get back to 2 percent six months from now. But a year or two, I would say that it would be damaging and risky to give up precisely when it looks as though they might be actually able to get back to target without huge costs, and that’s just the sort of circumstances in which the right thing to do is, as I say, do nothing and watch.

ROGÉ KARMA: So I want to end by zooming back out to the big picture. When you look at all of these shifts, these shocks, these fragilities taken together, where does it leave you? What are the different potential trajectories you see for the global economy moving forward?

MARTIN WOLF: Well, I think there’s a dominant possibility — I want to be optimistic. So we’ve had three massive shocks, and that’s really extraordinary. We’ve had them in a very short period. Well, why not assume that we’re just unlucky in the draw, and we’re not going to have further such shocks, and we’re going to get back to something like normal?

The people will realize that fighting a war with China is insane. People will start focusing on de-risking a bit but not actually decoupling. I think that’s already beginning to happen.

Business as usual will continue. We’ll have quite strong economies with high employment across the world. We will manage the energy problem. We will generate more growth with the energy transition, and we will maybe — I think it’s actually the more likely chance that over the next 10 years or so, we’ll have a good period, and we will preserve a lot of what’s really, really good about globalization and maybe lose some of it.

There will be many big problems, and I think the climate transition is the biggest. But I think there’s a dominant possibility that we’ve survived a period of extraordinary volatility and not that badly, and it will get back to normal. That’s the nicest possibility.

The second possibility, of course, is that for political or geopolitical reasons, we have some more really important turbulence, and the thing that has worried me most here is actual war, that it’s not just Russia-Ukraine, which is frightening enough, given that Russia has 5,000 nuclear warheads, but possibly U.S.-China over Taiwan, that geopolitical relations are not managed in a stable way. I think it’s a low probability, but it’s non-zero. And of course, that would be very, very serious.

I think that it is possible that the climate situation we’re seeing runs away. We have a runaway climate shift with incalculable consequences much more quickly than we now expect. That would, again, be an economic as well as a social and human disaster. That would clearly make things worse.

And of course, we can have political developments within any of our countries — but again, the U.S. is most likely — which will destabilize much more of the world, possibly even the whole Western alliance system, which is an important part of global stability. I don’t regard these as high probabilities.

And on the more optimistic side, again, we have technological changes underway, notably in artificial intelligence, which we’re not discussing, that might mean, conceivably, a huge further acceleration in global growth, and these, I think, would be possibly hugely beneficial.

So I want to stress that though there are lots of worries and concerns — there were pretty large worries and concerns in 1950, and that turned out to be the beginning of 20 years of extraordinary success for much of the world. And I would also like to stress that this period of globalization everybody is so critical of generated the fastest reductions in poverty worldwide ever, not just in China but across the world.

So I remain ultimately — provided we manage our politics in a sensible way, both nationally and globally, I’m actually an optimist, and I want people to feel they should be and can be optimists. We have the capacity to improve our world, and we should take advantage of that capacity and that opportunity.

ROGÉ KARMA: Well, it seems like no matter what trajectory we end up heading for, we’re going to need lots of wisdom to help us navigate it and hopefully get to those optimistic situations, so let me ask you the question that we always end the podcast with, which is what are three books that have influenced you that you’d recommend to the audience?

MARTIN WOLF: Well, I’m going to do something which I think is possibly a bit naughty, but I hope it’s alright. I have, as you know, been focusing very much of my efforts intellectually on what’s happening to our democracies and the policy and the environment within which our democracies are operating, and apart from, obviously, my own work, there are three works which are particularly important in my thinking about, three relatively recent books.

Two of them, unfortunately, are co-authored by one person, Daron Acemoglu of MIT, who has, I think, been an enormously significant thinker in the area of political economy. He’s, I think, the leading economist, academic economist, who’s written on political economy.

And one of them was really important for me. It’s a book he wrote with Robinson — this is Acemoglu and Robinson — called “The Narrow Corridor,” and it’s about the fragility of democracy and finding that sweet spot between the Leviathan, the excessively authoritarian state, and anarchy on the other. And that’s organized freedom, and I think it’s an absolutely brilliant discussion of that.

And the second book he co-authored is the most recent with Simon Johnson, is called “Power and Progress,” and it focuses on something absolutely fundamental, which is, can we shape technology to our own ends? I’m more skeptical than they are, but it’s unbelievably important that we manage to find a way of controlling the technology that we are generating, the energy technology, which we failed to do, and now the computing technology that we are employing so that we are the masters of our technological development, not the slaves.

And I think this is such an unbelievably important topic, and it’s one I didn’t focus on. So I think those two books are really important.

The last is, to me, a seminal book, which is sort of, in a way, an anti-Acemoglu and Robinson. It was by Robert Gordon. It’s called “The Rise and Fall of American Growth,” and it really explores why there was this huge wave of innovation between 1880 and 1940, roughly 1950, 1960, actually into the ’60s, and then the decline. And it’s much more pessimistic, and that is very disturbing for the future because if productivity growth slows, I think it becomes much more difficult to sustain our sort of society.

Our democracy, I think, was the product of growth, and it depends on it. That’s a controversial view. Anyway, these three books are, I think, pretty important books, and they’re ones I would like people to read.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

ROGÉ KARMA: And your book, of course, is “The Crisis of Democratic Capitalism.” It’s excellent. People should really pick it up. Martin Wolf, thank you so much for joining me today. This was really informative, and I had a lot of fun.

MARTIN WOLF: It was very hard work intellectually, which shows that you’ve been asking the right questions, and the right questions are the questions to which we don’t actually know the answers.

ROGÉ KARMA: Thank you all so much for listening. This episode of “The Ezra Klein Show” was produced by yours truly, fact-checking by Michelle Harris with Kate Sinclair, Mary Marge Locker and Kristin Lin, mixing by Isaac Jones. Our senior editor is me, Rogé Karma.

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[***Amazon Tried One of the Oldest Tricks in the Book, and It Backfired***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:655M-3FW1-JBG3-60R2-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

Faced with an unexpectedly strong organizing campaign by workers at one of its Staten Island warehouses, Amazon initially turned to one of the oldest tricks in the anti-union playbook: a little bit of racism.

Speaking about Christian Smalls, a warehouse employee who was fired after he led a walkout in March 2020, David Zapolsky, Amazon's general counsel, said in leaked meeting notes, ''He's not smart, or articulate, and to the extent that the press wants to focus on us versus him, we will be in a much stronger PR position than simply explaining for the umpteenth time how we're trying to protect workers.''

Zapolsky believed Amazon could discredit the organizers if it made Smalls -- who is young and Black and has tattoos on his neck -- ''the face of the entire union/organizing movement.''

If that was the plan, it backfired.

On Friday, by a vote of 2,654 to 2,131, or 55 percent to 45 percent, the workers at Amazon's Staten Island warehouse -- led by Smalls and a dedicated cadre of other organizers -- voted to form a union. In winning this surprising victory, these workers have also dealt a blow to one of the most powerful, and most powerfully anti-union, companies in the United States.

What makes this all the more remarkable is the extent to which the Amazon Labor Union had no formal ties to (or assistance from) more established unions. This was the bottom-up triumph of an independent organization, something very rare in American labor history, especially in light of the size of the shop in question, with its thousands and thousands of workers organized into 24/7 coverage.

There has already been a wealth of commentary and reporting on the meaning of this win for organized labor, on the prospects for unionizing other Amazon warehouses and on the specifics of the organizing effort itself. To these, I would like to add a few observations about the structural factors that helped make this victory possible.

To start, there is the economy. Even with rising inflation, this is the strongest economy we've had for workers in at least a generation. Overall, in 2021 the United States added more than 6.4 million jobs to its economy, a record high. At the start of this year, the nation's labor market was on track to recover from the pandemic three times as fast as it did from the Great Recession a decade earlier. And it still is: The United States added 431,000 jobs in March and 95,000 more than previously recognized for the months of January and February, both of which also saw record job growth. Unemployment has dropped below 4 percent, the lowest since the economic boom of the 1990s, and wages are growing this year at an annual rate of more than 5 percent.

Employers can go ahead and threaten to fire workers who try to unionize, even if these threats are illegal, but the tight market for labor gives those workers other options, which makes the threat less potent than it might have been when the economy was weaker and jobs were scarce. On the flip side, a red-hot labor market means that employers who want to fire employees are hamstrung by the fact that they may not be able to replace them with new workers. This, on its own, gives workers leverage where they may have possessed very little.

Additional leverage, for Amazon workers in particular, comes from the nature of the enterprise itself. In theory, Amazon could simply close a warehouse that voted to unionize, in the same way that a 20th-century textile company might have shut down a mill or moved it rather than face an organized work force. But the value of Amazon's shipping business rests on its ability to deliver packages as quickly as possible, which means that the products must be as physically close to customers as is feasible. The very thing that makes Amazon what it is -- its ubiquitous presence across the American landscape -- also makes it vulnerable to those workers who are able to organize themselves.

The final point I'll make relates back to that attempt to divide the warehouse workers along racial lines. In an interview with the left-wing magazine Jacobin, one organizer -- Angelika Maldonado, the chairman of the Amazon Labor Union's Workers Committee -- explained how the union campaign used the racial and ethnic diversity of the work force to attract supporters and build class solidarity. To reach Spanish-speaking workers, for example, the campaign used Spanish-speaking organizers; to reach African immigrant workers, it brought in food from a local African caterer. ''That really attracted a whole bunch of African workers toward us, and we gained a couple of new organizers off that,'' Maldonado told Jacobin. Far from a liability that Amazon could use against the union campaign, the diversity of the Staten Island warehouse proved to be a strength.

The story of the Amazon Labor Union is far from over. In a statement, Amazon said it was considering ''filing objections based on the inappropriate influence and undue influence by'' the National Labor Relations Board, an accusation that the board had put its finger on the scale in favor of the workers. Amazon could also refuse to negotiate with the union, turning this labor battle into a legal one. If the company does choose to negotiate, we can assume it will fight to give as few concessions to the union as possible, since a successful negotiation for workers would then become, like the organizing effort itself, an example for other workers at other warehouses to follow and pursue.

But even with these fights on the horizon, the Staten Island warehouse workers have done something remarkable. They have seized the opportunity presented by the state of the economy and the nature of Amazon's business to show, in dramatic fashion, how ordinary workers can overcome the best efforts of one of America's largest companies to keep democracy out of the workplace.

And while it is impossible to know at this stage whether the initial success of the Amazon Labor Union is the dawning of a new day for the labor movement, it is certainly true that it represents a real glimmer of hope for the American ***working class*** and the unions that still hope to organize it.

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**Graphic**

PHOTO: The Amazon Labor Union organizing committee celebrating its victory. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DeSean McClinton-Holland for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***The Immigrant Vote Doesn't Exist***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61BT-S651-JBG3-61W5-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

It's past time to start seeing voters the way they see themselves.

Every immigrant arrives in this country with an implied debt. This country was nice enough to let you in, handed you a bag of rights and will now leave you alone to make your fortune. Left and right might disagree on how many people to let into the country or how to treat them when they're here, but both sides expect a return on their good will.

They agree that America is enough -- as long as you meet opportunity with hard work, you can secure ownership in this country. In exchange, both sides expect loyalty, whether complaint-free allegiance to the country's ideals or the acknowledgment that very open-minded and generous people worked hard to fight off the racists and the xenophobes and that you, downtrodden immigrant, should never forget those who protect your freedom to pursue the American dream.

In the wake of the election, there has been a concerted call to stop treating Latinos and, to a lesser extent, Asian-Americans as a monolith. Such a reckoning is long overdue and certainly necessary. It's fundamentally true that a Cuban-American in South Florida shares very little in common with a Guatemalan fishery worker in New Bedford, Mass. -- who, in turn, does not identify in any real way with fifth-generation Texans along the Rio Grande Valley.

Similarly, former Vietnamese refugees in Orange County, Calif., will have a different level of sensitivity toward charges of ''Communism'' than a second-generation Ivy League-educated Indian-American just up the freeway in suburban Los Angeles. Though the full picture of the electorate is not yet clear, it shouldn't be surprising that some of these populations ended up ignoring or even championing the xenophobia of the first Trump administration while others found it abhorrent and against their particular interests.

This should be fairly obvious -- different people from different parts of the world think differently, especially across generations -- but the quintessentially American idea of the immigrant's debt flattens all immigrants down into fixed categories. Those categories might help organize data, but they do not capture any meaningful insights into why people are voting the way they are.

It's why the right does not understand why a group of castoffs from ''shithole countries'' would ever complain about America. It's why progressives, the people who place ''Immigrants Are Welcome Here'' signs in their coffee shops and who appreciate all the nuances of immigrants' native cuisines, cannot understand why those same castoffs would ever vote against their self-appointed protectors. The debt is the monolith.

The 2020 election promises to be an awakening from all this miscategorization. Exit polls and pre-election surveys have shown a sharp, albeit seemingly localized, shift toward the Republican Party among immigrant populations, most notably in parts of South Florida and the Rio Grande Valley; Asian-American voters also seem to have shifted right. The data is still preliminary, messy and difficult to responsibly quantify at this date, especially when one considers the unprecedented number of people who voted by mail, but there seems to be no evidence that President Trump's cruel immigration policies and his constant refrains of the ''China virus'' set off a blue wave.

Though these results showed up in early polling, the perception of a rightward shift in immigrant votes has shocked many in the Democratic Party and led to the usual theorizing about what, exactly, should be done about it. Sixty-five percent of Latinos and 61 percent of Asian-Americans voted for Joe Biden, but the party cannot afford to slip with either demographic. The easiest and perhaps most logical move would be to disaggregate ''Latinos'' and ''Asian-Americans'' -- and stop treating them as a coherent population whose voting preferences can be explained through the language of polling averages and who can be reached through big-picture Democratic messaging.

This seems like a prudent and necessary first step, one that's already been taken in several local and statewide elections across the country. A recent New Yorker article by Hua Hsu explained how in 2018 Gil Cisneros -- a Latino Democratic representative running against Young Kim, a Korean-American Republican, in a California congressional district evenly split among whites, Latinos and Asian-Americans -- employed a digital campaign strategy that targeted immigrant populations through the social media apps they used. Chinese-American voters were reached through WeChat, the community's dominant method of communication, while Korean-Americans were reached through KakaoTalk, the ubiquitous messaging app that connects the Korean diaspora to their relatives back home.

Mr. Cisneros did not tailor a separate message for each group -- simply reaching out to them in their language on their apps helped him cause an upset, winning the seat by three points. (As perhaps more evidence of a rightward shift in the immigrant vote, in this year's rematch election Ms. Kim defeated Mr. Cisneros, in a close race.)

Part of the Republican Party's success in South Florida and South Texas can also be attributed to this disaggregated approach. Aggressive anti-Communist messaging on Spanish-language radio stations and disinformation social media campaigns started up in South Florida in the weeks before the election. These were not just aimed at Cuban-Americans who have historically leaned rightward, but also specifically at more recent Nicaraguan and Venezuelan immigrants. These efforts were never effectively addressed by Democrats, according to Chuck Rocha, the strategist behind Senator Bernie Sanders's successful courting of Latino voters during the primary season.

Greg Abbott, the current Republican governor of Texas, has aggressively courted Mexican-American voters in the Rio Grande since 2014 and laid down an infrastructure of community groups that turned into ''Trump Trains'' -- caravans of trucks and cars that rolled through historically Democratic counties and picked up converts along the way.

The Biden campaign, by contrast, made only cursory and tardy efforts in South Texas and failed in its efforts to reach voters in South Florida. Though it's a fool's errand to suggest exactly why this happened or what the exact effect might have been at the polls, there were swings toward the G.O.P. in both areas that helped deliver Mr. Trump victories in both states.

I have little doubt that in the future Democrats will try their best to address these swings, both on the local and national levels. But as long as they believe Latinos, the second-largest voting demographic in this election, and Asian-Americans, the fastest-growing group in the country, will continue to vote down the Democratic Party line because they care deeply about racism and bigotry as defined by the left, they will continue to misdiagnose the complexities within these populations, neither of which primarily think of themselves as ''Latino'' or ''Asian-American'' at all.

Disaggregation and specific targeting within groups will certainly create a clearer picture for the Democrats, but it's unclear whether that means the party should then automatically transition to hyper-focused mini-campaigns that try to address each demographic's stated needs. The tools of diagnosis do not always double as the tools to fix the problem.

Earlier this year, I had a series of conversations -- through a translator -- with Zhou Ming, a delivery worker in New York City who had immigrated from China to the United States to start a small business. Things hadn't worked out and he found himself in the one industry that would take a 54-year-old who didn't speak any English. Like many immigrants, Mr. Zhou came to America with almost no real understanding of the racial dynamics of the country -- he vaguely knew that Black Americans were treated badly and assumed that Chinese-Americans would act together and look after one another's best interests.

His understanding of his new home came entirely through Chinese-language television and social media -- after work, he would retire to his bed and take in a translation of what was happening around him through his phone. He knew that Mr. Trump was stoking anti-Chinese sentiment around the coronavirus, but he largely missed the antiracism campaigns that sprung up in response because they were mostly in English and catered toward Asian-Americans who had a more stable foothold in the country. The term ''Asian-American,'' in fact, meant nothing to him. If Chinese people in America couldn't even act together as a coherent group, what hope would there ever be for ''Asians''?

During the George Floyd protests in New York, Mr. Zhou, like many delivery workers, suffered from the citywide curfews handed down by the de Blasio administration. He had watched the video of George Floyd's death and recognized that the killing had been unjust, but he could find no real reason to hoist up a picket sign. Mr. Floyd was not Chinese.

Mr. Zhou had his own run-ins with the police, but he did not feel like the problems of delivery workers had anything to do with what had happened to George Floyd. He did find the protests inspiring, mostly because he admired the way Black people would show up and protest injustice against their people, but he felt like that had nothing to do with him. Their fight was not his fight and broad Democratic messages around the police and antiracism were mostly lost on him, not only because he never came across them on Chinese-language media, but also because he did not feel any kinship as a fellow minority or person of color or whatever other category might consolidate Chinese and Black interests.

A pragmatist might look at a recent immigrant like Mr. Zhou and conclude that there is no way to reach someone who feels no real purchase in this country and does not consider his fate to be bound to America's. But there are problems with this assumption: Mr. Zhou's perspective is common among first-generation immigrants, and although many of them tend to remain apolitical, there have been efforts in recent years to organize people like him, whether through the burgeoning anti-affirmative-action movement that thrives on Chinese social media apps or through grass-roots and labor organizing.

There's evidence these efforts may have worked: Some preliminary data suggests that Asian-American and Latino voting turnout increased during this election. Mr. Zhou even dipped a toe into political activism during his time in America. In 2018, he attended a rally, met with Chinese organizers and marched with Black and Latino immigrant delivery workers to protest the de Blasio administration's crackdown on electric bicycles.

With his usual cynicism, Mr. Zhou said that this multiethnic movement had been inspired entirely by self-interest -- if the Latino and Black immigrant delivery people had not also been affected by the proposed ban, they wouldn't have shown up at a rally organized by Chinese workers, he said.

But they did show up. If the Democratic Party wants to disaggregate immigrant populations from one another, they must take a difficult, clear look at the dynamics between these groups and come up with a broad message that tries to find pockets of mutual interest. Broad antiracist and antixenophobic messaging will not work for growing populations who mostly see themselves outside of America's racial hierarchy or, in many cases, believe their interests align better with middle-class white voters.

The answer may lie in doing away with ''Asian-American'' and ''Latino'' altogether and replacing them with ''immigrant.'' In the past, antiracist messages relied on categorizations like Asian-American, Latino and the umbrella of ''people of color.'' All three are abstractions that have little grounding in the everyday lives of immigrants. My uncle, who has lived in Los Angeles for 40 years, might now understand in a purely taxonomic sense that he is ''Asian,'' but he would laugh at the idea of ''people of color.'' His interactions with his fellow ''people of color'' have mostly come in kitchens where he works as a chef and speaks a hybrid Korean-Spanish with his Latino co-workers.

''The joke,'' the political strategist David Shor said in a recent interview, ''is that the G.O.P. is really assembling the multiracial ***working-class*** coalition that the left has always dreamed of.'' As someone who has spent years reporting in immigrant neighborhoods, I share Mr. Shor's concerns. The Republican Party's message of hard work, capitalism and freedom makes sense to large portions of the immigrant population -- in fact, it's why many of them, including my uncle and many of his fellow kitchen workers, chose to plant roots in the country.

Democrats must find a similarly broad platform that focuses on the needs of ***working-class*** immigrants for health care, access to quality education and other universal programs. If Democrats want to continue winning elections in states with sizable immigrant populations, which now include swing states like Georgia, North Carolina and Arizona, they must find some coherent message that goes beyond ''the other side is racist.'' If such a message, immersed in the idea of immigrant debt, did not work after the Muslim ban, ''China virus'' and the inhumane treatment of families at the border, what hope does it have in the future?

While a term like ''people of color'' might ring hollow or even confused, immigrants across generations share -- at the very least -- the experience of building a life in a foreign country. They must, in other words, disaggregate and then reorganize into an even broader movement that could build on existing, like-minded grass-roots organizations, such as those that emerged from the Bernie Sanders campaign in Nevada or immigrant labor organizations throughout New York and California, and develop a spirit of solidarity that puts less weight on questions of belonging and citizenship for these nebulously and conditionally defined groups -- and more on the experiences, as ***working-class*** immigrants, they share both in America and their homelands.

Too much of the messaging toward these groups is aimed at the upwardly ascendant second- and third-generation immigrants who worry about questions of representation within elite institutions. If Democrats want to combat charges of ''socialism,'' which are perhaps especially effective on immigrants who fled Communist or socialist countries, they must stop believing that an immigrant shows up in America and immediately begins worrying, say, about how many Asian or Latino actors have been cast in the latest comic book movie.

This, of course, does not mean that the Democratic Party should entirely abandon its anti-racist message. Part of the effort must include a much-needed clarification between the needs of Black Americans and Latino and Asian immigrants; that would end the confusing and harmful conflation between two groups whose interests and actions are often at odds with one another.Nor should we succumb to the temptation to wipe away all distinctions. Some part of every immigrant will still identify with their home country, through language, food and culture. The path forward is to create coalitions that make sense, not only for the immigrants themselves but also in their relationships with both ***working-class*** Black and white Americans.

Such a strategy would require the upwardly mobile second-generation immigrants -- the people most likely to be tasked with broadcasting this message out toward the public -- to do something that might feel counterintuitive or even contradictory. But we must abandon the broad style of diversity politics that designates us as ''people of color.'' Those categories might help us navigate the academy and the workplace, but they only resonate with a small, generally wealthy portion of our population.

The late historian Noel Ignatiev argued that racism in America could be solved only when white people committed treason against the white race -- when they recognized that the antagonists in their lives weren't Black people, but rather the wealthy class that used racism to divide workers whose interests should be aligned.

In a similar spirit, those of us who have assimilated into the professional class must commit treason against ''people of color'' and help build a coalition of ***working-class*** immigrants, from Guatemalan workers in fish processing plants and Bangladeshi cabdrivers to Chinese and Vietnamese restaurant workers and Mexican farm workers.

If not for the future of the Democratic Party, we should do it for ourselves. Then we might finally feel like part of a broad, multiethnic movement that unapologetically speaks to the best interests of our families.

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**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Zhou Ming, a Chinese immigrant delivery worker in New York City. The term ''Asian-American'' means nothing to him. (PHOTOGRAPH BY AARON CHEUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

East Harlem in 2016. Most of the people who live here aren't white, but they probably don't think of themselves as ''people of color,'' either. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JOSEPH MICHAEL LOPEZ)

**Load-Date:** November 22, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Here to Help; Five Unusual Streaming Movies for Unusual Times, Part 2***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6116-M731-DXY4-X4CH-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 3

**Length:** 379 words

**Byline:** By Jason Bailey

**Body**

BLUE RUIN (NETFLIX)

The writer and director Jeremy Saulnier (''Green Room'') crafts a lean, mean artsploitation movie (shown at right) about a vagrant (Macon Blair) who exacts revenge against the man who killed his parents and must then deal with the consequences. Saulnier's sensitive writing and semi-experimental style turn this bloody tale of vengeance into a thoughtful rumination on the toll of guilt and justice.

LOWLIFE (HULU)

On paper, Ryan Prows's crime anthology looks like a leftover '90s Quentin Tarantino rip-off. But Prows has a singular, gonzo energy and delirious sense of cinematic style that smooths over the sense of déjà vu. His story of death, kidnapping and organ harvesting is relentlessly bleak, but not without its doses of dark humor, and though the hyper-violence and gore is genuinely shocking, it all comes from a place of genuine pain and anguish.

BRAWL IN CELL BLOCK 99 (AMAZON PRIME)

Vince Vaughn stars as a ***working-class*** guy whose ill-advised career shift to drug mule takes a particularly grisly turn in this prison thriller from the writer and director S. Craig Zahler. As in his films ''Bone Tomahawk'' and ''Dragged Across Concrete,'' Zahler exhibits a worldview of hopelessness. Yet the acting is grounded and the characters are fully realized, while his odd detours into momentary humanism give the film a surprising sense of gravity.

VHYES (HULU)

Jack Henry Robbins's feature is a mash-up of analog nostalgia, sketch comedy and ''Stranger Things''-style kid adventure, ostensibly pulled from a VHS tape where young Ralph (Mason McNulty) is trying out his new camcorder by recording over his parents' wedding video. The juxtaposition of that video and Ralph's current family life creates surprising drama.

MAVIS! (HBO MAX)

In her six-plus decades of performance, Mavis Staples has just about sung it all. Her journey is, in many ways, the journey of American Black music, and the director Jessica Edwards gives it the proper weight in this affectionate documentary. Staples has collected plenty of juicy stories in her dazzling career, and she shares them with verve. But the draw, of course, is the music, which reverberates with the kindness and wisdom of its creator. Jason Bailey

For more reviews, go to nytimes.com/movies.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/07/pageoneplus/08a3\_help.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/07/pageoneplus/08a3_help.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY RADIUS-TWC)

**Load-Date:** October 8, 2020

**End of Document**



[***This Wasn’t the Vibe Shift Democrats Had in Mind; The Conversation***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66P8-MP71-DXY4-X4GD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1664 words

**Byline:** Gail Collins and Bret Stephens

**Highlight:** Republicans are threatening to peak at exactly the wrong moment for Chuck Schumer and Nancy Pelosi.

**Body**

Gail Collins: Bret, as you know, I always try to avoid discussing foreign affairs — never been my specialty — but I do want to ask you about the British, um, situation.

Bret Stephens: You mean the country that seems to have switched places with Silvio Berlusconi’s Italy, politically speaking, and Cristina Fernández de Kirchner’s Argentina, economically speaking, and Groucho Marx’s [*Freedonia*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DEabC9WzHck), comically speaking? Go on.

Gail: The Tory prime minister, Liz Truss, set a record for failure before she slunk out of office last week. She came into 10 Downing Street promising to cut taxes on the rich, and she did, and she … nose-dived.

Any message there for the rest of us?

Bret: When Margaret Thatcher was pressed on whether she would switch course on her free-market policies, she famously said, “The lady’s not for turning.” She went on to be one of the longest-serving prime ministers in British history. Truss turned against her own policies almost immediately and wound up being turned out of office almost immediately.

So the first lesson is that if you announce a policy, have the guts to stick to it or face political destruction.

Gail: Well, in this case I think we’d have seen political destruction either way. The tax cut idea was disastrous.

Bret: I’d say it was the execution, not the idea: Tax cuts usually stimulate a sluggish economy. The second lesson is that Britain’s economic mess isn’t the result of a month and a half of Truss but 12 years of big-government Toryism under David Cameron, Theresa May and Boris Johnson. Britain just isn’t an attractive country to live or invest in anymore, particularly after it made the foolish decision to leave the European Union.

Bottom line: Have the courage of your convictions and the wit to defend them. Your take?

Gail: That cutting taxes on the rich isn’t the magic answer to economic problems. I believe in a lot of what you’d call big government, but sooner or later, you’ve gotta pay for stuff.

Bret: Gail Collins, fiscal conservative …

Gail: Speaking of debt, President Biden’s plan to start his program of canceling student loans to poor and middle-class borrowers is facing a slew of Republican court challenges.

I’m rooting for him to win the fight — a matter on which I believe we disagree.

Bret: Totally against loan forgiveness. We’ve increased the national debt from $20 trillion to $31 trillion in barely five years, and now higher interest rates are going to make it more expensive to service that debt. And we are supposed to write off $400 billion in college loans — including to couples making up to $250,000 — without even giving Congress an opportunity to weigh in? It’s bad policy and worse politics.

Gail: Let me quickly point out that many of the folks who are spending their lives paying off big student loans signed up for the deal when they were little more than kids, some not ready for the programs they were recruited into and some who were assured that their major in medieval history would lead to high-income jobs that would make it easy to pay off the debt. The system did not work.

Bret: I probably shouldn’t say this, but anyone who thought, at any age, that a degree in medieval history would lead to a life of riches needs stupidity forgiveness, not loan forgiveness.

I guess we’ll find out soon enough if the courts even allow the plan to go through, though I did find it interesting that Amy Coney Barrett effectively sided with the administration on this issue. Nice to see a Trump nominee show some independence.

Gail: Agreed. Meanwhile, I’ve been wanting to ask you about the Senate races. The whole world is watching! Or at least the politically obsessed part of America. Anything grabbing your interest?

Bret: The most interesting Senate race is in Ohio. I really don’t see Tim Ryan beating J.D. Vance, but the fact that he’s even competitive in a state Trump won in 2020 by eight points suggests he’s found a formula for how Democrats win back white, ***working-class*** votes from the Republicans. Mainly that means running as far away as possible from Joe Biden, Nancy Pelosi and the progressive wing of his party.

How about you?

Gail: Since Cincinnati is my hometown, I’ve been watching Ohio pretty intently. I think Ryan has a chance — he’s in a pretty red state, but one that’s elected Democrats before. Including the state’s other senator, Sherrod Brown, who’s considered liberal.

Bret: True. And just by outperforming expectations, Ryan is forcing Republicans to pour a ton of money in the race just to hold the seat.

Gail: Plus Ryan is running against a truly terrible candidate. Vance seems to have an unending supply of mini-scandals about his financial dealings.

Bret: I thought Vance did fine in the debate last week. What bothers me about him aren’t his financial dealings. It’s the crass opportunism it took for him to flip almost overnight from Never Trumper to MAGA Republican. And the fact that he represents the isolationist wing of the conservative movement. Hard to overstate how dangerous that is in the face of the new axis of evil in Moscow, Tehran and Beijing.

Gail: Also interested in New Hampshire, where the Democratic incumbent, Maggie Hassan, seemed doomed in a Republican-leaning year, given that she won her last election by only about 1,000 votes.

But her opponent, the retired general Don Bolduc, has been another awful candidate — all over the map, trying to be a right-wing stalwart in the primaries and now metamorphosing into a moderate who wants to raise Social Security taxes on the wealthy.

Who would you vote for there?

Bret: Hassan, no question. She’s a good senator, willing to work across the aisle. I would have supported the Republican governor, Chris Sununu, if he’d decided to run, but apparently the sanity gene runs too strongly in his family, so he stayed out of the race. And Bolduc isn’t just an election denier or even an election-denier denier — in that he retracted his denialism after he won the primary. It’s that he subsequently denied that he denied being a denier. Which means he should be denied the election.

Gail: Bret, either you are the most fair-minded commentator in the country or this is yet another marker for how far the Republican Party has sunk. Even its defenders can’t defend many of this year’s candidates.

I’m inclined to say both are true, by the way.

Bret: Thanks! Can we switch to some of the races for governor? In New York the Republican candidate, Lee Zeldin, seems to be zooming up in the polls.

Gail: Aauugh. If this was a New York Republican like your old fave George Pataki, I’d be unshocked — Gov. Kathy Hochul hasn’t exactly set the world on fire. But Zeldin is terrible! If you want to get a really good feel for this contest, read our [*editorial board*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/22/opinion/kathy-hochul-new-york-governor.html)’s very powerful Hochul endorsement.

Bret: Zeldin is doing well because New Yorkers are doing badly. We have the [*highest overall tax burden*](https://www.cnbc.com/2022/04/01/these-states-have-the-highest-and-lowest-tax-burdens.html) in the country if you count income, property, sales and excise taxes, but we are very far from having the best school districts, the best infrastructure or the safest streets. The only area in which we lead the country [*is in losing people*](https://www.politifact.com/factchecks/2022/may/06/lee-zeldin/does-new-york-lead-nation-population-loss/) to other states. And one-party rule is bad for governance. There are things I don’t like about Zeldin, starting with his proximity to Donald Trump, but I’ll vote for him next month.

Gail: Looking elsewhere — how about Arizona? The race pits Katie Hobbs, the Democratic secretary of state, against Kari Lake, a Republican TV personality. I certainly think Hobbs would make the better governor. But if Lake wins, I could see her turning into a possible vice-presidential candidate on a Trump ticket.

Bret: Our news-side colleague Jack Healy wrote a [*devastating report about Hobbs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/21/us/az-governor-katie-hobbs-kari-lake.html), whose personal strengths apparently don’t include campaigning. She refuses to debate her opponent on the grounds that Lake is an election denier, which seems to me like an especially good reason to debate. My bet is that the governorship stays in Republican hands — and that it might push Blake Masters to victory in his Senate race against the incumbent Democrat, Mark Kelly.

Gail: It was a great piece, which did note that Lake refuses to answer any questions from the state’s major newspaper.

Bret: Bigger picture, Gail, I suspect it’s going to be a pretty good November for Republicans, despite all of the lousy candidates they’ve put forward. Do you see this as just part of a natural cycle in which the incumbent party usually does badly in midterms? Or would you put some blame on the way Biden has handled the presidency so far?

Gail: In a world full of war, energy shortages, health crises and political polarization, our president is doing a decent job of keeping things calm. Wish he had a more electric personality, but we’ve certainly learned there are worse things than a chief executive who isn’t great on camera.

It is true that the incumbent party usually does poorly during the midterms. Fortunately, the Republicans under Trump have nominated so many terrible candidates that there’s a chance the results won’t be quite as dire for Biden’s side.

What do you think? And more important, which side are you rooting for?

Bret: I’m rooting for Biden to succeed because we can’t allow Trump to come back, Vladimir Putin to win or the country to come even more unglued and unhinged than it already is.

Of course, my way of rooting for success is to scold Biden nonstop whenever I think he’s screwing up. It’s a formula my mom has been using with me for nearly 49 years. She’s confident that in a few years more, she might even succeed.

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PHOTO: Kari Lake, the G.O.P. candidate for governor in Arizona, appears to be on a roll. (PHOTOGRAPH BY REBECCA NOBLE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A22.

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**End of Document**



[***Michael Landy's Art of Destruction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:635Y-R8T1-DXY4-X226-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Scott Reyburn

**Body**

A new show by the British artist, who once gained fame by destroying everything he owned in an art installation, is again calling attention to the pervasiveness of consumerism and waste in modern life.

COLCHESTER, England -- Michael Landy is a British artist best-known for a project in which he systematically inventoried all 7,227 of his personal possessions. Then systematically destroyed them.

This year is the 20th anniversary of that installation-cum-performance, ''Break Down,'' which brought Landy international fame as ''The Man Who Destroyed Everything.'' It isn't often that conceptual works of art that no longer physically exist are still being talked about two decades later.

But a display to celebrate the 20th anniversary of ''Break Down,'' as well as a new installation by Landy, on show at Firstsite, a gallery in southern England, show the artist is still a prescient critic of consumerism. The exhibition, called ''Michael Landy's Welcome to Essex'' after the county surrounding the gallery where the artist grew up, runs through Sept. 5.

''It's a good time for his work to get new exposure,'' said Julian Stallabrass, a professor of modern and contemporary art at the Courtauld Institute in London, and author of ''High Art Lite: The Rise and Fall of Young British Art.''

''Michael was, I think, always one of the most interesting artists of the Y.B.A. grouping,'' said Stallabrass, referring to the generation of Young British Artists that energized the contemporary art scene in the 1990s and early 2000s. ''Not just because of his anti-commercial stance -- or rather that his work was often about commerce and its consequences -- but because of his long reflection on social class.''

''Break Down'' was produced by the London-based nonprofit ArtAngel in a disused department store on Oxford Street, then Europe's busiest shopping district. There, Landy spent two weeks in charge of an elaborate recycling facility repurposed to break down, pulp and granulate everything he owned, including the complete archive of his artworks, his record collection and his Saab 900 Turbo.

At the end of the process, witnessed by about 50,000 visitors, he was left with six tons of bagged-up waste. It was buried in a landfill site in Essex, where much of London's garbage is dumped.

''Consumerism has become the No. 1 ideology of our time,'' Landy, 58, said on a recent tour of the anniversary exhibition. ''We end up with all this stuff,'' he added. ''I wanted to take that apart.''

Like Damien Hirst, Tracey Emin, Grayson Perry and other Y.B.A.s, Landy came from a ***working-class*** background. He studied at the prestigious Goldsmiths art school in London in the late 1980s, at a time before the introduction of tuition fees for higher education began dissuading many students from lower-income families.

Unlike Hirst, Emin and Perry, whose imposingly priced works have regularly featured at international art fairs and auctions, Landy has never courted commercial success. The highest price paid for his works at auction remains $36,000, given in 2002 for his sculpture ''Costermonger's Stall.''

But in 1997, the Tate Gallery acquired his ''Scrapheap Services,'' a room-size installation in which a fictional ''people-cleansing'' company sweeps up human-shaped refuse and passes it through a shredding machine. The work's sale gave Landy a measure of financial security.

''It was the first time that, materially speaking, I was ahead in my life,'' said Landy, who celebrated his success by buying a Savile Row suit and the Saab that would become part of ''Break Down.''

But doubts set in. ''Is that what I strove to do? I've got a Saab car and a Richard James suit. What does that all mean?'' Landy recalled asking himself. ''The idea popped into my head that I should destroy all my worldly belongings.''

ArtAngel had already brought to life acclaimed art projects like Rachel Whiteread's ''House'' (1993) and Matthew Barney's ''Cremaster 4'' (1994), and Landy said that collaborating with its co-director James Lingwood was crucial to making ''Break Down'' happen. It took three years of planning. Listing his possessions took an entire year.

''Oxford Street was the missing ingredient,'' said Landy, recalling the vacant C&A store that he used to destroy all his belongings. ''It's where people come to consume things, the latest items.''

''People were angry, people were bemused. They were being given lots of consumer choice, but this was mine,'' he added. ''I felt I was witnessing my own death.''

Landy and ArtAngel agreed that none of it would become merchandise. ''It was about a total erasure of possessions from his life,'' Lingwood said. The artist was going back to being someone who owned nothing and had some debt.

''He had a roof over his head. We bought him some clothes. Probably a friend of his gave him some cash. He went home to Gillian,'' added Lingwood, referring to the artist Gillian Wearing, who is now Landy's wife.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, Landy produced no art for a year after ''Break Down.''

Then, in 2002, he returned to drawing, the medium that had engrossed him as a child. He made a series of 12 painstakingly observed etchings of weeds, of ''little things that grow in cracks in the street,'' for Paragon Press, a specialist publisher of prints.

''It's an allegory for rebirth,'' said Charles Booth-Clibborn, the publisher's founder, describing Landy's ''Nourishment'' etchings. ''They were like portraits of Londoners,'' he added. ''These plants exist in urban environments where it's hard for plants to survive. But they do thrive, and he celebrated them.''

In recent years, Landy has returned to large-scale installations. In 2010, he created a giant metal and Perspex trash can for failed works of art at the South London Gallery. And in 2018, in the aftermath of what he saw as Britain's self-destructive vote to leave the European Union, he set up ''Open for Business,'' a ''Brexit kiosk'' selling ''100 percent British products'' such as Union Jack-decorated mugs and condoms at the inaugural Riga Biennial in Latvia.

Landy's native Essex included two of Britain's five districts with the highest votes for Brexit in the 2016 referendum. Ever since the Thatcherite 1980s, when the county became a bastion of ***working-class*** Conservatism, it has fallen victim in British popular culture to derogatory ''Essex Man'' and ''Essex Girl'' caricatures, depicting its inhabitants as brash, uneducated and materialistic.

In addition to looking back to ''Break Down'' in Colchester, Landy is investigating these stereotypes in a three-room installation about Essex, a place that the artist bills as ''England's Most Misunderstood County.''

The show includes aerial footage of local garbage dumps, banners with Essex-themed tabloid headlines, and trash-filled dumpsters piled with TV sets showing interviews and comedies that feature Essex. It has divided local visitors to the gallery in Colchester, the historic university town that was once the capital of Roman Britain.

Stephen Callely, 60, a retired teacher, wasn't impressed. ''It doesn't challenge us. We can snigger at it,'' he said after visiting the exhibition this month.

Yet Stella Clarke, 9, was intrigued the ''Break Down'' display, particularly a wall that reproduced a section from Landy's inventory of possessions, such as ''C542: Sainsbury's single blue cotton/polyester sock.''.

''It was a very strange thing he did,'' said Clarke. ''Maybe he was saying he didn't need all this stuff.''

Landy, too, was fascinated by art as a child. At 15, he had a scratchboard work included in an episode of ''Vision On,'' an educational BBC TV show in which children were invited to send in paintings and drawings. Yet when he asked for the piece back, the BBC informed him it could not be returned.

''They always destroyed the work,'' Landy said. ''That was the beginning.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/12/arts/michael-landy.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/12/arts/michael-landy.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Top right, Michael Landy at the Firstsite gallery in Colchester, England, with ''Essex Man.'' Below, the inventory of objects destroyed in ''Break Down.'' Bottom row, from left: part of ''The Essex Way'' (2021), which covers more than 450 feet of wall at Firstsite

and two of the drawings that Landy made after a post-''Break Down'' hiatus, ''Common Toad Flax'' and ''Herb Robert.'' (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MICHAEL LANDY

DACS, LONDON/ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY (ARS), NEW YORK

TOM JAMIESON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

MICHAEL LANDY

DACS, LONDON/ ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY (ARS), NEW YORK

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TOM JAMIESON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 20, 2021

**End of Document**



[***This Is About Capitalism, Not Sex***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62Y5-2SN1-JBG3-64V0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 18, 2021 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; Movies, Performing Arts/Weekend Desk; Pg. 5; REWIND

**Length:** 594 words

**Byline:** By J. Hoberman

**Body**

While the 1987 drama takes place in a Manhattan brothel, its true concern is labor. (And it's is definitely not to be confused with Mike Nichols's rom-com.)

A fictional day in the life of a Manhattan boutique bordello, Lizzie Borden's ''Working Girls'' is as witty, gimlet-eyed and discomfiting as when it won a special award at the 1987 Sundance Film Festival.

The movie, not to be confused with Mike Nichols's 1988 rom-com ''Working Girl,'' has been digitally restored and, in advance of a Blu-ray release, is having a theatrical run at the IFC Center in Manhattan.

''Working Girls'' opens with Molly (Louise Smith) waking at 7 a.m. in an East Village tenement, making breakfast for her partner's young daughter and bicycling uptown to her place of employment. Her first order of business is inserting a diaphragm -- the matter-of-factness provides the movie's first jolt.

Borden's previous film, ''Born in Flames,'' (1983) is a vision of urban insurrection led by a largely Black and lesbian army now considered a classic of revolutionary cinema, militant feminism and Afro-futurism. ''Working Girls'' is no less political. Sex is almost incidental; the movie's true concern is labor, much of which consists in massaging the egos of the brothel's clients.

While offering a smorgasbord of mildly kinky tastes, ''Working Girls'' is far from prurient. When, midway through, Molly makes a drugstore run to replenish the supply closet, the movie suggests a Pop Art composition of brand-name packages: Listerine, Kleenex and Trojans. The New York Times reviewer Vincent Canby noted that, although fiction, ''Working Girls'' ''sounds as authentic as might a documentary about coal miners.''

Coal miners with ambition, that is: Molly, who has two degrees from Yale, is an aspiring photographer. Dawn (Amanda Goodwin) is a volatile ***working-class*** kid putting herself through college. Gina (Marusia Zach) is saving to open her own business. The women, who have amusingly little difficulty handling their generally well-behaved johns, are in control but only up to point. Midway through, their boss Lucy (Ellen McElduff) sweeps in, and as a gushingly saccharine steel magnolia, she is far more exploitative, not to mention manipulative, than any of the customers.

Borden belongs to a group of filmmakers, including Kathryn Bigelow and Jim Jarmusch, who emerged from the downtown post-punk art-music scene of the late 1970s. Back then, ''Born in Flames'' and ''Working Girls'' seemed like professionalized versions of the incendiary work produced by scrappy Super-8 filmmakers like Vivienne Dick and the team of Scott B and Beth B. Revisited decades later, ''Working Girls'' appears closer to Chantal Akerman's epochal ''Jeanne Dielman, 23, Quai du Commerce, 1080 Bruxelles.''

The similarity between the films is not so much subject (Akerman's eponymous protagonist is a housewife prostitute) as attitude. ''Working Girl'' is notable for its measured structure, analytical camera placement and straightforward cool. Borden only tips her hand once, when she allows Molly -- who has been sweet-talked into working a double shift -- to ask Lucy if she's ever heard of ''surplus value.''

''Working Girls'' is an anticapitalist critique that has scarcely dated, save for one bit of hip social realism I neglected to note when I reviewed it in 1987 for a downtown weekly. Asked how she heard about the job, a new recruit reveals that she answered a want ad for ''hostesses'' in The Village Voice.

Working Girls

Opening June 18 at the IFC Center in Manhattan; ifccenter.com.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/16/movies/lizzie-borden-working-girls.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/16/movies/lizzie-borden-working-girls.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: A scene from Lizzie Borden's ''Working Girls.'' The film is notable for its measured structure, analytical camera placement and straightforward cool. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JANUS FILMS)

**Load-Date:** June 18, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Every Day, We’re Told to Use New Lingo. What Does That Really Accomplish?; John McWhorter***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65HR-1J41-DXY4-X3GR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1214 words

**Byline:** John McWhorter

**Highlight:** Constantly updating terminology isn’t going to achieve progressive aims.

**Body**

The left these days gets a bad rap for policing language. It can be irritating to feel like you have to watch how you say things or keep up with the latest lingo when the old lingo still seems perfectly fine. This is especially the case with counterintuitive ideas such as referring not to “pregnant women” but to “[*people who are pregnant*](https://www.plannedparenthood.org/learn/pregnancy/pregnancy-options)” — a phrase now used on Planned Parenthood’s website — or the even less intuitive “[*birthing people*](https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2021/09/pregnant-people-gender-identity/620031/),” which we’re asked to embrace as inclusive, and therefore progressive, despite that both reduce women to being biological vessels.

I’m certainly not arguing for intolerance toward those who can become pregnant but don’t identify as women. I’m saying that even if we’re not being forced to use the new terms, the way they’re introduced, almost as if by fiat, can make it seem as if sticking with the old ones is a kind of thought crime. But it isn’t that those on the left have some weird, childish yen for control. Rather, they seem to be operating under an attractive but shaky idea that language channels thought: Change how people say things and you change how they think about things and then the world changes.

That’s not how it works, though. Good intentions frequently don’t translate into efficacy. So, the question is, how much does changing terminology really accomplish?

In the late 1980s, the Rev. Jesse Jackson said the term “African American” had more “[*cultural integrity*](https://www.nytimes.com/1988/12/21/us/jackson-and-others-say-blacks-is-passe.html),” and “Black” was, therefore, out of date. But I’d be hard-pressed to say that the Black community today has a greater measure of cultural integrity or is any prouder than it was then. And though a recent [*poll*](https://www.cnn.com/2022/04/14/politics/poll-black-american-identity/index.html) showed that a majority of Black Americans see being Black as central to their identity, the younger they are, the less central it is — suggesting less significance, as time goes on, about what we call ourselves.

I think also of Nina Simone’s [*musicalization*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RTGiKYqk0gY) of Lorraine Hansberry’s phrase “To be young, gifted and Black.” Watch Simone perform this song in Questlove’s Oscar-winning documentary, “Summer of Soul,” with her vocal emphasis, full of conviction, on the word “Black.” Singing “African American” wouldn’t — couldn’t — ring with the same richness. Black America added meaning to and wrested pride out of a word that was supposed to have negative connotations by thinking of ourselves as beautiful and determined. I’m not sure “African American,” just as a term, has furthered that at all: “To be young, gifted and African American”?

Remember, too, the “euphemism treadmill” described by the Harvard University psychology professor Steven Pinker, who explained in a 1994 Times Opinion [*essay*](https://www.nytimes.com/1994/04/05/opinion/the-game-of-the-name.html): “People invent new ‘polite’ words to refer to emotionally laden or distasteful things, but the euphemism becomes tainted by association and the new one that must be found acquires its own negative connotations.” For example, the pathway from “crippled” to “handicapped” to “disabled” to “differently abled.” New words ultimately don’t leave freighted ideas behind; they merely take them on.

Consider the phrase “urban renewal.” Starting in the 1930s, there were initiatives in American cities to raze ***working-class***, often Black neighborhoods. They would eventually be replaced with various civic projects, such as new highway construction. One term for this, embraced by city planning éminences grises [*such as Robert Moses*](https://www.wnyc.org/story/robert-moses-on-slum-clearance/) in New York City, was “slum clearance.”

As the years passed, the downsides of this destruction of modest but cohesive communities became more apparent, and the term “slum clearance” was gradually supplanted by the term “urban renewal,” starting [*in the 1950s*](https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=slum+clearance%2Curban+renewal&amp;year_start=1940&amp;year_end=2019&amp;corpus=26&amp;smoothing=3). But calling it urban renewal didn’t persuade a range of writers, thinkers and displaced residents to celebrate this destructive dislocation. Other than by, perhaps, some city planners, urban renewal was increasingly perceived as a glum business — the same business — as slum clearance. James Baldwin memorably coined it with the more reality-based term, “[*Negro removal*](https://bostonreview.net/articles/brent-cebul-tearing-down-black-america/).”

Even when factoring in Pinker’s treadmill, I understand the impulse to refer to “enslaved people” rather than “slaves” — not all new terminology is pointless. Describing someone as a “slave” can be taken as indicating that servitude is an inherent trait rather than an imposed condition. But I suspect that after a while, the term “enslaved person” will continue its lexical drift and we’ll need a new term. Why? Because of what happened to “homeless person,” which began as an enlightened replacement for terms such as “bum” and “bag lady,” but is now itself being slowly replaced by referring to someone who is “unhoused.”

It is, then, reasonable to surmise that terms such as “pregnant people,” while pleasing a certain contingent, will not deter most people from continuing to perceive the world according to an old-fashioned gender binary. Basic perception will remain that most pregnant people are cisgender women, such that it will still feel natural to think of being pregnant as something women experience, and it will feel forced to use gender-neutral language, even as we acknowledge that there are people who identify as men or nonbinary who can become pregnant.

As I’ve [*discussed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/04/opinion/capitalizing-black.html) before in this newsletter, research has shown that language can influence thought, but sometimes only slightly. And what pops up in a psychological experiment may not track with real-life behavior: The [*Implicit Association Test*](https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/iatdetails.html), more than two decades old, has often been used to demonstrate how implicit bias is supposed to work — how negative associations with terms such as “Black” may correlate with people exhibiting prejudice or bigotry. But a [*more recent analysis*](https://replicationindex.com/2019/11/24/iat-behavior/#:~:text=Implications,exhibit%20prejudice%20in%20their%20behavior) argues that there is no evidence that quietly associating negative terms with Black people rather than white people in such tests correlates with racist behavior.

Today’s predilection for newspeak neglects all of this. Frankly, I think it is partly because generating new labels offers instant gratification, especially with the internet handy. It’s easier to introduce new terms than to change the way different groups referred to by those terms are really perceived. In that way, never-ending calls to change the way people talk and write is less an advance than a cop-out.

Terminology will, of course, evolve over time for various reasons. But broadly speaking, thought leaders and activists of past eras put their emphasis on what people did and said — not on ever-finer gradations of how they might have said it.

Far better to teach people what you think they should think about something, and why, instead of classifying the way they express themselves about it as a form of disrespect or backwardness. After a while, if you teach well, they won’t be saying what you don’t want them to say. Mind you, you may not be around to see the fruits of the endeavor — a frustrating aspect of change is that it tends to happen slowly. But “Change words!” is no watchcry for a serious progressivism.

Have feedback? Send a note to [*McWhorter-newsletter@nytimes.com*](mailto:McWhorter-newsletter@nytimes.com).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Delcan and Co. FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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**End of Document**



[***‘People of Color’ Do Not Belong to the Democratic Party***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61BD-X131-JBG3-64PN-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION; sunday

**Length:** 2912 words

**Byline:** Jay Caspian Kang

**Highlight:** It’s past time to start seeing voters the way they see themselves.

**Body**

It’s past time to start seeing voters the way they see themselves.

Every immigrant arrives in this country with an implied debt. This country was nice enough to let you in, handed you a bag of rights and will now leave you alone to make your fortune. Left and right might disagree on how many people to let into the country or how to treat them when they’re here, but both sides expect a return on their good will.

They agree that America is enough — as long as you meet opportunity with hard work, you can secure ownership in this country. In exchange, both sides expect loyalty, whether complaint-free allegiance to the country’s ideals or the acknowledgment that very open-minded and generous people worked hard to fight off the racists and the xenophobes and that you, downtrodden immigrant, should never forget those who protect your freedom to pursue the American dream.

In the wake of the election, there has been a concerted call to stop treating Latinos and, to a lesser extent, Asian-Americans as a monolith. Such a reckoning is long overdue and certainly necessary. It’s fundamentally true that a Cuban-American in South Florida shares very little in common with a Guatemalan fishery worker in New Bedford, Mass. — who, in turn, does not identify in any real way with fifth-generation Texans along the Rio Grande Valley.

Similarly, former Vietnamese refugees in Orange County, Calif., will have a different level of sensitivity toward charges of “Communism” than a second-generation Ivy League-educated Indian-American just up the freeway in suburban Los Angeles. Though the full picture of the electorate is not yet clear, it shouldn’t be surprising that some of these populations ended up ignoring or even championing the xenophobia of the first Trump administration while others found it abhorrent and against their particular interests.

This should be fairly obvious — different people from different parts of the world think differently, especially across generations — but the quintessentially American idea of the immigrant’s debt flattens all immigrants down into fixed categories. Those categories might help organize data, but they do not capture any meaningful insights into why people are voting the way they are.

It’s why the right does not understand why a group of castoffs from “shithole countries” would ever complain about America. It’s why progressives, the people who place “Immigrants Are Welcome Here” signs in their coffee shops and who appreciate all the nuances of immigrants’ native cuisines, cannot understand why those same castoffs would ever vote against their self-appointed protectors. The debt is the monolith.

The 2020 election promises to be an awakening from all this miscategorization. Exit polls and pre-election surveys have shown a sharp, albeit seemingly localized, [*shift toward the Republican Party*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/elections/exit-polls-changes-2016-2020/) among immigrant populations, most notably in parts of [*South Florida and the Rio Grande Valley*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/elections/exit-polls-changes-2016-2020/); Asian-American voters also seem to have shifted right. The data is still preliminary, messy and difficult to responsibly quantify at this date, especially when one considers the unprecedented number of people who [*voted by mail*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/elections/exit-polls-changes-2016-2020/), but there seems to be no evidence that President Trump’s cruel immigration policies and his constant refrains of the “China virus” set off a blue wave.

Though these results showed up in early polling, the perception of a rightward shift in immigrant votes has shocked many in the Democratic Party and led to the usual theorizing about what, exactly, should be done about it. Sixty-five percent of Latinos and 61 percent of Asian-Americans [*voted for Joe Biden*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/elections/exit-polls-changes-2016-2020/), but the party cannot afford to slip with either demographic. The easiest and perhaps most logical move would be to disaggregate “Latinos” and “Asian-Americans” — and stop treating them as a coherent population whose voting preferences can be explained through the language of polling averages and who can be reached through big-picture Democratic messaging.

This seems like a prudent and necessary first step, one that’s already been taken in several local and statewide elections across the country. A [*recent New Yorker article*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/elections/exit-polls-changes-2016-2020/) by Hua Hsu explained how in 2018 Gil Cisneros — a Latino Democratic representative running against Young Kim, a Korean-American Republican, in a California congressional district evenly split among whites, Latinos and Asian-Americans — employed a digital campaign strategy that targeted immigrant populations through the social media apps they used. Chinese-American voters were reached through WeChat, the community’s dominant method of communication, while Korean-Americans were reached through KakaoTalk, the ubiquitous messaging app that connects the Korean diaspora to their relatives back home.

Mr. Cisneros did not tailor a separate message for each group — simply reaching out to them in their language on their apps helped him cause an upset, winning the seat by three points. (As perhaps more evidence of a rightward shift in the immigrant vote, in this year’s rematch election [*Ms. Kim defeated Mr. Cisneros*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/elections/exit-polls-changes-2016-2020/), in a close race.)

Part of the Republican Party’s success in South Florida and South Texas can also be attributed to this disaggregated approach. Aggressive [*anti-Communist messaging on Spanish-language radio stations*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/elections/exit-polls-changes-2016-2020/) and disinformation social media campaigns started up in South Florida in the weeks before the election. These were not just aimed at Cuban-Americans who have historically leaned rightward, but also specifically at more recent [*Nicaraguan*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/elections/exit-polls-changes-2016-2020/) and [*Venezuelan immigrants*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/elections/exit-polls-changes-2016-2020/). These efforts were never effectively addressed by Democrats, [*according to Chuck Rocha*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/elections/exit-polls-changes-2016-2020/), the strategist behind Senator Bernie Sanders’s successful courting of Latino voters during the primary season.

Greg Abbott, the current Republican governor of Texas, has aggressively courted Mexican-American voters in the Rio Grande [*since 2014*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/elections/exit-polls-changes-2016-2020/) and laid down an infrastructure of community groups that turned into “[*Trump Trains*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/elections/exit-polls-changes-2016-2020/)” — caravans of trucks and cars that rolled through historically Democratic counties and picked up converts along the way.

The Biden campaign, by contrast, made only cursory and tardy efforts in South Texas and failed in its efforts to reach voters in South Florida. Though it’s a fool’s errand to suggest exactly why this happened or what the exact effect might have been at the polls, there were swings toward the G.O.P. in both areas that helped deliver Mr. Trump victories in both states.

I have little doubt that in the future Democrats will try their best to address these swings, both on the local and national levels. But as long as they believe Latinos, the [*second-largest voting demographic in this election*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/elections/exit-polls-changes-2016-2020/), and Asian-Americans, the [*fastest-growing group*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/elections/exit-polls-changes-2016-2020/) in the country, will continue to vote down the Democratic Party line because they care deeply about racism and bigotry as defined by the left, they will continue to misdiagnose the complexities within these populations, neither of which primarily think of themselves as “Latino” or “Asian-American” at all.

Disaggregation and specific targeting within groups will certainly create a clearer picture for the Democrats, but it’s unclear whether that means the party should then automatically transition to hyper-focused mini-campaigns that try to address each demographic’s stated needs. The tools of diagnosis do not always double as the tools to fix the problem.

Earlier this year, I had a series of conversations — through a translator — with Zhou Ming, a delivery worker in New York City who had immigrated from China to the United States to start a small business. Things hadn’t worked out and he found himself in the one industry that would take a 54-year-old who didn’t speak any English. Like many immigrants, Mr. Zhou came to America with almost no real understanding of the racial dynamics of the country — he vaguely knew that Black Americans were treated badly and assumed that Chinese-Americans would act together and look after one another’s best interests.

His understanding of his new home came entirely through Chinese-language television and social media — after work, he would retire to his bed and take in a translation of what was happening around him through his phone. He knew that Mr. Trump was stoking anti-Chinese sentiment around the coronavirus, but he largely missed the antiracism campaigns that sprung up in response because they were mostly in English and catered toward Asian-Americans who had a more stable foothold in the country. The term “Asian-American,” in fact, meant nothing to him. If Chinese people in America couldn’t even act together as a coherent group, what hope would there ever be for “Asians”?

During the George Floyd protests in New York, Mr. Zhou, like many delivery workers, suffered from the citywide curfews handed down by the de Blasio administration. He had watched the video of George Floyd’s death and recognized that the killing had been unjust, but he could find no real reason to hoist up a picket sign. Mr. Floyd was not Chinese.

Mr. Zhou had his own run-ins with the police, but he did not feel like the problems of delivery workers had anything to do with what had happened to George Floyd. He did find the protests inspiring, mostly because he admired the way Black people would show up and protest injustice against their people, but he felt like that had nothing to do with him. Their fight was not his fight and broad Democratic messages around the police and antiracism were mostly lost on him, not only because he never came across them on Chinese-language media, but also because he did not feel any kinship as a fellow minority or person of color or whatever other category might consolidate Chinese and Black interests.

A pragmatist might look at a recent immigrant like Mr. Zhou and conclude that there is no way to reach someone who feels no real purchase in this country and does not consider his fate to be bound to America’s. But there are problems with this assumption: Mr. Zhou’s perspective is common among first-generation immigrants, and although many of them tend to remain apolitical, there have been efforts in recent years to organize people like him, whether through the burgeoning [*anti-affirmative-action movement*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/elections/exit-polls-changes-2016-2020/) that thrives on Chinese social media apps or through grass-roots and labor organizing.

There’s evidence these efforts may have worked: Some preliminary data suggests that [*Asian-American*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/elections/exit-polls-changes-2016-2020/) and [*Latino voting*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/elections/exit-polls-changes-2016-2020/) turnout increased during this election. Mr. Zhou even dipped a toe into political activism during his time in America. In 2018, he attended a rally, met with Chinese organizers and marched with Black and Latino immigrant delivery workers to protest the de Blasio administration’s crackdown on electric bicycles.

With his usual cynicism, Mr. Zhou said that this multiethnic movement had been inspired entirely by self-interest — if the Latino and Black immigrant delivery people had not also been affected by the proposed ban, they wouldn’t have shown up at a rally organized by Chinese workers, he said.

But they did show up. If the Democratic Party wants to disaggregate immigrant populations from one another, they must take a difficult, clear look at the dynamics between these groups and come up with a broad message that tries to find pockets of mutual interest. Broad antiracist and antixenophobic messaging will not work for growing populations who mostly see themselves outside of America’s racial hierarchy or, in many cases, believe their interests align better with middle-class white voters.

The answer may lie in doing away with “Asian-American” and “Latino” altogether and replacing them with “immigrant.” In the past, antiracist messages relied on categorizations like Asian-American, Latino and the umbrella of “people of color.” All three are abstractions that have little grounding in the everyday lives of immigrants. My uncle, who has lived in Los Angeles for 40 years, might now understand in a purely taxonomic sense that he is “Asian,” but he would laugh at the idea of “people of color.” His interactions with his fellow “people of color” have mostly come in kitchens where he works as a chef and speaks a hybrid Korean-Spanish with his Latino co-workers.

“The joke,” the political strategist David Shor said in [*a recent interview*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/elections/exit-polls-changes-2016-2020/), “is that the G.O.P. is really assembling the multiracial ***working-class*** coalition that the left has always dreamed of.” As someone who has spent years reporting in immigrant neighborhoods, I share Mr. Shor’s concerns. The Republican Party’s message of hard work, capitalism and freedom makes sense to large portions of the immigrant population — in fact, it’s why many of them, including my uncle and many of his fellow kitchen workers, chose to plant roots in the country.

Democrats must find a similarly broad platform that focuses on the needs of ***working-class*** immigrants for health care, access to quality education and other universal programs. If Democrats want to continue winning elections in states with sizable immigrant populations, which now include swing states like Georgia, North Carolina and Arizona, they must find some coherent message that goes beyond “the other side is racist.” If such a message, immersed in the idea of immigrant debt, did not work after the Muslim ban, “China virus” and the inhumane treatment of families at the border, what hope does it have in the future?

While a term like “people of color” might ring hollow or even confused, immigrants across generations share — at the very least — the experience of building a life in a foreign country. They must, in other words, disaggregate and then reorganize into an even broader movement that could build on existing, like-minded grass-roots organizations, such as those that emerged from the [*Bernie Sanders campaign in Nevada*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/elections/exit-polls-changes-2016-2020/) or immigrant labor organizations throughout New York and California, and develop a spirit of solidarity that puts less weight on questions of belonging and citizenship for these nebulously and conditionally defined groups — and more on the experiences, as ***working-class*** immigrants, they share both in America and their homelands.

Too much of the messaging toward these groups is aimed at the upwardly ascendant second- and third-generation immigrants who worry about questions of representation within elite institutions. If Democrats want to combat charges of “socialism,” which are perhaps especially effective on immigrants who fled Communist or socialist countries, they must stop believing that an immigrant shows up in America and immediately begins worrying, say, about how many Asian or Latino actors have been cast in the latest comic book movie.

This, of course, does not mean that the Democratic Party should entirely abandon its anti-racist message. Part of the effort must include a much-needed clarification between the needs of Black Americans and Latino and Asian immigrants; that would end the confusing and harmful conflation between two groups whose interests and actions are often at odds with one another.

Nor should we succumb to the temptation to wipe away all distinctions. Some part of every immigrant will still identify with their home country, through language, food and culture. The path forward is to create coalitions that make sense, not only for the immigrants themselves but also in their relationships with both ***working-class*** Black and white Americans.

Such a strategy would require the upwardly mobile second-generation immigrants — the people most likely to be tasked with broadcasting this message out toward the public — to do something that might feel counterintuitive or even contradictory. But we must abandon the broad style of diversity politics that designates us as “people of color.” Those categories might help us navigate the academy and the workplace, but they only resonate with a small, generally wealthy portion of our population.

The late historian [*Noel Ignatiev argued*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/elections/exit-polls-changes-2016-2020/) that racism in America could be solved only when white people committed treason against the white race — when they recognized that the antagonists in their lives weren’t Black people, but rather the wealthy class that used racism to divide workers whose interests should be aligned.

In a similar spirit, those of us who have assimilated into the professional class must commit treason against “people of color” and help build a coalition of ***working-class*** immigrants, from Guatemalan workers in fish processing plants and Bangladeshi cabdrivers to Chinese and Vietnamese restaurant workers and Mexican farm workers.

If not for the future of the Democratic Party, we should do it for ourselves. Then we might finally feel like part of a broad, multiethnic movement that unapologetically speaks to the best interests of our families.

Jay Caspian Kang ([*@jaycaspiankang*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/elections/exit-polls-changes-2016-2020/)) is a writer at large for The New York Times Magazine.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/elections/exit-polls-changes-2016-2020/) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/elections/exit-polls-changes-2016-2020/). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/elections/exit-polls-changes-2016-2020/).

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PHOTOS: Zhou Ming, a Chinese immigrant delivery worker in New York City. The term “Asian-American” means nothing to him. (PHOTOGRAPH BY AARON CHEUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); East Harlem in 2016. Most of the people who live here aren’t white, but they probably don’t think of themselves as “people of color,” either. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JOSEPH MICHAEL LOPEZ)

**Load-Date:** July 29, 2021

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[***A Biden Pick At Treasury Talks Tough About China***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6231-XV31-JBG3-616K-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 24, 2021 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section B; Column 0; Business/Financial Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 498 words

**Byline:** By Alan Rappeport

**Body**

Wally Adeyemo, President Biden's nominee for deputy Treasury secretary, foreshadowed the tough approach that the Biden administration intends to take with China on Tuesday, underscoring the need to mobilize American allies to curtail China's unfair economic practices.

At his confirmation hearing before the Senate Finance Committee on Tuesday, Mr. Adeyemo said the Treasury Department must use its full arsenal of tools to ensure that China is abiding by international laws. He called for a ''holistic'' view of the ties between the two superpowers, arguing that the economic and security relationships are intertwined.

''Where China is not willing to play on a level playing field, it's important that we hold them accountable to the rules that they've agreed to in the international system,'' Mr. Adeyemo said. ''I believe this needs to be done, in some cases unilaterally but always best to do multilaterally, working with other countries, especially with our allies, to demonstrate to the Chinese that they are isolated when they violate the rules of the road.''

If confirmed, Mr. Adeyemo will be Treasury Secretary Janet L. Yellen's top lieutenant. He will focus heavily on national security matters and international diplomacy, particularly as Ms. Yellen works to address the economic fallout of the coronavirus pandemic.

Mr. Adeyemo suggested that he would take a ''critical look'' at how Chinese companies were using America's financial system to potentially threaten national security, as well as Treasury's tools to address that risk. As part of a broad review, Mr. Adeyemo will study the restrictions that the Trump administration erected to block Americans from investing in companies with ties to the Chinese military.

Mr. Adeyemo was introduced at the hearing by Senator Elizabeth Warren, the progressive Democrat from Massachusetts. Before she joined the Senate, Ms. Warren established the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, where Mr. Adeyemo served as her first chief of staff.

Despite their close relationship, Ms. Warren asked Mr. Adeyemo tough questions, challenging him to commit to using the Financial Stability Oversight Council, a multiagency task force meant to identify broad risks to the financial system, to scrutinize the private equity industry.

After the Obama administration, Mr. Adeyemo went to work for BlackRock, the world's largest asset manager, as a senior adviser and interim chief of staff to Larry Fink, its chief executive. Although that background might have caused a political issue for some nominees, Republicans and Democrats on the committee declined to question Mr. Adeyemo about his corporate experience.

Born in Nigeria, Mr. Adeyemo moved as a child with his parents to the United States, where his family settled outside Los Angeles. At the hearing, he spoke about his ***working-class*** upbringing and the need to ensure that low-income communities and communities of color, which have been hit hardest by the pandemic, receive relief.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/02/22/business/stock-market-today/president-bidens-pick-for-deputy-treasury-secretary-signals-tough-approach-to-china*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/02/22/business/stock-market-today/president-bidens-pick-for-deputy-treasury-secretary-signals-tough-approach-to-china)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Wally Adeyemo, if confirmed as deputy Treasury secretary, will focus on economic diplomacy. (PHOTOGRAPH BY LEAH MILLIS/REUTERS)

**Load-Date:** February 25, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Will the State's Rich See Their Taxes Rise?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:623P-X5R1-DXY4-X0V0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 28, 2021 Sunday

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**Section:** Section MB; Column 0; Metropolitan Desk; Pg. 3; BIG CITY

**Length:** 1114 words

**Byline:** By Ginia Bellafante

**Body**

After the pandemic's economic devastation, legislators are coming around to the idea.

This September it will be 10 years since thousands of people descended on Zuccotti Park, in Lower Manhattan, to protest economic inequity -- one result of a financial industry left to operate like a fraternity in an unmanned bar.

As a means of consciousness raising, Occupy Wall Street was hugely successful. Suddenly, 16-year-olds were talking with great authority and conviction about the dark consequences of repealing the Glass-Steagall Act. Political fortunes were buoyed by the popularization of new memes -- ''We are the 99 percent.'' But over the next decade, the tax policies that could have brought about a real redistribution of wealth only favored the rich more extravagantly.

The pandemic, as we have seen over and over, has aggravated the existing injustices to a degree that dystopian metaphors have become an addiction. This is especially true in New York, where the exceedingly well-off have spread out into $28 million brownstones and newly renovated country houses, while the poor and ***working-class*** have confronted mounting joblessness, hunger and threats of eviction. By August, the unemployment rate in the city had quadrupled to 16 percent over the previous year. At the top of a climbing wall in which the only direction is up, billionaires in the state -- there are 118 of them -- watched as their aggregate net worth rose by $45 billion during the first two months of the pandemic.

It has taken this kind of disparity and devastation for political will to coalesce around raising taxes on the wealthiest New Yorkers. Despite a looming budget deficit years in the making, advocates who had long fought for tax reform had consistently met resistance. Despite New York's relatively high income-tax rate, policies have found creative ways to favor the wealthy. In 2015, for example, the state's budget offered a tax break for anyone buying ''watercraft'' valued at more than $230,000.

The Assembly speaker, Carl E. Heastie, a Bronx Democrat, defended what quickly became known as the yacht credit: ''Florida has better weather than us,'' he suggested, ''so people go and park their boats down there all year round.''

Such was the context of governance that made the first sparks of a revolution unlikely. Yet only a few months into the Covid crisis, a longtime Republican state senator, Phil Boyle, found himself co-sponsoring a bill that would raise taxes on the state's highest earners. Not once in his 25 years as a legislator had Mr. Boyle supported a tax increase. But it was better to extract more from the wealthiest, he determined, than to raise property taxes on the ***working-class*** voters in his Long Island district who were already facing so many setbacks.

That bill, along with five others, is part of the proposed Invest in Our New York Act, which seeks to raise $50 billion a year for affordable housing, education, health care and other resources through a series of changes to the tax code focused entirely on demanding more from the penthouse class. The bills include plans to tax capital gains more aggressively (treating investment income as wage income), to lower the floor at which inheritance is taxed (to $250,000) and to restore taxes on corporate profit.

Nearly half of the revenue raised during the first year of enactment would come from an additional tax on the assets of billionaires -- a change that in itself would require an amendment to the state's constitution.

Even in this climate of excessive hardship, and even with a Democratic supermajority in the State Legislature, few expect all of these bills to become law. It still seems a radical notion to ask a lot of those who have so much.

Debunked myths revive themselves. The idea that the rich will move to Key Biscayne if they are not appeased has traction despite the evidence. As the Cornell sociologist Cristobal Young found when he analyzed tax returns from 3.7 million very high earners, filed over 12 years, they largely stay right where they are. Only 2.4 percent of those in his data set moved out of state in any given year. Low-income earners, generally looking for opportunity, were far more likely to migrate.

While editors and architects and others in creative fields may still be decamped in cabins in Maine or Vermont, most major investment houses and real estate firms have had their employees coming to the office for months -- a certain percentage of traders have been back on the floor for a while. This should counter the impression that anyone can work from anywhere -- that a sustained mass exodus from the city is inevitable.

Of all the various laws put forth, the one that seems to have the greatest support would raise income tax rates in increments beginning with individuals making more than $300,000 (or couples making more than $450,000). Currently, the top marginal tax rate in the state is 8.82 percent. Under the Invest in New York Act, the figure would climb to just over 10 percent for those making $2 million a year, for instance. At the maximum end, those bringing in $100 million or more, the rate would extend to 15 percent.

Last month, Governor Cuomo himself floated the notion of graduated hikes to income tax that would require those in the top bracket to pay 10.82 percent. But whether he actually remains loyal to this idea depends on how much relief the federal government ultimately diverts to New York State. The governor has asked for $15 billion. His budget director has argued that should it come through, there would be no need for the tax increases lawmakers are seeking, which is like saying that now that you have been given mittens in the middle of a snowstorm, there's no need to fix the hole in the roof.

The advocates who have been fighting for tax reform are hoping to do more than patch up the economic holes left by a public-health crisis. They want to make up for decades of disinvestment in struggling communities, for years of mollycoddling a population wedded to high-priced ''watercraft.''

''Joe Biden is going to help state and local governments, and that's great, but that money goes away in a year,'' said Mike Kink, the executive director of Strong Economy for All, a coalition of unions and nonprofit groups that have led the charge for a more equitable tax system.

''We've made great progress on cultural issues, on transgender rights, for example. But when it comes to money and resources, that is where you can really make lasting change,'' he said, ''and that is where the rich and powerful put up the biggest, strongest fight.''Email [*bigcity@nytimes.com*](mailto:bigcity@nytimes.com); follow Ginia Bellafante on Twitter: @GiniaNYT

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/26/nyregion/new-york-taxation-billionaires.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/26/nyregion/new-york-taxation-billionaires.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Whether Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo remains loyal to his own notion of graduated increases in income taxes may depend on how much relief the federal government ultimately diverts to New York State. (POOL PHOTO BY SETH WENIG)

**Load-Date:** February 28, 2021

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[***You Call This 'Flexible Work'?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:681D-3C81-JBG3-642Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 16, 2023 Sunday

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**Section:** Section MM; Column 0; Magazine Desk; Pg. 20; THE FUTURE OF WORK

**Length:** 4100 words

**Byline:** By Fred Turner

**Body**

Rush hour, lunch hour, happy hour -- not so long ago, anyone who worked in Lower Manhattan could tell you what time it was. From 7 to 9 in the morning, men and women streamed toward their offices. Between 5 and 7 in the evening, they streamed home again, maybe stopping by a bar on the way. Then the pandemic hit. The office towers emptied out. Work went on, but from living rooms, dining rooms and bedrooms, over the internet. People had worked from home for years, but not on this scale. Before the pandemic, the rhythms of the day, at least for office workers, were mostly unchanged for a hundred years. But now the industrial-era social compact that governed how we experienced the working day for generations is breaking down. The terms of that compact are so familiar to us that we almost never name them: Labor should be measured by time, in hours and days; people should be paid the same amount for the same work; the day should be broken into periods of labor and leisure.

In 1938, Congress passed the Fair Labor Standards Act, requiring that almost all employees be paid a minimum wage per hour, with a 50 percent bonus for overtime after 44 hours in a week. Now updated but still the law of the land, the act formally ratified the division of work time from free time. Until recently, the physical distance between workplace and home helped guarantee these terms. The commute enforced a boundary between professional and personal time that millions observed every day. So, too, did the calendar, dividing days into weekdays for work, weekends for leisure.

Today networked computers are dissolving that division and, with it, the industrial-era time compact. Since computers first became small enough to take home about 50 years ago, and since they became linked to one another in global networks not long after that, a new flexibility has appeared -- and many people love it. Ride-share drivers set their own schedules. Lawyers meet the kids when they come home from school and go back to work after snack time. Call-center operators work when they want and take their calls from the living room. Copywriters, financial analysts and any number of other office workers move out to the country and do their city jobs online. Recent surveys show that most Americans want to continue to work from home at least a few days a week.

This new autonomy comes with potential costs, though. In the 19th century, the home was supposed to provide a refuge from the outside world. But by the early 2000s, its walls had been well and truly breached. Physical distance can no longer keep employers at bay. Everything we do online can be tracked. Bosses can count our keystrokes from a distance and measure the minutes we devote to our jobs. They can also peer into our living rooms, learn a great deal about who we are and use it to alter the terms of our employment. In many quarters, the relationship between time worked and wages paid is changing. And in some, the ideal of equal pay for equal work no longer holds. What's becoming clear is that we need a new compact for a new technological era.

The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 was a capstone, a formal acknowledgment of a widely shared understanding of how labor should be measured. That understanding stretches back more than 200 years to the dawn of the Industrial Revolution. Before the late 18th century, most people worked in or near their homes, on farms or in artisanal workshops or often both. Nature and religion governed their sense of time. Aristocrats and wealthy merchants owned watches and clocks, but for most people, the sun dictated the limits of the working day.

That changed with the arrival of the factory system. In the 1700s, the Industrial Revolution rolled across Britain, as new technologies like the steam engine and the power loom transformed manufacturing. The efficiencies they introduced undercut the ability of home-based workers to compete, especially in industries like weaving. Whole families, suddenly impoverished, found themselves forced to report to factories for work. When they did, they encountered a new management tool: the clock.

Preindustrial workers like servants and farmhands would certainly have understood that, in some sense, they were selling their time. But on the factory floor, bosses watched employees from dawn to dusk, tracking their movements with clocks, time sheets and human timekeepers. One of the earliest such factories, the Crowley Iron Works in England, helped set the model, as the historian E.P. Thompson noted. There the owner employed a human ''monitor'' whose timepiece was law. Workers had to be on the job from 7 a.m. until 10 p.m. daily, with an hour-and-a-half break for meals. The monitor tracked workers' movements and subtracted any time, beyond those 90 minutes, they spent ''being at taverns, alehouses, coffee houses, breakfast, dinner, playing, sleeping, smoking, singing, reading of news history, quarreling, contention, disputes or anything foreign to my business,'' according to the company's official Law Book.

No one could challenge the monitor's account of time, even if he had a watch of his own, which was unlikely. Early factories routinely controlled access to any device that could measure time. One early 19th-century textile-mill worker described working ''as long as we could see in summer, and I could not say at what hour it was we stopped. There was nobody but the master and the master's son who had a watch, and we did not know the time. There was one man who had a watch,'' he continued. ''It was taken from him and given into the master's custody because he had told the men the time of day.''

On the factory floor, time became a tool for the exploitation of workers. But the factory system also helped create a different kind of time, away from the job, time to use any way one liked. By separating the workplace from the home, the factory system caused workers to divide their days into hours that belonged to their employers and hours that belonged to themselves.

Before the rise of the factory system, homes were social, even public places, not private retreats. Parents and their children might share their dwellings with apprentices, servants and distant relatives, and often everyone slept, worked and ate in the same rooms. As the Industrial Revolution took hold, so did new boundaries between the personal and the professional, the private and the public, the male and the female. ''Our men are sufficiently moneymaking,'' Sarah Josepha Hale, editor of Godey's Lady's Book, wrote in 1832. ''Let us keep our women and children from the contagion as long as possible.'' The home was to be the domain of the nuclear family, especially the wife and mother, a place where she would restore the energies of her husband and raise their children to a high moral standard. ''This is the true nature of home -- it is the place of Peace,'' the Victorian philosopher John Ruskin wrote in 1864. ''So far as the anxieties of the outer life penetrate into it ... it ceases to be home.''

Such a view could never be more than a distant ideal for many in the ***working class***, let alone the enslaved populations of the American South. But it circulated through popular magazines across the 19th century and well into the 20th, and it helped set the terms on which workers in England and the United States would fight for the eight-hour day and the five-day week.

That fight began with children. In the early years of industrialization, children routinely worked 12 to 14 hours a day in British mills. In 1830, two decades after England banned the slave trade, the British abolitionist Richard Oastler wrote a letter to a Leeds newspaper comparing child laborers to colonial slaves. ''These innocent creatures drawl out, unpitied, their short but miserable existence, in a place famed for its profession of religious zeal,'' he wrote, a place whose streets ''are every morning wet by the tears of innocent victims at the accursed shrine of avarice.''

Oastler's letter prompted a nationwide campaign for the 10-hour day for working children. That push ultimately helped reduce working hours for adults, in England and in America too. American agitation for the eight-hour day began not long after Oastler's campaign and accelerated rapidly in the wake of the Civil War, behind the slogan ''Eight hours for work, eight hours for rest, eight hours for what we will.'' In 1868, the new National Labor Union won the eight-hour day for employees of the United States government. Four years later, members of some building trades in New York went on a monthslong strike to push for enforcement of those hours, already the law in New York State. In 1886, union organizers called for a nationwide strike on May 1 to win the eight-hour day for everyone. Days later, a bomb, thrown by persons unknown, exploded among police officers who were cracking down on strikers in Chicago's Haymarket Square. The nationwide anti-labor hysteria that followed set the campaign back, but only temporarily.

Even as momentum for the eight-hour day for workers was building, time itself was changing to meet the needs of industry. In 1883, an association of railroad executives replaced myriad local systems for keeping time with the standardized nationwide time zones that we use today. Many were aghast. The Atlanta Constitution railed at ''the utter contempt into which the Sun and the Moon have fallen.'' Many fretted that ''the chopping up of time into rigid periods is an invasion of individual freedom, and makes no allowances for differences in temperament and feeling,'' as the essayist Charles Dudley Warner put it at the time. Machine-time had become universal.

In the early years of the 20th century, as workers continued to win shorter workdays in a variety of industries, many Americans came to believe that the tight control of time on the job could give workers better lives away from it. Frederick W. Taylor, the most famous efficiency expert of the day, tracked individual workers' movements with a stopwatch to establish the standard time a task should take. With that standard in place, he thought, managers would be able to evaluate employee performance and reward more efficient workers with higher wages -- that is, in Taylor's view, pay everyone more fairly -- using time as a metric visible to all.

Workers often suspected that Taylor was trying to use his stopwatch just to squeeze more out of them, and not without reason. But the Ford Motor Company seemed to prove Taylor's point. Ford's automated assembly lines, which synchronized the movements of workers and machines, made it possible for the company to more than double workers' minimum wage to an unheard-of $5 for an eight-hour day in 1914. This pay increase turned Ford's workers into buyers of his cars, as Ford himself liked to point out. And of course, granting workers the ''eight hours for what we will'' long sought by unions allowed Ford to run its factories in three eight-hour shifts 24 hours a day. In 1926, the company was among the first to adopt the five-day, 40-hour workweek, and many others followed suit.

When Congress passed the Fair Labor Standards Act, it turned the principles behind Ford's system into law. Labor would now be measured in time and rewarded with money. Workers and managers would read from the same clock and so jointly enforce the ideal of equal pay for equal work. The day would be divided into time for labor and time for leisure, with a car-assisted commute between the two. The commute itself would help preserve the boundaries between office and home, and by implication, between the nuclear family and the world outside.

This way of dividing time shaped American lives for decades, despite the introduction of a series of new media technologies. At the end of the 19th century, the quiet of the idealized Victorian home was shattered by the ringing of the first telephones. Americans who had once gone to visit one another in person, calling cards in hand, now learned to make phone calls. Doctors who once had to make house calls could be consulted by phone. Within a few decades, Americans could pick up the phone and dial the pharmacist or the florist to place an order. One after another, across the 20th century, the radio, the television and even the lowly fax machine beamed news of distant happenings into living rooms and kitchens. But none of these devices on their own challenged the fundamental separation of personal time and work time. Americans simply learned how to set their clocks to catch their favorite programs and how not to be home when the boss called.

That changed in the early 1980s, when computers became small enough for desktop use and the internet linked them together. Today computers feel as if they've been with us forever. But the earliest all-electronic digital computers appeared less than a single lifetime ago, and until the 1970s, virtually all computers were room-size machines. By the early 1980s, they had become all-purpose appliances. They could handle text like a typewriter and calculations like an adding machine, and they could do it all on screens like those of a television. Inexpensive dial-up modems let home users work online, with their colleagues, in real time, as if they were also sitting in the office. Before too long laptops and smartphones made it possible to work from anywhere, anytime.

The effects of this transformation vary a great deal depending on what you do for a living. The same core technologies that allow a Silicon Valley software developer to move to Colorado and work from a mountain retreat keep Starbucks baristas and home health care workers on tenterhooks. In the industrial era, work schedules had to be set in advance. It was possible to change shifts at the last minute, but an employer might not be able to find the workers he was looking for if they weren't standing by landline phones. Today computers allow companies to monitor market demands in real time and adjust workers' schedules on the fly. Cellphones let bosses reach workers wherever and whenever they like. It has become as easy for supervisors to demand that service workers reschedule their shifts as it has for software developers to decide when and where they write code. It is no longer possible for many Americans to divide their days into periods of labor and leisure with any predictability.

Digital technologies have also extended employers' powers to surveil, which in turn undercuts the ability of workers to ensure that they are being paid fairly. On the 19th-century factory floor, bosses could see everything workers did, but unless they hired private detectives or required workers to live in company-owned towns, their powers of surveillance stopped at the factory gates. Today, when we work at home, our computers make it easy for our bosses to track our keystrokes, control our cameras and tap our microphones. They can also follow us on Facebook and Twitter and put together a picture of our political beliefs, our patterns of association, our sexual proclivities and our propensity to unionize. In contrast, our ability to watch them is radically curtailed, by law and by design. Algorithms are trade secrets. Monitoring software is a one-way mirror that makes it impossible for workers to peer back.

Fights over transparency date back to the timekeeper on the factory floor. What's new today is the scale of the asymmetry. The scattering of work from the open-plan office to the private home has created a world in which the captains of industry can watch us wherever we go and make use of whatever they learn to determine our pay and our career trajectory and whether we stay employed at all. In today's factories, on a Tesla assembly line or at an Amazon warehouse, bosses are taking advantage of these new powers to enforce a time discipline on workers that is as precise and destructive as any that Frederick Taylor could have come up with.

The way these new powers undermine the old time compact can be seen most clearly among piece workers, a category of laborers unmentioned in the original Fair Labor Standards Act. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, manufacturers in industries from cigar rolling to coat making supplied raw materials to individual homes, where they were finished by men, women and children -- many of them recent immigrants. In 1890, the journalist Jacob Riis described walking past tenements in Manhattan's Lower East Side and hearing ''the whir of a thousand sewing machines, worked at high pressure from earliest dawn till mind and muscle give out together.'' Organizers thought piece workers would be hard to unionize because they never came together on a factory floor, and many social reformers believed that piece work in the home was an insult to motherhood and shouldn't be supported at all.

Like cigar makers a hundred years ago, drivers for Uber and Lyft are paid by the piece, in this case the ride. In the past, the shape of the cigar being made determined cigar makers' compensation. Rollers who made the same kinds of cigars made the same amount of money, in keeping with the industrial-era principle of equal pay for equal work. Today, digital technologies are letting firms undercut that principle. Ride-share companies track everything from real-time supply and demand to the work habits of drivers. Because they don't let ride-share drivers know how they use that data to set prices, drivers have no way to know if the ''upfront price'' that Uber or Lyft offers to pay them for a ride is in fact the same price they are offering other drivers.

Computers aren't going anywhere. As they spread the clock-time logic of the factory to places formerly beyond its reach, digital technologies clearly amplify the power of employers, but they also make it possible for many of us to labor and rest in the same rooms, at home, among our friends and relatives, and so reintegrate parts of our lives split apart by the Industrial Revolution. The question is: How can we structure time in ways that balance employers' desires for control and workers' desires for autonomy? And how can we do it in ways that benefit everyone?

When workers fought for the eight-hour day, they weren't just seeking to work less. They wanted to create conditions under which families had time to be together, citizens had time to rally and vote and everyone had time to read, write and flourish. When workers took their watches into the factory, they were seeking to ensure the fair measurement of labor and equal pay for equal work. At bottom, industrial-era fights over how to structure the day and the week were fights over how to give workers more control over their lives and more resources with which to care for one another.

Today workers have to pursue those goals on new technological terms. Cellphones and laptops have made it impossible for many people to wall off eight hours of the day for paid labor and another eight for everything else, and they threaten to return all of us to an era of nonstop, undercompensated labor. But if workers can seize this new flexibility and turn it to their advantage, as 20th-century workers seized the time-clock logic of the factory, it might just transform all of our lives. It could help us tend to our friends, our children, our aging parents. It could make it more convenient, if not necessarily easier, to slip back and forth between our duties to our employers and things we need to do for ourselves and our communities. What we require now is a new set of norms and rules geared to helping all of us enjoy the new flexibility's benefits.

We can start by acknowledging that in a world where many people can work where they like, we will need to measure labor in ways that take better account of location. The notion that hours worked should be the foundation of compensation made sense when everyone worked in the same place and could see the same clock. For many today, those conditions no longer apply. The choice of where and when to work has monetary value, as does control of the power to choose. Imagine a world in which service workers can demand higher wages in return for their flexibility. Today we can already see that for those who can do their jobs anywhere, having to report to an office may constitute an extra financial burden and so require extra compensation. Those who work from their apartments or cars already incur expenses once borne by employers. As more people work outside the office, they should be compensated for those costs, as well as for the tasks they perform.

Workers will also need to understand the algorithms by which employers are measuring their performance. Without that knowledge, there is no way for workers to compare themselves with one another and so enforce the principle of equal pay for equal work. But this is not something workers or even employers can do on their own. The companies who supply the algorithms have little incentive to serve anyone but their corporate clients. Veena Dubal, a professor at the University of California College of the Law, San Francisco, has argued that we must outlaw the practice of letting algorithms offer different workers different pay for the same work based on information to which workers don't have access. This would be an important first step, but in the long run, we will need to find ways to make the terms on which we labor more transparent.

We will also need to find new ways to control the times and places in which workers can be observed. It is now technologically possible for anyone connected to a networked computer with a camera and a microphone to see and hear anyone else connected to such a machine. When employers can follow employees through every part of their lives, usually without their knowledge, they gain the kind of power over workers that the owner of the Crowley Iron Works once had. And when they use that power, they produce the grotesque differences in earnings between workers and owners that we saw in the 18th century and that we see at Amazon and Uber today.

This is not just another call to give users new desktop tools to control their privacy settings, valuable as that may be. As Zephyr Teachout, a law professor at Fordham University, former candidate for governor of New York and longtime analyst of the changing workplace, has argued, the law needs to change. Teachout has written that in an era in which bosses can see a person's whole social-media profile, laws must be put in place to restrict the information on which they are subsequently allowed to base employment decisions. In essence, Teachout hopes to at least restore the balance of the power to surveil one another that characterized the in-person world of the last century.

As Dubal and Teachout suggest, individuals simply can't square off against globe-spanning digital and corporate networks alone. Ride-share drivers and warehouse workers know this and are turning toward a tried-and-true tool from the industrial era: union organizing. The challenges are formidable. Traditionally, worker solidarity required gathering in person. Organizers today face not only intense resistance from employers but also the need to bring together workers who increasingly labor alone. One group of ride-share drivers interviewed by Veena Dubal has created an app they call their ''water cooler'' that allows them to communicate in real time without their employers listening in and so build the kinds of relationships once nurtured on the factory floor. Whether such bottom-up modes of resistance will work and for whom remains an open question.

The way we work is changing by the minute now. As the pandemic taught us, the changes will continue to be disorienting. But if we can figure out how to organize time in the digital era in ways that serve the values of equality and mutual care, we may discover opportunities that those who framed the industrial-era time compact never imagined. We may gain a new freedom to choose where we live -- and how.

Fred Turner is a cultural historian who studies the impact of new media technologies on American life. He is the Harry and Norman Chandler Professor of Communication at Stanford University and a 2022 Guggenheim fellow, as well as, most recently, co-author with Mary Beth Meehan of ''Seeing Silicon Valley.'' Brian Rea is an artist based in Stockholm. His drawings can be seen each week alongside The Times's column ''Modern Love.'' His forthcoming book with Lucienne Brown, ''Fixing Flamingos'' (Chronicle Books), will be published this fall.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/12/magazine/flexible-work-home.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/12/magazine/flexible-work-home.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page MM20, MM21, MM22, MM23, MM24, MM25.

**Load-Date:** April 16, 2023

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[***Is New York Finally Ready to Tax the Rich?; BIG CITY***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6238-D2P1-DXY4-X4B2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1142 words

**Byline:** Ginia Bellafante

**Highlight:** After the pandemic’s economic devastation, legislators are coming around to the idea.

**Body**

After the pandemic’s economic devastation, legislators are coming around to the idea.

This September it will be 10 years since thousands of people descended on Zuccotti Park, in Lower Manhattan, to protest economic inequity — one result of a financial industry left to operate like a fraternity in an unmanned bar.

As a means of consciousness raising, Occupy Wall Street was hugely successful. Suddenly, 16-year-olds were talking with great authority and conviction about the dark consequences of repealing the [*Glass-Steagall Act*](https://fortune.com/2020/11/26/big-tech-banking-glass-steagall-act-financial-crisis/). Political fortunes were buoyed by the popularization of new memes — “We are the 99 percent.” But over the next decade, the [*tax*](https://fortune.com/2020/11/26/big-tech-banking-glass-steagall-act-financial-crisis/) policies that could have brought about a real redistribution of wealth only favored the rich more extravagantly.

The pandemic, as we have seen over and over, has aggravated the existing injustices to a degree that dystopian metaphors have become an addiction. This is especially true in New York, where the exceedingly well-off have spread out into [*$28 million*](https://fortune.com/2020/11/26/big-tech-banking-glass-steagall-act-financial-crisis/)brownstones and newly renovated country houses, while the poor and ***working-class*** have confronted mounting joblessness, hunger and threats of eviction. By August, the [*unemployment rate in the city had quadrupled to 16 percent*](https://fortune.com/2020/11/26/big-tech-banking-glass-steagall-act-financial-crisis/) over the previous year. At the top of a climbing wall in which the only direction is up, billionaires in the state — there are 118 of them — [*watched as their aggregate net worth rose by $45 billion*](https://fortune.com/2020/11/26/big-tech-banking-glass-steagall-act-financial-crisis/) during the first two months of the pandemic.

It has taken this kind of disparity and devastation for political will to coalesce around raising [*taxes*](https://fortune.com/2020/11/26/big-tech-banking-glass-steagall-act-financial-crisis/) on the [*wealthiest New Yorkers*](https://fortune.com/2020/11/26/big-tech-banking-glass-steagall-act-financial-crisis/). Despite a looming budget deficit years in the making, advocates who had long fought for tax reform had consistently met resistance. Despite New York’s relatively high income-tax rate, policies have found creative ways to favor the wealthy. In 2015, for example, the state’s budget offered a [*tax break for anyone buying “watercraft’’ valued at more than $230,000*](https://fortune.com/2020/11/26/big-tech-banking-glass-steagall-act-financial-crisis/).

The Assembly speaker, Carl E. Heastie, a Bronx Democrat, defended what quickly became known as the yacht credit: “Florida has better weather than us,” he suggested, “so people go and park their boats down there all year round.”

Such was the context of governance that made the first sparks of a revolution unlikely. Yet only a few months into the Covid crisis, a longtime Republican state senator, Phil Boyle, found himself co-sponsoring a bill that would raise taxes on the state’s highest earners. Not once in his 25 years as a legislator had Mr. Boyle supported a tax increase. But it was better to extract more from the wealthiest, he determined, than to raise property taxes on the ***working-class*** voters in his Long Island district who were already facing so many setbacks.

That bill, along with five others, is part of the proposed [*Invest in Our New York Act,*](https://fortune.com/2020/11/26/big-tech-banking-glass-steagall-act-financial-crisis/)which seeks to raise $50 billion a year for affordable housing, education, health care and other resources through a series of changes to the tax code focused entirely on demanding more from the penthouse class. The bills include plans to tax capital gains more aggressively (treating investment income as wage income), to lower the floor at which inheritance is taxed (to $250,000) and to restore taxes on corporate profit.

Nearly half of the revenue raised during the first year of enactment would come from an additional tax on the assets of billionaires — a change that in itself would require an amendment to the state’s constitution.

Even in this climate of excessive hardship, and even with a Democratic supermajority in the State Legislature, few expect all of these bills to become law. It still seems a radical notion to ask a lot of those who have so much.

Debunked myths revive themselves. The idea that the rich will move to Key Biscayne if they are not appeased has traction despite the evidence. As the Cornell sociologist Cristobal Young found [*when he analyzed tax returns from 3.7 million very high earners*](https://fortune.com/2020/11/26/big-tech-banking-glass-steagall-act-financial-crisis/), filed over 12 years, they largely stay right where they are. Only 2.4 percent of those in his data set moved out of state in any given year. Low-income earners, generally looking for opportunity, were far more likely to migrate.

While editors and architects and others in creative fields may still be decamped in cabins in Maine or Vermont, most major investment houses and real estate firms have had their employees coming to the office for months — a certain percentage of traders have been back on the floor for a while. This should counter the impression that anyone can work from anywhere — that a sustained mass exodus from the city is inevitable.

Of all the various laws put forth, the one that seems to have the greatest support would raise income tax rates in increments beginning with individuals making more than $300,000 (or couples making more than $450,000). Currently, the top marginal tax rate in the state is 8.82 percent. Under the Invest in New York Act, the figure would climb to just over 10 percent for those making $2 million a year, for instance. At the maximum end, those bringing in $100 million or more, the rate would extend to 15 percent.

Last month, [*Governor Cuomo*](https://fortune.com/2020/11/26/big-tech-banking-glass-steagall-act-financial-crisis/) himself floated the notion of graduated hikes to income tax that would require those in the top bracket to pay 10.82 percent. But whether he actually remains loyal to this idea depends on how much relief the federal government ultimately diverts to New York State. The governor has asked for $15 billion. His budget director has argued that should it come through, there would be no need for the tax increases lawmakers are seeking, which is like saying that now that you have been given mittens in the middle of a snowstorm, there’s no need to fix the hole in the roof.

The advocates who have been fighting for tax reform are hoping to do more than patch up the economic holes left by a public-health crisis. They want to make up for decades of disinvestment in struggling communities, for years of mollycoddling a population wedded to high-priced “watercraft.”

“Joe Biden is going to help state and local governments, and that’s great, but that money goes away in a year,” said Mike Kink, the executive director of Strong Economy for All, a coalition of unions and nonprofit groups that have led the charge for a more equitable tax system.

“We’ve made great progress on cultural issues, on transgender rights, for example. But when it comes to money and resources, that is where you can really make lasting change,’’ he said, “and that is where the rich and powerful put up the biggest, strongest fight.”

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PHOTO: Whether Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo remains loyal to his own notion of graduated increases in income taxes may depend on how much relief the federal government ultimately diverts to New York State. (POOL PHOTO BY SETH WENIG)

**Load-Date:** June 8, 2021

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[***Vote Underlines Need For Unifying Strategy To Bind U.K.'s Labour***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62N8-33S1-JBG3-630H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 12, 2021 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 10

**Length:** 1324 words

**Byline:** By Stephen Castle and Mark Landler

**Body**

The party leader, Keir Starmer, was seen as scapegoating a key aide, causing more turmoil in an already divided party after a disappointing performance in local elections.

LONDON -- Sober, cerebral and with the poise of the top-shelf lawyer he once was, Keir Starmer promised competence rather than charisma when he became leader of Britain's opposition Labour Party last year, following its crushing general election defeat in 2019.

But his panicky response to last week's poor local election results and a clumsy reshuffle of his top team have left his party in turmoil, diminishing his authority and raising doubts about whether Labour has a credible path back to power.

Mr. Starmer found himself embroiled in fierce recriminations over local election results that, with smoother communication, could have been explained away as disappointing, but instead pointed to a deeper crisis.

''The one thing Keir Starmer was supposed to be was competent,'' said Steven Fielding, a professor of political history at the University of Nottingham. ''The election results were not good, but they weren't as bad as some people liked to present them. He completely messed up his reaction, and that highlights concerns about his ability to communicate.''

Behind the latest setback lie profound structural changes in British politics, with Prime Minister Boris Johnson making deep inroads into former Labour heartlands in ***working-class*** districts with a mixture of populist pro-Brexit politics and promises to bring jobs and prosperity.

Jonathan Powell, who served as chief of staff to Tony Blair, Labour's last election-winning prime minister, believes that critics are ''massively over-interpreting'' the local election results, adding: ''The number of times I've read about the end of the Labour Party is legion.''

However, he said, the Conservatives, under Mr. Johnson, have effectively fused left-wing economic policy with a right-wing appeal on cultural issues. The Labour Party, deprived of its traditional appeal to so-called ''red wall'' voters in the north and middle of the country on economic issues, now relies on liberals in ethnically diverse metropolitan areas, like London and Manchester.

That is too small a base to win a national election, he said, and squaring those voters with Labour's vanishing ''red wall'' constituency will be difficult.

''Labour is trying to hold together university-educated liberal voters with the old Labour party voters that they've lost to the Tories,'' Mr. Powell said. ''They can't stand on two horses going in different directions at the same time.''

The scale of the challenge became clear last Friday when Labour lost a parliamentary by-election in Hartlepool, an economically struggling port town in the northeast of England. Labour had expected a defeat in this staunchly pro-Brexit region, because the seat would have been lost in the 2019 election had the Brexit Party not contested it and taken votes away from Mr. Johnson's Tories.

But Labour recorded a lower vote than in 2019 and, grim faced, Mr. Starmer refused to comment as he left his London home on Friday morning. When he did surface later he gave an unconvincing, at times almost robotic, interview that took responsibility for the result but provided no detail on changes.

The following day, just as a set of better results for Labour were being announced, news leaked out that Mr. Starmer was stripping his deputy, Angela Rayner, of key responsibilities.

With an impressive personal story of succeeding against the odds, Ms. Rayner, who has said she left school at 16 while pregnant and with no qualifications, is not only a popular figure in the Labour Party but comes from the sort of community with which the party is trying to reconnect. So the backlash was swift and ferocious.

''The scapegoat sacking of Angie Rayner contradicted everything Keir Starmer said only 48 hours ago about taking personal responsibility for election defeats and his promise a year ago that he would unite the party,'' John McDonnell, the party's former spokesman on the economy under its last leader, Jeremy Corbyn, said on Twitter.

Some on the center and right of the Labour Party were unimpressed, too, including the newly re-elected mayor of Manchester, Andy Burnham. By late Sunday, Mr. Starmer had to beat an embarrassing retreat, ending up giving Ms. Rayner even more responsibilities, albeit away from campaigning.

The humiliation seemed to encapsulate the disorientation of a Labour Party struggling to adapt to a world in which Mr. Johnson has stolen not only many of its traditional voters, but also some of its redistributive, high-spending, political agenda.

Unlike predecessors who presided over austerity, Mr. Johnson is promising to ''level up'' and bring jobs and prosperity to voters who feel ignored in the ''red wall'' area that was once Labour's electoral citadel.

To many that may have sounded all the more attractive in the absence of a compelling message from Mr. Starmer, a former director of public prosecutions who often sounds as if he would be more at home in a courtroom than on a political stage.

Following the 2019 general election defeat -- Labour's worst since 1935 -- Mr. Starmer's short-term strategy was to concentrate less on policy and more on detoxifying the party brand after its electoral disaster under his left-wing predecessor, Mr. Corbyn.

Mr. Starmer has embraced the Jewish community, in contrast to Mr. Corbyn, whose leadership was dogged by allegations of anti-Semitism. Though he presents himself as a patriot, Mr. Starmer studiously avoids the culture-war issues that Mr. Johnson exploits, such as what to do with statues commemorating contested chapters in Britain's history.

Given that voters rarely care much about the policy platform of opposition parties until a general election is close, that looked like a sensible approach.

Yet while he should not have been expected to roll out a detailed policy agenda just 16 months after a general election, Mr. Powell said, Mr. Starmer ''has to convince people he has a cause.'' Mr. Blair did that effectively in the 1990s when he rebranded the party ''New Labour,'' embracing the free market and the European Union.

Perhaps that did not seem urgent for Mr. Starmer, because voters normally use local elections and by-elections like those held last week to punish governments. His main campaign theme was to highlight claims that Mr. Johnson broke electoral rules over the financing of a pricey refurbishment of his apartment.

But Britons apparently ignored those goings on in Westminster, and with the country now emerging from Covid-19 restrictions seemed to reward politicians who controlled health policies. The ruling Scottish National Party in Scotland performed strongly, as did the governing Labour Party in Wales.

In England, Mr. Johnson was forgiven for his chaotic early handling of the pandemic and rewarded for the country's highly successful vaccination roll out.

Not all is lost for Mr. Starmer, particularly when the entirety of last week's results are taken into account. According to a BBC analysis projecting the local voting into a national vote share, Labour was seven points behind the Conservatives, hardly a good result but progress on the 12-point deficit recorded in the 2019 general election.

With no credible challenger waiting in the wings, Mr. Starmer is unlikely to face any immediate threat to his leadership. Nonetheless, the speed with which critics attacked his reshuffle raises pressure on Mr. Starmer to at least identify a message that can appeal to two very different groups of Britons -- the old ***working-class*** stalwarts and the more youthful, liberal and better educated city dwellers.

''Under Starmer it has been two steps forward and one step back,'' said Mr. Fielding, ''and he hasn't addressed the problem of how you win back the 'red wall' without losing metropolitan liberal voters.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/10/world/europe/uk-labour-starmer-election.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/10/world/europe/uk-labour-starmer-election.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Keir Starmer, the Labour leader, is struggling to shore up support within a diverging voter base. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TOM NICHOLSON/REUTERS)

**Load-Date:** May 12, 2021

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[***Biden Wants No Part of the Culture War the G.O.P. Loves***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6279-NY11-DXY4-X03K-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 17, 2021 Wednesday 16:32 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 2713 words

**Byline:** Thomas B. Edsall

**Highlight:** The generosity of his $1.9 trillion relief bill has the added benefit of shifting attention where he wants it.

**Body**

The Biden administration appears to have adopted a two-pronged strategy to reduce the corrosive impact of hot-button social, cultural and racial issues: first by inundating the electorate with a flood of cash via the $1.9 trillion [*Covid relief act*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text) and second by refusing to engage fractious issues in public, calculating that deprived of oxygen, their strength will fade.

The [*sheer magnitude*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text) of the funds released by the American Rescue Plan, the White House is gambling, will shift voters’ attention away from controversies over [*Dr. Seuss*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text), who can use which [*bathroom*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text) and [*critical race theory*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text). So far, the strategy is working.

Biden has a favorability rating of 52.9 to 41.9, according to the [*Real Clear Politics*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text) average of the seven most recent surveys, and a [*Pew Research*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text) poll the first week of March found that a decisive majority of voters, at 70-28 percent, have a positive opinion of the Covid stimulus bill.

According to a rundown by the [*Center for American Progress*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text) of the bill’s exceptionally generous provisions, the bill will [*cut child poverty in half*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text), and a middle-income family of four with one child under age 6 and one child age 6 or older will receive $8,200 at minimum.

Another example from the center’s calculations: A family of four, with the same age breakdown, earning $75,000 and spending $5,000 on child care, will receive the $8,200, plus a $1,500 child and dependent care tax credit, for a total benefit of $9,700.

This kind of money will focus attention where the Biden administration wants it.

Crucially, the benefits are universal and, in some cases, families making as much as $150,000 annually will qualify for substantial payments and tax credits.

In addition, a plurality of the beneficiaries will be white. Of the 39.4 million people at or below poverty in 2019 who qualify for the largest benefits, 17.3 million were white, 8.2 million were Black and 10.2 million were Hispanic, according to the [*Kaiser Family Foundation.*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text)

The second prong of Biden’s strategy is to lower the volume on culture war issues by refusing to engage — on the theory that in politics, silence saps attention — exemplified by the president’s two-month-long refusal to hold a news conference in which the press, rather than the chief executive, determines what gets talked about.

The strategy of diverting attention from incendiary social issues is spreading.

“Taking their cues from a new president who steadfastly refuses to engage with or react to cultural provocations,” Democratic officeholders “have mostly kept their heads down and focused on passing legislation,” The Week’s Damon Linker wrote in “[*Will the G.O.P.’s culture war gambit blow up in its face?*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text)”

That raises the possibility, Linker continued, that:

while Republicans are busy trying to bait Democrats on culture war issues, those Democrats end up winning public opinion in a big way by refusing to play along, changing the subject, and actually making the lives of most Americans concretely better.

[*Stanley Feldman*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text), a political scientist at Stony Brook University, noted in an email that he thinks that:

Biden understands that it’s to the Democrats’ advantage to lower the volume on the culture wars. The Covid rescue bill is a clear attempt to change political discourse back to economic issues and to provide broad-based, tangible assistance to a large part of the public. Biden signs executive orders on gender but there’s little discussion of this.

Biden’s approach, Feldman continued, “is clearly putting many conservatives in a difficult position as they try to counter with stories about Dr. Seuss and [*Mr. Potato Head*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text).”

[*Stanley Greenberg*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text), a Democratic pollster with decades of experience in federal and state elections, is optimistic about Biden’s current prospects, but he warned that the administration will have to [*gain control of immigration*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text): “The border matters,” he said, “and Republicans will use images from the border to sear into people’s consciousness. It is very important that they” — the Democrats — “are soon seen to be managing the border and immigration.”

Biden and other Democrats, in Greenberg’s view, should “ignore cancel culture attacks” while making the case “that Democrats are fighting and delivering for the ***working class*** and it is Democrats you can trust to have a strong economy.”

Biden himself appears willing to tackle the potential political fallout the recent increase in migration might cause. In [*an interview*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text) on Tuesday with ABC News, Biden described his message to potential migrants as, “I can say quite clearly: Don’t come over,” before adding, “Don’t leave your town or city or community.” [*Pew Research*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text) reported on March 15 that “The U.S. Border Patrol apprehended nearly 100,000 migrants at the U.S.-Mexico border in February, the 10th consecutive month of increased apprehensions.” Earlier this week, the Biden administration [*directed*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text) the Federal Emergency Management Agency to help with managing the surge of unaccompanied minors at the border.

[*Celinda Lake*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text), president of Lake Research Partners, a Democratic firm, is less worried about the ability of Republicans to once again raise immigration as a wedge issue.

“Immigration is way down on voters’ list of concerns,” she said. “With Covid and the economy voters don’t think that immigration is a serious concern.”

In the case of growing fears of a surge of immigrants seeking entry on the border with Mexico, Lake continued:

There is not a crisis. There is a problem that has emerged because of mismanagement and uniquely flawed policies under Trump. What is needed is a road map to citizenship and reasonable, workable policies with leadership that returns to American values and workable policies.

Because of this, Lake argued:

the most important strategy for Democrats is keep focused on vaccines, jobs, wages and small businesses. Voters will measure success by how much their families and communities are helped. Voters will ask in 2022 what did Democrats deliver.

[*Steven Pinker*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text), a professor of psychology at Harvard, argues that liberals and Democrats should take a more aggressive strategy to counter expected Republican attacks in the 2022 and 2024 elections. His focus is less on politicians than on the activities of liberals generally.

If you seek to lessen the intensity of the culture wars, the question, Pinker contends, “is how to climb back down.”

Taking a lesson, interestingly, from nuclear arms control, Pinker cites a tactic “called GRIT: Graduated Reciprocation in Tension-Reduction,” in which:

one side makes a small unilateral concession with a public invitation that it be reciprocated. Some concession on one side — admitting that the other side may have a point, or that they be mistaken but not evil, could set off a virtuous circle.

In effect, Pinker is proposing that liberals and Democrats take the initiative to neutralize what [*Lilliana Mason*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text), a political scientist at the University of Maryland, describes as the damage resulting from the declining number of people holding “crosscutting” stands on key issues.

In her 2016 paper “[*A Cross-Cutting Calm*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text): How Social Sorting Drives Affective Polarization,” Mason explains that:

As long as the social divisions in society are crosscutting, partisans of opposing parties are still able to generally get along. However, once these cleavages begin to align along a single dimension, partisan conflict is expected to increase substantially. The crosscutting divisions work to moderate political rancor.

In other words, when significant numbers of voters and elected officials hold what in our contemporary alignment are ideologically contradictory views — pro-abortion rights and anti-affirmative action, for example, or pro-immigration and anti-gay marriage — the less they see the opposition party as an enemy. Conversely, as voters and politicians “sort” into ideologically consistent camps (anti-tax, anti-abortion, anti-welfare, anti-affirmative action, antisocial spending, pro-defense, anti-immigration, on one side), the more they will see the opposition as their enemy and refuse to cooperate with or even tolerate them.

Mason cited a study that followed the same voters in the 1990s and:

found that those individuals whose level of partisan-ideological sorting had increased during the course of the panel were far angrier after sorting than they had been before sorting.

Put another way, Mason writes:

When a single person went through a process of aligning their partisan and ideological identities, they came out the other end angrier than they entered, but no more policy extreme.

[*Shanto Iyengar*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text), a political scientist at Stanford, writing with four colleagues, described the process by which partisan hostility escalates in a 2019 paper, “[*The Origins and Consequences of Affective Polarization in the United States*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text).”

“Several features of the contemporary environment have exacerbated partisans’ proclivity to divide the world into a liked in-group (one’s own party) and a disliked out-group (the opposing party),” Iyengar et al. write:

As partisan and ideological identities became increasingly aligned, other salient social identities, including race and religion, also converged with partisanship. White evangelicals, for instance, are Overwhelmingly Republican today, and African Americans overwhelmingly identify as Democrats. This decline of crosscutting identities is at the root of affective polarization.

The focus of the Biden administration on economic issues is, in part, a strategy to apply crosscutting pressures on white ***working-class*** voters who have moved to the Republican Party.

While culturally conservative, many of these voters remain [*liberal on economic policy*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text), suggesting that a Democrat who lowers the temperature on cultural issues while stressing an expansion of economic benefits could make inroads with this constituency. Even small inroads would provide huge political dividends.

In this context, one of the things Biden has going for him is the likelihood of strong economic growth in the near future. Neil Irwin reported in The Times on March 13, in “[*17 Reasons to Let the Economic Optimism Begin*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text)”:

Things are also primed for a boom time in the executive suite. C.E.O. confidence is at a 17-year high, and near-record stock market valuations imply that companies have access to very cheap capital …. Crises spur innovation.

Ben Casselman, [*writing*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text) on Feb. 21 in The Times, was decidedly optimistic:

Economists have begun to talk of something stronger: a supercharged rebound that brings down unemployment, drives up wages and may foster years of stronger growth.

The steady diminution of Donald Trump’s presence is a godsend for Biden (and not just Biden). As [*Politico reported*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text) on March 14, “Trump was supposed to be a political Godzilla in exile. Instead, he’s adrift.”

[*Robert D. Putnam*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text), a professor of public policy at Harvard and the author of “[*The Upswing*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text): How America Came Together a Century Ago and How We Can Do It Again,” argues that the “curve is ripe for change in the United States.”

In an [*interview with Salon*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text), Putnam observed that the Biden administration:

is proving to be just what the doctor ordered for a shaken country, focused explicitly on “we,” not “I.” It’s not just Biden’s well-known empathy for people in pain, nor his equally well-known propensity to work across the aisle, but also his ability to adapt to changed political circumstances.

His 36 years in the Senate and eight years as vice president have given Biden and his inner circle — Steve Ricchetti, Mike Donilon, Ron Klain, Valerie Biden Owens, Bruce Reed, Anita Dunn, Bob Bauer, Ted Kaufman, Gene Sperling and others — an ingrained familiarity with the rhythms of the legislative process.

While Biden “tried to work with Republicans on the Hill — and polls show that the public believes he was sincere in that effort — he also proved able to act on his own when the GOP party leaders blew him off,” Putnam told Salon. “His rising poll numbers show that he’s got most of the public, including many Republican voters, on his side.”

It would clearly be to Biden’s advantage to lessen polarization. As Stanley Feldman of Stony Brook put it by email:

Right now, polarization is helping the Republican Party. Their traditional base of older, white, Christian voters is slowly shrinking. Portraying liberals and Democrats as a threat to people’s values or even as evil provides a way of attracting voters on cultural issues who might otherwise consider voting Democratic for economic reasons.

[*Francis Fukuyama*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text), a senior fellow at Stanford University’s Freeman Spogli Institute, describes how embedded polarization has become in his 2018 Journal of Politics essay “[*30 Years of World Politics: What Has Changed?*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text)” Fukuyama writes:

In the twentieth century, politics was characterized by an ideological divide between a left and a right defined largely in economic terms, with the former demanding greater socioeconomic equality and a redistributive state, while the latter favored individual freedom and strong economic growth.

Now, he continues, “the axis is shifting toward a politics based on identity,” a shift based on “the feelings of humans that they possess an inner worth or dignity which the society around them is failing to recognize.” This process has, in turn, “led to a reordering of left and right in the developed democracies.”

In the last century, Fukuyama writes, the left “promoted the interests of the broad ***working class***” while the left today “is more likely to champion specific identity groups such as racial minorities, immigrants, women, people with disabilities, sexual minorities, Indigenous peoples, and so forth.”

As parties of the left “drift away from the old ***working class***,” members of that class have moved “toward newer populist forces.”

A parallel process has been taking place on the right, Fukuyama writes, where traditional support of free markets and individual rights is being displaced by an ethos:

that emphasizes a traditional kind of ethnically based national identity and by worries that ‘our country’ is being taken over by a cabal of immigrants, foreign competitors, and elites who are complicit in the theft.”

Fukuyama makes an important point:

Social media are perfectly suited to facilitate this decomposition of society. They permit like-minded individuals to find one another, not just in their own nations but around the world, while simultaneously shutting out criticism and disagreement. On the left, sexual politics and ‘intersectionality’ have led to the proliferation of distinct and sometimes mutually hostile identities, while on the right we have discovered the existence of communities such as ‘incels’ (involuntarily celibate males) and of new vocabularies and symbols by which white nationalists can identify one another.

Fukuyama summarizes his conclusion:

Today, there are two opposite trends in the world: The first is social fragmentation and its concomitant, the decline of the authority of mediating institutions, primarily in established democracies. The second is the rise of new centralized hierarchies in authoritarian states.

For legitimate democracies to survive, he continues, will require “rebuilding the legitimate authority of the institutions of liberal democracy, while resisting those powers that aspire to make nondemocratic institutions central.”

The Biden administration is clearly intent on initiating this rebuilding project. A few lines in [*Biden’s Inaugural Address*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text) that were mostly passed over at the time seem to have grown in significance and may grow more still: “Much to repair. Much to restore. Much to heal. Much to build.”

For the moment, Biden has achieved respite from the chaos of the Trump years. The enactment of the American Rescue Plan was a major first step in the implementation of the Biden agenda. But the hurdles Fukuyama and others cite, and the persistence of a still powerful Republican Party — riddled with pathologies, [*determined to draw blood*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text) — suggest that the road ahead will be rough.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text). And here&#39;s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1319/text).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Doug Mills/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 17, 2021

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[***U.K.’s Labour Party Reels After Panicked Response to Election Loss***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62MW-MG41-DXY4-X2H2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 10, 2021 Monday 23:42 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1332 words

**Byline:** Stephen Castle and Mark Landler

**Highlight:** The party leader, Keir Starmer, was seen as scapegoating a key aide, causing more turmoil in an already divided party after a disappointing performance in local elections.

**Body**

The party leader, Keir Starmer, was seen as scapegoating a key aide, causing more turmoil in an already divided party after a disappointing performance in local elections.

LONDON — Sober, cerebral and with [*the poise of the top-shelf lawyer he once was, Keir Starmer*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/04/world/europe/labour-party-keir-starmer.html) promised competence rather than charisma when he became leader of Britain’s opposition Labour Party last year, following its crushing general election defeat in 2019.

But his panicky response to [*last week’s poor local election results*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/04/world/europe/labour-party-keir-starmer.html) and a clumsy reshuffle of his top team have left his party in turmoil, diminishing his authority and raising doubts about whether Labour has a credible path back to power.

Mr. Starmer found himself embroiled in fierce recriminations over local election results that, with smoother communication, could have been explained away as disappointing, but instead pointed to a deeper crisis.

“The one thing Keir Starmer was supposed to be was competent,” said Steven Fielding, a professor of political history at the University of Nottingham. “The election results were not good, but they weren’t as bad as some people liked to present them. He completely messed up his reaction, and that highlights concerns about his ability to communicate.”

Behind the latest setback lie profound structural changes in British politics, with Prime Minister Boris Johnson making deep inroads into former Labour heartlands in ***working-class*** districts with a mixture of populist pro-Brexit politics and promises to bring jobs and prosperity.

Jonathan Powell, who served as chief of staff to Tony Blair, Labour’s last election-winning prime minister, believes that critics are “massively over-interpreting” the local election results, adding: “The number of times I’ve read about the end of the Labour Party is legion.”

However, he said, the Conservatives, under Mr. Johnson, have effectively fused left-wing economic policy with a right-wing appeal on cultural issues. The Labour Party, deprived of its traditional appeal to so-called “red wall” voters in the north and middle of the country on economic issues, now relies on liberals in ethnically diverse metropolitan areas, like London and Manchester.

That is too small a base to win a national election, he said, and squaring those voters with Labour’s vanishing “red wall” constituency will be difficult.

“Labour is trying to hold together university-educated liberal voters with the old Labour party voters that they’ve lost to the Tories,” Mr. Powell said. “They can’t stand on two horses going in different directions at the same time.”

The scale of the challenge became clear last Friday when Labour lost a parliamentary by-election in Hartlepool, an economically struggling port town in the northeast of England. Labour had expected a defeat in this staunchly pro-Brexit region, because the seat would have been lost in the 2019 election had the Brexit Party not contested it and taken votes away from Mr. Johnson’s Tories.

But Labour recorded a lower vote than in 2019 and, grim faced, Mr. Starmer refused to comment as he left his London home on Friday morning. When he did surface later he gave an unconvincing, at times almost robotic, interview that took responsibility for the result but provided no detail on changes.

The following day, just as a set of better results for Labour were being announced, news leaked out that Mr. Starmer was stripping his deputy, Angela Rayner, of key responsibilities.

With an impressive personal story of succeeding against the odds, Ms. Rayner, who has said she left school at 16 while pregnant and with no qualifications, is not only a popular figure in the Labour Party but comes from the sort of community with which the party is trying to reconnect. So the backlash was swift and ferocious.

“The scapegoat sacking of Angie Rayner contradicted everything Keir Starmer said only 48 hours ago about taking personal responsibility for election defeats and his promise a year ago that he would unite the party,” John McDonnell, the party’s former spokesman on the economy [*under its last leader, Jeremy Corbyn*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/04/world/europe/labour-party-keir-starmer.html), said on Twitter.

Some on the center and right of the Labour Party were unimpressed, too, including the newly re-elected mayor of Manchester, Andy Burnham. By late Sunday, Mr. Starmer had to beat an embarrassing retreat, ending up giving Ms. Rayner even more responsibilities, albeit away from campaigning.

The humiliation seemed to encapsulate the disorientation of a Labour Party struggling to adapt to a world in which Mr. Johnson has stolen not only many of its traditional voters, but also some of its redistributive, high-spending, political agenda.

Unlike predecessors who presided over austerity, Mr. Johnson is promising to “level up” and bring jobs and prosperity to voters who feel ignored in the “red wall” area that was once Labour’s electoral citadel.

To many that may have sounded all the more attractive in the absence of a compelling message from Mr. Starmer, a former director of public prosecutions who often sounds as if he would be more at home in a courtroom than on a political stage.

Following the 2019 general election defeat — Labour’s worst since 1935 — Mr. Starmer’s short-term strategy was to concentrate less on policy and more on detoxifying the party brand after its electoral disaster under his left-wing predecessor, Mr. Corbyn.

Mr. Starmer has embraced the Jewish community, in contrast to Mr. Corbyn, whose leadership was dogged by allegations of anti-Semitism. Though he presents himself as a patriot, Mr. Starmer studiously avoids the culture-war issues that Mr. Johnson exploits, such as what to do with statues commemorating contested chapters in Britain’s history.

Given that voters rarely care much about the policy platform of opposition parties until a general election is close, that looked like a sensible approach.

Yet while he should not have been expected to roll out a detailed policy agenda just 16 months after a general election, Mr. Powell said, Mr. Starmer “has to convince people he has a cause.” Mr. Blair did that effectively in the 1990s when he rebranded the party “New Labour,” embracing the free market and the European Union.

Perhaps that did not seem urgent for Mr. Starmer, because voters normally use local elections and by-elections like those held last week to punish governments. His main campaign theme was to highlight [*claims that Mr. Johnson broke electoral rules over the financing of a pricey refurbishment of his apartment*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/04/world/europe/labour-party-keir-starmer.html).

But Britons apparently ignored those goings on in Westminster, and with the country now emerging from Covid-19 restrictions seemed to reward politicians who controlled health policies. The ruling Scottish National Party in Scotland performed strongly, as did the governing Labour Party in Wales.

In England, Mr. Johnson was forgiven for his chaotic early handling of the pandemic and rewarded for the country’s highly successful vaccination roll out.

Not all is lost for Mr. Starmer, particularly when the entirety of last week’s results are taken into account. According to a BBC analysis projecting the local voting into a national vote share, Labour was seven points behind the Conservatives, hardly a good result but progress on the 12-point deficit recorded in the 2019 general election.

With no credible challenger waiting in the wings, Mr. Starmer is unlikely to face any immediate threat to his leadership. Nonetheless, the speed with which critics attacked his reshuffle raises pressure on Mr. Starmer to at least identify a message that can appeal to two very different groups of Britons — the old ***working-class*** stalwarts and the more youthful, liberal and better educated city dwellers.

“Under Starmer it has been two steps forward and one step back,” said Mr. Fielding, “and he hasn’t addressed the problem of how you win back the ‘red wall’ without losing metropolitan liberal voters.”

PHOTO: Keir Starmer, the Labour leader, is struggling to shore up support within a diverging voter base. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TOM NICHOLSON/REUTERS)

**Load-Date:** May 11, 2021

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[***The Fight Over the Future of the Democratic Party; nonfiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60BW-V8R1-JBG3-63J5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 14, 2020 Tuesday 14:59 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 1476 words

**Byline:** James Traub

**Highlight:** Thomas Frank’s “The People, No” and Gene Sperling’s “Economic Dignity” offer differing prescriptions for America’s liberals.

**Body**

THE PEOPLE, NO

A Brief History of Anti-Populism

By Thomas Frank

ECONOMIC DIGNITY

By [*Gene Sperling*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/15/us/politics/gene-sperling-stimulus-plan.html)

Is the central truth of the 2016 election that Donald Trump won by capitalizing on the racism, xenophobia and fear of cultural displacement of older white voters? Or is it that he saw more clearly than others the frustration and anxiety of those who had been left behind in a globalized, winner-take-all economy? Democrats have not arrived at a clear answer, which is why the last two candidates left standing in the primaries were Joe Biden, who promised to restore the status quo ante, and Bernie Sanders, who promised to overthrow the forces that oppressed and immiserated American workers.

Biden may have won the nomination but he did not win the battle of ideas. According to Sanders, the centrists who have dominated the Democratic Party for the last generation have sold out the party’s base — and the ***working-class*** whites who became Trump’s base — to the forces of reaction. In “The People, No,” the historian Thomas Frank, very much in the Sanders camp, traces that story yet further back, to the first popular cries against the dominion of Wall Street. Frank describes an indigenous radical tradition that descends from Jefferson and Paine and stretches forward to Franklin Roosevelt and Martin Luther King Jr. He insists that the proper name for that tradition derives from the agrarian radicals of the late 19th century who form the core of his narrative: populism.

Why does it matter what we call it? Because, Frank says, the rise of Donald Trump, and of figures like Viktor Orban in Hungary and Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil, has turned “populism” into a scare word. In a raft of books written since 2016 (including my own, “What Was Liberalism?”), populism has come to be understood not as an ideology of the left (or the right), but rather as a means of marshaling an imagined “people” against “others,” whether political opponents, racial or ethnic minorities or elites. The “core claim of populism,” as the political scientist Jan-Werner Müller writes, is that “only some of the people are really the people.” Populism is a kind of heresy of democracy.

Those are fighting words for Frank, who championed the populists in a well-known earlier book, [*“What’s the Matter With Kansas?”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/15/us/politics/gene-sperling-stimulus-plan.html) He regards “antipopulism” as itself an ideology, one that “always serves as a tool for justifying unaccountable power.” In the most compelling passages of “The People, No,” Frank unearths the populists from the rubble piled atop them by historians like [*Richard Hofstadter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/15/us/politics/gene-sperling-stimulus-plan.html), who used the movement as evidence not of native radicalism but of native paranoia and protofascism. In fact, Frank writes, the populists were not reactionaries, protectionists, obscurantists, xenophobes or racists. He quotes [*the Georgia populist Tom Watson*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/15/us/politics/gene-sperling-stimulus-plan.html) addressing Black and white farmers: “You are kept apart that you may be separately fleeced of your earnings.” In sickening detail, Frank describes the ruthless assault that Republicans launched against this threat to white hegemony and free-market ideology in the 1896 presidential election.

But there’s a problem with this narrative: Watson would later go on to help refound the Ku Klux Klan, though you won’t learn about that here. Frank mentions “the South Carolina demagogue Ben Tillman” without noting that only a few years earlier, Pitchfork Ben had stood high in the populist pantheon. He writes glowingly of William Jennings Bryan, the Democrat whom the Populist Party endorsed for president in 1896, but does not remind the reader that Bryan ended his career ranting about the evils of modern science in the [*Scopes monkey trial*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/15/us/politics/gene-sperling-stimulus-plan.html). Demagogy may not have been the populists’ “true” nature; their heroism, and tragedy, were real. But how, given this history, can one wholly dismiss the kinship between the populists and the followers of Orban and Trump? Is it really a sign of elitism and hostility to democracy to regard invocations of “the people,” whether by right-wing nationalists or left-wing activists, as dangerous invitations to exclude the not-people?

Frank’s purpose here is explicitly polemical: He wants to realign history in order to force us to reimagine the present. The great cleavage of the past century, he insists, is not between “progress” and “reaction,” or “liberal” and “conservative,” but between “ordinary people” and the elite of both parties. Thus Franklin Roosevelt was a populist while “progressive” Teddy Roosevelt was an agent of reaction — even though Franklin traced his own ideological descent to Teddy as well as to Jefferson.

In Frank’s view, Bernie’s with the people, and the Democratic establishment — the Biden faction — is in the pocket of the fat cats. The bottom line is class. But this poses another problem for Frank, because even before our Black Lives Matter moment much of the activist left cared less about class than about issues of identity. Frank treats identity politics as yet another species of elitism. Who, then, are “the people”? Are they the older ***working-class*** African-Americans who put Biden over the top in the Democratic primaries? Apparently not. But it was the white ***working class*** that provided Donald Trump with his margin of victory in 2016. How could that be? These Trump voters were, Frank explains — as he did in his earlier book on Kansas — beguiled by the “phony populism of the right.” By bad populism, not good populism.

Yet many of the Democratic leaders and policy experts whom Frank accuses of antipopulism now agree that liberal centrism has reached a dead end. The combination of the calls for racial justice that have filled our streets and the need for enormous government intervention in the face of the coronavirus pandemic will only hasten that leftward movement. Exhibit A would be [*Gene Sperling*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/15/us/politics/gene-sperling-stimulus-plan.html), a former senior economic official in the administrations of Bill Clinton and Barack Obama. In “Economic Dignity,” this consummate insider lays out an agenda closer to Sanders than to Biden. Sperling writes of “forces of domination and humiliation” that define the lives of many low-wage earners. Unorganized workers, he argues, need labor rights and the full panoply of social protections; unionized workers need a voice in corporate affairs, as they enjoy in places like Sweden. Though Sperling prefers direct payments to people suffering dislocation to a wholly universal basic income, in most respects he has gone full Nordic.

Sperling does not thoroughly explain, or even acknowledge, his own conversion; he appears to be one of the many centrists who were shaken out of their neoliberal faith in the marketplace by the 2016 election. In seeking some orienting principle beyond economic growth and incremental redistribution, Sperling has landed on the idea, unavoidably amorphous, of “dignity.” Liberals tend to look on talk of “values” as a cynical distraction from matters of economic justice; that is, in fact, the central theme of “What’s the Matter With Kansas?” Yet Sperling makes a forceful case that only by speaking to matters of the spirit can liberals root their belief in economic justice in people’s deepest aspirations — in their sense of purpose and self-worth.

What would a focus on “economic dignity” entail? Sperling takes issue with conservatives who claim that free-market competition offers each of us the opportunity for self-realization. Does an Uber driver barely making enough to pay the rent have a sense of self-worth? In a true “compact of contribution,” Sperling asserts, an activist state would “support and give every opportunity to every American to experience the sense of dignity that comes from adding value and pursuing purpose.” The state must help the market provide employment for all, and that employment must be “meaningful.”

Sperling does not seem to have a theory of change. He is content to suggest that “Congress could” pass this or that among his proposals. But it might not, even under a President Biden. Frank would tell Sperling that his ambitious agenda cannot be enacted without directly challenging entrenched interests. The movement to raise the minimum wage to $15 an hour, for example, succeeded through street activism and strikes. Since Sperling praises the movement, I suspect he would agree. It is a cheering thought that the gulf between the populists and the antipopulists may not be quite so great as Thomas Frank supposes.

James Traub, the author of “What Was Liberalism?” and other books, is writing a biography of Hubert Humphrey. THE PEOPLE, NO A Brief History of Anti-Populism By Thomas Frank 320 pp. Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt & Company. $26.99. ECONOMIC DIGNITY By Gene Sperling 384 pp. Penguin Press. $28.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Graham Roumieu FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Related Articles**

* [*The Rise of the American Oligarchy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/15/us/politics/gene-sperling-stimulus-plan.html)

1. [*Is Meritocracy to Blame for Our Yawning Class Divide?*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/15/us/politics/gene-sperling-stimulus-plan.html)
2. [*Dignity for All*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/15/us/politics/gene-sperling-stimulus-plan.html)

**Load-Date:** March 15, 2021

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[***What the Reversal of Roe Means for Women's Work***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65T9-NY81-DXY4-X3G3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 29, 2022 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 23; TRESSIE MCMILLAN COTTOM

**Length:** 1303 words

**Byline:** By Tressie McMillan Cottom

**Body**

Roe has been doctrine my entire life. When I graduated from high school, the senior year photographs were included in a memory book. One of the pages invited us to imagine our careers and salary 10 years in the future. I predicted I would be a lawyer earning a very realistic $35,000 a year. I was not stupid. I knew that race and gender might make that much harder to achieve. It never occurred to me that I should temper my aspirations because I was a girl.

In one lifetime, Roe had pushed women so fully into the paid labor market that it was normal for high school seniors to be asked to answer a genderless prompt about their economic aspirations. Flipping through that book today feels like reading a fairy tale, the old Grimm ones and not the new Disney ones.

I grew up choosing where and how I work because Roe v. Wade gave me many of the same basic rights of personhood as men, for example. Millions of women have, to different degrees, been able to do the same.

With Roe v. Wade toppled, we do not have the same rights in all labor markets. In a global market, an empowered worker is one who can migrate. With Dobbs, women cannot assume that we can safely work in Idaho the same way that we can in Oregon or Washington. I cannot negotiate wages or time off with an employer with the same risk profile as those who cannot become pregnant. An employer who offers lower pay in a state with abortion care indirectly benefits from women's inability to take our labor on the open market across the nation. Thanks to a rogue court, women's lives are now more determined by the accidents of our birth than they were a week ago.

Those accidents of birth include circumscribing women's lives by making them dependent upon corporate beneficence. Some companies, including Dick's Sporting Goods, immediately issued statements that they would offer reimbursements to employees for traveling for abortion services. The largess of Dick's and other companies is noteworthy. But it requires women to disclose their health status to a boss they have to hope is well meaning. That says nothing of also hoping that corporate management or leadership does not change. Well-meaning employers can come and go. They also vary in how well meaning they are in terms of pledges of their employee support.

Months before the decision was officially handed down, Starbucks also issued a statement vowing support for employees who seek abortion care. But its statement adds that it cannot guarantee that benefit to workers in unionized stores. Union drives at Starbucks have increased worker power. Many of those workers are women and people who can become pregnant. Potentially attaching support for abortion care to nonunionized labor is a perfect example of why corporations should not be arbiters of human rights.

The majority opinion in Dobbs argues that it is merely making the right to an abortion a state's decision. In reality, the justices are making it a corporation's privilege. A society cannot be held together when half of a population has to rely so heavily on the kindness of strangers to do something as basic as work.

Economics, labor and jobs matter for more reasons than money. Jobs and income are the basic units of U.S. citizenship, in practice. Jobs are how we earn dignity. Income is one way we fund the state, through taxes and production. Jobs are also how the state provisions its responsibility to us, by relying on employers to deliver goods like health care and social security.

For only 58 years of the nation's 246-year-old economy, women have been able to avail themselves -- thanks to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act -- of the full citizenship that we effectively purchase through our jobs. We have been able to migrate from the South to the North and the West, seeking better wages and more opportunity. Abortion access afforded women more and better economic opportunities, and those economic opportunities made women more viable in the eyes of the law. We have cobbled together economic opportunity, albeit for less pay than men, yes. But any paid work made us more free by making us more whole in the eyes of courts and institutions.

Today we pay a greater price for that freedom than do men. And it is a price that our children will inherit. Many of the people who celebrate the Dobbs decision are nostalgic for a pre-World War II American economy. That economy kept women from competing with men in the paid labor market. It also relied on unions to protect ***working-class*** men's incomes. That economy is gone. This economy will not magically provide good jobs and good wages for men who will pass that on to their wives and children.

As a Black woman, I inherited the debts that white racism exacted upon the livelihoods of my grandparents and great-grandparents and their great-grandparents. I know well what that inheritance feels like. It makes your life poorer. It makes your communities poorer. And it dooms a society.

That we are all less free than we were on Thursday is, even by now, a cliché. But in fact, that is more true for poor women and trans men than for others. Do not mistake the specific harm for localized harm. When women cannot move freely across this nation, sure that they have basic human rights as they migrate, we are all anchored to the poverty of their choices.

There are even worse days ahead. By all accounts, the overturning of Roe v. Wade is just the beginning of decisions that could reverse hard-won human rights for all Americans. Justice Clarence Thomas indicated that L.G.B.T.Q rights, birth control access and health care privacy may be in the court's cross hairs.

I am still reeling from waking up in a new world. But that feeling cannot solidify into inertia. We can and should donate to organizations that provide abortion services in local communities. At the same time, donations will not save us. Consumer citizenship has trained us to think about our politics as a set of transactions that we can purchase as we do a car or a new pair of shoes. Restoring human rights will require direct political engagement and tremendous resistance. I am not particularly hopeful.

Justice Samuel Alito wrote the majority decision. The journalist Stephanie Mencimer wrote in Mother Jones that it was always ''going to be Alito'' who would write the majority decision. Alito says that the court cannot be concerned with how its decisions affect people. Linda Greenhouse in The Times described the opinion as arrogant. I expect arrogance from a conservative court. It is more important to me that the decision is so bold.

This is a court unafraid of the electorate and unashamed of showing its hand. The emperor does not care that he wears no clothes. Nancy Pelosi reads a poem. President Biden issued a tepid commitment to women's rights. No one seems afraid of the people. That is the people's fault.

The fight now shifts to the states, where many legal scholars do not know how to interpret this new reality. Some states are struggling with who has what authority. Other states want to refuse to enact Dobbs's dictates but do not know how. We should be there to determine what a life after Roe v. Wade will look like. It will be hard. Setbacks are certain. But there is no other way forward and so many ways backward.

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**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY EVELYN HOCKSTEIN/REUTERS)

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**End of Document**



[***Michael Landy’s Art of Destruction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6348-R351-DXY4-X2P3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** ARTS

**Length:** 1393 words

**Byline:** Scott Reyburn

**Highlight:** A new show by the British artist, who once gained fame by destroying everything he owned in an art installation, is again calling attention to the pervasiveness of consumerism and waste in modern life.

**Body**

A new show by the British artist, who once gained fame by destroying everything he owned in an art installation, is again calling attention to the pervasiveness of consumerism and waste in modern life.

COLCHESTER, England — Michael Landy is a British artist best-known for a project in which he systematically inventoried all 7,227 of his personal possessions. Then systematically destroyed them.

This year is the 20th anniversary of that installation-cum-performance, “[*Break Down,”*](https://www.artangel.org.uk/project/break-down/) which brought Landy international fame as “[*The Man Who Destroyed Everything.”*](https://www.artangel.org.uk/project/break-down/) It isn’t often that conceptual works of art that no longer physically exist are still being talked about two decades later.

But a display to celebrate the 20th anniversary of “Break Down,” as well as a new installation by Landy, on show at [*Firstsite*](https://www.artangel.org.uk/project/break-down/), a gallery in southern England, show the artist is still a prescient critic of consumerism. The exhibition, called “[*Michael Landy’s Welcome to Essex*](https://www.artangel.org.uk/project/break-down/)” after the county surrounding the gallery where the artist grew up, runs through Sept. 5.

“It’s a good time for his work to get new exposure,” said Julian Stallabrass, a professor of modern and contemporary art at the Courtauld Institute in London, and author of “High Art Lite: The Rise and Fall of Young British Art.”

“Michael was, I think, always one of the most interesting artists of the Y.B.A. grouping,” said Stallabrass, referring to the generation of Young British Artists that energized the contemporary art scene in the 1990s and early 2000s. “Not just because of his anti-commercial stance — or rather that his work was often about commerce and its consequences — but because of his long reflection on social class.”

“Break Down” was produced by the London-based nonprofit [*ArtAngel*](https://www.artangel.org.uk/project/break-down/) in a disused department store on Oxford Street, then Europe’s busiest shopping district. There, Landy spent two weeks in charge of an elaborate recycling facility repurposed to break down, pulp and granulate everything he owned, including the complete archive of his artworks, his record collection and his Saab 900 Turbo.

At the end of the process, witnessed by about 50,000 visitors, he was left with six tons of bagged-up waste. It was buried in a landfill site in Essex, where much of London’s garbage is dumped.

“Consumerism has become the No. 1 ideology of our time,” Landy, 58, said on a recent tour of the anniversary exhibition. “We end up with all this stuff,” he added. “I wanted to take that apart.”

Like Damien Hirst, Tracey Emin, Grayson Perry and other Y.B.A.s, Landy came from a ***working-class*** background. He studied at the prestigious Goldsmiths art school in London in the late 1980s, at a time before the introduction of [*tuition fees*](https://www.artangel.org.uk/project/break-down/) for higher education began dissuading many students from [*lower-income families*](https://www.artangel.org.uk/project/break-down/).

Unlike Hirst, Emin and Perry, whose imposingly priced works have regularly featured at international [*art fairs*](https://www.artangel.org.uk/project/break-down/) and [*auctions*](https://www.artangel.org.uk/project/break-down/), Landy has never courted commercial success. The highest price paid for his works at auction remains $36,000, given in 2002 for his sculpture “Costermonger’s Stall.”

But in 1997, the Tate Gallery acquired his “[*Scrapheap Services,”*](https://www.artangel.org.uk/project/break-down/) a room-size installation in which a fictional “people-cleansing” company sweeps up human-shaped refuse and passes it through a shredding machine. The work’s sale gave Landy a measure of financial security.

“It was the first time that, materially speaking, I was ahead in my life,” said Landy, who celebrated his success by buying a Savile Row suit and the Saab that would become part of “Break Down.”

But doubts set in. “Is that what I strove to do? I’ve got a Saab car and a Richard James suit. What does that all mean?” Landy recalled asking himself. “The idea popped into my head that I should destroy all my worldly belongings.”

ArtAngel had already brought to life acclaimed art projects like Rachel Whiteread’s “[*House”*](https://www.artangel.org.uk/project/break-down/) (1993) and Matthew Barney’s “[*Cremaster 4”*](https://www.artangel.org.uk/project/break-down/) (1994), and Landy said that collaborating with its co-director James Lingwood was crucial to making “Break Down” happen. It took three years of planning. Listing his possessions took an entire year.

“Oxford Street was the missing ingredient,” said Landy, recalling the vacant C&amp;A store that he used to destroy all his belongings. “It’s where people come to consume things, the latest items.”

“People were angry, people were bemused. They were being given lots of consumer choice, but this was mine,” he added. “I felt I was witnessing my own death.”

Landy and ArtAngel agreed that none of it would become merchandise. “It was about a total erasure of possessions from his life,” Lingwood said. The artist was going back to being someone who owned nothing and had some debt.

“He had a roof over his head. We bought him some clothes. Probably a friend of his gave him some cash. He went home to Gillian,” added Lingwood, referring to the artist Gillian Wearing, who is now Landy’s wife.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, Landy produced no art for a year after “Break Down.”

Then, in 2002, he returned to drawing, the medium that had engrossed him as a child. He made a series of 12 painstakingly observed [*etchings of weeds*](https://www.artangel.org.uk/project/break-down/), of “little things that grow in cracks in the street,” for Paragon Press, a specialist publisher of prints.

“It’s an allegory for rebirth,” said Charles Booth-Clibborn, the publisher’s founder, describing Landy’s “Nourishment” etchings. “They were like portraits of Londoners,” he added. “These plants exist in urban environments where it’s hard for plants to survive. But they do thrive, and he celebrated them.”

In recent years, Landy has returned to large-scale installations. In 2010, he created a giant metal and Perspex trash can for [*failed works of art*](https://www.artangel.org.uk/project/break-down/) at the South London Gallery. And in 2018, in the aftermath of what he saw as Britain’s self-destructive vote to [*leave the European Union,*](https://www.artangel.org.uk/project/break-down/) he set up “[*Open for Business*](https://www.artangel.org.uk/project/break-down/),” a “Brexit kiosk” selling “100 percent British products” such as Union Jack-decorated mugs and condoms at the inaugural Riga Biennial in Latvia.

Landy’s native Essex included two of Britain’s five districts with the [*highest votes for Brexit*](https://www.artangel.org.uk/project/break-down/) in the 2016 referendum. Ever since the Thatcherite 1980s, when the county became a bastion of ***working-class*** Conservatism, it has fallen victim in British popular culture to derogatory “Essex Man” and “Essex Girl” [*caricatures*](https://www.artangel.org.uk/project/break-down/), depicting its inhabitants as brash, uneducated and materialistic.

In addition to looking back to “Break Down” in Colchester, Landy is investigating these stereotypes in a three-room installation about Essex, a place that the artist bills as “England’s Most Misunderstood County.”

The show includes aerial footage of local garbage dumps, banners with Essex-themed tabloid headlines, and trash-filled dumpsters piled with TV sets showing interviews and comedies that feature Essex. It has divided local visitors to the gallery in Colchester, the historic university town that was once the capital of Roman Britain.

Stephen Callely, 60, a retired teacher, wasn’t impressed. “It doesn’t challenge us. We can snigger at it,” he said after visiting the exhibition this month.

Yet Stella Clarke, 9, was intrigued the “Break Down” display, particularly a wall that reproduced a section from Landy’s inventory of possessions, such as “C542: Sainsbury’s single blue cotton/polyester sock.”.

“It was a very strange thing he did,” said Clarke. “Maybe he was saying he didn’t need all this stuff.”

Landy, too, was fascinated by art as a child. At 15, he had a scratchboard work included in an episode of “Vision On,” an educational BBC TV show in which children were invited to send in paintings and drawings. Yet when he asked for the piece back, the BBC informed him it could not be returned.

“They always destroyed the work,” Landy said. “That was the beginning.”

PHOTOS: Top right, Michael Landy at the Firstsite gallery in Colchester, England, with “Essex Man.” Below, the inventory of objects destroyed in “Break Down.” Bottom row, from left: part of “The Essex Way” (2021), which covers more than 450 feet of wall at Firstsite; and two of the drawings that Landy made after a post-“Break Down” hiatus, “Common Toad Flax” and “Herb Robert.” (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MICHAEL LANDY; DACS, LONDON/ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY (ARS), NEW YORK; TOM JAMIESON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; MICHAEL LANDY; DACS, LONDON/ ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY (ARS), NEW YORK; PARAGON; TOM JAMIESON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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**End of Document**



[***New York Can Fix Its High Rents***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:653X-B051-JBG3-637B-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 30, 2022 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 24; MARA GAY

**Length:** 1024 words

**Byline:** By Mara Gay

**Body**

Rents in New York City are soaring. Even upper-middle-class New Yorkers are finding they are unable to afford to buy homes in the communities they grew up in. Poor and ***working-class*** New Yorkers are staring at homelessness. Thousands of eviction proceedings are underway across the state.

There is one straightforward solution: New York needs to build more housing, of all kinds, and fast.

Though America overall is not building enough housing, the problem in New York is especially acute. Over the past decade, New York City issued fewer permits for new housing units per capita than almost every other major U.S. city, including San Francisco, according to a report from the nonprofit Citizens Budget Commission.

There are signs of some progress, at least when it comes to state laws that would make it easier to build in New York City.

The State Legislature and governor appear to have a good shot at moving forward with a law legalizing basement and garage apartments in New York City. If successful, it could protect thousands of New Yorkers who already live in these apartments and encourage other homeowners to rent such units. A proposal to ease the conversion of office and hotel space to housing in New York City also has broad support.

Also promising: Gov. Kathy Hochul has laid out a substitute for the 421a program, a tax incentive for developers that expires in June. Though 421a costs taxpayers $1.7 billion annually, a majority of the units it creates are affordable only to those who earn over $100,000 per year, according to an estimate by the city's comptroller. A proposal from the governor would get New Yorkers a better deal by requiring that units be built for lower-income New Yorkers, among other concessions from developers.

In a highly technical but important effort, Albany may also move to remove onerous caps on the amount of residential housing that developers can build on any given lot in New York City.

These are all steps in the right direction. But they fall far short of the regional approach New York needs to increase its housing supply and ease the burden of high rents and housing prices all over the state.

There is much more New York can do to lower the cost of housing in New York City and statewide.

Lawmakers could, for example, expand the measure legalizing basement and garage apartments to the rest of the state. (That idea was scrapped after suburban lawmakers balked, according to people familiar with these conversations.)

A proposal from State Senator Brad Hoylman would limit the ability of cities and towns across New York to use zoning laws to prohibit multifamily housing, allowing more of the sorely needed housing to be built across the state. Measures like these can help dismantle the effects of racist zoning laws that have helped make the New York region one of the most expensive and racially segregated metropolitan areas in the country. Another, more limited measure from Governor Hochul would allow for some new multifamily housing to be built around mass transit sites in the New York suburbs.

Both measures have died amid fierce opposition from some officials in Long Island. Instead of backing down, Governor Hochul and other New York politicians could make the case to suburban New Yorkers that building more housing in their communities is a step toward not only fairness but also affordability for the entire region. The median sales price of homes in Nassau County has risen 8.5 percent since last year, according to the real estate company Redfin, and 11.3 percent in Suffolk County.

Another important proposal isn't being seriously discussed at all. Reforming New York City's deeply unfair property tax system would encourage builders to construct large rental housing.

Under the current system, the median effective property tax rate on large rental properties, where most poor and working- and middle-class New Yorkers live and pay rent, is about double the effective rate for condominiums and higher than the rate on one- to three-family homes. Reducing the taxes on new large apartment buildings can help create more housing by giving developers an incentive to invest in these projects.

What's more, in many cases, the owners of brownstones and townhouses in affluent neighborhoods such as Cobble Hill and Park Slope in Brooklyn pay significantly less in property taxes, in absolute terms and as a percentage of their market value, than the owners of single-family homes in the Bronx and Staten Island, which have far lower market values. The city's comptroller, Brad Lander, resurrected calls for property tax reform in a report this month, pointing out that such reforms would largely negate the need for 421a.

It would be refreshing to see others in Albany and City Hall who together have the power to enact those reforms follow suit.

The housing crisis is also making communities less safe for everyone. Building more housing is part of how we stabilize a deeply unsettled city and deliver vital services -- including mental health treatment -- to the people who need them.

Turning this around will require the support of all New Yorkers. Wealthier city residents can do their part by paying their fair share of city property taxes. That is the cost a livable city requires. Suburban New Yorkers can begin by considering the vibrancy, diversity and economic growth that increased development can bring to their communities. Politicians in New York can also make clear that generous investments in mass transit -- like the Long Island Rail Road expansion -- come alongside affordable housing.

Americans of all backgrounds are being asked to decide what kind of community they want to live in. New York doesn't have to accept a reality in which only the city's very wealthiest residents get to enjoy the peace of mind that comes with secure housing.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/28/opinion/new-york-affordable-housing.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/28/opinion/new-york-affordable-housing.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MICHAEL JAY, VIA GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** March 30, 2022

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[***Biden Is Being The Leader He Promised to Be***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64CF-9931-JBG3-624T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 24, 2021 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 23; CHARLES M. BLOW

**Length:** 817 words

**Byline:** By Charles M. Blow

**Body**

Joe Biden's poll numbers keep sliding.

Americans, including many of the people who voted for him, are not happy with him. They want him to be something different, to be someone different.

Some may think that these Americans misjudged the man they sent to the White House. I don't share that view.

America didn't misjudge Joe Biden. As president, he has been exactly who he said he'd be. But America did misjudge the kind of leader it wanted in this moment.

Last year, most Democrats had a single goal: to get rid of Donald Trump. He was degrading the country and possibly destroying it.

We were all living in a vortex of chaos. Every morning we rose to a fresh hell. What had he done and said today? How much more of this could we take? It felt at times like we were trapped in an abusive relationship. We just wanted out. We wanted relief.

Biden seemed, to many, to be the man who could provide it, the man who could loosen Trump's stranglehold on our society. Democrats were afraid to take too much of a chance with their nominee. Wanting too much, let alone demanding it, felt dangerous.

So we settled on the elder statesman. The straight white man. The middle-of-the-roader: not too hot, not too cold, lukewarm.

He was the ''scrappy kid from Scranton,'' the unapologetic ''union man'' who could win back the pixies of politics: the ***working-class*** white voters who could back Barack Obama in one election and Trump in the next.

Biden pitched electability -- moderation rather than transformation -- and voters liked it.

When he took office, Representative Lisa Blunt Rochester of Delaware, who had chaired his campaign, told The Times that the president was projecting a sense of ''calm resolve.''

Calm resolve may well be the working mantra of the Biden administration -- and there have been successes and positive news under Biden -- but Americans are now dealing with a virus that won't go away, rising inflation, progressive legislation that is either stalled (like the Build Back Better bill) or abandoned (like Senator Cory Booker's federal police reform bill).

A congressional committee is looking into the Jan. 6 insurrection and prosecutors around the country are looking into Trump, his campaign, his family and his companies, but he has yet to be held accountable for his multiple transgressions and is likely to run again in 2024.

The Biden administration needs a pinch of cayenne.

They thought that if they just kept their heads down and did the work, they would be rewarded. But that's not the way the world works anymore, not in this moment, not after Trump.

If you put a megaphone down, someone else will pick it up. Silence creates a void aching to be filled.

As Politico reported in October, Biden had participated in just 10 one-on-one interviews in the first nine months of his presidency.

The publication called it ''a distinct feature of this White House,'' noting that ''At this point in their presidencies, Barack Obama had participated in 131 interviews and Donald Trump had participated in 57 (16 of which were within the friendly confines of Fox News).''

Biden wasn't always so reticent. As Politico noted, he was far more outspoken as vice president, giving at least twice the number of interviews by his first October in office as he has while president, sometimes even visiting all three network morning shows in a single day.

Today, messaging from the White House often falls to the emissaries. But that is not enough.

There is a hardening perception that the president isn't even being silently productive, but voiceless and vacant. A new poll from Morning Consult and Politico finds that 42 percent of registered voters say that Biden has accomplished less than they expected. More than a quarter of Democrats felt this way.

Biden is being the president he campaigned to be. He is following that script to a T. But conditions on the ground have changed. What the American people want from their leader has changed. And Biden is going to have to change with them. He has to be the president America needs in December 2021, not the one it needed in December 2020.

Even with the real policy disappointments of the last few months, particularly around voting rights, Biden's first year in office is far from a failure. But an alternate reality is growing in the minds of voters, and Biden himself is doing too little to squash it.

He needs to change the narrative, and the first step is to be more publicly present. Agreeing to an interview Wednesday with ABC's David Muir was a start, but just one appearance won't correct a season of shirking.

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**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Damon Winter/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 24, 2021

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[***A Simple Theory of Why Trump Did Well***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:619Y-9NF1-JBG3-652C-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 18, 2020 Wednesday 10:41 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1038 words

**Byline:** Jamelle Bouie

**Highlight:** Elections are complicated, but the money the government sent to more than 150 million Americans didn’t hurt.

**Body**

Elections are complicated, but the money the government sent to more than 150 million Americans didn’t hurt.

Officials are still counting votes for the 2020 presidential election, but that hasn’t stopped professional commentators from drawing any number of broad conclusions about the state of American politics from the results thus far.

Two narratives about what happened stand out. First, the idea that left-wing slogans like “defund the police” cratered the Democratic Party in down ballot fights for the House and Senate, and second, that President Trump’s modest gains with Black and Hispanic voters herald the arrival of a ***working-class***, multiracial Republican Party.

There are obvious objections to both stories. There is no hard evidence that voters turned against Democratic congressional candidates because of “defund the police” and other radical slogans. It does not show up in the congressional generic ballot — there is no decline that corresponds with the unrest of the summer — and there’s little other data to support the idea of a direct causal relationship between the slogans and the performance of Democratic candidates.

What we have, instead, are [*the words of moderate Democratic lawmakers*](https://www.cnn.com/2020/11/05/politics/democratic-reaction-congress-election-results/index.html) who believe those slogans left them unusually vulnerable to Republican attacks. But this is a textbook case of assuming one thing caused the other because they followed in chronological order. Perhaps Democrats slipped because they were associated with “defund the police” or perhaps — as Democrats as different as [*Doug Jones*](https://www.cnn.com/2020/11/05/politics/democratic-reaction-congress-election-results/index.html), [*Beto O’Rourke*](https://www.cnn.com/2020/11/05/politics/democratic-reaction-congress-election-results/index.html) and [*Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez*](https://www.cnn.com/2020/11/05/politics/democratic-reaction-congress-election-results/index.html) have suggested — it had something to do with poor campaign infrastructure and a message that was unresponsive to the electorate.

The problem with the second narrative — Republicans have built a new ***working-class***, multiracial coalition — is that it takes Trump out of the context of past election results. [*If preliminary exit polls*](https://www.cnn.com/2020/11/05/politics/democratic-reaction-congress-election-results/index.html) are any indication — and they have real flaws as measurement tools — Trump did hardly any better with Black voters than George W. Bush in 2004 and quite a bit worse with Hispanic voters. Far from a seismic shift, Trump, with 32 percent support among Hispanics (a four-point upswing from his first run) is doing about as well as John McCain did in 2008.

But even as we throw cold water on these narratives — at least until there’s more evidence to back them up — we’re still left with the unanswered question of how Trump performed as well as he did. He may not have transformed the Republican coalition, but he held onto much of his 2016 support and even enlarged it, if not in percentage terms then in absolute ones. Democrats who thought he would be swamped by high turnout were wrong; not only did he benefit, but his ability to turn nonvoters into voters is what likely kept him in the game.

At the risk of committing the same sin as other observers and getting ahead of the data, I want to propose an alternative explanation for the election results, one that accounts for the president’s relative improvement as well as that of the entire Republican Party.

It’s the money, stupid.

At the end of March, President Trump signed the Cares Act, which distributed more than half a trillion dollars in direct aid to more than 150 million Americans, from stimulus checks ($1,200 per adult and $500 per child for households below a certain income threshold) to $600 per week in additional unemployment benefits. These programs were not perfect — the supplement unemployment insurance, in particular, depended on ramshackle state systems, forcing many applicants to wait weeks or even months before they received assistance — but they made an impact regardless. [*Personal income went up and poverty went down*](https://www.cnn.com/2020/11/05/politics/democratic-reaction-congress-election-results/index.html), even as the United States reported its [*steepest ever quarterly drop*](https://www.cnn.com/2020/11/05/politics/democratic-reaction-congress-election-results/index.html) in economic output.

Now, the reason this many Americans received as much assistance as they did is that Democrats fought for it over the opposition of Republicans who believed any help beyond the minimum would degrade the will to work for whatever wage employers were willing to pay. “The moment we go back to work, we cannot create an incentive for people to say, ‘I don’t need to go back to work because I can do better someplace else,’ ” Senator Rick Scott of Florida [*argued*](https://www.cnn.com/2020/11/05/politics/democratic-reaction-congress-election-results/index.html) on the floor of the Senate.

But voters, and especially the low-propensity voters who flooded the electorate in support of Trump, aren’t attuned to the ins and outs of congressional debate. They did not know — and Democrats didn’t do a good enough job of telling them — that the president and his party opposed more generous benefits. All they knew is that Trump signed the bill (and the checks), giving them the kind of government assistance usually reserved for the nation’s ownership class.

Nearly everything in politics has multiple explanations and there are many factors that can and do explain the election results. But I would not ignore the extent to which the Republican Party’s strong performance can be explained simply by the fact that it was the party in power when the government put a lot of money into the hands of a lot of people who didn’t have it before.

The upshot of this, for the incoming Biden administration, is straightforward: Do not listen to the debt worriers and the deficit hawks. Ignore the calls for means-testing and complicated workarounds. Embrace, instead, the simplicity of cash. Take a page from the left and give as much direct help to as many people as possible.

The concentration of its coalition in cities and suburbs is such that the Democratic Party faces a number of structural obstacles to winning and wielding power. There’s no easy solution to this problem, but there are ways to make the path less difficult. And one of them is as straightforward as cutting a check when there’s a national crisis and keeping it going for those who need it when there isn’t.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.cnn.com/2020/11/05/politics/democratic-reaction-congress-election-results/index.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.cnn.com/2020/11/05/politics/democratic-reaction-congress-election-results/index.html). And here&#39;s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.cnn.com/2020/11/05/politics/democratic-reaction-congress-election-results/index.html).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Chip Somodevilla/Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 19, 2020

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[***A Voice in French Literature: Her Own***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YKY-J581-DXY4-X3HH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** BOOKS

**Length:** 1243 words

**Byline:** Laura Cappelle

**Highlight:** Since the 1970s, Annie Ernaux has poured a lifetime of memories into her intensely personal books. Now, readers in English are catching on.

**Body**

Since the 1970s, Annie Ernaux has poured a lifetime of memories into her intensely personal books. Now, readers in English are catching on.

PARIS — On a recent afternoon, by phone from her home in the suburbs, the French writer Annie Ernaux was describing her living room. “I’m sitting in my old armchair. There is a south-facing bow window, so I can see the sky, some clouds, and a tree, to the left,” she said, picking out details with the ease of a master memoirist. “It’s a very silent place. Even more so at the moment.”

France had just entered a strict coronavirus lockdown, and Ernaux, 79, couldn’t meet in person for an interview. Yet it was easy to imagine what she and her home might be like from her intensely personal books: She has poured a lifetime of images into them.

Since the 1970s, Ernaux has carved out a special place in the French literary pantheon for her ability not just to excavate individual memories, but to show the subtle ways they interact with the collective experience.

Her first book, “Cleaned Out,” from 1974, is a bracing account of her ***working-class*** childhood in Normandy, and a back-alley abortion she underwent, published shortly before the procedure became legal in France. While her early work was thinly fictionalized, she has focused on memoir since the 1980s, writing about her ill-fated marriage, her mother’s decline from Alzheimer’s, her own experience of cancer, as well as several passionate affairs she enjoyed in middle age.

Though Ernaux has long been praised in France, she was little-known in the English-speaking world until last year, when one of her most recent self-portraits, “[*The Years*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/19/books/review/the-years-annie-ernaux-autobiography.html),” was [*shortlisted for the Booker International Prize*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/19/books/review/the-years-annie-ernaux-autobiography.html). Now, English readers are discovering her back catalog, and her most recent book, “A Girl’s Story” will be published in the United States this week.

“A Girl’s Story” was the missing piece in Ernaux’s autobiographical puzzle. In it, she finds her way back to the summer of 1958 and her first sexual experience — a traumatic event, left unspoken in previous books, which led her to become depressed and develop an eating disorder.

It took nearly six decades to unravel the event, Ernaux said, “because it was so complex. Had it been a rape, I might have been able to talk about it earlier, but I never thought about it that way.” Instead, her book delves into the gray areas of sexual consent, at a time when that notion wasn’t taught or discussed.

“The man was older — that mattered to me — and I gave in, so to speak, out of ignorance,” Ernaux said. “I don’t even remember saying, ‘No.’”

After the events of that summer, it took Ernaux another decade and a half to find her voice. Her early influences — from Simone de Beauvoir to the social upheaval of May 1968 — are captured in vivid snapshots in “The Years,” which weaves together nearly 70 years of autobiography and history.

Her first novel, written at college, was rejected by publishers as “too ambitious,” she said. When she took up writing again, in the early 1970s, she was a French teacher and a married mother of two, newly acquainted with the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and his theory of social reproduction.

Bourdieu’s emphasis on the ways the education system excludes ***working-class*** children brought Ernaux to a realization: Suddenly, the shame she felt as a scholarship student, with a background so unlike her bourgeois peers, made sense.

She wrote “Cleaned Out” without telling anyone. “My husband had made fun of me after my first manuscript. I pretended to work on a Ph.D. thesis to have time alone,” she said. When the book was picked up by a prestigious publishing house, Gallimard, her husband Philippe was aggrieved, Ernaux said: “He told me: If you’re capable of writing a book in secret, then you’re capable of cheating on me.” By her third book, “A Frozen Woman,” which explored the writer’s ambivalent feelings about being a wife and mother, divorce loomed.

Ernaux said that choosing not to remarry had given her freedom. “I lived with men for periods of time, but very quickly, I would get tired of it. I’m picturing being on lockdown with someone right now — what a nightmare,” she said, laughing.

In the early 1990s, she startled many in France with “A Simple Passion,” an account of her affair with a married foreign diplomat, which explores desire in disarming, sensual detail, without moralizing. By that point, Ernaux had done away with any pretense of fiction, and the book, which sold 200,000 copies in two months, attracted virulent criticism from social conservatives.

Regardless, many readers saw themselves in “A Simple Passion,” and Ernaux was deluged with letters, she said. “Men and women confided in me, told me they wish they’d written that book,” she added. (A film adaptation of it, directed by Danielle Arbid, will be released in France later this year.)

The sociologist and novelist Christine Détrez, a professor at the École normale supérieure de Lyon, said in a phone interview that Ernaux’s work serves to “de-particularize” women’s experiences. “You’re scared to recognize yourself, because then you’ll have to draw your own conclusions, but you do,” she said, adding that Ernaux’s impact on the lives of women in France could be compared to de Beauvoir’s on previous generations. “It helps, because it means what you’re experiencing is the result of a shared condition,” Professor Détrez added.

This much was obvious from the audience’s reactions during a public reading of “A Girl’s Story” at the venerable Comédie-Française theater in Paris, in early March. As the actress Dominique Blanc spoke, murmurs of recognition and giggles greeted details that recreated a long-lost era: the novelty of disposable sanitary pads, a popular cookie from the time. For women of Ernaux’s generation, they were Proustian madeleines.

Ernaux was in the audience that day, but she usually prefers to stay away from Paris’s literary scene. Instead, she has been increasingly outspoken, in interviews and essays, about social and political issues. She has thrown her weight behind #MeToo, which has struggled to gain momentum in the French arts world, as well as the popular Yellow Vest protests that rocked the country last year. “I come from a line of people who could have been Yellow Vests,” Ernaux said.

Her attention to the structures of social domination paved the way in France for writers like [*Édouard Louis*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/19/books/review/the-years-annie-ernaux-autobiography.html), 27, who rose to prominence with “[*The End of Eddy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/19/books/review/the-years-annie-ernaux-autobiography.html),” a novel inspired by his own ***working-class*** upbringing. “For me, it was like an explosion,” Louis said of his first encounter with Ernaux’s work, in a telephone interview: “I felt represented.” He added that Ernaux had made him “realize how subversive autobiography can be.”

Still, when politics or personal trauma came up on the phone with Ernaux, there was no trace of outrage in her voice. She is forthright yet impressively measured; even in “A Girl’s Story,” disentangling the damage done to her in 1958 leads to a sense of peace.

Ernaux’s only fear, it seems, is to lose the ability to look inward and rewind the years, after watching her own mother’s memories fade away in the 1980s. “Frankly, I’d rather die now than lose everything I’ve seen and heard,” she said. “Memory, to me, is inexhaustible.”

PHOTO: Annie Ernaux in her garden in Cergy Pontoise, a Paris suburb. Her latest book, “A Girl’s Story,” is out in the United States this week. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Isabelle Eshraghi for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 14, 2020

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[***A Simple Theory of Why Trump Did as Well as He Did***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61B4-YGD1-DXY4-X05D-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 19, 2020 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 26

**Length:** 1034 words

**Byline:** By Jamelle Bouie

**Body**

Elections are complicated, but the money the government sent to more than 150 million Americans didn't hurt.

Officials are still counting votes for the 2020 presidential election, but that hasn't stopped professional commentators from drawing any number of broad conclusions about the state of American politics from the results thus far.

Two narratives about what happened stand out. First, the idea that left-wing slogans like ''defund the police'' cratered the Democratic Party in down ballot fights for the House and Senate, and second, that President Trump's modest gains with Black and Hispanic voters herald the arrival of a ***working-class***, multiracial Republican Party.

There are obvious objections to both stories. There is no hard evidence that voters turned against Democratic congressional candidates because of ''defund the police'' and other radical slogans. It does not show up in the congressional generic ballot -- there is no decline that corresponds with the unrest of the summer -- and there's little other data to support the idea of a direct causal relationship between the slogans and the performance of Democratic candidates.

What we have, instead, are the words of moderate Democratic lawmakers who believe those slogans left them unusually vulnerable to Republican attacks. But this is a textbook case of assuming one thing caused the other because they followed in chronological order. Perhaps Democrats slipped because they were associated with ''defund the police'' or perhaps -- as Democrats as different as Doug Jones, Beto O'Rourke and Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez have suggested -- it had something to do with poor campaign infrastructure and a message that was unresponsive to the electorate.

The problem with the second narrative -- Republicans have built a new ***working-class***, multiracial coalition -- is that it takes Trump out of the context of past election results. If preliminary exit polls are any indication -- and they have real flaws as measurement tools -- Trump did hardly any better with Black voters than George W. Bush in 2004 and quite a bit worse with Hispanic voters. Far from a seismic shift, Trump, with 32 percent support among Hispanics (a four-point upswing from his first run) is doing about as well as John McCain did in 2008.

But even as we throw cold water on these narratives -- at least until there's more evidence to back them up -- we're still left with the unanswered question of how Trump performed as well as he did. He may not have transformed the Republican coalition, but he held onto much of his 2016 support and even enlarged it, if not in percentage terms then in absolute ones. Democrats who thought he would be swamped by high turnout were wrong; not only did he benefit, but his ability to turn nonvoters into voters is what likely kept him in the game.

At the risk of committing the same sin as other observers and getting ahead of the data, I want to propose an alternative explanation for the election results, one that accounts for the president's relative improvement as well as that of the entire Republican Party.

It's the money, stupid.

At the end of March, President Trump signed the Cares Act, which distributed more than half a trillion dollars in direct aid to more than 150 million Americans, from stimulus checks ($1,200 per adult and $500 per child for households below a certain income threshold) to $600 per week in additional unemployment benefits. These programs were not perfect -- the supplement unemployment insurance, in particular, depended on ramshackle state systems, forcing many applicants to wait weeks or even months before they received assistance -- but they made an impact regardless. Personal income went up and poverty went down, even as the United States reported its steepest ever quarterly drop in economic output.

Now, the reason this many Americans received as much assistance as they did is that Democrats fought for it over the opposition of Republicans who believed any help beyond the minimum would degrade the will to work for whatever wage employers were willing to pay. ''The moment we go back to work, we cannot create an incentive for people to say, 'I don't need to go back to work because I can do better someplace else,' '' Senator Rick Scott of Florida argued on the floor of the Senate.

But voters, and especially the low-propensity voters who flooded the electorate in support of Trump, aren't attuned to the ins and outs of congressional debate. They did not know -- and Democrats didn't do a good enough job of telling them -- that the president and his party opposed more generous benefits. All they knew is that Trump signed the bill (and the checks), giving them the kind of government assistance usually reserved for the nation's ownership class.

Nearly everything in politics has multiple explanations and there are many factors that can and do explain the election results. But I would not ignore the extent to which the Republican Party's strong performance can be explained simply by the fact that it was the party in power when the government put a lot of money into the hands of a lot of people who didn't have it before.

The upshot of this, for the incoming Biden administration, is straightforward: Do not listen to the debt worriers and the deficit hawks. Ignore the calls for means-testing and complicated workarounds. Embrace, instead, the simplicity of cash. Take a page from the left and give as much direct help to as many people as possible.

The concentration of its coalition in cities and suburbs is such that the Democratic Party faces a number of structural obstacles to winning and wielding power. There's no easy solution to this problem, but there are ways to make the path less difficult. And one of them is as straightforward as cutting a check when there's a national crisis and keeping it going for those who need it when there isn't.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/18/opinion/trump-election-stimulus.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/18/opinion/trump-election-stimulus.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Chip Somodevilla/Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 19, 2020

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[***It Takes A Lot Of Work To Be Wild***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65GB-Y2R1-DXY4-X15Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 18, 2022 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 1097 words

**Byline:** By Gia Kourlas

**Body**

The choreographer Abby Zbikowski brings her raw, genre-bending ''Radioactive Practice'' to New York Live Arts after a two-year delay.

COLUMBUS, Ohio -- Abby Zbikowski's voice can cut through the loudest drums.

It was a Friday morning in April, and a thunderous beat reverberated through a spacious, window-lined studio in the dance department of the Ohio State University. Zbikowski, a choreographer and teacher, stopped the beat for a moment to ask her students a question that seemed at odds with the high-powered phrase they were performing.

''How,'' she said, ''do you make yourself relax?''

While dipping forward, could they release their hair in order to feel the weight of their bodies? Could they find a moment in which they didn't have to push? How could a sauté jump, nestled into a lateral, forceful twist, not look quite so much like a sauté? She demonstrated the feel of what she was after -- less polished, more wild. ''Because you are swinging and launching your guts around,'' Zbikowski said. ''How can you ride it more?''

Zbikowski, 38 -- tattooed and lively, with a devilish smile and an affinity for poetic soliloquies about energy and effort -- is not your typical experimental dance artist. She is, in part, pursuing something slightly out of fashion in more cerebral contemporary dance circles: constant motion. One element of her technique class is running. Real running, not what she referred to as dance running. She likes to tell her students to imagine she is chasing them with a pitchfork.

''The rigor of my technique classes does feel like manual labor,'' Zbikowski said. ''But it's a chosen one.''

Beginning Wednesday, her company, Abby Z and the New Utility, presents ''Radioactive Practice'' at New York Live Arts, where it was originally scheduled to be performed in March 2020, when the city went into lockdown. It still features dramaturgy by the Senegalese dance artist Momar Ndiaye, her partner, with whom she has a nearly 1-year-old son. And it remains physically arduous, though the cast has shrunk to six from 10 because of the pandemic -- some dancers have moved away or moved on.

Using an array of movement practices -- cast members have experience in street dance, modern and postmodern dance, hip-hop, contemporary African forms and tap along with synchronized swimming, soccer and martial arts -- ''Radioactive Practice'' braids emotional toughness with unrelenting physicality, which transports dancers from the floor to the air. As a result, something else emerges: a bold new energy that speaks to survival and purpose as dancers strive to move beyond physical and mental limitations.

On the surface, it seems like Zbikowski's aim is to push the body to it limits, but her work -- with so many movement forms on display -- also grapples with deeper questions. She wonders how bodies are conditioned mentally and physically? How are we shaped by class, race, sexuality and gender? Can what has been conditioned in us mutate? Can it evolve?

And of the elements that condition us, she asks, ''how do you carry them in your gut, how do you carry them in your flesh and bones?''

''All of that comes out in the work,'' she added. ''I think what I'm after is the discipline of disciplines.''

There is obvious athleticism in ''Radioactive Practice,'' but there is more than sheer physicality; within the driving movement is the dancers' presence, ''their heart and souls,'' she said. ''And again, the gut that is being carried through space.''

Zbikowski, a former field hockey goalie, has trained extensively in African and Afro-diasporic forms, including at Germaine Acogny's École de Sables in Senegal. But tap was her first love. ''There was something about the feeling of the rhythm,'' she said. ''It wasn't about what it was looking like. That has always spoken to me; it was about the feeling, and it was about what was being produced as a result of what you were doing.''

All of her training and education, which includes an M.F.A. from Ohio State, has helped frame her sense of how a dancing body can defy labels. ''Having this Africanist, Afro-diasporic training, but also being who I am, being this white girl -- and not in a demeaning way, but just understanding what that is -- what do I do with this information?'' she said. ''I think it's taken me a long time to understand that this has, little by little, been building my world and understanding for what the body can do.''

Zbikowski grew up in South Jersey, which meant that she could travel to Philadelphia for dance classes; it was at a time, she said, that hip-hop was moving into studios. At Temple University, she studied the contemporary African form of Umfundalai. (In Swahili, she said, it means ''the essence.'') While there, she also met the choreographer and dancer Charles O. Anderson, who is to become chair of the dance department at Ohio State in June.

Anderson, whose background in Afro-contemporary forms includes performing with the choreographer Ronald K. Brown, met Zbikowski when she was a freshman. ''She was such a powerful performer and so keen in terms of wanting to understand the nuance and shape of my movement,'' he said.

An early supporter of her choreography, Anderson admires how open she is; how her work is inspired by Africanist forms but doesn't appropriate them. ''I think this is the interesting thing around class -- Abby is so decidedly aware of being from a ***working-class*** background from New Jersey,'' he said. ''That ethic of working, I think, helps her in a lot of ways to appreciate what's been offered rather than feeling 'it's mine to take'. And so not only does she honor it in words, but also in the rigor in which she really tries to find what is the movement saying to her specifically.''

''She knows the shoulders she's standing on,'' he added, ''and, yeah, I love her for that.''

In March 2020, when the scheduled performances of ''Radioactive Practice'' were in flux but not yet canceled, Zbikowski told me that she felt she could make work that could survive the apocalypse. ''It's kind of like a cockroach where there's a durability, there's a toughness to it, there's a ruggedness to it,'' she said then. ''It's adaptable according to who practices it. And it can live in a lot of different spaces.''

At the time, a question remained. ''Can it survive quarantine?'' she wondered.

Now, more than two years later, she knows that it did. ''It shape-shifted and permutated in new ways, but it's still there, and I think it's even stronger,'' she said. ''It's a bit of a superbug now. It knows itself more.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/17/arts/dance/new-york-live-arts-abby-zbikowski.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/17/arts/dance/new-york-live-arts-abby-zbikowski.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Above, Fiona Lundie, left, and Kashia Kancey, members of Abby Z and the New Utility, rehearsing ''Radioactive Practice'' at the Wexner Center for the Arts in Columbus, Ohio. Left, Abby Zbikowski. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 18, 2022

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[***Citizens No More; Tressie McMillan Cottom***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65T4-32G1-DXY4-X26D-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1303 words

**Byline:** Tressie McMillan Cottom

**Highlight:** Women pay a greater price for freedom than do men.

**Body**

Roe has been doctrine my entire life. When I graduated from high school, the senior year photographs were included in a memory book. One of the pages invited us to imagine our careers and salary 10 years in the future. I predicted I would be a lawyer earning a very realistic $35,000 a year. I was not stupid. I knew that race and gender might make that much harder to achieve. It never occurred to me that I should temper my aspirations because I was a girl.

In one lifetime, Roe had pushed women so fully into the paid labor market that it was normal for high school seniors to be asked to answer a genderless prompt about their economic aspirations. Flipping through that book today feels like reading a fairy tale, the old Grimm ones and not the new Disney ones.

I grew up choosing where and how I work because Roe v. Wade gave me many of the same basic rights of personhood as men, for example. Millions of women have, to different degrees, been able to do the same.

With Roe v. Wade toppled, we do not have the same rights in all labor markets. In a global market, an empowered worker is one who can migrate. With Dobbs, women cannot assume that we can safely work in Idaho the same way that we can in Oregon or Washington. I cannot negotiate wages or time off with an employer with the same risk profile as those who cannot become pregnant. An employer who offers lower pay in a state with abortion care indirectly benefits from women’s inability to take our labor on the open market across the nation. Thanks to a rogue court, women’s lives are now more determined by the accidents of our birth than they were a week ago.

Those accidents of birth include circumscribing women’s lives by making them dependent upon corporate beneficence. Some [*companies, including Dick’s Sporting Goods*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/24/business/abortion-roe-wade-companies.html), immediately issued statements that they would offer reimbursements to employees for traveling for abortion services. The largess of Dick’s and other companies is noteworthy. But it requires women to disclose their health status to a boss they have to hope is well meaning. That says nothing of also hoping that corporate management or leadership does not change. Well-meaning employers can come and go. They also vary in how well meaning they are in terms of pledges of their employee support.

Months before the decision was officially handed down, Starbucks also issued a statement vowing support for employees who seek abortion care. But its statement adds that it cannot guarantee that benefit to workers in unionized stores. [*Union drives at Starbucks*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/03/business/economy/starbucks-howard-schultz-union-pay.html) have increased worker power. Many of those workers are women and people who can become pregnant. Potentially attaching support for abortion care to nonunionized labor is a perfect example of why corporations should not be arbiters of human rights.

The majority opinion in Dobbs argues that it is merely making the right to an abortion a state’s decision. In reality, the justices are making it a corporation’s privilege. A society cannot be held together when half of a population has to rely so heavily on the kindness of strangers to do something as basic as work.

Economics, labor and jobs matter for more reasons than money. Jobs and income are the basic units of U.S. citizenship, in practice. Jobs are how we earn dignity. Income is one way we fund the state, through taxes and production. Jobs are also how the state provisions its responsibility to us, by relying on employers to deliver goods like health care and social security.

For only 58 years of the nation’s 246-year-old economy, [*women have been able to avail themselves — thanks to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act*](https://www.eeoc.gov/statutes/title-vii-civil-rights-act-1964#:~:text=Title%20VII%20prohibits%20employment%20discrimination,Rights%20Act%20of%201991%20(Pub.)— of the full citizenship that we effectively purchase through our jobs. We have been able to migrate from the South to the North and the West, seeking better wages and more opportunity. Abortion access [*afforded*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/07/business/roe-women-workforce-abortion-rights.html) women more and better economic opportunities, and those economic opportunities made women more viable in the eyes of the law. We have cobbled together economic opportunity, albeit for less pay than men, yes. But any paid work made us more free by making us more whole in the eyes of courts and institutions.

Today we pay a greater price for that freedom than do men. And it is a price that our children will inherit. Many of the people who celebrate the Dobbs decision are nostalgic for a pre-World War II American economy. That economy kept women from competing with men in the paid labor market. It also relied on unions to protect ***working-class*** men’s incomes. That economy is gone. This economy will not magically provide good jobs and good wages for men who will pass that on to their wives and children.

As a Black woman, I inherited the debts that white racism exacted upon the livelihoods of my grandparents and great-grandparents and their great-grandparents. I know well what that inheritance feels like. It makes your life poorer. It makes your communities poorer. And it dooms a society.

That we are all less free than we were on Thursday is, even by now, a cliché. But in fact, that is more true for poor women and trans men than for others. [*Do not mistake the specific harm for localized harm.*](https://www.thecut.com/2022/05/roe-v-wade-limits-of-privilege.html) When women cannot move freely across this nation, sure that they have basic human rights as they migrate, we are all anchored to the poverty of their choices.

There are even worse days ahead. By all accounts, the overturning of Roe v. Wade is just the beginning of decisions that could reverse hard-won human rights for all Americans. Justice Clarence Thomas indicated that [*L.G.B.T.Q rights*](https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2022/06/supreme-court-dobbs-roe-wade-obergefell-marriage-equality.html), [*birth control access*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/24/us/birth-control-plan-b-roe-abortion.html) and health care privacy may be in the court’s cross hairs.

I am still reeling from waking up in a new world. But that feeling cannot solidify into inertia. We can and should [*donate*](https://donations4abortion.com/) to organizations that provide abortion services in local communities. At the same time, donations will not save us. [*Consumer citizenship*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/10/opinion/scams-were-all-experts.html) has trained us to think about our politics as a set of transactions that we can purchase as we do a car or a new pair of shoes. Restoring human rights will require direct political engagement and tremendous resistance. I am not particularly hopeful.

Justice Samuel Alito wrote the majority decision. The journalist Stephanie Mencimer [*wrote in Mother Jones that it was always “going to be Alito*](https://www.motherjones.com/politics/2022/06/it-was-always-going-to-be-alito/)” who would write the majority decision. Alito says that the court cannot be concerned with how its decisions affect people. Linda Greenhouse in The Times [*described*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/24/opinion/roe-v-wade-dobbs-decision.html) the opinion as arrogant. I expect arrogance from a conservative court. It is more important to me that the decision is so bold.

This is a court unafraid of the electorate and unashamed of showing its hand. The emperor does not care that he wears no clothes. Nancy Pelosi [*reads a poem*](https://twitter.com/therecount/status/1540353602274959361?s=20&amp;t=rMhkQxd5F0kaM65-Cjo9cA). President Biden issued a tepid commitment to women’s rights. No one seems afraid of the people. That is the people’s fault.

The fight now shifts to the states, where many legal scholars do not know how to interpret this new reality. Some states are struggling with who has what authority. Other states want to refuse to enact Dobbs’s dictates but do not know how. We should be there to determine what a life after Roe v. Wade will look like. It will be hard. Setbacks are certain. But there is no other way forward and so many ways backward.

Tressie McMillan Cottom (@[*tressiemcphd*](https://twitter.com/tressiemcphd)) is an associate professor at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill School of Information and Library Science, the author of “Thick: And Other Essays” and a 2020 MacArthur fellow.

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**Load-Date:** June 29, 2022

**End of Document**



[***How Crypto Became the New Subprime***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64MX-8F01-JBG3-630J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 28, 2022 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 21; PAUL KRUGMAN

**Length:** 906 words

**Byline:** By Paul Krugman

**Body**

If the stock market isn't the economy -- which it isn't -- then cryptocurrencies like Bitcoin really, really aren't the economy. Still, crypto has become a pretty big asset class (and yielded huge capital gains to many buyers); by last fall the combined market value of cryptocurrencies had reached almost $3 trillion.

Since then, however, prices have crashed, wiping out around $1.3 trillion in market capitalization. As of Thursday morning, Bitcoin's price was almost halfway down from its November peak. So who is being hurt by this crash, and what might it do to the economy?

Well, I'm seeing uncomfortable parallels with the subprime crisis of the 2000s. No, crypto doesn't threaten the financial system -- the numbers aren't big enough to do that. But there's growing evidence that the risks of crypto are falling disproportionately on people who don't know what they are getting into and are poorly positioned to handle the downside.

What's this crypto thing about? There are many ways to make digital payments, from Apple Pay and Google Pay to Venmo. Mainstream payment schemes, however, rely on a third party -- usually your bank -- to verify that you actually own the assets you're transferring. Cryptocurrencies use complex coding to supposedly do away with the need for these third parties.

Skeptics wonder why this is necessary and argue that crypto ends up being an awkward, expensive way to do things you could have done more easily in other ways, which is why cryptocurrencies still have few legal applications 13 years after Bitcoin was introduced. The response, in my experience, tends to take the form of incomprehensible word salad.

Recent developments in El Salvador, which adopted Bitcoin as legal tender a few months ago, seem to bolster the skeptics: Residents attempting to use the currency find themselves facing huge transaction fees. Still, crypto has been effectively marketed: It manages both to seem futuristic and to appeal to old-style goldbug fears that the government will inflate away your savings, and huge past gains have drawn in investors worried about missing out. So crypto has become a large asset class even though nobody can clearly explain what legitimate purpose it's for.

But now crypto has crashed. Maybe it will recover and soar to new heights, as it has in the past. For now, however, prices are way down. Who are the losers?

As I said, there are disturbing echoes of the subprime crash 15 years ago.

Crypto is unlikely to cause an overall economic crisis. It's a big world out there, and even $1.3 trillion in losses is only about six percent of U.S. gross domestic product, a hit that's an order of magnitude smaller than the effects of falling home prices when the housing bubble burst. And activities like Bitcoin mining, while environmentally destructive, are economically trivial compared with home-building, whose plunge played a large role in causing the Great Recession.

Still, some people are being hurt. Who are they?

Investors in crypto seem to be different from investors in other risky assets, like stocks, who consist disproportionately of affluent, college-educated whites. According to a survey by the research organization NORC, 44 percent of crypto investors are nonwhite, and 55 percent don't have a college degree. This matches up with anecdotal evidence that crypto investing has become remarkably popular among minority groups and the ***working class***.

NORC says that this is great, that ''cryptocurrencies are opening up investing opportunities for more diverse investors.'' But I remember the days when subprime mortgage lending was similarly celebrated -- when it was hailed as a way to open up the benefits of homeownership to previously excluded groups.

It turned out, however, that many borrowers didn't understand what they were getting into. Ned Gramlich, a Federal Reserve official who famously warned in vain about the growing financial dangers, asked, ''Why are the most risky loan products sold to the least sophisticated borrowers?'' He then declared, ''The question answers itself.'' Homeownership dropped sharply once the bubble burst.

And cryptocurrencies, with their huge price fluctuations seemingly unrelated to fundamentals, are about as risky as an asset class can get.

Now, maybe those of us who still can't see what cryptocurrencies are good for other than money laundering and tax evasion are just missing the picture. Maybe the rising valuation (although not use) of Bitcoin and its rivals represents something more than a bubble, in which people buy an asset simply because other people have made money off that asset in the past. And it's OK for investors to bet against the skeptics.

But these investors should be people who are both well equipped to make that judgment and financially secure enough to bear the losses if it turns out that the skeptics are right.

Unfortunately, that's not what is happening. And if you ask me, regulators have made the same mistake they made on subprime: They failed to protect the public against financial products nobody understood, and many vulnerable families may end up paying the price.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/27/opinion/cryptocurrency-subprime-vulnerable.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/27/opinion/cryptocurrency-subprime-vulnerable.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Britta Pedersen/Picture Alliance, via Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** January 28, 2022

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[***Where’s Joe Biden?; Charles M. Blow***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64C6-5TN1-JBG3-64VB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 22, 2021 Wednesday 00:38 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 819 words

**Byline:** Charles M. Blow

**Highlight:** Biden’s administration needs a pinch of cayenne.

**Body**

Joe Biden’s poll numbers keep sliding.

Americans, including many of the people who voted for him, are not happy with him. They want him to be something different, to be someone different.

Some may think that these Americans misjudged the man they sent to the White House. I don’t share that view.

America didn’t misjudge Joe Biden. As president, he has been exactly who he said he’d be. But America did misjudge the kind of leader it wanted in this moment.

Last year, most Democrats had a single goal: to get rid of Donald Trump. He was degrading the country and possibly destroying it.

We were all living in a vortex of chaos. Every morning we rose to a fresh hell. What had he done and said today? How much more of this could we take? It felt at times like we were trapped in an abusive relationship. We just wanted out. We wanted relief.

Biden seemed, to many, to be the man who could provide it, the man who could loosen Trump’s stranglehold on our society. Democrats were afraid to take too much of a chance with their nominee. Wanting too much, let alone demanding it, felt dangerous.

So we settled on the elder statesman. The straight white man. The middle-of-the-roader: not too hot, not too cold, lukewarm.

He was the “scrappy kid from Scranton,” the unapologetic “union man” who could win back the pixies of politics: the ***working-class*** white voters who could back Barack Obama in one election and Trump in the next.

Biden pitched electability — moderation rather than transformation — and voters liked it.

When he took office, Representative Lisa Blunt Rochester of Delaware, who had chaired his campaign, [*told*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/20/us/politics/biden-taking-office-amid-chaos-seeks-to-project-calm-resolve.html) The Times that the president was projecting a sense of “calm resolve.”

Calm resolve may well be the working mantra of the Biden administration — and there have been successes and positive news under Biden — but Americans are now dealing with a virus that won’t go away, rising inflation, progressive legislation that is either stalled (like [*the Build Back Better bill*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/16/us/politics/biden-immigration-build-back-better.html)) or abandoned (like Senator Cory Booker’s federal police reform bill).

A congressional committee is [*looking into the Jan. 6 insurrection*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/20/us/politics/jan-6-committee-trump-criminal-referral.html) and prosecutors around the country are looking into Trump, his campaign, his family and his companies, but he has yet to be held accountable for his multiple transgressions and is likely to run again in 2024.

The Biden administration needs a pinch of cayenne.

They thought that if they just kept their heads down and did the work, they would be rewarded. But that’s not the way the world works anymore, not in this moment, not after Trump.

If you put a megaphone down, someone else will pick it up. Silence creates a void aching to be filled.

As Politico [*reported*](https://www.politico.com/newsletters/west-wing-playbook/2021/10/19/why-bidens-not-doing-interviews-494771) in October, Biden had participated in just 10 one-on-one interviews in the first nine months of his presidency.

The publication called it “a distinct feature of this White House,” noting that “At this point in their presidencies, Barack Obama had participated in 131 interviews and Donald Trump had participated in 57 (16 of which were within the friendly confines of Fox News).”

Biden wasn’t always so reticent. As Politico noted, he was far more outspoken as vice president, giving at least twice the number of interviews by his first October in office as he has while president, sometimes even visiting all three network morning shows in a single day.

Today, messaging from the White House often falls to the emissaries. But that is not enough.

There is a hardening perception that the president isn’t even being silently productive, but voiceless and vacant. A new poll from Morning Consult and Politico [*finds*](https://www.politico.com/f/?id=0000017d-d90c-dca7-a1fd-f91db0b60000&amp;nname=playbook-pm&amp;nid=0000015a-dd3e-d536-a37b-dd7fd8af0000&amp;nrid=0000014e-f115-dd93-ad7f-f91513e50001&amp;nlid=964328) that 42 percent of registered voters say that Biden has accomplished less than they expected. More than a quarter of Democrats felt this way.

Biden is being the president he campaigned to be. He is following that script to a T. But conditions on the ground have changed. What the American people want from their leader has changed. And Biden is going to have to change with them. He has to be the president America needs in December 2021, not the one it needed in December 2020.

Even with the real policy disappointments of the last few months, particularly around voting rights, Biden’s first year in office is far from a failure. But an alternate reality is growing in the minds of voters, and Biden himself is doing too little to squash it.

He needs to change the narrative, and the first step is to be more publicly present. Agreeing to an interview Wednesday with ABC’s David Muir was a start, but just one appearance won’t correct a season of shirking.

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Damon Winter/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 24, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Revealing the Labor of Dance Through Constant Motion***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65G6-FG01-DXY4-X0TC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 17, 2022 Tuesday 03:01 EST

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**Section:** ARTS; dance

**Length:** 1121 words

**Byline:** Gia Kourlas

**Highlight:** The choreographer Abby Zbikowski brings her raw, genre-bending “Radioactive Practice” to New York Live Arts after a two-year delay.

**Body**

The choreographer Abby Zbikowski brings her raw, genre-bending “Radioactive Practice” to New York Live Arts after a two-year delay.

COLUMBUS, Ohio — Abby Zbikowski’s voice can cut through the loudest drums.

It was a Friday morning in April, and a thunderous beat reverberated through a spacious, window-lined studio in the dance department of the Ohio State University. Zbikowski, a choreographer and teacher, stopped the beat for a moment to ask her students a question that seemed at odds with the high-powered phrase they were performing.

“How,” she said, “do you make yourself relax?”

While dipping forward, could they release their hair in order to feel the weight of their bodies? Could they find a moment in which they didn’t have to push? How could a [*sauté jump*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fX1xq79TI5M), nestled into a lateral, forceful twist, not look quite so much like a sauté? She demonstrated the feel of what she was after — less polished, more wild. “Because you are swinging and launching your guts around,” Zbikowski said. “How can you ride it more?”

Zbikowski, 38 — tattooed and lively, with a devilish smile and an affinity for poetic soliloquies about energy and effort — is not your typical experimental dance artist. She is, in part, pursuing something slightly out of fashion in more cerebral contemporary dance circles: constant motion. One element of her technique class is running. Real running, not what she referred to as dance running. She likes to tell her students to imagine she is chasing them with a pitchfork.

“The rigor of my technique classes does feel like manual labor,” Zbikowski said. “But it’s a chosen one.”

Beginning Wednesday, her company, [*Abby Z and the New Utility*](http://www.abbyznewutility.org/), presents [*“Radioactive Practice” at New York Live Arts*](https://newyorklivearts.org/event/radioactive-practice-3/), where it was originally scheduled to be performed in March 2020, when the city went into lockdown. It still features dramaturgy by the [*Senegalese dance artist Momar Ndiaye*](https://www.momarkndiaye.com/), her partner, with whom she has a nearly 1-year-old son. And it remains physically arduous, though the cast has shrunk to six from 10 because of the pandemic — some dancers have moved away or moved on.

Using an array of movement practices — cast members have experience in street dance, modern and postmodern dance, hip-hop, contemporary African forms and tap along with synchronized swimming, soccer and martial arts — [*“Radioactive Practice”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HqP0CkGUxEg)braids emotional toughness with unrelenting physicality, which transports dancers from the floor to the air. As a result, something else emerges: a bold new energy that speaks to survival and purpose as dancers strive to move beyond physical and mental limitations.

On the surface, it seems like Zbikowski’s aim is to push the body to it limits, but her work — with so many movement forms on display — also grapples with deeper questions. She wonders how bodies are conditioned mentally and physically? How are we shaped by class, race, sexuality and gender? Can what has been conditioned in us mutate? Can it evolve?

And of the elements that condition us, she asks, “how do you carry them in your gut, how do you carry them in your flesh and bones?”

“All of that comes out in the work,” she added. “I think what I’m after is the discipline of disciplines.”

There is obvious athleticism in “Radioactive Practice,” but there is more than sheer physicality; within the driving movement is the dancers’ presence, “their heart and souls,” she said. “And again, the gut that is being carried through space.”

Zbikowski, a former field hockey goalie, has trained extensively in African and Afro-diasporic forms, including at Germaine Acogny’s [*École de Sables*](https://ecoledessables.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/Training-in-Germaine-Acogny-Technique-2022-2023.pdf) in Senegal. But tap was her first love. “There was something about the feeling of the rhythm,” she said. “It wasn’t about what it was looking like. That has always spoken to me; it was about the feeling, and it was about what was being produced as a result of what you were doing.”

All of her training and education, which includes an M.F.A. from Ohio State, has helped frame her sense of how a dancing body can defy labels. “Having this Africanist, Afro-diasporic training, but also being who I am, being this white girl — and not in a demeaning way, but just understanding what that is — what do I do with this information?” she said. “I think it’s taken me a long time to understand that this has, little by little, been building my world and understanding for what the body can do.”

Zbikowski grew up in South Jersey, which meant that she could travel to Philadelphia for dance classes; it was at a time, she said, that hip-hop was moving into studios. At Temple University, she studied the contemporary African form of [*Umfundalai*](https://www.umfundalai.net/). (In Swahili, she said, it means “the essence.”) While there, she also met the choreographer and dancer [*Charles O. Anderson*](https://dance.osu.edu/news/ohio-state-dance-welcomes-new-department-chair-charles-o.-anderson), who is to become chair of the dance department at Ohio State in June.

Anderson, whose background in Afro-contemporary forms includes performing with the choreographer Ronald K. Brown, met Zbikowski when she was a freshman. “She was such a powerful performer and so keen in terms of wanting to understand the nuance and shape of my movement,” he said.

An early supporter of her choreography, Anderson admires how open she is; how her work is inspired by Africanist forms but doesn’t appropriate them. “I think this is the interesting thing around class — Abby is so decidedly aware of being from a ***working-class*** background from New Jersey,” he said. “That ethic of working, I think, helps her in a lot of ways to appreciate what’s been offered rather than feeling ‘it’s mine to take’. And so not only does she honor it in words, but also in the rigor in which she really tries to find what is the movement saying to her specifically.”

“She knows the shoulders she’s standing on,” he added, “and, yeah, I love her for that.”

In March 2020, when the scheduled performances of “Radioactive Practice” were in flux but not yet canceled, Zbikowski told me that she felt she could make work that could survive the apocalypse. “It’s kind of like a cockroach where there’s a durability, there’s a toughness to it, there’s a ruggedness to it,” she said then. “It’s adaptable according to who practices it. And it can live in a lot of different spaces.”

At the time, a question remained. “Can it survive quarantine?” she wondered.

Now, more than two years later, she knows that it did. “It shape-shifted and permutated in new ways, but it’s still there, and I think it’s even stronger,” she said. “It’s a bit of a superbug now. It knows itself more.”

PHOTOS: Above, Fiona Lundie, left, and Kashia Kancey, members of Abby Z and the New Utility, rehearsing “Radioactive Practice” at the Wexner Center for the Arts in Columbus, Ohio. Left, Abby Zbikowski. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 18, 2022

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[***You Call This ‘Flexible Work’?; the future of work***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:680H-NY01-JBG3-64C3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 12, 2023 Wednesday 14:39 EST

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**Section:** MAGAZINE

**Length:** 4094 words

**Byline:** Fred Turner

**Highlight:** Labor fought for a long time to draw a bright line between work and home. It took almost no time at all to erase it.

**Body**

Rush hour, lunch hour, happy hour — not so long ago, anyone who worked in Lower Manhattan could tell you what time it was. From 7 to 9 in the morning, men and women streamed toward their offices. Between 5 and 7 in the evening, they streamed home again, maybe stopping by a bar on the way. Then the pandemic hit. The office towers emptied out. Work went on, but from living rooms, dining rooms and bedrooms, over the internet. People had worked from home for years, but not on this scale. Before the pandemic, the rhythms of the day, at least for office workers, were mostly unchanged for a hundred years. But now the industrial-era social compact that governed how we experienced the working day for generations is breaking down. The terms of that compact are so familiar to us that we almost never name them: Labor should be measured by time, in hours and days; people should be paid the same amount for the same work; the day should be broken into periods of labor and leisure.

In 1938, Congress passed the Fair Labor Standards Act, requiring that almost all employees be paid a minimum wage per hour, with a 50 percent bonus for overtime after 44 hours in a week. Now updated but still the law of the land, the act formally ratified the division of work time from free time. Until recently, the physical distance between workplace and home helped guarantee these terms. The commute enforced a boundary between professional and personal time that millions observed every day. So, too, did the calendar, dividing days into weekdays for work, weekends for leisure.

Today networked computers are dissolving that division and, with it, the industrial-era time compact. Since computers first became small enough to take home about 50 years ago, and since they became linked to one another in global networks not long after that, a new flexibility has appeared — and many people love it. Ride-share drivers set their own schedules. Lawyers meet the kids when they come home from school and go back to work after snack time. Call-center operators work when they want and take their calls from the living room. Copywriters, financial analysts and any number of other office workers move out to the country and do their city jobs online. Recent surveys show that [*most Americans want to continue to work from home*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w28731) at least a few days a week.

This new autonomy comes with potential costs, though. In the 19th century, the home was supposed to provide a refuge from the outside world. But by the early 2000s, its walls had been well and truly breached. Physical distance can no longer keep employers at bay. Everything we do online can be tracked. [*Bosses can count our keystrokes*](https://www.eff.org/deeplinks/2020/06/inside-invasive-secretive-bossware-tracking-workers) from a distance and measure the minutes we devote to our jobs. They can also peer into our living rooms, learn a great deal about who we are and use it to alter the terms of our employment. In many quarters, the relationship between time worked and wages paid is changing. And in some, the ideal of equal pay for equal work no longer holds. What’s becoming clear is that we need a new compact for a new technological era.

The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 was a capstone, a formal acknowledgment of a widely shared understanding of how labor should be measured. That understanding stretches back more than 200 years to the dawn of the Industrial Revolution. Before the late 18th century, most people worked in or near their homes, on farms or in artisanal workshops or often both. Nature and religion governed their sense of time. Aristocrats and wealthy merchants owned watches and clocks, but for most people, the sun dictated the limits of the working day.

That changed with the arrival of the factory system. In the 1700s, the Industrial Revolution rolled across Britain, as new technologies like the steam engine and the power loom transformed manufacturing. The efficiencies they introduced undercut the ability of home-based workers to compete, especially in industries like weaving. Whole families, suddenly impoverished, found themselves forced to report to factories for work. When they did, they encountered a new management tool: the clock.

Preindustrial workers like servants and farmhands would certainly have understood that, in some sense, they were selling their time. But on the factory floor, bosses watched employees from dawn to dusk, tracking their movements with clocks, time sheets and human timekeepers. One of the earliest such factories, the Crowley Iron Works in England, helped set the model, as the historian E.P. Thompson noted. There the owner employed a human “monitor” whose timepiece was law. Workers had to be on the job from 7 a.m. until 10 p.m. daily, with an hour-and-a-half break for meals. The monitor tracked workers’ movements and subtracted any time, beyond those 90 minutes, they spent “being at taverns, alehouses, coffee houses, breakfast, dinner, playing, sleeping, smoking, singing, reading of news history, quarreling, contention, disputes or anything foreign to my business,” according to the company’s official Law Book.

No one could challenge the monitor’s account of time, even if he had a watch of his own, which was unlikely. Early factories routinely controlled access to any device that could measure time. One early 19th-century textile-mill worker described working “as long as we could see in summer, and I could not say at what hour it was we stopped. There was nobody but the master and the master’s son who had a watch, and we did not know the time. There was one man who had a watch,” he continued. “It was taken from him and given into the master’s custody because he had told the men the time of day.”

On the factory floor, time became a tool for the exploitation of workers. But the factory system also helped create a different kind of time, away from the job, time to use any way one liked. By separating the workplace from the home, the factory system caused workers to divide their days into hours that belonged to their employers and hours that belonged to themselves.

Before the rise of the factory system, homes were social, even public places, not private retreats. Parents and their children might share their dwellings with apprentices, servants and distant relatives, and often everyone slept, worked and ate in the same rooms. As the Industrial Revolution took hold, so did new boundaries between the personal and the professional, the private and the public, the male and the female. “Our men are sufficiently moneymaking,” Sarah Josepha Hale, editor of Godey’s Lady’s Book, wrote in 1832. “Let us keep our women and children from the contagion as long as possible.” The home was to be the domain of the nuclear family, especially the wife and mother, a place where she would restore the energies of her husband and raise their children to a high moral standard. “This is the true nature of home — it is the place of Peace,” the Victorian philosopher John Ruskin wrote in 1864. “So far as the anxieties of the outer life penetrate into it … it ceases to be home.”

Such a view could never be more than a distant ideal for many in the ***working class***, let alone the enslaved populations of the American South. But it circulated through popular magazines across the 19th century and well into the 20th, and it helped set the terms on which workers in England and the United States would fight for the eight-hour day and the five-day week.

That fight began with children. In the early years of industrialization, children routinely worked 12 to 14 hours a day in British mills. In 1830, two decades after England banned the slave trade, the [*British abolitionist Richard Oastler*](https://victorianweb.org/history/yorkslav.html) wrote a letter to a Leeds newspaper comparing child laborers to colonial slaves. “These innocent creatures drawl out, unpitied, their short but miserable existence, in a place famed for its profession of religious zeal,” he wrote, a place whose streets “are every morning wet by the tears of innocent victims at the accursed shrine of avarice.”

Oastler’s letter prompted a nationwide campaign for the 10-hour day for working children. That push ultimately helped reduce working hours for adults, in England and in America too. American agitation for the eight-hour day began not long after Oastler’s campaign and accelerated rapidly in the wake of the Civil War, behind the slogan “Eight hours for work, eight hours for rest, eight hours for what we will.” In 1868, the new National Labor Union won the eight-hour day for employees of the United States government. Four years later, members of some building trades in New York went on a monthslong strike to push for enforcement of those hours, already the law in New York State. In 1886, union organizers called for a nationwide strike on May 1 to win the eight-hour day for everyone. Days later, a bomb, thrown by persons unknown, exploded among police officers who were cracking down on [*strikers in Chicago’s Haymarket Square.*](https://guides.loc.gov/chronicling-america-haymarket-affair) The nationwide anti-labor hysteria that followed set the campaign back, but only temporarily.

Even as momentum for the eight-hour day for workers was building, time itself was changing to meet the needs of industry. In 1883, an association of railroad executives replaced myriad local systems for keeping time with the standardized nationwide time zones that we use today. Many were aghast. The Atlanta Constitution railed at “the utter contempt into which the Sun and the Moon have fallen.” Many fretted that “the chopping up of time into rigid periods is an invasion of individual freedom, and makes no allowances for differences in temperament and feeling,” as the essayist Charles Dudley Warner put it at the time. Machine-time had become universal.

In the early years of the 20th century, as workers continued to win shorter workdays in a variety of industries, many Americans came to believe that the tight control of time on the job could give workers better lives away from it. Frederick W. Taylor, the most famous efficiency expert of the day, tracked individual workers’ movements with a stopwatch to establish the standard time a task should take. With that standard in place, he thought, managers would be able to evaluate employee performance and reward more efficient workers with higher wages — that is, in Taylor’s view, pay everyone more fairly — using time as a metric visible to all.

Workers often suspected that Taylor was trying to use his stopwatch just to squeeze more out of them, and not without reason. But the Ford Motor Company seemed to prove Taylor’s point. Ford’s automated assembly lines, which synchronized the movements of workers and machines, made it possible for the company to more than double workers’ minimum wage to an unheard-of $5 for an eight-hour day in 1914. This pay increase turned Ford’s workers into buyers of his cars, as Ford himself liked to point out. And of course, granting workers the “eight hours for what we will” long sought by unions allowed Ford to run its factories in three eight-hour shifts 24 hours a day. In 1926, the company was among the first to adopt the five-day, 40-hour workweek, and many others followed suit.

When Congress passed the Fair Labor Standards Act, it turned the principles behind Ford’s system into law. Labor would now be measured in time and rewarded with money. Workers and managers would read from the same clock and so jointly enforce the ideal of equal pay for equal work. The day would be divided into time for labor and time for leisure, with a car-assisted commute between the two. The commute itself would help preserve the boundaries between office and home, and by implication, between the nuclear family and the world outside.

This way of dividing time shaped American lives for decades, despite the introduction of a series of new media technologies. At the end of the 19th century, the quiet of the idealized Victorian home was shattered by the ringing of the first telephones. Americans who had once gone to visit one another in person, calling cards in hand, now learned to make phone calls. Doctors who once had to make house calls could be consulted by phone. Within a few decades, Americans could pick up the phone and dial the pharmacist or the florist to place an order. One after another, across the 20th century, the radio, the television and even the lowly fax machine beamed news of distant happenings into living rooms and kitchens. But none of these devices on their own challenged the fundamental separation of personal time and work time. Americans simply learned how to set their clocks to catch their favorite programs and how not to be home when the boss called.

That changed in the early 1980s, when computers became small enough for desktop use and the internet linked them together. Today computers feel as if they’ve been with us forever. But the [*earliest all-electronic digital computers*](https://www.computerhistory.org/timeline/computers/) appeared less than a single lifetime ago, and until the 1970s, virtually all computers were room-size machines. By the early 1980s, they had become all-purpose appliances. They could handle text like a typewriter and calculations like an adding machine, and they could do it all on screens like those of a television. Inexpensive dial-up modems let home users work online, with their colleagues, in real time, as if they were also sitting in the office. Before too long laptops and smartphones made it possible to work from anywhere, anytime.

The effects of this transformation vary a great deal depending on what you do for a living. The same core technologies that allow a Silicon Valley software developer to move to Colorado and work from a mountain retreat keep Starbucks baristas and home health care workers on tenterhooks. In the industrial era, work schedules had to be set in advance. It was possible to change shifts at the last minute, but an employer might not be able to find the workers he was looking for if they weren’t standing by landline phones. Today computers allow companies to monitor market demands in real time and adjust workers’ schedules on the fly. Cellphones let bosses reach workers wherever and whenever they like. It has become as easy for supervisors to demand that service workers reschedule their shifts as it has for software developers to decide when and where they write code. It is no longer possible for many Americans to divide their days into periods of labor and leisure with any predictability.

Digital technologies have also extended employers’ powers to surveil, which in turn undercuts the ability of workers to ensure that they are being paid fairly. On the 19th-century factory floor, bosses could see everything workers did, but unless they hired private detectives or required workers to live in company-owned towns, their powers of surveillance stopped at the factory gates. Today, when we work at home, our computers make it easy for our bosses to track our keystrokes, control our cameras and tap our microphones. They can also follow us on Facebook and Twitter and put together a picture of our political beliefs, our patterns of association, our sexual proclivities and our propensity to unionize. In contrast, our ability to watch them is radically curtailed, by law and by design. Algorithms are trade secrets. Monitoring software is a one-way mirror that makes it impossible for workers to peer back.

Fights over transparency date back to the timekeeper on the factory floor. What’s new today is the scale of the asymmetry. The scattering of work from the open-plan office to the private home has created a world in which the captains of industry can watch us wherever we go and make use of whatever they learn to determine our pay and our career trajectory and whether we stay employed at all. In today’s factories, on a Tesla assembly line or at an Amazon warehouse, bosses are taking advantage of these new powers to enforce a time discipline on workers that is as precise and destructive as any that Frederick Taylor could have come up with.

The way these new powers undermine the old time compact can be seen most clearly among piece workers, a category of laborers unmentioned in the original Fair Labor Standards Act. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, manufacturers in industries from cigar rolling to coat making supplied raw materials to individual homes, where they were finished by men, women and children — many of them recent immigrants. In 1890, the journalist Jacob Riis described walking past tenements in Manhattan’s Lower East Side and hearing “the whir of a thousand sewing machines, worked at high pressure from earliest dawn till mind and muscle give out together.” Organizers thought piece workers would be hard to unionize because they never came together on a factory floor, and many social reformers believed that piece work in the home was an insult to motherhood and shouldn’t be supported at all.

Like cigar makers a hundred years ago, drivers for Uber and Lyft are paid by the piece, in this case the ride. In the past, the shape of the cigar being made determined cigar makers’ compensation. Rollers who made the same kinds of cigars made the same amount of money, in keeping with the industrial-era principle of equal pay for equal work. Today, digital technologies are letting firms undercut that principle. Ride-share companies track everything from real-time supply and demand to the work habits of drivers. Because they don’t let ride-share drivers know how they use that data to set prices, drivers have no way to know if the “upfront price” that Uber or Lyft offers to pay them for a ride is in fact the same price they are offering other drivers.

Computers aren’t going anywhere. As they spread the clock-time logic of the factory to places formerly beyond its reach, digital technologies clearly amplify the power of employers, but they also make it possible for many of us to labor and rest in the same rooms, at home, among our friends and relatives, and so reintegrate parts of our lives split apart by the Industrial Revolution. The question is: How can we structure time in ways that balance employers’ desires for control and workers’ desires for autonomy? And how can we do it in ways that benefit everyone?

When workers fought for the eight-hour day, they weren’t just seeking to work less. They wanted to create conditions under which families had time to be together, citizens had time to rally and vote and everyone had time to read, write and flourish. When workers took their watches into the factory, they were seeking to ensure the fair measurement of labor and equal pay for equal work. At bottom, industrial-era fights over how to structure the day and the week were fights over how to give workers more control over their lives and more resources with which to care for one another.

Today workers have to pursue those goals on new technological terms. Cellphones and laptops have made it impossible for many people to wall off eight hours of the day for paid labor and another eight for everything else, and they threaten to return all of us to an era of nonstop, undercompensated labor. But if workers can seize this new flexibility and turn it to their advantage, as 20th-century workers seized the time-clock logic of the factory, it might just transform all of our lives. It could help us tend to our friends, our children, our aging parents. It could make it more convenient, if not necessarily easier, to slip back and forth between our duties to our employers and things we need to do for ourselves and our communities. What we require now is a new set of norms and rules geared to helping all of us enjoy the new flexibility’s benefits.

We can start by acknowledging that in a world where many people can work where they like, we will need to measure labor in ways that take better account of location. The notion that hours worked should be the foundation of compensation made sense when everyone worked in the same place and could see the same clock. For many today, those conditions no longer apply. The choice of where and when to work has monetary value, as does control of the power to choose. Imagine a world in which service workers can demand higher wages in return for their flexibility. Today we can already see that for those who can do their jobs anywhere, having to report to an office may constitute an extra financial burden and so require extra compensation. Those who work from their apartments or cars already incur expenses once borne by employers. As more people work outside the office, they should be compensated for those costs, as well as for the tasks they perform.

Workers will also need to understand the algorithms by which employers are measuring their performance. Without that knowledge, there is no way for workers to compare themselves with one another and so enforce the principle of equal pay for equal work. But this is not something workers or even employers can do on their own. The companies who supply the algorithms have little incentive to serve anyone but their corporate clients. Veena Dubal, a professor at the University of California College of the Law, San Francisco, has argued that we must [*outlaw the practice of letting algorithms offer different workers different pay*](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=4331080) for the same work based on information to which workers don’t have access. This would be an important first step, but in the long run, we will need to find ways to make the terms on which we labor more transparent.

We will also need to find new ways to control the times and places in which workers can be observed. It is now technologically possible for anyone connected to a networked computer with a camera and a microphone to see and hear anyone else connected to such a machine. When employers can follow employees through every part of their lives, usually without their knowledge, they gain the kind of power over workers that the owner of the Crowley Iron Works once had. And when they use that power, they produce the grotesque differences in earnings between workers and owners that we saw in the 18th century and that we see at Amazon and Uber today.

This is not just another call to give users new desktop tools to control their privacy settings, valuable as that may be. As Zephyr Teachout, a law professor at Fordham University, former candidate for governor of New York and [*longtime analyst of the changing workplace*](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=4358817), has argued, the law needs to change. Teachout has written that in an era in which bosses can see a person’s whole social-media profile, laws must be put in place to restrict the information on which they are subsequently allowed to base employment decisions. In essence, Teachout hopes to at least restore the balance of the power to surveil one another that characterized the in-person world of the last century.

As Dubal and Teachout suggest, individuals simply can’t square off against globe-spanning digital and corporate networks alone. Ride-share drivers and warehouse workers know this and are turning toward a tried-and-true tool from the industrial era: union organizing. The challenges are formidable. Traditionally, worker solidarity required gathering in person. Organizers today face not only intense resistance from employers but also the need to bring together workers who increasingly labor alone. One group of ride-share drivers interviewed by Veena Dubal has created an app they call their “water cooler” that allows them to communicate in real time without their employers listening in and so build the kinds of relationships once nurtured on the factory floor. Whether such bottom-up modes of resistance will work and for whom remains an open question.

The way we work is changing by the minute now. As the pandemic taught us, the changes will continue to be disorienting. But if we can figure out how to organize time in the digital era in ways that serve the values of equality and mutual care, we may discover opportunities that those who framed the industrial-era time compact never imagined. We may gain a new freedom to choose where we live — and how.

Fred Turner is a cultural historian who studies the impact of new media technologies on American life. He is the Harry and Norman Chandler Professor of Communication at Stanford University and a 2022 Guggenheim fellow, as well as, most recently, co-author with Mary Beth Meehan of “Seeing Silicon Valley.” Brian Rea is an artist based in Stockholm. His drawings can be seen each week alongside The Times’s column [*“Modern Love.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/modern-love) His forthcoming book with Lucienne Brown, “Fixing Flamingos” (Chronicle Books), will be published this fall.

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[***There Are Solutions to New York’s High Rents Right in Front of Us; Mara Gay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:653J-C3T1-JBG3-617X-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1026 words

**Byline:** Mara Gay

**Highlight:** New York needs more housing fast, and a few key measures would help build it.

**Body**

Rents in New York City are [*soaring*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/07/nyregion/nyc-rent-surge.html). Even upper-middle-class New Yorkers are finding they are unable to afford to buy homes in the communities they grew up in. Poor and ***working-class*** New Yorkers are staring at homelessness. Thousands of eviction proceedings are [*underway*](https://app.powerbigov.us/view?r=eyJrIjoiZGE3NzljYmItYTBmZC00OGI2LTliYTgtYzY5ZjI0N2U0MWYxIiwidCI6IjM0NTZmZTkyLWNiZDEtNDA2ZC1iNWEzLTUzNjRiZWMwYTgzMyJ9) across the state.

There is one straightforward solution: New York needs to build more housing, of all kinds, and fast.

Though America overall is not building enough housing, the problem in New York is especially acute. Over the past decade, New York City issued [*fewer*](https://cbcny.org/research/strategies-boost-housing-production-new-york-city-metropolitan-area) permits for new housing units per capita than almost every other major U.S. city, including San Francisco, according to a report from the nonprofit Citizens Budget Commission.

There are signs of some progress, at least when it comes to state laws that would make it easier to build in New York City.

The State Legislature and governor appear to have a good shot at moving forward with a law [*legalizing basement and garage apartments*](https://www.nysenate.gov/legislation/bills/2021/s4547) in New York City. If successful, it could protect thousands of New Yorkers who already live in these apartments and encourage other homeowners to rent such units. A proposal to ease the conversion of office and hotel space to housing in New York City also has broad support.

Also promising: Gov. Kathy Hochul has laid out a substitute for the 421a program, a tax incentive for developers that expires in June. Though 421a costs taxpayers [*$1.7 billion*](https://www.thecity.nyc/2022/3/16/22982285/nyc-developer-tax-break-421a) annually, a majority of the units it creates are affordable only to those who earn over $100,000 per year, [*according*](https://comptroller.nyc.gov/reports/a-better-way-than-421a/) to an estimate by the city’s comptroller. A proposal from the governor would get New Yorkers a [*better deal*](https://therealdeal.com/2022/01/05/hochul-supersize-nyc-apartment-buildings-replace-421a/) by requiring that units be built for lower-income New Yorkers, among other concessions from developers.

In a highly technical but important effort, Albany may also move to remove onerous caps on the amount of residential housing that developers can build on any given lot in New York City.

These are all steps in the right direction. But they fall far short of the regional approach New York needs to increase its housing supply and ease the burden of high rents and housing prices all over the state.

There is much more New York can do to lower the cost of housing in New York City and statewide.

Lawmakers could, for example, expand the measure [*legalizing basement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/13/nyregion/basement-apartment-bronx-illegal.html) and garage apartments to the rest of the state. (That idea was scrapped after suburban lawmakers balked, according to people familiar with these conversations.)

A [*proposal*](https://www.nysenate.gov/legislation/bills/2021/S7574) from State Senator Brad Hoylman would limit the ability of cities and towns across New York to use zoning laws to prohibit multifamily housing, allowing more of the sorely needed housing to be built across the state. Measures like these can help dismantle the effects of [*racist zoning laws*](https://furmancenter.org/research/publication/ending-exclusionary-zoning-in-new-york-city8217s-suburbs) that have helped make the New York region one of the most expensive and [*racially segregated*](https://www.forbes.com/sites/palashghosh/2021/06/21/four-fifths-of-us-metro-areas-more-segregated-in-2019-than-in-1990-while-detroit-is-the-most-segregated-city-in-country/?sh=54e31d5d28d3) metropolitan areas in the country. Another, more limited measure from Governor Hochul would allow for some new multifamily housing to be built around mass transit sites in the New York suburbs.

Both measures have died amid fierce [*opposition*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/24/opinion/long-island-housing.html) from some officials in Long Island. Instead of backing down, Governor Hochul and other New York politicians could make the case to suburban New Yorkers that building more housing in their communities is a step toward not only fairness but also affordability for the entire region. The median sales price of homes in Nassau County has risen 8.5 percent since last year, according to the real estate company [*Redfin*](https://www.redfin.com/county/1974/NY/Nassau-County/housing-market), and [*11.3 percent*](https://www.redfin.com/county/1996/NY/Suffolk-County/housing-market) in Suffolk County.

Another important proposal isn’t being seriously discussed at all. Reforming New York City’s [*deeply unfair property tax system*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/30/nyregion/property-tax-reform-nyc.html) would encourage builders to construct large rental housing.

Under the current system, the median effective property tax rate on large rental properties, where most poor and working- and middle-class New Yorkers live and pay rent, is about [*double*](https://www1.nyc.gov/site/propertytaxreform/report/final-report.page) the effective rate for condominiums and higher than the rate on one- to three-family homes. Reducing the taxes on new large apartment buildings can help create more housing by giving developers an incentive to invest in these projects.

What’s more, in many cases, the owners of brownstones and townhouses in affluent neighborhoods such as Cobble Hill and Park Slope in Brooklyn pay significantly less in property taxes, in absolute terms and as a percentage of their market value, than the owners of single-family homes in the Bronx and Staten Island, which have far lower market values. The city’s comptroller, Brad Lander, resurrected calls for property tax reform in a [*report*](https://comptroller.nyc.gov/reports/a-better-way-than-421a/) this month, pointing out that such reforms would largely negate the need for 421a.

It would be refreshing to see others in Albany and City Hall who together have the power to enact those reforms follow suit.

The housing crisis is also making communities less safe for everyone. Building more housing is part of how we stabilize a deeply unsettled city and deliver vital services — including mental health treatment — to the people who need them.

Turning this around will require the support of all New Yorkers. Wealthier city residents can do their part by paying their fair share of city property taxes. That is the cost a livable city requires. Suburban New Yorkers can begin by considering the vibrancy, diversity and economic growth that increased development can bring to their communities. Politicians in New York can also make clear that generous investments in mass transit — like the [*Long Island Rail Road expansion*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/26/opinion/lirr-long-island-affordable-housing.html) — come alongside affordable housing.

Americans of all backgrounds are being asked to decide what kind of community they want to live in. New York doesn’t have to accept a reality in which only the city’s very wealthiest residents get to enjoy the peace of mind that comes with secure housing.

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[***Giorgia Meloni Wins Voting in Italy, in Breakthrough for Europe’s Hard Right***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66G4-0521-JBG3-6122-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Jason Horowitz

**Highlight:** Her nationalist party was the top vote-getter, leaving Ms. Meloni poised to be Italy’s first female prime minister and the first with post-Fascist roots.

**Body**

Her nationalist party was the top vote-getter, leaving Ms. Meloni poised to be Italy’s first female prime minister and the first with post-Fascist roots.

ROME — Italy turned a page of European history on Sunday by electing a hard-right coalition led by Giorgia Meloni, whose long record of bashing the European Union, international bankers and migrants has sown concern about the nation’s reliability in the Western alliance.

Results released early Monday showed that Ms. Meloni, the leader of the nationalist Brothers of Italy, a party descended from the remnants of fascism, had led a right-wing coalition to a majority in Parliament, defeating a fractured left and a resurgent anti-establishment movement.

It will still be weeks before the new Italian Parliament is seated and a new government is formed, leaving plenty of time for political machinations and horse trading in a coalition with major differences. But Ms. Meloni’s strong showing, with about 26 percent of the vote, the highest of any single party, makes her the prohibitive favorite to become the country’s first female prime minister.

While she is a strong supporter of Ukraine, her coalition partners deeply admire Russia’s president, Vladimir V. Putin, and have criticized sanctions against Russia.

“From the Italians has arrived a clear indication,” Ms. Meloni, known for her crescendoing rhetoric and cult of personality, said in a victory speech at nearly 3 a.m., “for the center-right to guide Italy.”

After saying she had suffered through a “violent electoral campaign” filled with unfair attacks, Ms. Meloni spoke about “reciprocal respect” and recreating “trust in the institutions.” She posed flashing a victory sign. “We are at the starting point,” she said, adding, “Italy chose us, and we will never betray it.”

The victory, in an election with lower turnout than usual, comes as formerly taboo and marginalized parties with Nazi or fascist heritages are entering the mainstream — and winning elections — across Europe.

This month, a hard-right group founded by neo-Nazis and skinheads became the largest party in Sweden’s[*likely governing coalition*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/17/world/europe/sweden-far-right-election.html). In France this year, the far-right leader Marine Le Pen — for a second consecutive time — reached the final round of presidential elections. In Spain, the hard-right Vox, a party closely aligned with Ms. Meloni, is surging.

But it is Italy, the birthplace of fascism and a founding member of the European Union, that has sent the strongest shock wave across the continent after a period of European-centric stability led by Prime Minister Mario Draghi, who directed hundreds of billions of euros in recovery funds to modernize Italy and helped lead Europe’s strong response to Russia.

“This is a sad day for the country,” Debora Serracchiani, a leader of the Democratic Party, which underperformed and will now lead the opposition, said in a statement Monday.

Ms. Meloni’s victory showed that the allure of nationalism — of which she is a strong advocate — remained undimmed, despite the breakthroughs by E.U. nations in coming together to pool sovereignty and resources in recent years, first to combat the coronavirus pandemic and then Mr. Putin’s initiation of the largest conflict in Europe since World War II.

How, and how deeply, a right-wing coalition in Italy led by Ms. Meloni could threaten that cohesion is now the foremost concern of the European establishment.

Ms. Meloni has staunchly, and consistently, supported Ukraine and its right to defend itself against Russian aggression and has vowed to supply Kyiv with arms if she were prime minister. But her coalition partners — Matteo Salvini, the firebrand leader of the League, and the former prime minister Silvio Berlusconi — have shown themselves partial to Mr. Putin, questioning sanctions and echoing his propaganda.

That fracture, and the bitter competition between the right-wing leaders, could prove fatal for the coalition, leading to a short-lived government. But some political analysts say Ms. Meloni, having attained power, may be tempted to soften her support for sanctions, which are unpopular in much of Italy.

If she does, there is concern that Italy could be the weak link that breaks the European Union’s strong united position against Russia.

Ms. Meloni had spent the campaign seeking to reassure an international audience that her support of Ukraine was unwavering. She sought to allay concerns by condemning Mussolini, whom she once admired, and Italy’s Fascist past. She also made more supportive noises about Italy’s place in the European Union and distanced herself from Ms. Le Pen and Prime Minister Viktor Orban of Hungary, whom she had previously emulated.

But that pivoting was more for international markets than Italian voters, who didn’t much care about her past, or even her affinity for illiberal democracies. The Italian electorate had not moved to the right, political scientists said, but instead again resorted to a perennial desire for a new leader who could possibly, and providentially, solve all its ills.

Ms. Meloni found herself in the right place at the right time. Hers was virtually the only major party to remain outside Mr. Draghi’s national unity government, allowing her to soak up an increasing share of the opposition. Her support surged from 4 percent to 26 percent.

After a revolt by a party in Mr. Draghi’s broad unity government in July, the right-wing parties, eager to go to elections they were favored to win, sensed opportunity and bolted, with Ms. Meloni in the pole position.

There is little concern in the Italian establishment that she will undermine Italian democracy — she has been a consistent advocate for elections.

There is also a widespread belief that Italy’s dependence on hundreds of billions of euros in relief funds from the European Union will force Ms. Meloni and her government to follow the spending plans, reforms and overall blueprint established by Mr. Draghi.

But there is concern about Ms. Meloni’s lack of experience and her party’s lack of technical expertise, especially in running the eurozone’s third-largest economy, and Mr. Draghi has kept in close touch with her, both to ensure her support for Ukraine and, insiders say, to help find someone who can provide economic continuity.

Ms. Meloni came of political age in a post-Fascist, hard right that sought to redefine itself by seizing on new symbols and texts, [*especially “The Lord of the Rings*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/21/world/europe/giorgia-meloni-lord-of-the-rings.html)” and other works by the British writer J.R.R. Tolkien, to distance itself from the taboos of Fascism.

She grew up with a single mother in a ***working-class*** area of Rome, and being a woman, and mother, has been central to her political identity.

Being a woman has also distinguished her, and marked a major shift, from her coalition partners, especially Mr. Berlusconi, the subject of endless sex scandals.

But Ms. Meloni, Mr. Berlusconi and Mr. Salvini share a hard-right vision for the country. Ms. Meloni has called for a naval blockade against migrants and spread fears about a “great replacement” of native Italians. The three share populist proposals for deep tax cuts that economists fear would inflate Italy’s already enormous debt, and a traditionalist view of the family.

Despite the constraints of an Italian Constitution that is explicitly anti-Fascist and designed to stymie the rise of another Mussolini, many liberals are now worried that the right-wing coalition will erode the country’s norms. There was concern that if the coalition were to win two-thirds of the seats in Parliament, it would have the ability to change the Constitution to increase government powers.

On Thursday, during one of Ms. Meloni’s final rallies before the election, she exclaimed that “if the Italians give us the numbers to do it, we will.”

But the coalition, while winning 44 percent of the vote and a majority in Parliament, appeared not to hit that mark.

The main party of the left, the Democratic Party, which won only 19 percent of the vote, all but guaranteed its defeat by failing to heal its differences with other liberal and centrist parties, including a new group of moderates. The moderates, backed by former Prime Minister Matteo Renzi, and attracting some former leaders of Mr. Berlusconi’s party, who were disillusioned with his following of the hard right, did better than expected, but still remained in the single digits.

What really held the right back from a landslide were their former governing partners, the Five Star Movement, the once anti-establishment movement that triggered the collapse of Mr. Draghi’s government when it revolted in July.

In 2018, the party’s burn-down-the-elite rhetoric led it to become the country’s most popular party and largest force in Parliament. Years of governing exposed its incompetence and infighting and it imploded, appearing on the brink of extinction. But during the campaign, the party surged in the country’s underserved south and won 15 percent of the vote.

That unexpected strength ate into Ms. Meloni’s support, but with the backing of the League party of Mr. Salvini, with just under 9 percent, and 8 percent from Mr. Berlusconi, together they had enough to govern. That gives Ms. Meloni had the clearest claim on the office of prime minister during negotiations with Italy’s president, Sergio Mattarella next month. The new government is likely to be seated in late October or early November.

But the message of the end of a period of European taboos, and of new change, has already been sent.

Ms. Meloni said in one of her last interviews before the election that her victory would be “a redemption” for all the people who “for decades had to keep their heads down” and who had an “alternative vision from the mainstream of the system of power.”

Elisabetta Povoledo in Rome, Gaia Pianigiani in Florence and Emma Bubola in Verona contributed reporting.

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PHOTOS: Giorgia Meloni is poised to be Italy’s next prime minister. (A1); Giorgia Meloni after voting Sunday. The European establishment will keep a cautious eye on the impact of her right-wing coalition. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY GIANNI CIPRIANO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A6)

**Load-Date:** September 26, 2022

**End of Document**



[***How Crypto Became the New Subprime; Paul Krugman***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64MV-YWB1-JBG3-625P-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 27, 2022 Thursday 00:47 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 915 words

**Byline:** Paul Krugman

**Highlight:** Once again, risky financial products are being sold to the vulnerable.

**Body**

If the stock market isn’t the economy — which it isn’t — then cryptocurrencies like Bitcoin really, really aren’t the economy. Still, crypto has become a pretty big asset class (and yielded huge capital gains to many buyers); by last fall the combined market value of cryptocurrencies had reached almost [*$3 trillion*](https://www.tradingview.com/markets/cryptocurrencies/global-charts/).

Since then, however, prices have crashed, wiping out around $1.3 trillion in market capitalization. As of Thursday morning, [*Bitcoin’s price*](https://finance.yahoo.com/chart/BTC-USD#) was almost halfway down from its November peak. So who is being hurt by this crash, and what might it do to the economy?

Well, I’m seeing uncomfortable parallels with the subprime crisis of the 2000s. No, crypto doesn’t threaten the financial system — the numbers aren’t big enough to do that. But there’s growing evidence that the risks of crypto are falling disproportionately on people who don’t know what they are getting into and are poorly positioned to handle the downside.

What’s this crypto thing about? There are many ways to make digital payments, from Apple Pay and Google Pay to Venmo. Mainstream payment schemes, however, rely on a third party — usually your bank — to verify that you actually own the assets you’re transferring. Cryptocurrencies use complex coding to supposedly do away with the need for these third parties.

Skeptics wonder why this is necessary and argue that crypto ends up being an awkward, expensive way to do things you could have done more easily in other ways, which is why cryptocurrencies still have few legal applications 13 years after Bitcoin was introduced. The response, in my experience, tends to take the form of incomprehensible word salad.

Recent developments in [*El Salvador*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2022/01/26/el-salvador-bitcoin-dip-crypto-crash/), which adopted Bitcoin as legal tender a few months ago, seem to bolster the skeptics: Residents attempting to use the currency find themselves facing huge transaction fees. Still, crypto has been effectively marketed: It manages both to seem futuristic and to appeal to old-style goldbug fears that the government will inflate away your savings, and huge past gains have drawn in investors worried about missing out. So crypto has become a large asset class even though nobody can clearly explain what legitimate purpose it’s for.

But now crypto has crashed. Maybe it will recover and soar to new heights, as it has in the past. For now, however, prices are way down. Who are the losers?

As I said, there are disturbing echoes of the subprime crash 15 years ago.

Crypto is unlikely to cause an overall economic crisis. It’s a big world out there, and even $1.3 trillion in losses is only about six percent of U.S. gross domestic product, a hit that’s an order of magnitude smaller than the effects of [*falling home prices*](https://twitter.com/paulkrugman/status/1486326147294113794) when the housing bubble burst. And activities like Bitcoin mining, while environmentally destructive, are economically [*trivial*](https://twitter.com/paulkrugman/status/1486327148357079040) compared with home-building, whose [*plunge*](https://twitter.com/paulkrugman/status/1486327939050487813) played a large role in causing the Great Recession.

Still, some people are being hurt. Who are they?

Investors in crypto seem to be different from investors in other risky assets, like stocks, who consist disproportionately of [*affluent, college-educated whites*](https://news.gallup.com/poll/266807/percentage-americans-owns-stock.aspx). According to a survey by the research organization [*NORC*](https://www.norc.org/NewsEventsPublications/PressReleases/Pages/more-than-one-in-ten-americans-surveyed-invest-in-cryptocurrencies.aspx), 44 percent of crypto investors are nonwhite, and 55 percent don’t have a college degree. This matches up with [*anecdotal evidence*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/24/opinion/crypto-blockchain-nfts.html) that crypto investing has become remarkably popular among minority groups and the ***working class***.

NORC says that this is great, that “cryptocurrencies are opening up investing opportunities for more diverse investors.” But I remember the days when subprime mortgage lending was similarly [*celebrated*](https://www.nytimes.com/2007/03/29/business/29scene.html) — when it was hailed as a way to open up the benefits of homeownership to previously excluded groups.

It turned out, however, that many borrowers didn’t understand what they were getting into. Ned Gramlich, a Federal Reserve official who famously warned in vain about the growing financial dangers, [*asked*](https://www.kansascityfed.org/documents/3231/pdf-Gramlich_0415.pdf#page=7), “Why are the most risky loan products sold to the least sophisticated borrowers?” He then declared, “The question answers itself.” Homeownership [*dropped sharply*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/RSAHORUSQ156S) once the bubble burst.

And cryptocurrencies, with their huge price fluctuations seemingly unrelated to fundamentals, are about as risky as an asset class can get.

Now, maybe those of us who still can’t see what cryptocurrencies are good for other than money laundering and tax evasion are just missing the picture. Maybe the rising valuation (although not use) of Bitcoin and its rivals represents something more than a bubble, in which people buy an asset simply because other people have made money off that asset in the past. And it’s OK for investors to bet against the skeptics.

But these investors should be people who are both well equipped to make that judgment and financially secure enough to bear the losses if it turns out that the skeptics are right.

Unfortunately, that’s not what is happening. And if you ask me, regulators have made the same mistake they made on subprime: They failed to protect the public against financial products nobody understood, and many vulnerable families may end up paying the price.

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Britta Pedersen/Picture Alliance, via Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** January 28, 2022

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[***Garcia and Wiley Concede in Race That Showed the City's Centrist Mood***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:633D-67K1-DXY4-X24T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 8, 2021 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 12

**Length:** 1349 words

**Byline:** By Dana Rubinstein, Emma G. Fitzsimmons, Michael Gold and Jeffery C. Mays

**Body**

Kathryn Garcia and Maya Wiley both conceded to Eric Adams in the mayor's race. Progressives had hoped that a left-leaning candidate would win.

The Democratic primary for mayor of New York City was billed as a race that would define the city's future, shaping its emergence from the pandemic and its response to demands for social justice.

For months, progressive groups had hoped that a left-leaning candidate might emerge victorious. Instead, voters chose a centrist: Eric Adams, the Brooklyn borough president who ran on a platform that was part law-and-order, part police reform.

On Wednesday, Mr. Adams's two closest rivals, Kathryn Garcia and Maya D. Wiley, conceded defeat, while Mr. Adams dashed through a series of television interviews talking about his plans for the city if, as seems likely, he is elected in November.

''I call it Esther 4:14: God made me for such a time like this,'' Mr. Adams said on CBS.

Arguably, the narrowness of Mr. Adams's victory over the second-place Ms. Garcia -- he won by 8,400 votes, or one percentage point -- underscored the centrist mood of the electorate.

Both Ms. Garcia, a former sanitation commissioner who ran on her reputation for bureaucratic acumen, and Mr. Adams, a former police captain, were regarded as relative moderates in the left-leaning universe of New York City Democratic politics. They opposed defunding the police; they expressed support for expanding charter schools and encouraging real estate development.

They finished ahead of three progressive candidates who fought to become the left-wing standard-bearer, with Ms. Wiley, a former counsel to Mayor Bill de Blasio, eventually laying claim to that flag.

But that designation came in the final weeks of the race, and only after the other two candidates had self-destructed. It was not until June 5, 17 days before Primary Day, that Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez endorsed Ms. Wiley, as did another progressive House colleague, Representative Jamaal Bowman.

For much of the campaign, progressives did not coalesce; the local chapter of the Democratic Socialists of America, for example, made no endorsement in the race.

''The progressive candidates for mayor weren't strong,'' said Susan Kang, an associate professor of political science at John Jay College of Criminal Justice and the Queens branch representative for the D.S.A.

The primary results prompted progressives to defend their performance, noting their success in races for the New York City Council, and the victory of their candidates in the other two citywide primaries -- for comptroller, which was won by Councilman Brad Lander, and for public advocate, which was won by the incumbent, Jumaane Williams.

''The incoming mayor is going to be surrounded from all sides by progressives,'' said Sochie Nnaemeka, state director of the New York Working Families Party, which had initially endorsed Scott M. Stringer, the New York City comptroller, as its first choice.

The party then rescinded its endorsement after Mr. Stringer imploded amid decades-old sexual misconduct allegations, which he denied. Dianne Morales, a former nonprofit executive who cast herself as the farthest-left choice in the field, also saw her campaign collapse when her workers went on strike, alleging she had mistreated them.

Ms. Wiley may also have been hampered by her affiliation to Mr. de Blasio, who has long cast himself as a left-wing Democrat and was Ms. Wiley's former boss, according to Gabe Tobias, who ran a super PAC that aimed to boost progressive candidates.

''There was a reaction against him,'' Mr. Tobias said.

By some measures, Mr. Tobias and Ms. Kang noted, Mr. Adams is more progressive than he may seem.

He has backed an aggressive expansion of the earned-income tax credit. He is an ardent vegan who has promised to reduce the city's meat procurements, and he has embraced the idea of transitioning the city to renewable energy resources.

''He's certainly to the left of Bloomberg,'' said Kenneth Sherrill, a professor emeritus of political science at Hunter College, comparing Mr. Adams to the former Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg. ''Is he to the left of de Blasio? Quite possibly.''

Both Ms. Garcia and Ms. Wiley had hoped to achieve what might have been described as a progressive goal, were it not so commonplace in other locales. They wanted to become the first woman elected mayor of New York City, but formally conceded on Wednesday that their bids had fallen short.

''For 400 years, no woman has held the top seat at City Hall,'' said Ms. Garcia, a former sanitation commissioner who trailed by one percentage point in Tuesday's tally. ''This campaign has come closer than any other moment in history to breaking that glass ceiling in selecting New York City's first female mayor. We cracked the hell out of it, and it's ready to be broken.''

She spoke in front of the Women's Rights Pioneers Monument in Central Park, Central Park's first monument featuring real women, and a landmark that Ms. Wiley had also deployed in her campaign.

Ms. Garcia ran on her reputation for managerial competence, offering herself as a counterweight to Mr. de Blasio, who developed a reputation as a sometimes hapless administrator. Her candidacy gained momentum after she was endorsed by The New York Times and The Daily News; a late alliance with a rival candidate, Andrew Yang, likely helped her draw second-place votes from his supporters.

A short while after Ms. Garcia's concession speech, Ms. Wiley, who finished third, spoke outside the Lucerne Hotel on the Upper West Side of Manhattan. She had allied herself with the homeless men fighting to stay at the hotel as it became a flash point over inequality during the pandemic.

Ms. Wiley, who often spoke emotionally about what it meant to connect with and inspire young Black girls on the campaign trail, congratulated Mr. Adams and acknowledged that his victory carried historical significance: If Mr. Adams wins the general election, he will be New York City's second Black mayor.

''That has tremendous meaning for so many New Yorkers, particularly Black and brown ones,'' Ms. Wiley said.

As Ms. Garcia and Ms. Wiley were conceding the race, Mr. Adams was making the rounds of the morning news shows, casting his victory as a repudiation of the far left and its focus on defunding the police, when poor New Yorkers live on unsafe streets and grapple with inadequate city services.

''There's a permanent group of people that are living in systemic poverty,'' he said on CBS. ''You and I, we go to the restaurant, we eat well, we take our Uber, but that's not the reality for America and New York. And so when we turn this city around, we're going to end those inequalities.''

Mr. Adams devoted little time on Wednesday to addressing the November election, when he will compete against Curtis Sliwa, the Republican nominee and the founder of the Guardian Angels. When a reporter asked about Mr. Sliwa, Mr. Adams swiftly dismissed him as a single-issue candidate focused on subway crime in a city facing a multitude of complicated issues.

Instead, Mr. Adams directed his attention to what his win might portend for his party. And at the city's ''Hometown Heroes'' parade for essential workers in Lower Manhattan, he reveled in his victory.

Wearing an open-collared shirt, blue slacks and white sneakers, Mr. Adams bounced from one side of Broadway to the other, greeting the workers who were being celebrated. He grinned, waved, shook hands, exchanged hugs, cracked jokes.

The breadth of the coalition that Mr. Adams had assembled was on display. In the span of a minute, a Black man came up to Mr. Adams and said he had voted for him and that so had his entire neighborhood of East New York, Brooklyn. A few seconds later, a white man came up and said he planned to vote for Mr. Adams in the general election even though he was a Republican.

''This coalition is amazing,'' Mr. Adams said. ''***Working-class*** people that saw a ***working-class*** mayor.''

Isabella Grullón Paz contributed reporting.Isabella Grullón Paz contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/07/nyregion/kathryn-garcia-maya-wiley-eric-adams-mayor.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/07/nyregion/kathryn-garcia-maya-wiley-eric-adams-mayor.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Kathryn Garcia, top, next to the Women's Rights Pioneers Monument in Central Park on Wednesday, and Maya D. Wiley, outside the Lucerne Hotel on the Upper West Side. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ELIZABETH D. HERMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

SARA NAOMI LEWKOWICZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 8, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Finding Comedy Where Pain Lurks***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66MK-D1F1-JBG3-60B5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 16, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section AR; Column 0; Arts and Leisure Desk; Pg. 11

**Length:** 1822 words

**Byline:** By Alexis Soloski

**Body**

After years in procedurals and gritty indies, the ''Sopranos'' star is enjoying a professional renaissance.

On a recent Sunday evening, the Emmy-winning actor Michael Imperioli stood in the dark, in a booth, in a recording studio tucked into a residential corner of Northeast New Jersey, and swallowed the shards of a throat lozenge. Imperioli, 56, who last year returned to New York City after many years in the not-quite-wilderness of Santa Barbara, had reunited with his band, Zopa, a jangly trio with accents of '70s art punk and '90s indie rock. He was here to record the band's second album.

Zopa is a Tibetan word that means patience, and Imperioli, a Tibetan Buddhist, had made a corner of the booth into a kind of shrine -- prayer beads, statuary, devotional texts.

''All right,'' he said, approaching the mic for another take. ''Let's see what happens.''

If you know Imperioli -- and you probably do; he attracted many surreptitious glances later that night at Chez Josephine, the theater district restaurant where he used to wait tables -- you likely know him from ''The Sopranos,'' the HBO mob drama that recently topped a Rolling Stone poll as the best series in history. Imperioli played Christopher Moltisanti, a heroin-addicted hothead who was a creature of impulsivity and id. Impatient, you could say.

''The Sopranos'' wrapped in 2007 (Christopher had exited a few weeks before the infamous finale). But Imperioli, with his aquiline nose, his big, busy dark eyes, his spilling waves of hair, now gray, remains recognizable from the series.

''Your gray hair does not disguise you,'' a man in a sequin shirt at the next table teased him.

''It's not a disguise,'' Imperioli told him.

These days, onscreen, Imperioli looks a little different. After years in police procedurals and gritty indies, he is currently appearing in two comedies: ''This Fool,'' a freshman series now available on Hulu, and the second season of ''The White Lotus,'' which begins on HBO on Oct. 30. ''The Sopranos'' had its funny moments. (See: ''Pine Barrens,'' a Christopher classic.) But Imperioli has rarely done comedy.

''I don't really know how to be funny,'' he said.

Yet he is funny. And in both ''This Fool,'' in which he plays Minister Payne, a scruffy activist, and ''The White Lotus,'' in which he stars as Dom Di Grasso, a Hollywood smoothie, the comedy comes from straddling the distance between who these men would like to be and who they really are. As in ''The Sopranos,'' the laughs originate in a place of pain. Imperioli specified that if these shows are comedies, they are dark ones.

''I like dark comedy,'' he said. ''Because that's like life, right? Because life is really funny. Then it's really tragic.''

Imperioli grew up in Mount Vernon, N.Y., a ***working class*** suburb about a dozen miles north of Times Square. At 17, he skipped out on college in favor of classes at the Actors Studio. At 19, he went to a class led by the acting guru Stella Adler, whom he knew as Marlon Brando's teacher. He remembers how Adler looked around the room and told the young people assembled that they were all so boring.

''I just couldn't buy that I was boring,'' he said. He remembers thinking to himself: ''No, I'm not boring. What's going to be interesting is whoever I am and if I can bring that and express that through something completely imaginary.'' He never took another class with her.

It took him five years to land his first role, in a play that didn't pay and barely ran. He was in his mid-20s when Spike Lee began to cast him in small roles in films like ''Jungle Fever,'' ''Malcolm X'' and ''Clockers.'' I asked Lee, over the phone, what he had seen in Imperioli back then.

''He's a New York Italian American, simple as that,'' Lee said. ''That's one of my guys. Imperioli! Love him!'' Lee later directed ''Summer of Sam'' (1999), a spiky New York drama set in 1977, from a screenplay that Imperioli had co-written.

Imperoli's most crucial early role came in Martin Scorsese's ''Goodfellas'' (1990), in which he plays Spider, a gofer shot point-blank by Joe Pesci's Tommy. It was a small part, but it was memorable enough to convince the casting directors of ''The Sopranos'' to bring him in for Christopher, a nephew and protégé of James Gandolfini's Tony Soprano. David Chase, the series's creator, remembers how immediately Imperioli elevated the character.

''There's a lot of wild emotion within; he'll go anywhere,'' Chase said. ''Christopher was so special, and he wouldn't have been that special if it hadn't been Michael. He would just have been a punk.''

What makes Imperioli's performances fascinating, in ''The Sopranos'' and beyond, is a careful calibration of volatility and technique. His characters shift wildly from scene to scene, but that instability emerges from an actor in absolute command of his instrument.

Or maybe not so absolute, not always. Back when he was working on ''The Sopranos,'' Christopher's impulsivity began to bleed into his own behavior. There are stories from that time -- some funny, some not -- of drunken shenanigans. Christopher was an addict and Imperioli was wrestling with addiction, too, though he doesn't love to discuss it.

''I can't stand hearing famous people talk about their things, their struggles,'' he said. ''It's important, and it probably does help and inspire people, but I bristle at it.''

Addiction, he said, is often ''a low-level search for God or spirituality or wholeness.'' As ''The Sopranos'' ended, he found Tibetan Buddhism instead, which he and his wife, Victoria Imperioli, continue to practice.

He has worked steadily in the years since, often in boilerplate detective shows -- ''I had kids, and I wanted to put them through school'' -- or in indies that nobody saw. (The man at the next table, listening assiduously, sympathized: ''It is so hard to be typecast.'')

But his youngest child is out of the house now, and Imperioli seems to have begun a new chapter in his career. In the early days of the pandemic, he and his former ''Sopranos'' co-star Steve Schirripa premiered a rewatch podcast, ''Talking Sopranos,'' that eventually worked through all seven seasons. The podcast wasn't really about laying ghosts to rest -- the ghosts are resting fine -- but it gave Imperioli a new appreciation for the series and its influence. (It gave Chase, a guest on the final episode, appreciation, too: He is writing a new project for Imperioli and Schirripa.) He marveled at how teenagers and 20-somethings, toddlers at most in the '00s, had become some of the show's biggest fans.

The podcast and his social media presence -- his Instagram feed is a joyful and often egoless celebration of the art and artists that he loves -- lent him a new prominence among relative youngsters, such as Chris Estrada, 39, a star and creator of ''This Fool.'' Asked to find a name actor for Minister Payne, a Unitarian cleric with a messianic streak and a debilitatingly large penis, Estrada thought of Imperioli. The character had to feel just as flawed and human as everyone else, without veering into white savior mode. He knew that Imperioli could deliver that. And more, as it happened.

''He brought not only a conviction but also a sense of lightness to the character,'' Estrada said. ''And he made it so funny.''

Around this time, Imperioli was invited to audition for ''The White Lotus.'' He hadn't seen the first season, but at his manager's urging, he watched it. ''The depth of it and the humanity and the compassion that Mike has for the human condition really got through to me,'' he said, referring to the show's creator, Mike White.

Dom's questionable choices required an actor who wouldn't repulse viewers, who would continue to fascinate even in ethically suspect waters. (Just wait for the hot tub scene.) Which is why White wanted Imperioli.

''There's something very accessible and likable about him,'' White said. ''He never repels you -- he brings you in, and he's so real.''

Dom, on vacation with his father (F. Murray Abraham) and son (Adam DiMarco), is estranged from his wife and in the throes of sexual compulsion, a condition that Imperioli spoke about with precision, displaying a thorough knowledge of neurochemistry.

He has been studying addiction his whole career, he said. Ethics, too. ''I think I have a little bit of understanding and compassion for people who fall short of their moral aspirations,'' he said.

Dom has poor impulse control, but Imperioli's control is perfect. There's a scene in the first episode in which Dom's wife yells at him over the phone. Imperioli's face barely moves as he listens, and yet he conveys as much, silently, mouth tight, as another actor might with a whole monologue.

''What Michael does, he trusts the audience, he relies on them,'' Abraham told me.

The shoot -- on location, mostly in Sicily -- was long and often intense, with six-day work weeks and frustrating Covid-19 delays. According to everyone I spoke to, Imperioli remained calm throughout -- warm, welcoming, serving as a kind of on-set sage (though he would never describe himself this way), leading the occasional meditation session with his wife.

''He puts the 'wise' in 'wiseguy,''' DiMarco, his co-star, said.

White echoed this. ''He's very, very mellow,'' he said. ''I know it sounds cliché since he's a Buddhist, but he has this sort of Zen vibe.'' (For what it's worth, Imperioli does not practice Zen Buddhism.)

At one point, over dinner, I asked Imperioli if he thought that his adoption of Buddhism had improved his craft. He resisted this, gracefully. ''What that's about is so much more precious,'' he said. Buddhism may have made him a better person, he acknowledged, which might have made him a better actor. But that wasn't the point. The point was learning to accept impermanence, unpredictability, interdependence.

Imperioli appreciates this professional renaissance, this break, finally, from the kinds of roles he played before, even as there are obvious continuities. He also appreciates that Rolling Stone named Zopa's debut one of the best albums of 2021. But if the break hadn't come, if the album had tanked, he would have been OK with that, too.

In his 20s, he said, work was all he cared about. ''Now I still love it, and of course I care about it,'' he said. ''But before you know it, I'm going to be on to the next life.''

Back in the booth, in the dark, I sat on a stool and listened to Imperioli record the last line of a song, an 11-minute mini-opera with gestures toward ''Hamlet,'' ''Romeo and Juliet,'' the Who and seemingly, in some oh-oh-ohs, ''Uptown Girl.'' ''Somehow I am going to fight my way,'' he sang. He sang it over and over.

It was only later, looking at a lyrics sheet, that I saw he hadn't been singing ''fight'' at all. The word was ''find.'' Imperioli was going to find his way, walking the path to the next life, one show, one song at a time.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/14/arts/television/michael-imperioli-the-white-lotus.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/14/arts/television/michael-imperioli-the-white-lotus.html)

**Load-Date:** October 16, 2022

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[***Why Voters Favored Centrists in the New York City Mayor’s Race***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6337-C131-JBG3-60WW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1380 words

**Byline:** Dana Rubinstein, Emma G. Fitzsimmons, Michael Gold and Jeffery C. Mays

**Highlight:** Kathryn Garcia and Maya Wiley both conceded to Eric Adams in the mayor’s race. Progressives had hoped that a left-leaning candidate would win.

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For months, progressive groups had hoped that a left-leaning candidate might emerge victorious. Instead, voters chose a centrist: [*Eric Adams*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/07/nyregion/eric-adams-mayor-nyc.html), the Brooklyn borough president who ran on a platform that was part law-and-order, part police reform.

On Wednesday, Mr. Adams’s two closest rivals, Kathryn Garcia and Maya D. Wiley, conceded defeat, while Mr. Adams dashed through a series of television interviews talking about his plans for the city if, as seems likely, he is elected in November.

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They finished ahead of three progressive candidates who fought to become the left-wing standard-bearer, with Ms. Wiley, a former counsel to Mayor Bill de Blasio, eventually laying claim to that flag.

But that designation came in the final weeks of the race, and only after the other two candidates had self-destructed. It was not until June 5, 17 days before Primary Day, that Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez [*endorsed Ms. Wiley*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/07/nyregion/eric-adams-mayor-nyc.html), as did another progressive House colleague, Representative Jamaal Bowman.

For much of the campaign, progressives did not coalesce; the local chapter of the Democratic Socialists of America, for example, made no endorsement in the race.

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The primary results prompted progressives to defend their performance, noting their success in races for the New York City Council, and the victory of their candidates in the other two citywide primaries — for [*comptroller,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/07/nyregion/eric-adams-mayor-nyc.html) which was won by Councilman Brad Lander, and for public advocate, which was won by the incumbent, Jumaane Williams.

“The incoming mayor is going to be surrounded from all sides by progressives,” said Sochie Nnaemeka, state director of the New York Working Families Party, which had initially endorsed Scott M. Stringer, the New York City comptroller, as its first choice.

The party then rescinded its endorsement after Mr. Stringer imploded amid decades-old sexual misconduct allegations, which he denied. Dianne Morales, a former nonprofit executive who cast herself as the farthest-left choice in the field, also saw her campaign collapse when her workers [*went on strike*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/07/nyregion/eric-adams-mayor-nyc.html), alleging she had mistreated them.

Ms. Wiley may also have been hampered by her affiliation to Mr. de Blasio, who has long cast himself as a left-wing Democrat and was Ms. Wiley’s former boss, according to Gabe Tobias, who ran a super PAC that aimed to boost progressive candidates.

“There was a reaction against him,” Mr. Tobias said.

By some measures, Mr. Tobias and Ms. Kang noted, Mr. Adams is more progressive than he may seem.

He has backed an aggressive expansion of the earned-income tax credit. He is an ardent vegan who has [*promised*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/07/nyregion/eric-adams-mayor-nyc.html) to reduce the city’s meat procurements, and he has embraced the idea of transitioning the city to renewable energy resources.

“He’s certainly to the left of Bloomberg,” said Kenneth Sherrill, a professor emeritus of political science at Hunter College, comparing Mr. Adams to the former Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg. “Is he to the left of de Blasio? Quite possibly.”

Both Ms. Garcia and Ms. Wiley had hoped to achieve what might have been described as a progressive goal, were it not so commonplace in other locales. They wanted to become the first woman elected mayor of New York City, but formally conceded on Wednesday that their bids had fallen short.

“For 400 years, no woman has held the top seat at City Hall,” said Ms. Garcia, a former sanitation commissioner who trailed [*by one percentage point*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/07/nyregion/eric-adams-mayor-nyc.html) in Tuesday’s tally. “This campaign has come closer than any other moment in history to breaking that glass ceiling in selecting New York City’s first female mayor. We cracked the hell out of it, and it’s ready to be broken.”

She spoke in front of the Women’s Rights Pioneers Monument in Central Park, Central Park’s first monument featuring real women, and a landmark that Ms. Wiley [*had also*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/07/nyregion/eric-adams-mayor-nyc.html) deployed in her campaign.

Ms. Garcia ran on her reputation for managerial competence, offering herself as a counterweight to Mr. de Blasio, who developed a reputation as a sometimes hapless [*administrator*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/07/nyregion/eric-adams-mayor-nyc.html). Her candidacy gained momentum after she was endorsed by The New York Times and The Daily News; a late alliance with a rival candidate, Andrew Yang, likely helped her draw second-place votes from his supporters.

A short while after Ms. Garcia’s concession speech, Ms. Wiley, who finished third, spoke outside the Lucerne Hotel on the Upper West Side of Manhattan. She had allied herself with the homeless men fighting to stay at the hotel as it became a flash point over inequality during the pandemic.

Ms. Wiley, who often spoke emotionally about what it meant to connect with and inspire young Black girls on the campaign trail, congratulated Mr. Adams and acknowledged that his victory carried historical significance: If Mr. Adams wins the general election, he will be New York City’s second Black mayor.

“That has tremendous meaning for so many New Yorkers, particularly Black and brown ones,” Ms. Wiley said.

As Ms. Garcia and Ms. Wiley were conceding the race, Mr. Adams was making the rounds of the morning news shows, casting his victory as a repudiation of the far left and its focus on defunding the police, when poor New Yorkers live on unsafe streets and grapple with inadequate city services.

“There’s a permanent group of people that are living in systemic poverty,” he said on CBS. “You and I, we go to the restaurant, we eat well, we take our Uber, but that’s not the reality for America and New York. And so when we turn this city around, we’re going to end those inequalities.”

Mr. Adams devoted little time on Wednesday to addressing the November election, when he will compete against Curtis Sliwa, the Republican nominee and the founder of the Guardian Angels. When a reporter asked about Mr. Sliwa, Mr. Adams swiftly dismissed him as a single-issue candidate focused on subway crime in a city facing a multitude of complicated issues.

Instead, Mr. Adams directed his attention to what his win might portend for his party. And at the city’s [*“Hometown Heroes” parade for essential workers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/07/nyregion/eric-adams-mayor-nyc.html) in Lower Manhattan, he reveled in his victory.

Wearing an open-collared shirt, blue slacks and white sneakers, Mr. Adams bounced from one side of Broadway to the other, greeting the workers who were being celebrated. He grinned, waved, shook hands, exchanged hugs, cracked jokes.

The breadth of the coalition that Mr. Adams had assembled was on display. In the span of a minute, a Black man came up to Mr. Adams and said he had voted for him and that so had his entire neighborhood of East New York, Brooklyn. A few seconds later, a white man came up and said he planned to vote for Mr. Adams in the general election even though he was a Republican.

“This coalition is amazing,” Mr. Adams said. “***Working-class*** people that saw a ***working-class*** mayor.”

Isabella Grullón Paz contributed reporting.

Isabella Grullón Paz contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: Kathryn Garcia, top, next to the Women’s Rights Pioneers Monument in Central Park on Wednesday, and Maya D. Wiley, outside the Lucerne Hotel on the Upper West Side. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ELIZABETH D. HERMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; SARA NAOMI LEWKOWICZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 8, 2021

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[***The Optimism of Young Climate Activists and the Secret Sounds of ‘Dune’: The Week in Narrated Articles***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:652V-WTF1-DXY4-X15M-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 25, 2022 Friday 05:30 EST

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**Section:** PODCASTS

**Length:** 1057 words

**Highlight:** Five articles from around The Times, narrated just for you.

**Body**

Five articles from around The Times, narrated just for you.

This weekend, listen to a collection of narrated articles from around The New York Times, read aloud by the reporters who wrote them.

[*‘OK Doomer’ and the Climate Advocates Who Say It’s Not Too Late*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/22/climate/climate-change-ok-doomer.html)

Written and narrated by [*Cara Buckley*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/cara-buckley)

Alaina Wood is well aware that, planetarily speaking, things aren’t looking so great. She’s read the dire climate reports, tracked cataclysmic weather events and gone through more than a few dark nights of the soul.

She is also part of a growing cadre of people, many of them young, who are fighting climate doomism, the notion that it’s too late to turn things around. They believe that focusing solely on terrible climate news can sow dread and paralysis, foster inaction, and become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

“People are almost tired of hearing how bad it is; the narrative needs to move onto solutions,” said Ms. Wood, 25, a sustainability scientist who communicates much of her climate messaging on TikTok, the most popular social media platform among young Americans. “The science says things are bad. But it’s only going to get worse the longer it takes to act.”

Some climate advocates refer to the stance taken by Ms. Wood and her allies as [*“OK Doomer,”*](https://edgeeffects.net/climate-generation/) a riff on “OK[*Boomer,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/29/style/ok-boomer.html)” the Gen Z rebuttal to condescension from older people.

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[*In ‘Lessons From the Edge,’ How an Ambassador to Ukraine Became a Casualty of the Trump Administration*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/16/books/review-lessons-from-edge-marie-yovanovitch-ukraine-ambassador.html)

Written and narrated by [*Jennifer Szalai*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/jennifer-szalai)

In April 2019, Marie Yovanovitch was abruptly recalled from her post as the ambassador to Ukraine, ordered to return to the United States “immediately,” though at the time she wasn’t told why.

“The State Department, my home of 30-plus years, was kicking me to the curb,” Ms. Yovanovitch writes in her absorbing new memoir, “Lessons From the Edge.” “This was not the way I had ever imagined my career as a diplomat ending: being pulled out of post in the middle of the night, under a dark cloud, to face an uncertain future.”

That uncertain future would eventually include her memorable testimony at the first impeachment of President Donald Trump in November 2019, when Ms. Yovanovitch explained how she wasn’t surprised that Ukrainians who had long benefited from corruption had sought to remove her, but she hadn’t expected officials in her own country to green-light, much less actively encourage, such machinations.

In her memoir, Ms. Yovanovitch explores the experience of testifying at the impeachment and recounts her career in public service.

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[*The Secret Sounds of ‘Dune’: Rice Krispies and Marianne Faithfull*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/16/movies/dune-denis-villeneuve-sound.html)

Written and narrated by [*Kyle Buchanan*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/kyle-buchanan)

[*“Dune”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/20/movies/dune-review.html) is in the details, and Denis Villeneuve knows nearly all of them. But recently in Malibu, Calif., as he regarded a blue cereal box with evident amusement, Mr. Villeneuve admitted that one key detail had eluded him until now. “I’m learning today there were Rice Krispies in ‘Dune,’” he said.

Pouring Rice Krispies onto sand was one of the techniques the Oscar-nominated sound editors Mark Mangini and Theo Green used to enliven Arrakis, the desert planet where the “Dune” hero Paul Atreides (Timothée Chalamet) discovers his destiny.

“Dune” is full of those clever, secret noises, nearly all of which are derived from real life: Of the 3,200 bespoke sounds created for the movie, only four were made solely with electronic equipment and synthesizers. Mr. Green noted that with many science-fiction and fantasy films, there is a tendency to indicate futurism by using sounds that we’ve never heard before.

“But it was very much Denis’s vision that this movie should feel every bit as familiar as certain areas of planet Earth,” Green said. “We’re not putting you in a sci-fi movie, we’re putting you in a documentary about people on Arrakis.”

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[*As a Crisis Hotline Grows, So Do Fears It Won’t Be Ready*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/13/us/suicide-hotline-mental-health-988.html)

Written and narrated by [*Steve Eder*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/steve-eder)

The National Suicide Prevention Lifeline — the number posted on student identification cards, atop Google search results and in warning labels on television shows — is about to get a major reboot, casting it as the 911 for mental health.

With an infusion of federal money, the upgraded lifeline starting in July will have its own three-digit number, 988, and operators who will not only counsel callers but also eventually be equipped to dispatch specially trained responders. That will reduce interventions by armed law enforcement and reliance on emergency rooms — and ultimately keep people alive, advocates say.

But there are growing concerns that the 24-hour hotline, already straining to meet demand, will not be able to deliver on the promises of the overhaul unless states supplement the federal money with significant funds for staffing, according to interviews and government reports.

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[*Behind the Entenmann’s Cellophane, a Slice of Long Island Life*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/15/dining/entenmanns-bakery-long-island.html)

Written and narrated by [*Dan Barry*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/dan-barry)

Charles E. Entenmann, whose very surname conjures a white-and-blue box with a cellophane glimpse of some baked treat that is both good and bad for you, died last month at age 92.

His passing reminds the Times writer Dan Barry of what Entenmann’s meant, and still does, in its birthplace — banana crunch, polysorbate 60 and all.

“For some self-conscious fans, buying an Entenmann’s pastry may call for a little wink-and-nod,” writes Mr. Barry, “but Long Island ***working-class*** families like mine believed that a box of Entenmann’s conveyed class. It would be on proud display in the kitchen, prominent on the refrigerator or displacing plastic flowers as the table centerpiece.”

Want to hear more narrated articles from publications like The New York Times? [*Download Audm for iPhone and Android*](https://audm.com/?utm_source=nyt&amp;utm_medium=narrated_roundup&amp;utm_campaign=20220325_footer).

The Times’s narrated articles are made by Tally Abecassis, Parin Behrooz, Anna Diamond, Sarah Diamond, Jack D’Isidoro, Aaron Esposito, Dan Farrell, Elena Hecht, Adrienne Hurst, Elisheba Ittoop, Emma Kehlbeck, Marion Lozano, Tanya Pérez, Krish Seenivasan, Margaret H. Willison, Kate Winslett, John Woo and Tiana Young. Special thanks to Sam Dolnick, Ryan Wegner, Julia Simon and Desiree Ibekwe.

PHOTO: Alaina Wood, a sustainability scientist in Tennessee who takes to TikTok to communicate much of her climate messaging. “The science says things are bad. But it’s only going to get worse the longer it takes to act,” she said. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Mike Belleme for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 25, 2022

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[***A Boisterous Movie Theater Suddenly Goes Silent***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64KW-9PK1-DXY4-X491-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 23, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section MB; Column 0; Metropolitan Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 872 words

**Byline:** By Saki Knafo

**Body**

A rowdy movie house suddenly goes dark, inspiring an outpouring of dismay and reminiscences.

On a recent morning, the Regal UA Court Street in Brooklyn was uncharacteristically quiet. Posters for ''Jackass Forever'' and ''American Underdog'' hung in its windows, but the curving marquee had been stripped of its letters, and its glass doors were locked. Peering inside, you could see a scattering of dead leaves on the floor of the darkened lobby, like tumbleweeds in a western.

A pair of teenage boys, Kimani Augustin and his friend Demarcus Cousins (yes, like the basketball player), stood outside and reminisced about the good times they'd had there. ''It could get crazy,'' Kimani said, ''but was amazing nonetheless.''

The theater closed last Sunday, taking regulars by surprise. Right away, the Twitter tributes poured in, many of them written in a tone of ironic amusement. Dean Fleischer-Camp, a filmmaker, said that his favorite movie experience ever involved people ''screaming, laughing, singing'' and ''throwing popcorn'' during a 6 p.m. screening of ''Drag Me to Hell.'' Lincoln Restler, the newly elected councilman whose district includes Downtown Brooklyn, shared a picture of a moving van parked outside. ''For the shouting-back-at-action-movie experience,'' he wrote, ''there was no place better!''

Cyrus McQueen, a stand-up comic and the author of ''Tweeting Truth to Power,'' a book of essays on race and politics in America, was as struck by what these commenters didn't say as by what they did. ''I'm an African-American man, so I speak plainly,'' he said. ''It was a Black theater. You yelled at the screen, and folks would talk.'' A longtime resident of Crown Heights, Mr. McQueen regarded a sold-out showing of ''Black Panther'' at the Regal as one of the highlights of his life.

''A major component of Black existence is forced comportment in white spaces,'' he said. ''There is a comfort derived from taking off the disguise, if just for a few minutes in the cinema.''

For more than two decades, the 13-story megaplex was a cultural mainstay of Downtown Brooklyn, a shopping destination for residents of the borough's predominantly ***working-class*** Black neighborhoods. People from Bedford-Stuyvesant and Flatbush and Brownsville would travel there on trains and buses and in dollar vans, sometimes stopping to shop or eat at nearby Fulton Mall.

But soon after the Regal opened, developers began to transform the area, pushing out local businesses to make way for luxury condo towers. At Alamo Drafthouse, a theater that opened in one of those towers a few years back, you can take in your movie while sipping dry rosé cider and eating margherita pizza in a plush recliner. ''It's kind of hoity-toity,'' said RJ Adams, an independent photographer from East New York. ''Everyone's uptight. At Court Street, everyone was just relaxed.''

The Court Street theater closed without warning or explanation. Whether it fell victim to gentrification, the pandemic, competition from streaming services or some other evil remains a mystery. A representative of the chain did not respond to multiple voice messages seeking comment; a spokeswoman for Madison International Realty, the property owner, wrote that the company is ''gathering more information'' and that it shares ''the community's disappointment.'' Rendy Jones, a 23-year-old member of the Regal Crown Club rewards program, was bewildered. ''I need to know what happened,'' he said. ''At least email me about it!''

Mr. Jones, a movie buff from Crown Heights, said he cried when he first saw the news on Twitter. ''I started going there before I could even walk, either with my mom or dad,'' he said on the phone the other day. ''I still have my ticket stubs. I'm looking at them now.'' At 13, he began writing a blog about movies; eventually he became an accredited critic for Rotten Tomatoes, an accomplishment that he credits to the Regal.

Like many teenagers, he would take advantage of the establishment's relaxed atmosphere to see three or four movies in a day, hopping between theaters when employees weren't looking. ''I would plan it out like a supervillain,'' he said. Still, he was surprised to see people on Twitter describing the theater as ''chaotic'' and ''rowdy.'' ''All I remember is watching the movies and having a good time,'' he said. ''I've never seen anything crazy happen there.''

B.A. Parker, a former film professor who writes and produces radio stories for shows like The Cut and This American Life, has. Two years ago, she went to the theater to see ''The Photograph,'' a romantic drama starring Issa Rae and Lakeith Stanfield. ''They showed the first five minutes of 'Harley Quinn' before they realized they messed up and had to switch reels,'' she said. ''Kids started shouting. Halfway through, the cops came in and took them out. Twenty minutes later, the kids came back screaming 'We're back'!'' I still can't tell you what happened in 'The Photograph.'''

Ms. Parker, who is Black, said that three of her five worst moviegoing experiences took place there. Even so, she was sad to see it go. ''I've been to 70 percent of the theaters in New York City,'' she said, ''and the loss of any of them is a tragedy to me.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/21/nyregion/brooklyn-court-street-regal-cinema-closes.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/21/nyregion/brooklyn-court-street-regal-cinema-closes.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: The Regal UA Court Street theater in Downtown Brooklyn often saw as many theatrics in the seats as on the screen. It might not have been universally beloved, but community members say it will be missed. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ANGELA WEISS/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** January 23, 2022

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[***The Blue-Collar Fight for Social Justice***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63TG-6YV1-JBG3-62X2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 10, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 10; FARAH STOCKMAN

**Length:** 2406 words

**Byline:** By Farah Stockman

**Body**

In 1998, Shannon Mulcahy's boyfriend beat her up so badly that prosecutors in Indiana decided to press charges. She hid in a closet rather than obey the subpoena to testify in court. How could she help convict the man who put a roof over her head? Over her son's head? Eventually, she left him. Shannon, a white woman in her 20s, got the money and the confidence to strike out on her own from a job at a factory. She worked at a bearing plant in Indianapolis for 17 years, rising to become the first woman to operate the furnaces, one of the most dangerous and highly paid jobs on the factory floor.

I first met Shannon in 2017, shortly after her bosses announced that Rexnord, the bearing factory where she worked, was shutting down and moving to Mexico and Texas. I followed her for seven months as the plant closed down around her, watching her agonize about whether she should train her Mexican replacement or stand with her union and refuse. I also followed two of her co-workers: Wally, a Black bearing assembler who dreamed of opening his own barbecue business, and John, a white union representative who aspired to buy a house to replace the one he'd lost in a bankruptcy.

One of the biggest takeaways from the experience was that some of the most consequential battles in the fight for social justice took place on factory floors, not college campuses. For many Americans without college degrees, who make up two-thirds of adults in the country, the labor movement, the civil rights movement and the women's liberation movement largely boiled down to one thing: access to well-paying factory jobs.

Shannon had experienced more abuse and workplace sexual harassment than anyone I knew. Yet she hadn't been drawn to #MeToo or the presidential candidacy of Hillary Clinton. To Shannon, women's liberation meant having a right to the same jobs men had in the factory. She signed her name on the bid sheet to become a heat-treat operator, even though no woman had ever lasted in that department before. Heat-treat operators were an elite group, like samurai warriors and Navy SEALs. They worked with explosive gases. The men who were supposed to train Shannon tried to get her fired instead. ''Heat treat is not for a woman,'' one said.

She persisted. Heat-treat operators earned $25 an hour, more money than she'd ever earned in her life. She wasn't going to let men drive her away. She wasn't above using her sexuality to her advantage. She flirted with the union president and wore revealing shirts into the heat-treat department. ''Am I showing too much cleavage?'' she'd ask. She paid particular attention to Stan Settles, a much older man who knew how to run every furnace. If his shirt came untucked while he was bending over, exposing the top of his butt, Shannon would issue a solemn warning: ''Crack kills, Stan.''

In the end, Stan took her under his wing and taught her everything about the furnaces that there was to know. By the time I met Shannon, she was the veteran in charge of training new heat-treat operators. She took pride in the fact that she didn't depend on a man -- even, and perhaps especially, Uncle Sam.

Shannon's feminism felt radically different from the women's liberation movement that I grew up with. The movement I knew about was inspired by Betty Friedan's ''The Feminine Mystique,'' the groundbreaking second-wave feminist tract that spoke of the emptiness and boredom of well-off housewives. That movement focused heavily on breaking glass ceilings in the white-collar world: the first woman to serve on the Supreme Court (Sandra Day O'Connor, 1981); the first female secretary of state (Madeleine Albright, 1997).

But low-income women, especially Black women, have always worked, not out of boredom but out of necessity. Their struggles, which the labor historian Dorothy Sue Cobble has called ''the other women's movement,'' garnered far less media coverage. Who knows the name of the first female coal miner? How many know the full name of ''Mother Jones,'' the fearless labor organizer once labeled ''the most dangerous woman in America'' because legions of mine workers laid down their picks at her command? (It was Mary Harris Jones.)

It was not until 1964 that the law enshrined workplace protections against discrimination on the basis of sex as well as race. Women were added to the Civil Rights Act at the last minute, a poison pill meant to ruin its chances. But the bill passed, changing the course of history. The percentage of working women rose to 61 percent in 2000 from 43 percent in 1970. From 1976 to 1998, the number of female victims of intimate partner homicides fell by an average 1 percent per year. (The number of male victims of intimate partner homicide fell even more steeply.)

But the Civil Rights Act did not benefit all women equally. By far, those who reaped the greatest rewards were college-educated white women who joined the professional world, who grew rich on economic shifts that swept their blue-collar sisters' jobs away. Today, well-educated women -- who tend to be married to well-educated men -- sit atop the country's financial pyramid.

The struggles of blue-collar women against a system of occupational segregation -- called ''Jane Crow'' in Nancy MacLean's book ''Freedom Is Not Enough: The Opening of the American Workplace'' -- continued against the headwinds of economic challenges. For instance, in 1969, a female steelworker in Chicago named Alice Peurala had to sue to get a job that had been assigned to a man with less seniority. She won and went on to become president of the Steelworkers local. But in the years that followed, the steel industry collapsed. Eventually, her plant shut down for good.

In 2016, about three million American women worked in manufacturing, a far greater number than worked as lawyers or financiers. Yet the urgent needs of blue-collar women for quality child care, paid medical leave and more flexible work schedules rarely made it into the national conversation, perhaps because the professional women who set the agenda already enjoyed those benefits.

So much of the debate about sexism and women's rights focuses on how to negotiate salaries like a man and get more women onto corporate boards. Meanwhile, blue-collar women are still struggling to find jobs that pay $25 an hour. And the United States remains one of the only countries with no federal law mandating paid maternity leave.

To Wally, the Black man I followed, the major success of the civil rights movement was that Black people got a chance at better jobs on the factory floor. Black people had been barred from operating machines, from tractors to typewriters, well into the 20th century, according to ''American Work: Four Centuries of Black and White Labor,'' by Jacqueline Jones.

Wally's uncle Hulan managed to get hired at the bearing plant in the early 1960s, with the help of the N.A.A.C.P. But like every other Black man there, he'd been assigned a janitor's job. Hulan complained to the union steward. ''There are only so many jobs in this building,'' the steward replied. ''If you take one, that means that our sons or son-in-law or our nephew can't have it.'' The day after the Civil Rights Act of 1964 passed, Hulan asked his boss for a chance to operate a machine. The boss, who was known as tough but fair, sent him to the grinding department. But the white man assigned to train him refused to even speak to him. Hulan had to learn by watching from afar.

Eventually, Hulan figured out how to do the job. Over the years, he won over his white co-workers and was promoted to foreman, the first (and last) Black man to serve in that role at the plant.

For Uncle Hulan's generation, the blue-collar battles for social justice were largely successful. Factory floors today tend to be far more racially integrated than the corporate boards that run them. But in many ways, the progress was short-lived. As soon as Black workers began to get good jobs in the factories, factories began moving away.

By the time Wally's generation came of age, several of the largest factories in Indianapolis had closed down. Many of the boys in Wally's neighborhood found work on the corner, selling dope. More than 10 percent of the Black boys in Wally's neighborhood ended up in prison as adults. Wally served time in prison, too. ''I was locked up,'' he told his co-workers. ''I'm blessed to have this job.''

In many ways, the decline in American manufacturing hit Black people the hardest. According to a 2018 study of the impact of manufacturing employment on Black and white Americans from 1960 through 2010, the decline in manufacturing contributed to a 12 percent overall increase in the racial wage gap for men.

When you follow a dying factory up close, it's easy to see how globalization left a growing group of people competing for a shrinking pool of good factory jobs. Affirmative action becomes more fraught as good jobs get scarce and disappear.

Even for John, the white man I followed, factories were sites of important social protest. If a boss disciplined a worker for refusing to wear safety glasses, John thought that all the other workers should take off their safety glasses and hurl them on the floor, forcing the manager to bring back the disciplined worker or shut down the whole assembly line.

John was a die-hard union man who came from a long line of union men. His grandfather and great-grandfather had been coal miners. His father-in-law had been an autoworker. To John, factories were places where the ***working class*** fought pitched battles with the company for higher pay and shorter working hours. He traced his identity to the miners and steelworkers who had been beaten, arrested and even killed for demanding an eight-hour workday and a day off every week. That's why nothing stuck in John's craw like the phrase ''white privilege.'' The words implied that his people had been handed a middle-class life simply because they were white. In John's mind, his people had not been given dignity, leisure time, safer working conditions or decent wages just because they were white; they had fought for those things -- and some of them had died in the fight.

After the bosses announced that the factory would close, he walked around the plant urging his fellow workers to refuse to train their Mexican replacements, in a last-ditch effort to keep the factory in Indianapolis. As the shutdown at Rexnord continued, John preached about the need for worker solidarity.

''If you want it, fight for it,'' he told his union brothers and sisters of their doomed plant. ''I'll fight with you.''

I began to understand why white workers tended to view the closure of the factory -- and the election of Donald Trump -- differently from their Black co-workers. Over the course of a decade, John had seen his wages sink from $28 an hour to $25 an hour to $23 an hour. After the plant closed, he struggled to secure a job that paid $17 an hour. His declining earning power hadn't been tempered by social progress, like the election of a Black president. To the contrary, his social standing had waned. Rich white C.E.O.s sent blue-collar jobs to Mexico. But when blue-collar workers complained about it, college-educated people dismissed them as xenophobes and racists.

***Working-class*** white men at the bearing plant may not have wanted to share their jobs with Black people and women. But they had done it. And now that Black people and women worked alongside them on the factory floor, everyone's jobs were moving to Mexico. It was more than many white workers could take. One white man at the plant quit and walked away from more than $10,000 in severance pay simply because he couldn't stand watching a Mexican person learn his job. ''It's depressing to see that you ain't got a future,'' he told me. One of John's best friends volunteered to train. ''I don't hate you, but I hate what you're doing,'' John told him. They never spoke again.

The union reps, nearly all of whom were white, saw training their replacements as a moral sin, akin to crossing a picket line. But many Black workers and women did not agree. It had not been so long ago, after all, that the white men had refused to train them. Black workers had not forgotten how the union had treated their fathers and uncles. Many considered the refusal to train the Mexicans racist. The most unapologetic trainers were Black.

The announcement that the factory would close, the election of Donald Trump and the arrival of Mexican replacements at the plant took place within the span of three months, in 2016, unleashing a toxic mix of hope, rage and despair. In the years that have passed since, the workers scattered like brittle seeds, trying to start their lives over.

Economists predicted that they'd get new jobs -- even better jobs than they'd had before. Some did. But most of the workers I kept track of ended up earning about $10 an hour less than they had been making. One started a bedbug extermination company. Another joined the Army. Another sold everything he owned and bought a one-way ticket to the Philippines, determined to make globalization work in his favor, for once. Wally made progress with his barbecue business, until an unforeseeable tragedy struck. John agonized over whether to become a steelworker again or take a job in a hospital that had no union. Shannon stayed jobless a long time, which made her miserable. The old factory continued to appear in her dreams for years.

Of course, for every story like Shannon's, there's a story about a woman in India or China or Mexico who has a job now -- and more financial independence -- because of a new factory. Globalization and social justice have many sides.

But those foreign workers don't vote in American elections. The fate of our democracy does not depend on them the way it hinges on voters like Shannon, Wally and John. The American experiment is unraveling. The only way to knit it back together is for decision makers in this country, nearly all of whom have college degrees, to reconnect with those of the ***working class***, who make up a majority of voters.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/07/opinion/globalization-work-trump-social-justice.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/07/opinion/globalization-work-trump-social-justice.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Hudson Christie FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 10, 2021

**End of Document**



[***How to Mend A Pair of Jeans***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60CY-8M41-DXY4-X10T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 19, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section MM; Column 0; Magazine Desk; Pg. 21; TIP

**Length:** 355 words

**Byline:** By Malia Wollan

**Body**

''Cut a patch of denim bigger than your hole,'' says Atsushi Futatsuya, 36, a sewing teacher who lives in Lewisburg, Pa. He grew up in Japan, a descendant of many generations of experts in a kind of decorative needlework called sashiko. Wives of rural, ***working-class*** farmers and fishermen developed the stitching technique as early as the 1600s as a means to reinforce and mend their clothing. ''The idea is that one jacket would be passed down three generations or more,'' Futatsuya says. Different regions developed dozens of patterns, of which Futatsuya knows more than 100; his two favorites are asanoha (six-pointed stars) and shippo (overlapping circles). Since 2017, he has spent hundreds of hours covering jeans he owns in stitched patterns to make them stronger. If, after wearing, he notices threads fraying, he'll add stitching before the fabric tears. ''Patching should be your last resort,'' he says.

You'll need thick cotton sashiko thread, a rounded thimble and a two-inch-long needle with a small eye. ''Stitch all over the patch first to make the fabric stronger,'' Futatsuya says. For precise patterns, Futatsuya suggests either hand drawing on the fabric with washable pens or transferring an existing sashiko pattern onto your fabric using carbon tracing paper. Follow the traced lines with a simple, small, running stitch. Place your patch on the inside of your jeans and sew the two together. Sashiko is best suited to sturdy fabrics like denim or canvas. ''A T-shirt is too stretchy,'' Futatsuya says.

As a child, Futatsuya was embarrassed by his family's sashiko company: It seemed old-fashioned, and he wanted to appear modern and trendy. His father died in 2013, and a few months later he moved to the U.S., where he found renewed connection to his family and culture through the traditional needlework technique. ''Sashiko taught me who my father really was,'' he says. Carefully mending a garment will change the way you approach clothing, fashion and even time. ''I hope in the future, my 5-year-old daughter will receive what I'm wearing right now,'' Futatsuya says. ''And it will tell her who I was.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/14/magazine/how-to-patch-jeans.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/14/magazine/how-to-patch-jeans.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by Radio FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 19, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction: Sunday, February 07th 2021***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61YF-1M41-DXY4-X481-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 7, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 477 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the February 07, 2021 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending January 23, 2021. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction |
| This | On |  |
| Week | List |  |
| 1 | 80 | ON TYRANNY, by Timothy Snyder. (Tim Duggan) Twenty lessons from the 20th century about the course of tyranny. |
| 2 | 118 | THE BODY KEEPS THE SCORE, by Bessel van der Kolk. (Penguin) How trauma affects the body and mind, and innovative treatments for recovery. |
| 3 | 16 | THE TRUTHS WE HOLD, by Kamala Harris. (Penguin) A memoir by the daughter of immigrants who is currently serving as the 49th vice president. |
| 4 | 125 | WHITE FRAGILITY, by Robin DiAngelo. (Beacon) Historical and cultural analyses on what causes defensive moves by white people and how this inhibits cross-racial dialogue. |
| 5 | 41 | BRAIDING SWEETGRASS, by Robin Wall Kimmerer. (Milkweed Editions) A botanist and member of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation espouses having an understanding and appreciation of plants and animals. |
| 6 | 64 | HILLBILLY ELEGY, by J.D. Vance. (Harper) A Yale Law School graduate looks at the struggles of the white ***working class*** through the story of his own childhood. |
| 7 | 27 | MY OWN WORDS, by Ruth Bader Ginsburg with Mary Hartnett and Wendy W. Williams. (Simon & Schuster) A collection of articles and speeches by the Supreme Court justice. |
| 8 | 56 | THE WARMTH OF OTHER SUNS, by Isabel Wilkerson. (Vintage) An account of the Great Migration of 1915-70, in which six million African-Americans abandoned the South. |
| 9 | 102 | BORN A CRIME, by Trevor Noah. (One World) A memoir about growing up biracial in apartheid South Africa by the host of ?The Daily Show.? |
| 10 | 218 | THE NEW JIM CROW, by Michelle Alexander. (New Press) A law professor on the ?war on drugs? and its role in the disproportionate incarceration of Black men. |
| 11 | 238 | JUST MERCY, by Bryan Stevenson. (One World) A civil rights lawyer and MacArthur grant recipient?s memoir of his decades of work to free innocent people condemned to death. |
| 12 | 29 | SO YOU WANT TO TALK ABOUT RACE, by Ijeoma Oluo. (Seal) A look at the contemporary racial landscape of the United States. |
| 13 | 128 | SAPIENS, by Yuval Noah Harari. (Harper Perennial) How Homo sapiens became Earth?s dominant species. |
| 14 | 37 | THE COLOR OF LAW, by Richard Rothstein. (Liveright) A case for how the American government abetted racial segregation in metropolitan areas across the country. |
| 15 | 12 | LEAD FROM THE OUTSIDE, by Stacey Abrams. (Picador) A memoir by the former minority leader of the Georgia House of Representatives who ran to be the state?s governor in 2018. |

**Load-Date:** February 8, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Embers of a Lesser-Known French Revolution Glow Hot***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62JG-5K51-DXY4-X2HD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 29, 2021 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 9

**Length:** 1252 words

**Byline:** By Constant Méheut

**Body**

The 150th anniversary of the Paris Commune of 1871 has struck a chord, reviving calls for better political representation and highlighting economic inequalities.

PARIS -- On a recent chilly morning, a hundred people flocked to a tiny square near the Sacré-Coeur Basilica, at the top of the hill in Montmartre. They were not the usual tourists drawn by the breathtaking panoramic views over Paris, but left-wing demonstrators celebrating the 150th anniversary of a revolution that started right where they stood.

''We're here, we're here!'' a guitarist sang, playing a tune popularized by the Yellow Vest protesters who have in recent years faced off against the government of President Emmanuel Macron, as red flags and banners fluttered around him.

Mr. Macron, the guitarist sang, was equivalent to his 19th-century predecessor, Patrice de Mac Mahon, who crushed the revolution they had come to commemorate, the Paris Commune of 1871 -- a cataclysm that still consumes many on the French far left.

''All the just causes of today were initiated by the Commune, by our forefathers,'' said Frédéric Jamet, 61, who proudly described himself as a ''Yellow Vest veteran.'' Around him were other protesters wearing yellow vests, communist militants wrapped in red scarves and a handful of amused students and curious retirees.

For decades, the memory of the Paris Commune, a short-lived revolution that shook Paris from March to May 1871 before being suppressed by the French Army, had faded in the country's national history, left out of school curriculums and kept alive mainly by communist militants.

But as France has been rocked by a series of social movements in recent years, the story of the Paris Commune has made a comeback, with protesters making connections between today's struggles and those of a century and a half ago. ''The Commune'' has inspired calls for greater political representation for people across France, been used to highlight contemporary economic inequalities and even emerged as a reference for some feminist activists.

Dozens of commemorations of the revolution's 150th anniversary have been organized since mid-March -- they will continue until late May -- revealing the old beating heart of revolutionary Paris, with debates raging in newspaper columns and at City Hall over the legacy of an event marked by violence.

''Over the past five years, this memory has totally warmed up,'' said Quentin Deluermoz, a historian of the Commune. ''It is a historical event that backs up new grass-roots demands in terms of reclaiming social, political and economic power.''

The Commune was born on March 18, 1871, when ***working-class*** Parisians rejected a humiliating peace treaty following France's defeat by Germany in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 and rebelled against the central government. They established their own socialist municipal government, or ''commune,'' in the capital and enacted progressive policies that would inspire much of the country's legislation in the following decades.

The separation of church and state was enforced, while schooling became compulsory, free and secular. Day-care centers were placed near city factories, labor unions were created by the dozen and night work for bakers was banned. Participatory democracy and parity in pay were encouraged.

After only 72 days, the Commune was besieged and then suppressed by the French Army, with brutal acts of violence on both sides. At least 7,000 insurgents were killed by army soldiers during the ''bloody week,'' while Commune fighters executed dozens of hostages and set fire to several historic buildings.

But it is perhaps the tragic and ephemeral nature of the Commune that has most fueled the fascination with this revolution today, its existence too brief to have led to disillusionment.

Mr. Deluermoz said that because the Commune involved so many different elements of revolutionary movements, it had fueled a wide variety of analyses.

The Commune was long invoked as a model of class warfare -- Marx and Lenin saw it as the harbinger of ***working-class*** revolutions -- until its memory began to fade in the 1980s, along with communist ideology.

Demonstrators during the Nuit Debout protests in 2016, a French version of the Occupy movement, renamed the Place de la République in Paris as the Place de la Commune. Yellow Vest protesters in 2018 chanted slogans like ''1871 reasons to believe.''

''The problem is that we are experiencing things, injustices again, that's what's awakening the spirit of the Commune,'' said Sophie Cloarec, pointing to the new economic insecurity and exploitation engendered by the gig economy.

Ms. Cloarec, on a recent Saturday afternoon, was participating in a feminist march honoring women who played a major role in the 1871 revolution. Around her, groups of women were papering walls with posters of famous female Commune fighters, such as the teacher Louise Michel or Victorine Brocher, who kept a canteen during the siege of Paris.

It was the latest sign of the revolution's enduring resonance, as feminist groups are emerging as a powerful force in France against the backdrop of a delayed #MeToo movement.

Mathilde Larrère, a historian of 19th-century French revolutions, said the Commune ''was a feminist movement because women embraced it'' to obtain new rights like better access to education and pensions for unmarried widows.

Jean-Pierre Theurier, a member of the Association of the Friends of the Commune, said he had been surprised by the renewed public interest in the revolution. He said more people were attending the walking tours he organizes in the Père Lachaise cemetery, where a bloody battle took place between the graves and where some 150 Commune fighters were executed; bullet holes are still visible on some walls.

''There's a return of the repressed,'' Ms. Theurier said, referring to the decades-long omission of the Commune from textbooks and official discourse.

But in a country where historical anniversaries are often more divisive than unifying, and where revolutions are often a point of national pride, the Commune's ''return'' has also revived old ideological quarrels over its legacy.

The fighting began at Paris City Hall in February, when conservative city councilors accused the left-wing majority of exploiting the anniversary to political ends while ignoring the Commune's own acts of violence and destruction. Historians and politicians then clashed over the need to commemorate the event, and the French press took sides.

But perhaps the fiercest attack came from the least expected side: the left.

On a chilly March morning, City Hall officials organized the first commemorative event, gathering about 50 Parisians at the foot of the Montmartre hill to carry life-size silhouettes of famous Commune fighters. Anger roared above them, in the tiny square near the Sacré-Coeur Basilica, where left-wing demonstrators had organized their own event, boycotting the official celebration.

''You Versaillais!'' a man shouted to the crowd down the hill, using the name given to people living in Versailles, the city where the central government regrouped during the Commune, and the home to French kings until the French Revolution of 1789.

''Those down there, they're the privileged few,'' said Mr. Jamet, the Yellow Vest veteran.

Standing a few feet away, Catherine Krcmar, a 70-year-old seasoned leftist activist, smiled as she watched the protest around her. ''Revolutionary Paris is not dead,'' she said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/28/world/europe/france-protests-yellow-vests-paris-commune.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/28/world/europe/france-protests-yellow-vests-paris-commune.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Banners marking the 150th anniversary of the Paris Commune hung in front of the Sacré-Coeur Basilica in March. Left, the Rue de Rivoli after a week of fighting between insurgent Parisians and the French Army in 1871. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHESNOT/GETTY IMAGES

HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS, VIA GETTY IMAGES)

A Yellow Vest protest in Paris in 2018. Supporters have invoked the memory of the Paris Commune of 1871. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ABDULMONAM EASSA/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** April 29, 2021

**End of Document**



[***The Embers of a Long-Smoldering Revolution Are Stoked in France***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62J9-R791-JBG3-603H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 28, 2021 Wednesday 04:16 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1318 words

**Byline:** Constant Méheut

**Highlight:** The 150th anniversary of the Paris Commune of 1871 has struck a chord, reviving calls for better political representation and highlighting economic inequalities.

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Mr. Macron, the guitarist sang, was equivalent to his 19th-century predecessor, [*Patrice de Mac Mahon*](https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1893/10/18/109712866.html?pageNumber=9), who crushed the revolution they had come to commemorate, the Paris Commune of 1871 — a cataclysm that still consumes many on the French far left.

“All the just causes of today were initiated by the Commune, by our forefathers,” said Frédéric Jamet, 61, who proudly described himself as a “Yellow Vest veteran.” Around him were other protesters wearing yellow vests, communist militants wrapped in red scarves and a handful of amused students and curious retirees.

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Dozens of commemorations of the revolution’s 150th anniversary have been organized since mid-March — they will continue until late May — revealing the old beating heart of revolutionary Paris, with [*debates raging in newspaper columns*](https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1893/10/18/109712866.html?pageNumber=9) and at City Hall over the legacy of an event marked by violence.

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The separation of church and state was enforced, while schooling became compulsory, free and secular. Day-care centers were placed near city factories, labor unions were created by the dozen and night work for bakers was banned. Participatory democracy and parity in pay were encouraged.

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It was the latest sign of the revolution’s enduring resonance, as feminist groups are emerging as a [*powerful force*](https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1893/10/18/109712866.html?pageNumber=9) in France against the backdrop of a [*delayed #MeToo movement*](https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1893/10/18/109712866.html?pageNumber=9).

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PHOTOS: Banners marking the 150th anniversary of the Paris Commune hung in front of the Sacré-Coeur Basilica in March. Left, the Rue de Rivoli after a week of fighting between insurgent Parisians and the French Army in 1871. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHESNOT/GETTY IMAGES; HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS, VIA GETTY IMAGES); A Yellow Vest protest in Paris in 2018. Supporters have invoked the memory of the Paris Commune of 1871. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ABDULMONAM EASSA/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** May 5, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Drop in Small-Dollar Donations Alarms G.O.P.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6618-W0W1-JBG3-63DF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 27, 2022 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 12

**Length:** 1469 words

**Byline:** By Shane Goldmacher

**Body**

In an otherwise favorable political climate, small-dollar donations have dropped for Republicans, making the party more reliant on megadonors to compete.

Online fund-raising has slowed across much of the Republican Party in recent months, an unusual pullback of small donors that has set off a mad rush among Republican political operatives to understand why -- and reverse the sudden decline before it damages the party's chances this fall.

Small-dollar donations typically increase as an election nears. But just the opposite has happened in recent months across a wide range of Republican entities, including every major party committee and former President Donald J. Trump's political operation.

The total amount donated online fell by more than 12 percent across all federal Republican campaigns and committees in the second quarter compared with the first quarter, according to an analysis of federal records from WinRed, the main online Republican donation-processing portal.

More alarming for Republicans: Democratic contributions surged at the same time. Total federal donations on ActBlue, the Democratic counterpart, jumped by more than 21 percent.

The overall Democratic fund-raising edge online widened by $100 million from the last quarter of 2021 to the most recent three-month period, records show.

Exacerbating the fund-raising problems for Republicans is that Mr. Trump continues to be the party's dominant fund-raiser and yet virtually none of the tens of millions of dollars he has raised has gone toward defeating Democrats. Instead, the money has funded his political team and retribution agenda against Republicans who have crossed him.

The current political climate favors Republicans as President Biden's approval rating plumbs new lows. But nearly a dozen Republican strategists directly involved in fund-raising or overseeing campaigns have expressed concerns about how the fund-raising downturn might limit their party's gains.

Working in the party's favor is that Wall Street billionaires and other industry titans have cut seven- and eight-figure checks to Republican super PACs, offsetting some of the party's small-dollar struggles, which some attributed to inflation and others to deceptive tactics that are turning off supporters over time.

''We've got to raise the money,'' Senator Rick Scott of Florida, chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, said repeatedly on Fox News on Friday when pressed about the 2022 landscape. ''We get the money, we win.''

For the Senate Republican committee, online fund-raising plunged by $6.7 million in the most recent quarter, to $11 million, from $17.7 million. Top Republican Senate candidates, even those whose fund-raising ticked up, are falling well behind their Democratic rivals in the cash race.

The money gap is so pronounced that Senator Raphael Warnock of Georgia, an endangered Democratic incumbent, raised more online last quarter -- $12.3 million -- than the combined WinRed quarterly hauls of the Republican Senate nominees or presumptive nominees in seven key contests: Georgia, Wisconsin, Florida, Nevada, Ohio, North Carolina and Pennsylvania.

Money alone does not win political races and, for years, Republicans have grown accustomed to trailing Democrats in online fund-raising. Democratic donors, for instance, poured more than $200 million into losing Senate races in Kentucky and South Carolina last cycle -- and neither contest ended up even close.

But the dip in online donations less than four months before Election Day -- not just compared with Democrats but compared with the previous quarter -- still has sent shock waves of anxiety across Republican circles.

Eric Wilson, the director of the Center for Campaign Innovation, a conservative nonprofit focused on digital politics, commissioned a recent survey of Republican fund-raisers and found 70 percent falling short of expectations.

''You've got this perfect storm happening that has really put the brakes on grass-roots fund-raising,'' Mr. Wilson said.

Some Republicans blamed inflation. Some blamed tech platforms. Others accused certain campaigns and committees -- in particular the highly aggressive Trump operation -- of simply overfishing and polluting a limited donor pool for everyone.

Mr. Trump's PAC often sends out more than a dozen daily fund-raising emails and relentlessly searches for new donors via text messages and by renting conservative email lists. At times, the operation has leaned on deceptive and manipulative tactics. As one Republican said in Mr. Wilson's survey, ''Republicans are struggling to grow online fund-raising revenue because the big dogs are eating all of the food in the bowl.''

Two strategists involved in other down-ticket Republican races, who spoke on condition of anonymity to avoid angering the Trump team, said that the former president's renting of donor lists has at times boxed out other 2022 candidates or forced them into less favorable terms when prospecting for new contributors.

Some Republicans have polled their donors to ask about why they were not giving and, according to people familiar with the results, inflation was the top answer. At a closed-door donor retreat last month, Ronna McDaniel, the chairwoman of the Republican National Committee, also pinned the blame on inflation for the slowdown in small donations.

Still, inflation's role is being hotly debated in digital circles because it has not seemingly affected Democratic donations, which jumped particularly in the aftermath of the Supreme Court's overturning Roe v. Wade.

''They've got a lot of motivating factors,'' Mr. Wilson said of Democrats.

Some Republican strategists said that their small-donor base is especially susceptible to price increases because their small donors are increasingly ***working class*** or rely on fixed incomes. A New York Times analysis of 2020 campaign contributions nationally showed that compared with Democrats, Republicans raised a far greater share of their money in ZIP codes where the median household income was less than $100,000, part of the evolving realignment between the two parties.

Still, when it comes to billionaire megadonors giving to super PACs, the Republican Party is easily outpacing the Democrats in 2022.

The main Senate Republican super PAC had nearly $40 million more cash on hand than its Democratic counterpart entering July. The House Republican super PAC's cash edge was even bigger: nearly $70 million.

Kenneth C. Griffin, the chief executive of Citadel, a giant hedge fund, has poured nearly $50 million into various federal super PACs ahead of the 2022 election, including $10 million to the main Senate arm and $18.5 million into the House super PAC.

Stephen A. Schwarzman, the chairman of Blackstone, another hedge fund, has contributed a combined $20 million to the main House and Senate Republican super PAC this year. Timothy Mellon, the banking fortune heir, and Patrick R. Ryan, who became a billionaire through the insurance industry, each contributed $10 million to the main House G.O.P. super PAC.

And Miriam Adelson, a physician whose husband, Sheldon Adelson, was long one of the party's most generous contributors until his death last year, made her first $5 million donation of the 2022 cycle this month.

Democrats have had fewer donors at that level. And some of the party's biggest financiers in the past, notably Michael R. Bloomberg, the billionaire former mayor of New York City, have been largely sitting on the sidelines of the 2022 super PAC wars.

While Mr. Bloomberg has often contributed closer to the election, he wrote an opinion essay this year warning that the Democratic Party was headed for a ''wipeout,'' barring a ''course correction.'' He has so far given only $1.5 million to a super PAC he uses for federal races; most of that amount went to a single Democratic primary in Georgia.

For Republicans, House candidate fund-raising has been a relative bright spot, as a growing number of candidates are raising significant funds online. As of this point in 2020, only 28 House Republican candidates and incumbents had raised more than $500,000 on WinRed, according to data compiled by the National Republican Congressional Committee. Now, that figure stands at 94.

But the House Republican leadership has not been immune to the overall slowdown. Representatives Kevin McCarthy of California and Steve Scalise of Louisiana, the top two House Republicans, have each seen precipitous declines in WinRed donations. Fund-raising in their main accounts focused on smaller donors dropped by about $2 million combined, or roughly 25 percent, in the most recent quarter.

Andrew Fischer, Bea Malsky, and Rachel Shorey contributed research.Andrew Fischer, Bea Malsky, and Rachel Shorey contributed research.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/26/us/politics/online-fundraising-republicans-democrats.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/26/us/politics/online-fundraising-republicans-democrats.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Former President Donald J. Trump is the Republicans' dominant fund-raiser, yet virtually none of the money he has raised has gone toward beating Democrats. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ROGER KISBY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Senator Raphael Warnock, a Georgia Democrat, raised more online last quarter than the combined WinRed hauls of the G.O.P. favorites in seven key races. (PHOTOGRAPH BY NICOLE CRAINE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 27, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The ‘Shouting Back’ Theater Abruptly Closes, and Brooklyn Mourns***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64KD-TG01-JBG3-64DJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 21, 2022 Friday 10:35 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 902 words

**Byline:** Saki Knafo

**Highlight:** A rowdy movie house suddenly goes dark, inspiring an outpouring of dismay and reminiscences.

**Body**

A rowdy movie house suddenly goes dark, inspiring an outpouring of dismay and reminiscences.

On a recent morning, the Regal UA Court Street in Brooklyn was uncharacteristically quiet. Posters for “Jackass Forever” and “American Underdog” hung in its windows, but the curving marquee had been stripped of its letters, and its glass doors were locked. Peering inside, you could see a scattering of dead leaves on the floor of the darkened lobby, like tumbleweeds in a western.

A pair of teenage boys, Kimani Augustin and his friend Demarcus Cousins (yes, like the basketball player), stood outside and reminisced about the good times they’d had there. “It could get crazy,” Kimani said, “but was amazing nonetheless.”

The theater closed last Sunday, taking regulars by surprise. Right away, the Twitter tributes poured in, many of them written in a tone of ironic amusement. Dean Fleischer-Camp, a filmmaker, said that his favorite movie experience ever involved people “screaming, laughing, singing” and “throwing popcorn” during a 6 p.m. screening of “Drag Me to Hell.” Lincoln Restler, the newly elected councilman whose district includes Downtown Brooklyn, shared a picture of a moving van parked outside. “For the shouting-back-at-action-movie experience,” he wrote, “there was no place better!”

Cyrus McQueen, a stand-up comic and the author of “Tweeting Truth to Power,” a book of essays on race and politics in America, was as struck by what these commenters didn’t say as by what they did. “I’m an African-American man, so I speak plainly,” he said. “It was a Black theater. You yelled at the screen, and folks would talk.” A longtime resident of Crown Heights, Mr. McQueen regarded a sold-out showing of “Black Panther” at the Regal as one of the highlights of his life.

“A major component of Black existence is forced comportment in white spaces,” he said. “There is a comfort derived from taking off the disguise, if just for a few minutes in the cinema.”

For more than two decades, the 13-story megaplex was a cultural mainstay of Downtown Brooklyn, a shopping destination for residents of the borough’s predominantly ***working-class*** Black neighborhoods. People from Bedford-Stuyvesant and Flatbush and Brownsville would travel there on trains and buses and in dollar vans, sometimes stopping to shop or eat at nearby Fulton Mall.

But soon after the Regal opened, developers began to transform the area, [*pushing out local businesses*](https://mybrooklynmovie.com/) to make way for luxury condo towers. At Alamo Drafthouse, a theater that opened in one of those towers a few years back, you can take in your movie while sipping dry rosé cider and eating margherita pizza in a plush recliner. “It’s kind of hoity-toity,” said RJ Adams, an independent photographer from East New York. “Everyone’s uptight. At Court Street, everyone was just relaxed.”

The Court Street theater closed without warning or explanation. Whether it fell victim to gentrification, the pandemic, competition from streaming services or some other evil remains a mystery. A representative of the chain did not respond to multiple voice messages seeking comment; a spokeswoman for Madison International Realty, the property owner, wrote that the company is “gathering more information” and that it shares “the community’s disappointment.” Rendy Jones, a 23-year-old member of the Regal Crown Club rewards program, was bewildered. “I need to know what happened,” he said. “At least email me about it!”

Mr. Jones, a movie buff from Crown Heights, said he cried when he first saw the news on Twitter. “I started going there before I could even walk, either with my mom or dad,” he said on the phone the other day. “I still have my ticket stubs. I’m looking at them now.” At 13, he began writing a [*blog*](https://www.rendyreviews.com/) about movies; eventually he became an [*accredited critic for Rotten Tomatoes*](https://www.rottentomatoes.com/critics/rendy-jones/movies), an accomplishment that he credits to the Regal.

Like many teenagers, he would take advantage of the establishment’s relaxed atmosphere to see three or four movies in a day, hopping between theaters when employees weren’t looking. “I would plan it out like a supervillain,” he said. Still, he was surprised to see people on Twitter describing the theater as “chaotic” and “rowdy.” “All I remember is watching the movies and having a good time,” he said. “I’ve never seen anything crazy happen there.”

B.A. Parker, a former film professor who writes and produces radio stories for shows like The Cut and This American Life, has. Two years ago, she went to the theater to see “The Photograph,” a romantic drama starring Issa Rae and Lakeith Stanfield. “They showed the first five minutes of ‘Harley Quinn’ before they realized they messed up and had to switch reels,” she said. “Kids started shouting. Halfway through, the cops came in and took them out. Twenty minutes later, the kids came back screaming ‘We’re back’!” I still can’t tell you what happened in ‘The Photograph.’”

Ms. Parker, who is Black, said that three of her five worst moviegoing experiences took place there. Even so, she was sad to see it go. “I’ve been to 70 percent of the theaters in New York City,” she said, “and the loss of any of them is a tragedy to me.”

PHOTO: The Regal UA Court Street theater in Downtown Brooklyn often saw as many theatrics in the seats as on the screen. It might not have been universally beloved, but community members say it will be missed. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ANGELA WEISS/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** January 21, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Landlord Said to Demand Sex From Tenants Will Pay $4.5 Million to Settle Suit***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:649R-HH21-DXY4-X4XX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 16, 2021 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 25

**Length:** 850 words

**Byline:** By Karen Zraick

**Body**

A federal civil rights suit had accused Joseph Centanni of demanding sexual acts from tenants in Elizabeth, N.J. He denied wrongdoing, but agreed to pay.

One woman went to the landlord of her building for help because she was worried she wouldn't be able to pay her rent. Another tenant was having trouble finding a new home and wanted to know if she could stay in her apartment.

The landlord, who owned several buildings in Elizabeth, N.J., helped both of them -- but only after they performed the sexual acts on him that he demanded, according to a federal civil rights lawsuit that was settled this week for $4.5 million, the vast majority of which is supposed to go to victims.

If the agreement is approved by a judge, federal officials said it would be the largest settlement the Justice Department has ever secured in a case involving sexual harassment in housing.

The suit, filed last year, accused the landlord, Joseph Centanni, 74, of harassing tenants in the nearly 20 buildings he owned in and around Elizabeth for at least 15 years. Many of the tenants were vulnerable or in precarious situations, including older people, low-income families and people with disabilities.

Mr. Centanni accepted federal housing vouchers and received more than $100,000 monthly in voucher payments, the authorities said. He has been forced to sell his rental properties as part of the settlement.

Raymond S. Londa, a lawyer for Mr. Centanni, said that the settlement ''does not in any way, shape or form constitute an admission or acknowledgment of wrongdoing or liability'' and that Mr. Centanni denied the accusations. Mr. Londa said that his client had agreed to the settlement to avoid lengthy litigation.

Mr. Centanni, who lives in Mountainside, N.J., also faces separate criminal charges. He was arrested in March and charged with numerous counts of sexual assault and criminal sexual contact. He was accused of coercing more than a dozen tenants into sex acts in exchange for ''financial relief,'' according to the Union County prosecutor and the Elizabeth Police Department.

The prosecutor's office said that it began an investigation based on a referral from the police. The investigators found that Mr. Centanni had targeted both male and female tenants and prospective tenants who were struggling financially, including some who were homeless or faced eviction.

More accusers came forward in the months that followed. Mr. Centanni was arrested again in July and now faces 35 charges related to accusations from 20 people between 22 and 61 years old.

Elizabeth is a heavily ***working-class*** city of nearly 130,000 people just south of Newark Liberty International Airport that still offers a large supply of relatively affordable apartments in one of the more expensive regions in the country.

Tenants at several of Mr. Centanni's former buildings declined to comment on Wednesday, though at least one expressed surprise at the allegations, saying that Mr. Centanni had maintained the building well. At one building, on North Broad Street, a note posted on the door announced that it was under new ownership.

Kristen Clarke, who leads the Justice Department's civil rights division, told reporters on Tuesday that her office had started an investigation in 2019, after learning of the allegations from the Office of the Inspector General at the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development.

The federal lawsuit claimed that Mr. Centanni would take housing applicants or tenants to empty apartments, storage spaces or laundry rooms and expose himself, demand oral sex and force people to touch him.

''If people submitted to his demands, Mr. Centanni allowed them to move in or keep their housing,'' Ms. Clarke said. ''If people did not submit Mr. Centanni refused to rent to them or evicted them.''

Federal officials built their case relying on the Fair Housing Act, which prohibits sex-based discrimination and harassment. Under the terms of the settlement, Mr. Centanni may not own or manage rental properties and cannot pursue housing court judgments against any former tenants that were obtained in proceedings deemed to be retaliatory.

The agreement gives Mr. Centanni 30 days to deposit $4.4 million in a settlement fund to compensate the dozens of victims already identified -- and people who have not yet come forward. They have about six months to do so and the authorities will have additional time to examine their claims. He must also pay $107,000 in penalties to the government.

Rachael Honig, the acting U.S. attorney for New Jersey, said that threats from a landlord can have dire consequences, especially for tenants who are already struggling.

''For many of his victims, if they lost their apartment, or were denied an apartment in the first place, they risk their lives being completely upended,'' she said. ''They risked losing the home in which they lived with their children. They risked not being able to find another landlord who would accept their housing assistance vouchers.''

Kevin Armstrong contributed reporting.Kevin Armstrong contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/15/nyregion/joseph-centanni-new-jersey.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/15/nyregion/joseph-centanni-new-jersey.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: A federal lawsuit accused a landlord in Elizabeth, N.J., of demanding sexual acts from tenants or housing applicants. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Brendan Mcdermid/Reuters FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 16, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Your Tuesday Evening Briefing***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6615-8F41-DXY4-X1J1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 26, 2022 Tuesday 17:28 EST

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1371 words

**Byline:** Jonathan Wolfe and Remy Tumin

**Highlight:** Here’s what you need to know at the end of the day.

**Body**

Here’s what you need to know at the end of the day.

(Want to get this newsletter in your inbox? Here’s [*the sign-up*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline).)

1. Previously undisclosed emails are providing new insight into efforts to overturn the election in the weeks leading to Jan. 6.

The Times reviewed dozens of emails sent among people connected to Donald Trump’s campaign, outside advisers and his close associates. They show a focus on assembling lists of people [*who would claim, with no basis, to be Electoral College electors on his behalf*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/26/us/politics/trump-fake-electors-emails.html).

One lawyer repeatedly used the word “fake” to refer to the so-called electors, who were intended to provide a rationale for derailing the congressional process of certifying the outcome. Lawyers working on the proposal made clear they knew that the electors might not hold up to legal scrutiny.

Related: Two of Pence’s top aides [*testified to a federal grand jury in Washington*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/25/us/politics/marc-short-pence-jan-6.html) as part of the Justice Department’s criminal investigation into the events surrounding the Jan. 6 riot.

In other G.O.P. news, small-dollar donations [*have unexpectedly dropped for Republicans*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/26/us/politics/online-fundraising-republicans-democrats.html).

2. The International Monetary Fund said the world could be on the brink of a global recession.

The group said that economic prospects have darkened as inflation, war in Ukraine and a resurgent pandemic have inflicted pain in every continent. The economies of the U.S., China and Europe [*have slowed more sharply than anticipated*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/26/business/imf-world-economy.html?smid=url-share), the I.M.F. added.

According to its report, the probability of a recession starting in one of the Group of 7 advanced economies is now nearly 15 percent, four times its usual level. If the thicket of threats continues to intensify, the world economy could face one of its weakest years since 1970.

In the U.S., Federal Reserve officials are set to make [*a second abnormally large interest rate increase*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/25/business/economy/fed-interest-rate-increase.html) to cool down an overheating economy tomorrow. Economists think [*the odds of a recession are rising*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/26/business/economy/recession-economy.html).

3. Russia is quitting the International Space Station.

The new head of the country’s space agency announced during a meeting with President Vladimir Putin that Russia [*will leave the station after its current commitment expires at the end of 2024*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/26/science/russia-space-station.html).

How long the station can operate without Russia’s involvement is uncertain. The outpost consists of two interconnected sections — one led by NASA, the other by Russia. Experts say it clouds the prospect of keeping the station going through the end of the decade.

More on Russia and Ukraine:

* The E.U. agreed [*to reduce natural gas consumption by 15 percent*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/07/26/world/ukraine-russia-war#eu-russia-ukraine-gas-deal).
* Under a deal between Russia and Ukraine, ships loaded with grain [*are expected to leave Odesa soon*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/07/26/world/ukraine-russia-war/navigating-mines-and-threatened-by-war-ships-laden-with-grain-are-expected-to-leave-odesa-soon?smid=url-share).

1. Nightlife is returning to Ukraine’s capital, but revelers still have to reckon with guilty feelings — [*and a curfew*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/26/world/asia/kyiv-ukraine-war-nightlife.html).

4. Few parents intend to have their very young children vaccinated against Covid.

In a new survey from the Kaiser Family Foundation, [*43 percent of parents of children ages 6 months through 4 years said they would refuse the shots for their kids*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/26/health/covid-vaccines-kids-youngest.html). An additional 27 percent were uncertain.

Parental apprehension has so far resulted in fewer shots for that age group. Since June 18, when they became eligible, just 2.8 percent had received shots. By comparison, 18.5 percent of children 5 through 11 had been vaccinated at a similar point in the rollout.

Tired of living with Covid? We have [*a guide to protecting yourself*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/25/well/live/covid-ba5-precautions.html).

In monkeypox news, American officials [*waited weeks to ship some 300,000 doses of the vaccine*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/25/nyregion/nyc-monkeypox-vaccine-doses-denmark.html) to the U.S. from Denmark, possibly missing an opportunity to contain the largest monkeypox outbreak in the country.

5. In San Antonio, the poor live on islands of heat.

The city has experienced at least 46 days of 100-plus-degree weather so far this year. Every day but one this month has surpassed the 100-degree mark.

The heat is more tolerable in wealthy neighborhoods and the city’s best-known area, the River Walk, where tourists ride boats under shade trees. But it is inescapable in ***working class*** or poor neighborhoods such as Westside, where the high ratio of asphalt to green space [*creates a “heat island effect”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/26/us/texas-heat-poverty-islands-san-antonio.html) that is known to lead to higher energy consumption, more pollution and a greater risk of related health problems.

Related: Climate change [*is also affecting floods*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/flooding-climate-change.html). In the St. Louis area, record rainfall today [*caused flash floods*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/26/us/flash-flooding-st-louis-missouri.html), with reported rescues from residences and submerged vehicles on swamped roadways.

6. Vancouver is giving out fentanyl.

It is the latest and perhaps most significant step by a city that has been leading efforts to reduce deaths from illicit drugs by making them safer. The new experiment in “harm reduction” [*provides pharmacy-grade fentanyl*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/26/health/fentanyl-vancouver-drugs.html) to those who can pay and free drugs — financed by Canada’s public health system — to those who cannot.

Proponents say the program, which can currently supply about a hundred people, will save not only lives but also taxpayer dollars in reduced emergency services and hospitalizations. But some specialists say that the effort goes too far and diverts resources from proven treatments.

7. The jingle of an ice cream truck is increasingly playing to a crowd of no one.

Owning an ice cream truck used to be a lucrative proposition, but for some, the [*expenses have become untenable*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/26/dining/ice-cream-truck-nyc.html) as high fuel prices feed inflation.

For New York City vendors, vanilla ice cream costs $13 a gallon and a 25-pound box of sprinkles now goes for about $60, double what it cost a year ago. Prices for some cones with add-ons such as swirly ice cream and chocolate sauce reach $8 on some trucks.

In other ice cream news, the Choco Taco, a fixture of ice cream trucks and convenience stores, [*has been discontinued*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/26/business/choco-taco-klondike-discontinued.html).

8. Mud from the Delaware River is smeared on every Major League baseball to make them less slippery. But that tradition is in jeopardy.

M.L.B. executives say Lena Blackburne Baseball Rubbing Mud, as it’s known, is too often inconsistently applied. In their quest to make balls more consistent — and the game more equitable —[*they have tried to come up with a substitute*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/26/sports/baseball/baseball-mud-supplier.html). So far, the reviews have been mixed.

“If they stopped ordering, I’d be more upset by the end of the tradition, not my bottom line,” said Jim Bintliff, whose family has been supplying the mud for decades.

On the track: We looked at why [*so many records fell during the track and field world championships*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/26/sports/olympics/track-world-records.html) last week. Perhaps the most important reason is the accelerating use of high-performance sneakers.

9. U.S. authors dominate this year’s Booker Prize nominees.

[*Six of the 13 writers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/26/books/booker-prize-longlist-fowler-strout.html) in contention for the prestigious British literary award are from the U.S., including Elizabeth Strout, Karen Joy Fowler and Leila Mottley. Strout, the highest-profile author on the list, is nominated for “[*Oh William!*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/18/books/review/oh-william-elizabeth-strout.html),” a novel about a grief-stricken woman who helps her ex-husband investigate his family’s past.

For the beach readers, [*we spoke to the novelist Emily Henry*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/26/travel/emily-henry-novelist.html) about her summertime best sellers. “A book is already built to be a kind of vacation,” she said.

10. And finally, a rabbi, a minister and an imam walk into Lincoln Center.

In front of the three, around 200 couples celebrated a symbolic wedding at the performing arts campus earlier this month. The coronavirus brought them together: The mass wedding celebration was [*held for people whose weddings had been delayed or derailed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/26/style/lincoln-center-wedding-pandemic.html) because of the pandemic.

Some wore formal wear, including white gowns and suits. Others winked at the theme by donning tuxedo T-shirts and veils from Party City. The ceremony concluded with a unification ritual, in which couples simultaneously held up yards of pink, blue and yellow ribbon. Dancing beneath a kaleidoscope of rainbow party lights and a 1,300-pound disco ball followed.

Have a joyous night.

Brent Lewisand Jennifer Swanson compiled photos for this briefing.

Your Evening Briefing is posted at 6 p.m. Eastern.

Want to catch up on past briefings? [*You can browse them here*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-evening-briefing).

What did you like? What do you want to see here? Let us know at [*briefing@nytimes.com*](mailto:briefing@nytimes.com?subject=Evening%20Briefing%20Feedback).

Here are [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/crosswords/game/mini), [*Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/puzzles/spelling-bee) and [*Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/games/wordle/index.html). If you’re in the mood to play more, [*find all our games here*](https://www.nytimes.com/games).

Brent Lewisand Jennifer Swanson compiled photos for this briefing.

PHOTO: Donald Trump at a rally in Prescott Valley, Ariz., last week. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Ash Ponders for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 26, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Republicans Confront Unexpected Online Money Slowdown***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6613-85T1-JBG3-62C6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 26, 2022 Tuesday 10:27 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1525 words

**Byline:** Shane Goldmacher

**Highlight:** In an otherwise favorable political climate, small-dollar donations have dropped for Republicans, making the party more reliant on megadonors to compete.

**Body**

In an otherwise favorable political climate, small-dollar donations have dropped for Republicans, making the party more reliant on megadonors to compete.

Online fund-raising has slowed across much of the Republican Party in recent months, an unusual pullback of small donors that has set off a mad rush among Republican political operatives to understand why — and reverse the sudden decline before it damages the party’s chances this fall.

Small-dollar donations typically increase as an election nears. But just the opposite has happened in recent months across a wide range of Republican entities, including every major party committee and former President Donald J. Trump’s political operation.

The total amount donated online fell by more than 12 percent across all federal Republican campaigns and committees in the second quarter compared with the first quarter, according to an analysis of federal records from WinRed, the main online Republican donation-processing portal.

More alarming for Republicans: Democratic contributions surged at the same time. Total federal donations on ActBlue, the Democratic counterpart, jumped by more than 21 percent.

The overall Democratic fund-raising edge online widened by $100 million from the last quarter of 2021 to the most recent three-month period, records show.

Exacerbating the fund-raising problems for Republicans is that Mr. Trump continues to be the party’s dominant fund-raiser and yet virtually none of the tens of millions of dollars he has raised has gone toward defeating Democrats. Instead, the money has funded his political team and retribution agenda against Republicans who have crossed him.

The current political climate favors Republicans as [*President Biden’s approval rating*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/11/us/politics/biden-approval-polling-2024.html) plumbs new lows. But nearly a dozen Republican strategists directly involved in fund-raising or overseeing campaigns have expressed concerns about how the fund-raising downturn might limit their party’s gains.

Working in the party’s favor is that Wall Street billionaires and other industry titans have cut seven- and eight-figure checks to Republican super PACs, offsetting some of the party’s small-dollar struggles, which some attributed to inflation and others to deceptive tactics that are turning off supporters over time.

“We’ve got to raise the money,” Senator Rick Scott of Florida, chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, said repeatedly on Fox News on Friday when pressed about the 2022 landscape. “We get the money, we win.”

For the Senate Republican committee, online fund-raising plunged by $6.7 million in the most recent quarter, to $11 million, from $17.7 million. Top Republican Senate candidates, even those whose fund-raising ticked up, are falling well behind their Democratic rivals in the cash race.

The money gap is so pronounced that Senator Raphael Warnock of Georgia, an endangered Democratic incumbent, raised more online last quarter — $12.3 million — than the combined WinRed quarterly hauls of the Republican Senate nominees or presumptive nominees in seven key contests: Georgia, Wisconsin, Florida, Nevada, Ohio, North Carolina and Pennsylvania.

Money alone does not win political races and, for years, Republicans have grown accustomed to trailing Democrats in online fund-raising. Democratic donors, for instance, poured more than $200 million into losing Senate races in Kentucky and South Carolina last cycle — and neither contest ended up even close.

But the dip in online donations less than four months before Election Day — not just compared with Democrats but compared with the previous quarter — still has sent shock waves of anxiety across Republican circles.

Eric Wilson, the director of the Center for Campaign Innovation, a conservative nonprofit focused on digital politics, [*commissioned a recent survey*](https://campaigninnovation.org/reports/survey-political-online-fundraising-faces-headwinds-in-2022/) of Republican fund-raisers and found 70 percent falling short of expectations.

“You’ve got this perfect storm happening that has really put the brakes on grass-roots fund-raising,” Mr. Wilson said.

Some Republicans blamed inflation. Some [*blamed tech platforms*](https://www.axios.com/2022/06/29/gops-gmail-feud-escalates). Others accused certain campaigns and committees — in particular the highly aggressive Trump operation — of simply overfishing and polluting a limited donor pool for everyone.

Mr. Trump’s PAC often sends out more than a dozen daily fund-raising emails and relentlessly searches for new donors via text messages and by renting conservative email lists. At times, the operation has leaned on [*deceptive and manipulative tactics*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/03/us/politics/trump-donations.html). As one Republican said in Mr. Wilson’s survey, “Republicans are struggling to grow online fund-raising revenue because the big dogs are eating all of the food in the bowl.”

Two strategists involved in other down-ticket Republican races, who spoke on condition of anonymity to avoid angering the Trump team, said that the former president’s renting of donor lists has at times boxed out other 2022 candidates or forced them into less favorable terms when prospecting for new contributors.

Some Republicans have polled their donors to ask about why they were not giving and, according to people familiar with the results, inflation was the top answer. At a closed-door donor retreat last month, Ronna McDaniel, the chairwoman of the Republican National Committee, also pinned the blame on inflation for the slowdown in small donations.

Still, inflation’s role is being hotly debated in digital circles because it has not seemingly affected Democratic donations, which jumped particularly in the aftermath of the Supreme Court’s overturning Roe v. Wade.

“They’ve got a lot of motivating factors,” Mr. Wilson said of Democrats.

Some Republican strategists said that their small-donor base is especially susceptible to price increases because their small donors are increasingly ***working class*** or rely on fixed incomes. A [*New York Times analysis of 2020 campaign contributions*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/10/25/us/politics/trump-biden-campaign-donations.html) nationally showed that compared with Democrats, Republicans raised a far greater share of their money in ZIP codes where the median household income was less than $100,000, part of the evolving realignment between the two parties.

Still, when it comes to billionaire megadonors giving to super PACs, the Republican Party is easily outpacing the Democrats in 2022.

The main Senate Republican super PAC had nearly $40 million more cash on hand than its Democratic counterpart entering July. The House Republican super PAC’s cash edge was even bigger: nearly $70 million.

Kenneth C. Griffin, the chief executive of Citadel, a giant hedge fund, has poured nearly $50 million into various federal super PACs ahead of the 2022 election, including $10 million to the main Senate arm and $18.5 million into the House super PAC.

Stephen A. Schwarzman, the chairman of Blackstone, another hedge fund, has contributed a combined $20 million to the main House and Senate Republican super PAC this year. Timothy Mellon, the banking fortune heir, and Patrick R. Ryan, who became a billionaire through the insurance industry, each contributed $10 million to the main House G.O.P. super PAC.

And Miriam Adelson, a physician whose husband, [*Sheldon Adelson*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/12/business/sheldon-adelson-dead.html), was long one of the party’s most generous contributors until his death last year, made her first $5 million donation of the 2022 cycle this month.

Democrats have had fewer donors at that level. And some of the party’s biggest financiers in the past, notably Michael R. Bloomberg, the billionaire former mayor of New York City, have been largely sitting on the sidelines of the 2022 super PAC wars.

While Mr. Bloomberg has often contributed closer to the election, [*he wrote an opinion essay this year*](https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2022-02-22/san-francisco-school-board-recall-is-a-sign-for-the-democratic-party) warning that the Democratic Party was headed for a “wipeout,” barring a “course correction.” He has so far given only $1.5 million to a super PAC he uses for federal races; most of that amount went to a single Democratic primary in Georgia.

For Republicans, House candidate fund-raising has been a relative bright spot, as a growing number of candidates are raising significant funds online. As of this point in 2020, only 28 House Republican candidates and incumbents had raised more than $500,000 on WinRed, according to data compiled by the National Republican Congressional Committee. Now, that figure stands at 94.

But the House Republican leadership has not been immune to the overall slowdown. Representatives Kevin McCarthy of California and Steve Scalise of Louisiana, the top two House Republicans, have each seen precipitous declines in WinRed donations. Fund-raising in their main accounts focused on smaller donors dropped by about $2 million combined, or roughly 25 percent, in the most recent quarter.

Andrew Fischer, Bea Malsky, and Rachel Shorey contributed research.

Andrew Fischer, Bea Malsky, and Rachel Shorey contributed research.

PHOTOS: Former President Donald J. Trump is the Republicans’ dominant fund-raiser, yet virtually none of the money he has raised has gone toward beating Democrats. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ROGER KISBY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Senator Raphael Warnock, a Georgia Democrat, raised more online last quarter than the combined WinRed hauls of the G.O.P. favorites in seven key races. (PHOTOGRAPH BY NICOLE CRAINE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 27, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Landlord Accused of Demanding Sex From Tenants to Pay $4.5 Million***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:649M-3N21-DXY4-X4MP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 15, 2021 Wednesday 23:15 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 873 words

**Byline:** Karen Zraick

**Highlight:** A federal civil rights suit had accused Joseph Centanni of demanding sexual acts from tenants in Elizabeth, N.J. He denied wrongdoing, but agreed to pay.

**Body**

A federal civil rights suit had accused Joseph Centanni of demanding sexual acts from tenants in Elizabeth, N.J. He denied wrongdoing, but agreed to pay.

One woman went to the landlord of her building for help because she was worried she wouldn’t be able to pay her rent. Another tenant was having trouble finding a new home and wanted to know if she could stay in her apartment.

The landlord, who owned several buildings in Elizabeth, N.J., helped both of them — but only after they performed the sexual acts on him that he demanded, according to a federal civil rights lawsuit that was settled this week for $4.5 million, the vast majority of which is supposed to go to victims.

If the [*agreement*](https://www.justice.gov/opa/press-release/file/1456366/download) is approved by a judge, federal officials said it would be the largest settlement the Justice Department has ever secured in a case involving sexual harassment in housing.

The [*suit, filed last year,*](https://www.justice.gov/usao-nj/pr/department-justice-files-sexual-harassment-lawsuit-against-owner-rental-properties) accused the landlord, Joseph Centanni, 74, of harassing tenants in the nearly 20 buildings he owned in and around Elizabeth for at least 15 years. Many of the tenants were vulnerable or in precarious situations, including older people, low-income families and people with disabilities.

Mr. Centanni accepted federal housing vouchers and received more than $100,000 monthly in voucher payments, the authorities said. He has been forced to sell his rental properties as part of the settlement.

Raymond S. Londa, a lawyer for Mr. Centanni, said that the settlement “does not in any way, shape or form constitute an admission or acknowledgment of wrongdoing or liability” and that Mr. Centanni denied the accusations. Mr. Londa said that his client had agreed to the settlement to avoid lengthy litigation.

Mr. Centanni, who lives in Mountainside, N.J., also faces separate criminal charges. He was [*arrested in March*](https://ucnj.org/prosecutor/press-releases/prosecutor/2021/03/22/elizabeth-landlord-charged-with-sexual-crimes-against-13-tenants/) and charged with numerous counts of sexual assault and criminal sexual contact. He was accused of coercing more than a dozen tenants into sex acts in exchange for “financial relief,” according to the Union County prosecutor and the Elizabeth Police Department.

The prosecutor’s office said that it began an investigation based on a referral from the police. The investigators found that Mr. Centanni had targeted both male and female tenants and prospective tenants who were struggling financially, including some who were homeless or faced eviction.

More accusers came forward in the months that followed. Mr. Centanni was [*arrested again in July*](https://ucnj.org/prosecutor/press-releases/prosecutor/2021/07/01/elizabeth-landlord-charged-with-sexual-crimes-against-7-additional-tenants-bringing-total-to-20/) and now faces 35 charges related to accusations from 20 people between 22 and 61 years old.

Elizabeth is a heavily ***working-class*** city of nearly 130,000 people just south of Newark Liberty International Airport that still offers a large supply of relatively affordable apartments in one of the more expensive regions in the country.

Tenants at several of Mr. Centanni’s former buildings declined to comment on Wednesday, though at least one expressed surprise at the allegations, saying that Mr. Centanni had maintained the building well. At one building, on North Broad Street, a note posted on the door announced that it was under new ownership.

Kristen Clarke, who leads the Justice Department’s civil rights division, told reporters on Tuesday that her office had started an investigation in 2019, after learning of the allegations from the Office of the Inspector General at the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development.

The federal lawsuit claimed that Mr. Centanni would take housing applicants or tenants to empty apartments, storage spaces or laundry rooms and expose himself, demand oral sex and force people to touch him.

“If people submitted to his demands, Mr. Centanni allowed them to move in or keep their housing,” Ms. Clarke said. “If people did not submit Mr. Centanni refused to rent to them or evicted them.”

Federal officials built their case relying on the Fair Housing Act, which prohibits sex-based discrimination and harassment. Under the terms of the settlement, Mr. Centanni may not own or manage rental properties and cannot pursue housing court judgments against any former tenants that were obtained in proceedings deemed to be retaliatory.

The agreement gives Mr. Centanni 30 days to deposit $4.4 million in a settlement fund to compensate the dozens of victims already identified — and people who have not yet come forward. They have about six months to do so and the authorities will have additional time to examine their claims. He must also pay $107,000 in penalties to the government.

Rachael Honig, the acting U.S. attorney for New Jersey, said that threats from a landlord can have dire consequences, especially for tenants who are already struggling.

“For many of his victims, if they lost their apartment, or were denied an apartment in the first place, they risk their lives being completely upended,” she said. “They risked losing the home in which they lived with their children. They risked not being able to find another landlord who would accept their housing assistance vouchers.”

Kevin Armstrong contributed reporting.

Kevin Armstrong contributed reporting.

PHOTO: A federal lawsuit accused a landlord in Elizabeth, N.J., of demanding sexual acts from tenants or housing applicants.  (PHOTOGRAPH BY Brendan Mcdermid/Reuters FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 15, 2021

**End of Document**



[***What Killed the Blue-Collar Struggle for Social Justice; Farah Stockman***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63SV-CSR1-JBG3-64PJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 7, 2021 Thursday 13:29 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 2397 words

**Byline:** Farah Stockman

**Highlight:** For Americans without college degrees, the labor movement, the civil rights movement and the women’s liberation movement boiled down to jobs.

**Body**

In 1998, [*Shannon Mulcahy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/18/podcasts/the-daily/factory-jobs.html)’s boyfriend beat her up so badly that prosecutors in Indiana decided to press charges. She hid in a closet rather than obey the subpoena to testify in court. How could she help convict the man who put a roof over her head? Over her son’s head? Eventually, she left him. Shannon, a white woman in her 20s, got the money and the confidence to strike out on her own from a job at a factory. She worked at a bearing plant in Indianapolis for 17 years, rising to become the first woman to operate the furnaces, one of the most dangerous and highly paid jobs on the factory floor.

[*I first met Shannon in 2017*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/14/us/union-jobs-mexico-rexnord.html), shortly after her bosses announced that Rexnord, the bearing factory where she worked, was shutting down and moving to Mexico and Texas. I followed her for seven months as the plant closed down around her, watching her agonize about whether she should train her Mexican replacement or stand with her union and refuse. I also followed two of her co-workers: Wally, a Black bearing assembler who dreamed of opening his own barbecue business, and John, a white union representative who aspired to buy a house to replace the one he’d lost in a bankruptcy.

One of the biggest takeaways from the experience was that some of the most consequential battles in the fight for social justice took place on factory floors, not college campuses. For many Americans without college degrees, who make up two-thirds of adults in the country, the labor movement, the civil rights movement and the women’s liberation movement largely boiled down to one thing: access to well-paying factory jobs.

Shannon had experienced more abuse and workplace sexual harassment than anyone I knew. Yet she hadn’t been drawn to #MeToo or the presidential candidacy of Hillary Clinton. To Shannon, women’s liberation meant having a right to the same jobs men had in the factory. She signed her name on the bid sheet to become a heat-treat operator, even though no woman had ever lasted in that department before. Heat-treat operators were an elite group, like samurai warriors and Navy SEALs. They worked with explosive gases. The men who were supposed to train Shannon tried to get her fired instead. “Heat treat is not for a woman,” one said.

She persisted. Heat-treat operators earned $25 an hour, more money than she’d ever earned in her life. She wasn’t going to let men drive her away. She wasn’t above using her sexuality to her advantage. She flirted with the union president and wore revealing shirts into the heat-treat department. “Am I showing too much cleavage?” she’d ask. She paid particular attention to Stan Settles, a much older man who knew how to run every furnace. If his shirt came untucked while he was bending over, exposing the top of his butt, Shannon would issue a solemn warning: “Crack kills, Stan.”

In the end, Stan took her under his wing and taught her everything about the furnaces that there was to know. By the time I met Shannon, she was the veteran in charge of training new heat-treat operators. She took pride in the fact that she didn’t depend on a man — even, and perhaps especially, Uncle Sam.

Shannon’s feminism felt radically different from the women’s liberation movement that I grew up with. The movement I knew about was inspired by Betty Friedan’s “The Feminine Mystique,” the groundbreaking second-wave feminist tract that spoke of the emptiness and boredom of well-off housewives. That movement focused heavily on breaking glass ceilings in the white-collar world: the first woman to serve on the Supreme Court (Sandra Day O’Connor, 1981); the first female secretary of state (Madeleine Albright, 1997).

But low-income women, especially Black women, have always worked, not out of boredom but out of necessity. Their struggles, which the labor historian Dorothy Sue Cobble has called “[*the other women’s movement*](https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/9781400840861/html),” garnered far less media coverage. Who knows the name of the first female coal miner? How many know the full name of “Mother Jones,” the fearless labor organizer once labeled “the most dangerous woman in America” because legions of mine workers laid down their picks at her command? (It was Mary Harris Jones.)

It was not until 1964 that the law enshrined workplace protections against discrimination on the basis of sex as well as race. Women were added to the Civil Rights Act at the last minute, [*a poison pill*](https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2014/07/21/sex-amendment) meant to ruin its chances. But the bill passed, changing the course of history. The percentage of working women rose to 61 percent in 2000 from 43 percent in 1970. From 1976 to 1998, the number of female victims of intimate partner homicides fell by an average 1 percent per year. (The number of male victims of intimate partner homicide fell even more steeply.)

But the Civil Rights Act did not benefit all women equally. By far, those who reaped the greatest rewards were college-educated white women who joined the professional world, who grew rich on economic shifts that swept their blue-collar sisters’ jobs away. Today, well-educated women — who tend to be married to well-educated men — sit atop the country’s financial pyramid.

The struggles of blue-collar women against a system of occupational segregation — called “Jane Crow” in Nancy MacLean’s book “Freedom Is Not Enough: The Opening of the American Workplace” — continued against the headwinds of economic challenges. For instance, in 1969, a female steelworker in Chicago named Alice Peurala had to sue to get a job that had been assigned to a man with less seniority. She won and went on to become president of the Steelworkers local. But in the years that followed, the steel industry collapsed. Eventually, her plant shut down for good.

In 2016, about three million American women worked in manufacturing, a far greater number than worked as lawyers or financiers. Yet the urgent needs of blue-collar women for quality child care, paid medical leave and more flexible work schedules rarely made it into the national conversation, perhaps because the professional women who set the agenda already enjoyed those benefits.

So much of the debate about sexism and women’s rights focuses on how to negotiate salaries like a man and get more women onto corporate boards. Meanwhile, blue-collar women are still struggling to find jobs that pay $25 an hour. And the United States remains one of the only countries with [*no federal law mandating paid maternity leave*](https://www.bbc.com/worklife/article/20210624-why-doesnt-the-us-have-mandated-paid-maternity-leave).

To Wally, the Black man I followed, the major success of the civil rights movement was that Black people got a chance at better jobs on the factory floor. Black people had been barred from operating machines, from tractors to typewriters, well into the 20th century, according to “American Work: Four Centuries of Black and White Labor,” by Jacqueline Jones.

Wally’s uncle Hulan managed to get hired at the bearing plant in the early 1960s, with the help of the N.A.A.C.P. But like every other Black man there, he’d been assigned a janitor’s job. Hulan complained to the union steward. “There are only so many jobs in this building,” the steward replied. “If you take one, that means that our sons or son-in-law or our nephew can’t have it.” The day after the Civil Rights Act of 1964 passed, Hulan asked his boss for a chance to operate a machine. The boss, who was known as tough but fair, sent him to the grinding department. But the white man assigned to train him refused to even speak to him. Hulan had to learn by watching from afar.

Eventually, Hulan figured out how to do the job. Over the years, he won over his white co-workers and was promoted to foreman, the first (and last) Black man to serve in that role at the plant.

For Uncle Hulan’s generation, the blue-collar battles for social justice were largely successful. Factory floors today tend to be far more racially integrated than the corporate boards that run them. But in many ways, the progress was short-lived. As soon as Black workers began to get good jobs in the factories, factories began moving away.

By the time Wally’s generation came of age, several of the largest factories in Indianapolis had closed down. Many of the boys in Wally’s neighborhood found work on the corner, selling dope. More than 10 percent of the Black boys in Wally’s neighborhood ended up in prison as adults. Wally served time in prison, too. “I was locked up,” he told his co-workers. “I’m blessed to have this job.”

In many ways, the decline in American manufacturing hit Black people the hardest. According to [*a 2018 study*](https://voxeu.org/article/manufacturing-decline-has-hurt-black-americans-more) of the impact of manufacturing employment on Black and white Americans from 1960 through 2010, the decline in manufacturing contributed to a 12 percent overall increase in the racial wage gap for men.

When you follow a dying factory up close, it’s easy to see how globalization left a growing group of people competing for a shrinking pool of good factory jobs. Affirmative action becomes more fraught as good jobs get scarce and disappear.

Even for John, the white man I followed, factories were sites of important social protest. If a boss disciplined a worker for refusing to wear safety glasses, John thought that all the other workers should take off their safety glasses and hurl them on the floor, forcing the manager to bring back the disciplined worker or shut down the whole assembly line.

John was a die-hard union man who came from a long line of union men. His grandfather and great-grandfather had been coal miners. His father-in-law had been an autoworker. To John, factories were places where the ***working class*** fought pitched battles with the company for higher pay and shorter working hours. He traced his identity to the miners and steelworkers who had been beaten, arrested and even killed for demanding an eight-hour workday and a day off every week. That’s why nothing stuck in John’s craw like the phrase “white privilege.” The words implied that his people had been handed a middle-class life simply because they were white. In John’s mind, his people had not been given dignity, leisure time, safer working conditions or decent wages just because they were white; they had fought for those things — and some of them had died in the fight.

After the bosses announced that the factory would close, he walked around the plant urging his fellow workers to refuse to train their Mexican replacements, in a last-ditch effort to keep the factory in Indianapolis. As the shutdown at Rexnord continued, John preached about the need for worker solidarity.

“If you want it, fight for it,” he told his union brothers and sisters of their doomed plant. “I’ll fight with you.”

I began to understand why white workers tended to view the closure of the factory — and the election of Donald Trump — differently from their Black co-workers. Over the course of a decade, John had seen his wages sink from $28 an hour to $25 an hour to $23 an hour. After the plant closed, he struggled to secure a job that paid $17 an hour. His declining earning power hadn’t been tempered by social progress, like the election of a Black president. To the contrary, his social standing had waned. Rich white C.E.O.s sent blue-collar jobs to Mexico. But when blue-collar workers complained about it, college-educated people dismissed them as xenophobes and racists.

***Working-class*** white men at the bearing plant may not have wanted to share their jobs with Black people and women. But they had done it. And now that Black people and women worked alongside them on the factory floor, everyone’s jobs were moving to Mexico. It was more than many white workers could take. One white man at the plant quit and walked away from more than $10,000 in severance pay simply because he couldn’t stand watching a Mexican person learn his job. “It’s depressing to see that you ain’t got a future,” he told me. One of John’s best friends volunteered to train. “I don’t hate you, but I hate what you’re doing,” John told him. They never spoke again.

The union reps, nearly all of whom were white, saw training their replacements as a mortal sin, akin to crossing a picket line. But many Black workers and women did not agree. It had not been so long ago, after all, that the white men had refused to train them. Black workers had not forgotten how the union had treated their fathers and uncles. Many considered the refusal to train the Mexicans racist. The most unapologetic trainers were Black.

The announcement that the factory would close, the election of Donald Trump and the arrival of Mexican replacements at the plant took place within the span of three months, in 2016, unleashing a toxic mix of hope, rage and despair. In the years that have passed since, the workers scattered like brittle seeds, trying to start their lives over.

Economists predicted that they’d get new jobs — even better jobs than they’d had before. Some did. But most of the workers I kept track of ended up earning about $10 an hour less than they had been making. One started a bedbug extermination company. Another joined the Army. Another sold everything he owned and bought a one-way ticket to the Philippines, determined to make globalization work in his favor, for once. Wally made progress with his barbecue business, until an unforeseeable tragedy struck. John agonized over whether to become a steelworker again or take a job in a hospital that had no union. Shannon stayed jobless a long time, which made her miserable. The old factory continued to appear in her dreams for years.

Of course, for every story like Shannon’s, there’s a story about a woman in India or China or Mexico who has a job now — and more financial independence — because of a new factory. Globalization and social justice have many sides.

But those foreign workers don’t vote in American elections. The fate of our democracy does not depend on them the way it hinges on voters like Shannon, Wally and John. The American experiment is unraveling. The only way to knit it back together is for decision makers in this country, nearly all of whom have college degrees, to reconnect with those of the ***working class***, who make up a majority of voters.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Hudson Christie FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 13, 2021

**End of Document**



[***New Crop of House Candidates Gives G.O.P. a Path to Diversity***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66KP-M451-DXY4-X026-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 12, 2022 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 12

**Length:** 1791 words

**Byline:** By Jonathan Weisman

**Body**

The party has fielded 67 Black, Latino, Asian or Native American candidates for the House, by its count, and the number in Congress is almost certain to grow.

House Republicans are fielding a slate of 67 Black, Latino, Asian or Native American candidates on the ballot in November, by the party's count, raising an opportunity to change the composition of a House G.O.P. conference that now has only a dozen members of color.

Depending on the outcome, those Republican candidates say, they could challenge the notion that theirs is the party of white voters.

The lineup of Republican candidates is historic -- 32 Latinos, 22 Black candidates, 11 Asian Americans and two Native Americans, according to the National Republican Congressional Committee. (Of those candidates, four identify as more than one race.) Many of them are long shots in heavily Democratic districts, but with so few Republicans of color now in Congress, the party's complexion will almost certainly look different next year.

More remarkable, perhaps, is that the Republican candidates are nearing the finish line even as some of the party's white lawmakers have ratcheted up racist language or lines of attack -- a sign that some party leaders remain unconcerned about racial sensitivity.

This weekend, Senator Tommy Tuberville, Republican of Alabama, rallied with former President Donald J. Trump in Nevada and told the crowd that Democrats were ''pro-crime'' and wanted reparations -- widely understood as a reference to slavery -- for ''the people that do the crime.'' At the same event, Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene, Republican of Georgia, invoked the racist ''great replacement theory'' when she said, ''Joe Biden's five million illegal aliens are on the verge of replacing you.''

Elsewhere, including in Wisconsin and North Carolina, Democrats have accused Republicans of darkening the skin of Black candidates in campaign materials and of running ads brazenly trying to tether Black politicians to Black criminals.

The 2022 candidates do not want such issues to derail their groundbreaking runs. After watching the comments from Ms. Greene and Mr. Tuberville, Anna Paulina Luna, a Latina favored to win a House seat in Florida, responded carefully but did not condemn them, instead saying, ''Establishment Democrats are exploiting illegals as political currency.''

''Many times, illegal immigrants are employed under the table. Many Americans are not offered fair wages because some choose to pay illegals under the table at lower cost,'' she said, continuing, ''During the naturalization process, individuals are required to learn about our history and culture. That is important as a nation.''

Still, the numbers speak for themselves. The only two Black Republicans in the House, Representatives Burgess Owens of Utah and Byron Donalds of Florida, are likely to be joined by Wesley Hunt of Texas and John James of Michigan, Black G.O.P. candidates who are favored to win on Nov. 8. The numbers of this small group could rise further with victories by Jennifer-Ruth Green in Indiana, John Gibbs in Michigan and George Logan in Connecticut, all of whom have a chance.

The ranks of the seven incumbent Latino Republicans in the House could nearly double if all six Latino candidates in tight races triumph. And Allan Fung, a Republican in a tossup contest in Rhode Island, could lift the number of Asian American Republicans by 50 percent if he wins and two Southern California incumbents, Representatives Young Kim and Michelle Steel, beat back Democratic challengers.

''It's Hispanic people, Black people, Black women, Black men, Asian men, Asian women,'' Mr. Hunt of Texas said in an interview. ''It has been outstanding to see our party get to the point where, yeah, we're conservatives, but guess what: We're also not monolithic.''

Republicans have a long way to go to match the Democrats in diversity. A strong G.O.P. showing in November could bring the number of Black Republicans in the House to seven. House Democrats have 56 Black members, including influential leaders.

If Republicans end up with 13 Latino members in the House, they still will not measure up to the 34 Hispanic Democrats.

And with the right political breaks, Democrats could end up bolstering their already diverse caucus. Fourteen out of the 36 Democrats aiming for competitive Republican seats are candidates of color.

Chris Taylor, a spokesman for the House Democratic campaign arm, said that ''Republicans are mistaken if they think finally engaging with communities of color in the year 2022 with flawed candidates'' would distance their party from what he called an ''unpopular, extreme agenda.''

''While Republicans attempt to dilute the number of white supremacists within their ranks, their politics of dividing Americans and promoting hate remains,'' he said.

Republicans, however, see a virtuous circle in the gains they are making: As more candidates of color triumph, the thinking goes, more will enter future races, and more voters of color will see a home in the Republican Party.

''We're narrative busters,'' said Mr. Donalds, who helped the National Republican Congressional Committee with recruiting candidates. ''We break up the dogma of Democratic politics, in terms of how to view Republicans.''

Representative Tom Emmer of Minnesota, the group's chairman, said this year's slate was no accident. Four years ago, when he took over the committee, he set about changing the way Republicans recruited candidates, seeking far more diversity. The group would de-emphasize the Washington-based consultants who had a financial stake in promoting their candidates and instead rely on members to seek out talent in their districts.

Two years ago was a dry run; House Republicans gained an unexpected 14 seats, and every seat they flipped from Democrats was captured by a woman or a candidate of color.

Mr. Trump's gains with Hispanic voters and Black men -- which he made despite his stream of racist and xenophobic comments while in office -- inspired a fresh push by Republicans.

Representative Mario Diaz-Balart, Republican of Florida, who helped with Latino recruitment, said it was not a difficult pitch. More Hispanic candidates were galvanized to run by soaring inflation rates, a surge of migrants in heavily Latino border districts and a growing sense that Democrats were now the party of the educated elite, he said.

''Democrats, one could argue, have done a good job with their rhetoric, but their policies have been disastrous, and they've been particularly disastrous for the ***working class***,'' Mr. Diaz-Balart said. ''Was Trump's rhetoric the words that would be ideal to get Latino voters? No, but the policies were.''

Mr. Donalds insisted the former president was not a racist but said, ''The question is really silly at this point.''

''Republicans now are far more open and far more direct about talking to every voter, not just Republican voters, quote, unquote,'' he said. ''I think that that's what's given the impetus for people to decide to run.''

That and a lot of pushing. Mr. Emmer spoke of meeting a trade expert who worked for Gov. Doug Ducey of Arizona two years ago, then telling Representative Kevin McCarthy of California, the Republican leader, to persuade Juan Ciscomani to run.

Mr. Ciscomani recalled talking over the possibility with his wife and Mr. Ducey in 2018 and 2020 before backing away. In the spring of 2021, the one-two push from Mr. Emmer and Mr. McCarthy sealed the deal.

''Democrats have taken the Hispanic vote for granted,'' he said. ''They pandered to the Hispanic community, saying what they wanted to hear and doing nothing about it.'' He added: ''But Republicans never made an effort. They never tried to get their votes.''

Mr. Ciscomani is now favored to win back Arizona's Sixth Congressional District from the Democrats.

In 2020, Mr. James -- a Black Republican whom Mr. Emmer called ''a candidate that only comes along once in a while'' -- fell short in a surprisingly close race to unseat Senator Gary Peters, Democrat of Michigan. Afterward, the N.R.C.C. chairman cleared a path for Mr. James to run for the House.

''I told him, 'To learn to really refine your ability when it comes to campaigning and to understand the business of campaigning, there's nothing wrong with starting in the House,''' Mr. Emmer said.

Mr. Hunt had also tried to run for office and failed -- in 2020, for a House seat in the Houston suburbs. In 2018, Mr. McCarthy had been in Houston for a fund-raiser when he met Mr. Hunt, a veteran West Point graduate with a conservative bent, and pressed him to run.

Mr. Hunt recalled that after his 2020 loss, ''Kevin McCarthy called me the next day, and he said: 'Hang in there. Let's see what happens after redistricting. We need you up here. Please don't give up the fight.'''

Mr. Hunt added, ''It changed everything.''

Ms. Luna had been a conservative activist and political commentator when she decided on her own to run for a Tampa-area House seat in 2020. She said she did not hear from Republicans in Washington until after she won the Republican primary. But when she came up short against Representative Charlie Crist, the hard sell descended.

Representative Ralph Norman, Republican of South Carolina, called her days after her defeat, seeing her as a potential recruit for the conservative House Freedom Caucus. Former Speaker Newt Gingrich followed, and then Mr. Donalds took her under his wing.

''When people see that we are conservatives, we are Republicans, and there's not this stereotype of what it means to be Republican, I think it empowers them to own their convictions, to own their ideologies,'' she said on Friday.

Democrats have made it clear that they will not shy away from criticizing Republican candidates for their positions just because of their backgrounds. They have highlighted college writings by Mr. Gibbs suggesting women should not have the right to vote. Representative Mayra Flores of Texas, who won a special election in June but faces a tough race in a more Democratic district, has promoted QAnon conspiracy theories.

Republicans who want to diversify their ranks say they also hope to change the views of some G.O.P. voters. Mr. Hunt told of a young man who talked with him after a campaign event, then handed his phone over so he could talk to the man's white grandfather.

''He said: 'Mr. Hunt, you're the first Black person I ever voted for my entire life. I'm here to tell you that I was racist, and I grew up racist, and there have been times in my life that I have not treated Black people fairly,''' Mr. Hunt recounted. '''I met you and I said, I have to get behind this guy, in spite of my prejudice.'''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/11/us/politics/republicans-house-black-latino-asian.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/11/us/politics/republicans-house-black-latino-asian.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: ''We're conservatives, but guess what: We're also not monolithic,'' said Wesley Hunt, who is favored to win a Texas seat. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRISTIAN K. LEE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

After failing to unseat Senator Gary Peters of Michigan in 2020, John James is leading his rival for a seat in the House. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SYLVIA JARRUS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Michelle Steele of Southern California is one of only two Asian American Republican representatives in the House. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JENNA SCHOENEFELD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A12.

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[***Transcript: Ezra Klein Interviews Darrick Hamilton; The Ezra Klein Show***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68HX-TM41-DXY4-X27X-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

Every Tuesday and Friday, Ezra Klein invites you into a conversation about something that matters, like today’s episode with Darrick Hamilton. Listen [*wherever you get your podcasts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/19/opinion/how-to-listen-ezra-klein-show-nyt.html).

Transcripts of our episodes are made available as soon as possible. They are not fully edited for grammar or spelling.

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EZRA KLEIN: One of my longtime obsessions as a policy reporter is the question of wealth. Most of American politics, most of American economic policy, I would say, is about the question of income — what wages look like, whether they’re rising or falling, for whom. When we talk about inequality, we’re typically talking about income.

But wealth is as important — I think maybe more important. We don’t measure it as well, but it says more about what a family, what a person can actually do under duress. It says more about how they can invest in their future. It says more — knowing their wealth can often tell you a lot more than their income can — about the long-term prospects of that family.

And wealth has this other quality, again, different than income, which is that it is where the past compounds into the present, where injustices of the past compound into the present, where the benefits of the past, the privileges of the past compound into the present. Wealth is where the long story of a family or a country makes a reality of the moment.

And for that reason, it’s uncomfortable. Wealth is uncomfortable because what does it mean to inherit? What does it mean to ask people to pay up for the sins of those who came before them? But on the other hand, much more so than income, if you don’t do anything about wealth, it just compounds, and the inequalities of a society go greater and become more present every single day.

So for all those reasons, I’ve long been interested in policies that would do something about the wealth gaps we have.

Often, what we do is we make policy to make wealth inequality worse. In the time, I’ve covered politics, we’ve made the estate tax a lot looser. We’ve made the thresholds beneath which it doesn’t apply much higher. You can pass down millions of dollars before you get taxed now.

We also have just a ton of tax policy meant to help people build wealth, which is great. We help people buy homes, and we help people go to college. And we help people do all these good things. The problem is you can only get that policy if you have some wealth to put into these advantaged accounts in the first place.

What we don’t have a lot of is policy that helps people who don’t have wealth build it. And so I’ve been very intrigued by this idea that the economist Darrick Hamilton and others have put forward called “baby bonds,” which would be this proposal to simply give people wealth — everybody.

Now, not everybody would get the same amount. You get a lot more if you were poor than if you were rich, if you did not have wealth as a family than if you did. You would not be able to use it for anything. It’s circumscribed. It’s a wealth-building policy, not just a policy to help people spend.

But more so than anything else out there, it has this potential to all in one swoop really shift the wealth distribution of the country, really make sure that everybody has a chance to enjoy the benefits of wealth as opposed to that being something that is reserved for those who got it from generations before them but that those who did not have that luck simply are left without.

Darrick Hamilton is a professor of economics and urban policy at The New School. He served on the Biden Sanders Unity Task Force and was an adviser to Bernie Sanders. His ideas have been picked up into lots of pieces of federal legislation, and baby bonds, in particular, has been introduced by Cory Booker and Ayanna Pressley in Congress, not in its exact form of his but in a pretty close one.

So this is a policy actively under consideration. It’s something you could imagine passing at some point in the future if it were something Democrats prioritized, if it were something that they wanted to make the thing they did if they got power again. So should they? That’s what I wanted to talk to Hamilton about. As always, my email [*ezrakleinshow@nytimes.com*](mailto:ezrakleinshow@nytimes.com)

[MUSIC PLAYING]

Darrick Hamilton, welcome to the show.

DARRICK HAMILTON: Thank you, Ezra. Pleasure to be on with you.

EZRA KLEIN: We talk a lot in American politics about income, about wages, but something you write that sticks in my head is that, quote, “Wealth is the paramount indicator of economic prosperity and well-being.” Why?

DARRICK HAMILTON: Think about what you can do with wealth that you can’t do with income. If you have a child that’s about to enter college, chances are your income is not going to be able to afford the choice to send that child to any school that they could actually get into. Some schools just simply might be too expensive.

If you’re faced with a legal challenge and you want to hire a high-priced attorney, the cost will be such that you will have to use some wealth, and income probably couldn’t afford you that attorney. We can think of other things as well.

So even aside from economic security, if you want to do things with your life, suppose I realize that my passion isn’t to be a professor. But I really have this innovative idea, and I want to bring it to market. Well, if I have capital, I’m better positioned to bring that idea to market. If I want to move and purchase a house somewhere, basically the point is that wealth affords you economic agency in ways that income does not.

Income is largely used to pay your expenses that happen on a periodic basis, whereas wealth gives you the ability to withstand shocks and the ability to make investments. Ultimately, wealth gives you choice in ways that income does not.

EZRA KLEIN: There’s a line I’ve seen you use that that brought to mind, where you and co-authors talk about wealth as being a way to fully participate in the market. What do you mean by that?

DARRICK HAMILTON: Think about income. If you are a worker, you can’t just simply decide that you want to leave your job and do something else. But if you have wealth, if you have a stock of assets, it gives you the freedom, the choice to, really, negotiate with whatever it is you bring to market, be it your labor, or your innovation, or some ideas. So wealth with that stock, that provides you, really, agency to make choices.

EZRA KLEIN: So I think people, particularly who listen to this podcast, are probably somewhat familiar with looking at the American economy through the lens of income and inequality. What changes, either in the data or in the distribution, when you begin to look at it through the lens of wealth inequality?

DARRICK HAMILTON: Wealth is so concentrated in the United States. Very few people own a great deal of the wealth, and of course, if we look at race, that becomes even more dramatic. So if we compare inequality and domains of income versus wealth, essentially there is no comparison. We can cite statistics, but the gist of it is very few people own most of the nation’s wealth.

EZRA KLEIN: Well, let me cite some. You cite numbers from 2019 that suggests that the top 10 percent of households own about 70 percent of all wealth, 70 percent, and so that’s twice the net worth of the bottom 90 percent of households combined. This is one of those places where, I think if you marinate in it for long enough, you begin to really feel the unfairness in the economy.

For income, if you want more of it, you have to go out and work for it. You have to go lift a box or have a new idea or write marketing copy or something. But wealth isn’t like that. What you’ve got to do to get more money from wealth is just let your money go out there and make money on its own.

So the number here that, I think, is really striking is real household income, the money people work to get, it grew by about 30 percent between 1989 and 2018. The S&amp;P 500 grew by about 400 percent. So if you’re working a job and getting raises, you can make more money over decades. But if you just had enough money that it could sit there in the S&amp;P 500, it went up by multiples, and you didn’t really have to do anything new to get that at all.

So this gets to something that’s become very famous in policy circles in the last couple of years, which is Thomas Piketty’s famous R is bigger than G equation. So I was hoping, for folks who aren’t familiar with it, you could walk through it.

DARRICK HAMILTON: R over G, all right, so —

EZRA KLEIN: You sound excited already. [LAUGHS]

DARRICK HAMILTON: The rate of return to capital has grown and continues to grow at a much faster rate than overall growth, and that is how society has been structured. And if you don’t have interventions from an entity like the government sector to allow for some redistribution, oftentimes due to tax code, then you end up in a perpetual cycle, where those that have the benefit of capital continue to grow their capital.

And then here’s the other point. That growth rate and capital certainly can transform political situations to benefit capital in the first place. So in other words, it’s not just economic growth that becomes compounded. The power associated with that increased wealth translate into ability to influence the political structure and system so as to have a feedback to grow your wealth even more.

EZRA KLEIN: Yeah, I was going to get into this later, but maybe we should get into it now, which is that I think can be easy to hear this conversation about wealth and markets and think of this as an automatic process of capitalism. But even putting aside the way we structure markets, there is a huge amount of tax policy — I think the estimate I saw on one of your papers was over $700 billion a year — that is designed to wealth build. And on the one hand, that policy is facially neutral. It’s there for, in theory, anybody, but you need to have wealth to use it.

So do you want to talk a bit about what the tax code is doing here and the way we are manipulating, increasing, and advantaging wealth in the tax code?

DARRICK HAMILTON: Yeah, the extent to which our tax code incentivizes wealth and capital growth, it centers on existing wealth and capital growth. Now, it need not be that way. We could use the tax code in a way to promote new wealth.

There’s the famous study called “Upside Down” that came out of Prosperity Now that shows that we spend about in excess of $700 billion in promoting asset development in the United States. And what are things associated with asset development? The different ways in which we tax capital gains versus wages, the different ways in which we treat homeowners versus renters — so you’re able to deduct the interest payments on your mortgage from your taxes whereas a renter doesn’t have that access.

So we may even think, as a society, that’s a good thing. Wealth is good for society. But the problem is to whom that tax code benefits. So the more accurate estimate of $700-plus billion: About a third of that will go to people earning over $1 million. The bottom 60 percent of earners will receive about 5 percent of that distribution.

So one could reimagine a tax code that spends similar amounts of money but does it in a more distributionally fair way. Because, as we’ve been talking, a lot of that is associated with having existing capital in the first place. So the government is strategically directing public resources in a way to promote even greater growth of those that have wealth to begin with.

EZRA KLEIN: And I want to get at one of the dynamics in this, because a lot of this is very well meaning.

So there’s a great statistic in one of your papers about how fewer than 3 percent of Americans have what are called 529s, or Coverdell accounts, which are these tax-advantaged accounts to save for education.

And it’s great, right? Helping people put money away for kids’ college in a tax-free way, helping them build for the future, you don’t have to be running any kind of scheme to make America unequal to think that would be great.

But most people don’t have them because most people can’t save that much money in them. And so I think we’re used to thinking about tax policy as being unequal when it’s designed unequally. But you can have a policy or accounts that are totally neutral. Anybody can take advantage of them. But if you don’t have money to put into them, you can’t, and so in effect, they become a way that people are pretty wealthy can keep a lot of money tax free that, if you are not that wealthy, you don’t have access to anything like that.

DARRICK HAMILTON: Fundamentally, wealth begets more wealth, and if we have a society that uses the tax code the privilege existing wealth, that only enhances that framework, that equation. But again, if we could reimagine the tax code, there’s nothing wrong with promoting wealth for the American people. The problem is how we do it and to whom it’s distributed.

So if we set up structures, incentives, and straight-up grants that allow people to get into an asset that can passively appreciate in a more egalitarian way, that would be better. That same amount of money could be used to facilitate a down payment for somebody to get into homeownership who otherwise wouldn’t get into homeownership. And it’s still growing the nation’s saving and wealth but doing it in, what I would say, a more fair, just, and even productive manner.

EZRA KLEIN: I’m going to put a pin in that because I want to get to that policy, but I want to go through a couple more pieces of the wealth context first. And one thing here that I want to be careful about — we keep talking about wealth as if it’s one thing, and the examples I’ve used so far are things like stocks and homes. But the composition of wealth, what we measure as wealth, includes a lot of things. And the composition of what wealth people have changes as you go up and down the class ladder.

So could you talk a bit about the different types of wealth and how the wealth that people in the ***working class*** have, if they have it, tends to be pretty different than people in the richer segments of society?

DARRICK HAMILTON: That’s right. If we get into issues of diversified portfolios, we know that it’s better to not have all your eggs in one basket. But one needs to realize that if you have a little egg to begin with, it’s hard to spread it amongst many baskets.

So in the American case, the asset that most people start out with — and again, it’s for those individuals that are able to get into substantive ways to generate wealth and assets — it’s often a home. As such, the composition of their wealth is often primarily in a home in a large percentage way. But as you grow your wealth, you’re able to use that additional wealth to diversify your financial portfolio. Then you start to get into things like stock ownership and potentially even business ownership.

EZRA KLEIN: And that gets us something, I think, important here, which is, at the beginning, you gave the example of wanting to start a business, or sending a kid to an expensive school, or maybe needing to get a lawyer. If you’ve got a bunch of stocks sitting around and your wealth is in stocks and you need to sell some of them to do that, so be it.

If your wealth is in your home, it’s not that that isn’t real. You can sell your home. But there’s a lot that comes along with selling your home, from having to move to another home to it maybe being a very emotionally important part of your life and the place where your kids grew up. There is a difference, I think, between having your wealth tied up in the place you live and having it invested in a hedge fund.

DARRICK HAMILTON: If we look at financial wealth as the sole category, these disparities that we started out describing in the beginning, they grow even wider, which is your point. We also think about the benefits of a home, you really need a residence, some place to actually live, and also the attachment that comes along with social ties.

But we offer various other amenities with your home as well, such as the school. The quality of your school is attached to the neighborhood that you live in. Those that can afford affluent neighborhoods in a home to match often are in better school districts so that their kids even end up with a better hand when they become an adult and begin the process of wealth building.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

EZRA KLEIN: We’ve talked here a bit about wealth inequality and wealth composition. Tell me about the Black-white wealth gap.

DARRICK HAMILTON: Now, that’s dramatic. The Black-white wealth gap is such that the typical Black household throughout American history has rarely had more than a dime for every dollar as the typical white household, not just wealth as an outcome but its functional role, what it can do for you. So we end up in locked-in inequality, and what makes it more pernicious is that locked-in inequality is often defined by the race that you’re born into.

EZRA KLEIN: And so this is probably a point to ask. Are we talking here about means or medians? And how are those two measures different? And what does looking at one of them get you that looking at the other one misses and vice versa?

DARRICK HAMILTON: If we were to look at mean — the differences we’re citing are even more dramatic. If we were to look at the mean wealth difference, Black people as a group own about 3 percent of the nation’s wealth. Black people make up well over 12 percent of the nation’s population but own about 3 percent of the wealth.

I think a fair number is to use the median if we’re thinking about differences across race because then you want to look at what’s typical about a Black experience versus a white experience. But if we look at the mean, the mean is more dramatic because America has a wealth inequality — period. So we have a problem with a concentration of wealth regardless of race. But it becomes more pernicious when we look at race.

We have a small few that own an enormous amount of our nation’s wealth, and that small few is overwhelmingly white. So we can have racial justice, where we would have a more fair distribution of wealth, and that would be great. But that still wouldn’t achieve economic justice. So in the dimensions of wealth, we need to be concerned with both economic and racial justice.

EZRA KLEIN: Just imagine, as a thought experiment, we passed a policy that really solved or deeply narrowed — and we’ll talk about a policy like this — the median wealth gap. So the typical Black household, the typical white household, now they look pretty similar or much more similar, at least, from wealth but does nothing really on the mean wealth gap because your Bill Gates and your Elon Musks and so on, they’re unaffected by this policy.

And so on the one hand, you have really dramatically changed the wealth gap on one measure and barely changed it on another. What have we solved in that world? And what haven’t we solved?

DARRICK HAMILTON: We haven’t solved economic justice. Now, we’ve redressed racial justice, which, again, would be no small feat. And if I were to flip your framing slightly, Ezra, and say we can close the mean racial wealth gap, hypothetically, by creating simply a class of Black billionaires, so that the mean distribution across race was equal. But that would still leave large racial disparities between the typical experience. In other words, a handful of Black billionaires would not solve our problem but could, at least in theory, close the racial wealth gap.

I’ll add one other thing to make the point crystal clear. The mean wealth of a white family in America is close to $1 million. We know that the typical experience of a white family is not a millionaire experience, but that’s because of that high concentration of wealth that drags the distribution in a skewed way towards $1 million. The more typical experience of a white household is in the hundreds of thousands range. I believe it’s closer to $200,000. So if we were to use the mean and not the median, we would not exactly be using the accurate pinpoint to understand the typical experience between a Black and white household.

EZRA KLEIN: One of the reasons I think the Black-white wealth gap is unusually important to focus on is a question of racial justice is that it’s where the story of our past compounds into our present. And you’ve done a lot of work on both the shape of it now but the causes of it. So how do you understand how America ended up with a wealth gap like we have?

DARRICK HAMILTON: Many of us are well familiar with our history, and we know that America has had a sordid history in its treatment of Black people, beginning with slavery. And it’s been characterized as the original sin of America, where you had people literally living in bondage and serving as capital assets for a white landowning plantation class.

We also know — and we led this conversation up — with how wealth is generated. It’s generated mostly passive. We know that it’s intergenerational, that households that have children are able to bequest to their children a capital foundation that allows them to not only have wealth but grow their wealth. So we understand how wealth is created, and we understand the history of America is such that Black people started out in bondage.

And then another pivotal point that should be made is that a white asset-based middle class didn’t simply emerge. It was public policy — policies like the Homestead Act, policies like the G.I. Bill, establishments like fair housing authorities that facilitated long-term mortgages at very low interest rates that provided the capital and the structure so that white families can get into things like a home and, in the case of a G.I. Bill, a college degree without the albatross of educational debt to get into a managerial or professional occupation.

Ira Katznelson has a phenomenal book called “When Affirmative Action Was White,” which really lays this out. What Ira Katznelson also describes in this book is the ways in which that policy was designed — or that set of policies — were designed, implemented, and managed that benefited white people and, to a large extent, excluded Black people.

So let’s give an example. Imagine a Jim Crow context for which one is trying to apply their G.I. Bill to purchase a home in an area. Well, the choice said that you have to purchase a home is much more limited if you’re Black. The access to go to a bank and receive a loan to provide a mortgage associated with that initial capital is very different if you’re Black.

I think the estimate that Ira Katznelson offers when we think simply about higher education and not even homeownership, that the G.I. Bill provided enough capital for Americans to rival that that we spent on the Marshall Plan that played a large part in rebuilding Europe.

So this surge of government resources enabled a population and also enabled institutions that benefited white people at the exclusion of Black people.

When Black people were able to accumulate assets, when they were able to overcome circumstances and actually accumulate wealth, it never received the political codification to be immune from malfeasance, terror, threats and outright theft, the ways that white people property ownership was afforded.

A big example would be Tulsa, Oklahoma when we had the Race Massacre in which a community that was at least working to middle class was decimated overnight.

And then, of course, this was not isolated. There were many examples, where physical destruction, even if it’s not leading to the actual physical terrorism that decimated Tulsa, Oklahoma for Black people, the threat of violence, the fear, the threat that, if you don’t engage in a certain way, if you don’t act a certain way, if you are not kept in your place, you literally could lose your life. That has impacts on a community and on a population’s ability to generate wealth.

So this is our sordid history. But what is important for this conversation that we’re having, Ezra, is that the paramount indicator of not just economic security but economic agency in one’s life has been structured in America through public policy such that we have this large gap of about one dime for every dollar, which is an implicit economic indicator of our historical past.

EZRA KLEIN: One statistic I’ve seen you use that I find unbelievably striking here because I think the myth in America, the belief, oftentimes, is, look, you get a college education, get a job, you get ahead. And that’s available to anybody now, even if it always hasn’t been.

But something that you and co-authors have found is that households in America headed by white high-school dropouts have more wealth on average than households headed by Black college graduates. That’s pretty remarkable.

DARRICK HAMILTON: And that’s the beauty of trying to describe that we have structural racism in America. You can simply point to descriptive indicators that we all associate as the keys to success and find out that not only do we have disparities across race at various indicators of whether you’re married, not married, highly educated, not highly educated, formerly incarcerated, never been incarcerated. But these disparities grow as we move up into higher status indicators.

So the disparities across wealth get larger at higher levels of education. The disparities across wealth don’t subside when people get married. They actually get larger. With the statistic you cited earlier, you can look at the highest status indicator for Black people, like a college degree, like being married or whatever the domain we want to look at, and look at the lower indicator for white individuals and see that, in something like wealth, the disparities are often such that the white person is better off in wealth than the Black person, even though the Black person has the highest status indicator. It dispels this myth, this notion that all you have to do is do these things and you’ll be fine.

Of course, within group, more education is associated with better outcomes, but across groups, the disparities remain and even get larger. And that’s not a coincidence. That’s a structure.

EZRA KLEIN: One point you’ve made is that one thing you see in the data is that a reason it’s often hard for Black families to build wealth — and this gets to this whole broader context you’re describing — is that, as they do build wealth, there are more people who need their help in their communities and their families, and so there tends to be more — if you’re somebody, who you’re part of a middle-class or upper-middle-class family and you get some money, odds are that people around you don’t need it that much.

But if you’re somebody who’s the only person in your family who’s got into college, and it was a huge effort for the family to put you through college, and now you’re a doctor, let’s say, but a lot of people around you don’t have much and they need help with medical bills, or fall behind on rent, or whatever, and you need to help them, that puts a brake on wealth accumulation that somebody from a wealthier family just doesn’t have as much of.

I was curious if you could talk a bit about that dynamic and what you see of it.

DARRICK HAMILTON: And of course, that’s personal. I’ve been able to acquire resources in ways that other people in my family have not, both immediate as well as extended family, and I well understand the demands to want to provide for others so that they can have a good economic experience and not be vulnerable. Altruism isn’t the problem. That’s a good thing. But it’s a problem that these structures of inequality extend well beyond the individual but have large spillover effects as well.

EZRA KLEIN: So one thing I take from all this is that it’s just really hard to change wealth distribution, that you actually need real policy to do it. And this is something we were talking about earlier. We have put a lot of policy into place to do it. We have all these tax breaks. We’ve also cut the estate tax a lot over time, so we’re taxing wealth a lot less than we have at other points in American history. But you have a pretty big policy idea that has been taken up in Congress that would do quite a bit here called baby bonds, so tell me about the baby bonds concept.

DARRICK HAMILTON: Baby bonds just recognizes the ways in which wealth is generated. Wealth begets more wealth. We know that the difference between low-wealth and high-wealth individuals began with capital.

So what baby bonds does is it provides a birthright to capital. It says, irrespective of the economic situation in which you’re born into, we will endow you with capital, such that, when you become a young adult, you can purchase an asset that provides that passive savings, that passive appreciation, where you get economic security. You get economic agency that comes along with wealth as a birthright.

EZRA KLEIN: So how much capital are we talking about?

DARRICK HAMILTON: Conceptually, enough so that the individual, when they become a young adult, can be able to get an education without debt, have a down payment to get into a home or some capital to be able to bridge with a business loan to start a business. That’s the idea.

The program is structured such that the average account would be about $25,000, but they could rise upwards to $50,000 for those that are born into the most wealth-poor family.

Now, that’s the policy described at the federal level. If we think about state-level policies, where they don’t have the purchasing power that the federal government has, they are constrained in an annual way based on their budgets. We’ve seen places like Connecticut be able to come up with an endowment of about $3,200 for all Medicaid-born babies.

So Connecticut, Washington D.C., and various other states, they’re not waiting on the federal legislation. They’re beginning to try to redress intergenerational poverty, given the constraints of their fiscal budgets, with as little as $3,200 at birth. And that $3,200 at birth, it will be managed similar to other state pension programs, where the treasurer of those states or those localities try to grow the accounts as large as possible. And there are estimates that, in the case of Connecticut, a child born into poverty, as measured by being a Medicaid birth, could have about $10,000 when they become a young adult to contribute towards some down payment, some nest egg, so that they can build wealth.

EZRA KLEIN: Let’s hold on the bigger proposal, the federal proposal, for a minute, the one that could be up to $50,000 for somebody born into the most wealth-poor households. So as I understand it, there’s strictures on what you can use that money for. You can use it to go to college. You can use it to buy a house. You couldn’t use it, I guess, to invest in Bitcoin, or to fund your gaming habit or to buy gym membership or just to help out your family members. I don’t want to put this all as leisure spending.

Why? Why not trust people to spend the money the way they need to spend it?

DARRICK HAMILTON: And let’s be fair. This policy will not be — I’ll use this word again — the panacea to redress all of the economic insecurity that we have. There is the difference between income and wealth, and both are critical and important for individual, family, and community well-being. So the program is restricted not to be paternalistic but to ensure that it’s being promoted in a way to actually build wealth.

We gave the example of being born into families that are not so affluent, thereby might very well require needs on individuals that are able to attain social mobility.

If you would have offered me a baby bond when I was a young adult, when I was coming into the working age of my life, graduating from college, graduating from school, it’s likely I would have had a relative who could have used that money in order to avoid some really detrimental circumstance, like being evicted, like being able to pay a light bill, like being able to address some of their immediate income needs.

Now, those things are critical and important, and I would have been happy to be able to make those contributions if I had the money. However, it wouldn’t have grown my wealth.

So I think we need to restrict the accounts not because we don’t trust people to make astute decisions for themselves, because we need public policies that are really aimed at the attribute for which we want to address. That’s the whole purpose of why you might want to restrict it.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

EZRA KLEIN: So in the first part of our conversation, we talked about the size of wealth inequality in America. We talked about the Black-white wealth gap in its mean and median forms. Some analyses have been run on this idea. What would this do for those? Which gaps would it close, and which gaps would it not?

DARRICK HAMILTON: Naomi Zewde, she has this great simulation study that projects the impact of baby bonds on the Black-white wealth gap, and she calculates that, for recipients of the account, the young adults that would actually receive the account, it would cut the racial wealth gap in half, by 50 percent. And that’s one generation.

Imagine what it can do for subsequent generations. It can trend us towards closing the racial wealth gap. And we’ve been focusing on race, but there’s a lot of wealth-poor white individuals in this country as well. And they absolutely would benefit.

So to me, this would be a program that is an automatic stabilizer in the sense that not just for the immediate recipient generation but future generations as well and to the extent that capital grows and generates inequality in America. We have a policy that, in perpetuity, trends us towards a society that affords people regardless of the income that they’re born with, the race in which they’re born to have access to something as critical as capital so that they can actually have an opportunity to build wealth.

EZRA KLEIN: So the numbers we’re talking about here for the poorest families are pretty big, $50,000, and I think it is reasonable for somebody to hear that and say, yeah, it would be nice. But there’s no way we can afford to functionally have I like to think of this as a universal basic wealth program. What would the cost of it be? And how could it be paid for?

DARRICK HAMILTON: So I got two lines of critique. One is the universal basic wealth aspect. It’s universal in the sense that everybody would have access to wealth. It would not be basic in the sense that everybody wouldn’t get the same level of wealth as an endowment.

But the main question that you raised, and we should address it. The cost of the program would be $100 billion in total. $100 billion seems like a big number. $50,000 to the most wealth-poor person seems like a big number, but we need to put that number in context.

Let’s put that number into context of one of the ways in which we began this conversation. The Federal Government is already subsidizing the assets of American people to the tune of well over $700 billion a year, so we actually can afford to pay for this. We actually have already spending in effect that’s promoting asset development.

So with the existing pool of resources that we’re using in the tax code, we could take a portion of that and do something that’s dramatic as redress these problems that we started off talking about, this massive wealth inequality that we began with, this racial wealth gap that has been structured in an immoral way since the inception of our country.

So to me, there’s a lot of good news for $100 billion. We really can achieve an egalitarian society that affords everyone the benefits that come along with wealth.

EZRA KLEIN: I think one worry here would be — so imagine we pass it tomorrow. You have this generation of kids, when they turn 18, they have $50,000 or $50,000 that’s been growing in the markets, more or less, depending on where they started out. And now, all of a sudden, you have this profusion of, say, higher-ed educations that there’s this whole generation that’s about to graduate with more money, particularly people who maybe wouldn’t have had access to places like them beforehand. Or that all these people have money burning in their pockets and they want to try to convert it to money they can use, so somehow maybe they could pull in a house, but they can’t spend it on many things.

You can imagine two things happening here. I think one is a lot of predation, and the other is inflation. And I think that’s a particular concern in higher education, where we’ve seen that before, where, if there’s a lot more money people can suddenly spend on higher education, the higher-ed organizations raise prices and figure out ways to part people with that money without necessarily giving them a lot more for the dollar. So when you’re talking about a big bang policy like this, how do you make sure it doesn’t just get eaten up by highly informed, clever, and not even always malicious, just self-interested actors?

DARRICK HAMILTON: Ezra, I think you’re spot on with that question, and I think it’s a huge concern. We know history has taught us that two forms — one is, if we know there’s going to be a cash infusion into a population, a great deal of individuals, corporations, and other institutions are going to figure out ways in which they can usurp some of those resources in order to benefit themselves. And that potential biggest predator in this program very well could be universities and colleges that simply inflate their tuition to absorb the accounts in a way that it doesn’t have a real effect.

So to redress that, you will definitely need to include financial protections in the program. One of the benefits of, say, the investments going towards a home, it wouldn’t be enough resources to literally purchase a home. It will require some form of a mortgage, so through federal protections to define what are the criteria to receive that mortgage and the criteria by which banks and other financial institutions could issue that mortgage, that becomes another check by which government can regulate the program in a positive way.

Similarly, if you go get a business loan, you can’t get a loan for just any business. There’s some criteria. So that becomes another implicit check to redress some of the potential financial malfeasance, especially if government regulates the type of loans that can be coupled with the account.

Let me also say that it would be great if this program was coupled with other programs, like tuition-free public education. I think, in the 21st century, we need things well beyond baby bonds. We need a package of public goods aimed at ensuring that people have the essential resource without which they simply are vulnerable, and capital is clearly one.

And in the 21st century, not just a high school degree, but a college degree becomes another essential element. So if you had tuition-free public universities, that would be a constraint on tuition costs that could avoid some of that inflation that you’ve been describing.

And then one other feature of the program, I don’t think we should require people to use the accounts once they turn 18. Indeed, there should be provisions for an account that provides a normal rate of return and be accessible for when the child becomes an adult and also is ready to use the account.

EZRA KLEIN: So another criticism is wealth inequality is bad. Wealth concentration is bad. But for everything we talked about earlier, there are distinctive dynamics to the Black-white wealth gap that reflect specific historical horrors visited upon Black Americans. And so a race-neutral policy simply isn’t the right way to approach that. How do you think about that?

DARRICK HAMILTON: I’m an advocate for reparations. I think reparations and baby bonds address complementary things but not the same things. Reparations is a retrospective racially just program that does two things.

It requires atonement. It requires truth and reconciliation. It requires the federal government to take public account and atone for the state-complicit malfeasance that have taken place in the past and led to the conditions that exist today.

So that’s not empty. That’s valuable because a lot of the rhetoric by which we make policy today is grounded in narratives and norms, and it’s often grounded in narratives and norms that position Black people as deadbeats, as welfare queens, as predators themselves, as undeserving, undesirable, as a drain on public budgets. Now, of course, that doesn’t just affect Black people. That limits our ability to deal with white poverty as well.

So that reparations leads to a different framing and understanding of both poverty and inequality, that not only offers dignity to a population that has been stigmatized, that has been demonized throughout American history, but also creates new pathways and understanding in a more accurate and a more just way of thinking about poverty and inequality, not just for Black people but for all people going forward. Whether we’re ready for it today or ready for it tomorrow, we should commit to it and commit to it as a movement because it is the right thing to do.

That should be reason enough. But it will not be enough to really provide for the economic security and the access to wealth in a forward-looking way. It will redress the past, and it will put Black and white people on a far more even keel in both economic and political contexts.

But we know what capital does. Capital consolidates, iterates, and it excludes. In other words, wealth begets more wealth, and wealth builds upon itself.

So even if we redress the past, going forward, capital will concentrate amongst certain entities in American society, and we need a natural stabilizer. We need an automatic stabilizer. We need a public policy that, in perpetuity, ensures that everyone has access to a capital foundation, particularly in their formative years of being a young adult so as to build wealth. We need to go well beyond subsistence programs, which are critical and necessary but really will not build wealth.

EZRA KLEIN: Let me ask you about one final example before we wrap up here, which you talk about in your paper, which is SEED OK, the SEED for Oklahoma Kids experiment. They were put in for — at least for a treatment group, a $1,000 into a 529 Savings account, the kind of account we talked about earlier for pretty poor kids, and then they tracked what happened to that treatment group and their parents against groups that didn’t get that $1,000. What did they find?

DARRICK HAMILTON: There are great lessons from that SEED OK experiment that could inform us about baby bonds. In addition to the wealth building attributes associated with baby bonds, the SEED OK showed us that families knowing that their child is going to receive this endowment when they become a young adult invested more in that child, tried to promote that child to double down on their education.

Children had better grades, as a result, from that endowment than they otherwise would have without that endowment. Children had better outlooks on life. They had higher aspirations, knowing that they were going to receive that account when they became an adult.

The good thing about baby bonds is it has spillover effects well beyond promoting the wealth of an individual that receives the account. It can literally change the horizon by which poor families and Black families engage with the state. These are groups that are often engaged in punitive ways with the state — where the state is imposing a fine, where the state is saying you can and can’t do this.

If the state were to offer an endowment, I think it will promote civic engagement. I think that Black families, poor families, and other marginalized families will see the state in a different light, and it will lead to more civic engagement, which will benefit us all as a society.

It will also change the horizon of that child with regards to things like education. If you’re going to receive an endowment, you very well might be incentivized to invest in attributes like schooling such that you’ll benefit to a greater extent from that endowment when you become a young adult.

In addition to changing the horizon by which a family thinks of the state so as to promote civic engagement, it also can create more touch points in a positive way by which the state can engage with families in a productive way.

I suspect that prenatal care will become greater utilized amongst low-income families as a result of baby bonds. If an expectant mother understands that this account is being established, well, it creates an opportunity where we literally could send out literature promoting these are the types of steps that you should pursue in order to have a healthy child, which could promote more healthy children and greater lifestyles going forward.

But it need not end at prenatal care. Just like Social Security, where we get estimates of our Social Security accounts periodically, and it provides a point in which the state can send literature and information to households, we can use the point of baby bonds to have positive interface of the state and the population so as to promote more healthy living for the recipients and our society at large.

EZRA KLEIN: I think that’s a great place to end, so I’ll ask our final question. What are three books you’d recommend to the audience?

DARRICK HAMILTON: Three books, well, you heard me talk about “When Affirmative Action Was White” by Ira Katznelson. That is foundational for me. It’s foundational for me because it demonstrates what government can do in order to promote the human rights of all of us, to promote a great society for all of us. The lesson from “Affirmative Action Was White” was that, if we’re going to do it this time, we need to make sure that we design, implement and manage the policies not in an exclusive way but in an inclusive way.

The second book, which is foundational for me, is “Racial Conflict and Economic Development” by Arthur Lewis. Anybody trying to understand the intersections of politics, economics and identity group stratification or racial disparity, I highly recommend that you read that book.

And then finally a book that I’ve read more recently by Natalie Diaz, who is an Indigenous poet. The book is called “Postcolonial Love Poem.” Natalie has this incredible way of presenting social theory in prose in ways that link people to the environment. It has had huge impact in my understanding about society in general, and it did it with poetry in a way that words themselves matter in our understanding and are critical if we want to come up with social policies to move to a better society.

EZRA KLEIN: Darrick Hamilton, thank you very much.

DARRICK HAMILTON: Ezra, I appreciate you so much. Love your podcast. Thank you.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

EZRA KLEIN: This episode of “The Ezra Klein Show” is produced by Emefa Agawu. Fact-checking by Michelle Harris. Mixing by Jeff Geld. The show’s production team includes Annie Galvin, Rogé Karma, and Kristin Lin. Original music by Isaac Jones. Audience strategy by Shannon Busta. The executive producer of New York Times Opinion Audio is Annie-Rose Strasser. Special thanks to Efim Shapiro and Kristina Samulewski.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

**Load-Date:** June 23, 2023

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[***Compiling A Dictionary Is Hard Yakka . . . Er, Work***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65RC-Y881-JBG3-618W-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 20, 2022 Monday

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 1356 words

**Byline:** By Damien Cave

**Body**

It took a while for Australians to appreciate their linguistic distinctiveness. The editors at the Australian National Dictionary Center work to document it.

CANBERRA, Australia -- Amanda Laugesen scrolled through the spreadsheet of 7,000 words and idioms being considered for the next edition of the Australian National Dictionary, but no matter how hard she looked, she just couldn't find the phrase.

''Few bricks short of a pallet'' was there. So was ''face like a bucket of smashed crabs.''

But where was ''face like a half-sucked mango?''

Spinning quickly from the screen, she got up and walked down the hall to ask Mark Gwynn. They'd been working together at the Australian National Dictionary Center in Canberra for more than a decade, and they had both seen phrases go missing in drafts of what a colleague had called their ''herbarium of words.''

Mr. Gwynn, a former poetry student, was also stumped by the disappearance. ''Well, we know we've got 'face like a twisted sand shoe,''' he said, recalling similar entries in their database. ''It's not under 'mango' or 'sucked'?''

Dr. Laugesen shook her head. The author of a book about Australia's penchant for off-color language, with a Ph.D in American history, she looked almost as mad as a cut snake.

''This is the problem,'' she said, lamenting the lost mango insult. ''Sometimes you get stuck.''

Clearly, updating a dictionary of Australian English on a shoestring budget is a special kind of hard work -- or ''hard yakka,'' for those who speak the local language. The Australian National Dictionary includes only words and phrases that have originated in Australia, that have a greater currency in the country, or that have a special significance in Australian history. And the process is a bit like panning for gold.

Sometimes the job requires sifting through the muck of politics, collecting Australianized phrases like ''loose unit,'' which is how Prime Minister Scott Morrison described Anthony Albanese, the eventual victor in last month's national election, after Mr. Albanese made an economic proposal.

Sometimes it means scanning Twitter or reading memoir after memoir, looking for phrases that have become more valuable among Indigenous Australians, like ''story custodian,'' or new communities of Australians -- like ''ABC,'' for Australian-born Chinese.

It can also mean paying close attention to how words change. Australians have a long history of turning some abbreviations or seemingly innocuous phrases into slurs, based on race, gender or country of origin. And they also tend to shine up, or ''ameliorate,'' others, taking ''bloody'' or ''bastard'' and making them part of the more commonly accepted vernacular, often long before Britain.

All of this work, the forensics of national dictionary research, is relatively new in Australia.

The Oxford English Dictionary emerged gradually from 1884 to 1928. Noah Webster published ''An American Dictionary of the English Language'' in 1828. But the first serious look at the Australian language, by Sidney Baker, a New Zealander, came out in 1945. And the first edition of the Australian National Dictionary -- a partnership between the Oxford English Dictionary and the Australian National University -- hit libraries only in 1988.

The delay reflected what the dictionary itself sought to fix, an accepted disrespect from inside the country and beyond for how Australians talked. It took Australians themselves a long time to recognize that the way they spoke and wrote reflected a unique place and culture, more than just a distant colony thought to be butchering the Queen's English.

Bruce Moore, a former medieval English scholar who was the director of the National Dictionary Center from 1994 to 2011, noted that a lot of words and sayings that captured ''Australian qualities'' were looked down upon among educated elites.

Words like ''battler'' (a person who works doggedly and with little reward) or the admonition to never ''dob in your mates'' (inform on your friends) or ''rort the system'' (cheat or engage in fraud) were all there in Australian English, ''but they were not recognized in the traditional 'public square,''' Dr. Moore said. ''It's only the 1970s when these terms come into the forefront of Australian English and are recognized and people start, for a change, being proud of the fact that this was their language.''

The first edition of the dictionary had 10,000 entries. The second, which came out in 2016, held 16,000, including words borrowed from more than 100 Indigenous Australian languages -- billabong, kangaroo and yabby, to name a few.

Most of the entries started out on handwritten index cards, with citations to where the earliest use could be found.

It was the same process employed for the original Oxford English Dictionary, and it means that there is a tangible archive. At the Australian Dictionary Center, which sits inside a musty humanities building on the campus of the Australian National University, photos of O.E.D. editors with long beards stand near wide, squat filing cabinets with cards containing Australian phrases included and discarded.

Open a drawer, catch the ruddy smell of dry rubber bands breaking free from stacks of old paper, and you might find a rough gem that never made it in and might be lost forever, like ''beero'' or ''Antonio de Fat Pizza,'' which appeared to be linked to a television show in 2003.

Also among the rejects is ''selfie,'' the one word that Dr. Moore still finds himself mulling over. He said he knew that the Oxford English Dictionary had found the earliest evidence for the word in an Australian newsgroup online, but within weeks, selfie was everywhere.

''I asked myself, 'Is there enough proof to say 'that's an Australian invention'?'' he said. ''And I thought, I'm not convinced. And then as soon as the dictionary came out, I thought bugger it. I'm going to be known for this moral failing.''

Even now, selfie's origins are unresolved. Dr. Laugesen is also not convinced that Australia deserves the credit or blame.

The phrases she can't stop thinking about now are the ones that might reflect Australia's growing ambivalence -- or self-deprecating sense of humor -- about the country's gentrified taste after a long run of mining- and real-estate-driven economic growth.

Some people, for example, are said to be part of the ''goat's cheese set'' or to live ''behind the quinoa curtain'' or the ''latte line.'' Dr. Laugesen said it was hard to tell if the early citations would point to a grass-roots critique or a more politicized campaign. But the trend seemed to be connected to the evolution of another extremely Australian word -- ''bogan.''

In the 1980s, it referred to ''a boorish and uncouth person,'' typically from Sydney's ***working-class*** western suburbs. Now it seems to be used as a badge of honor. Dr. Laugesen noted that ''fauxgan,'' or fake bogan, was becoming the bigger insult, while finding your ''inner bogan'' was an honorable goal, suggesting Australians were eager to reclaim their more unsophisticated past.

Even that half-sucked mango spoke to the theme, as became clear when Dr. Laugesen solved the mystery of its disappearance. Eventually, she found it in the ''H'' words, noting that there was evidence for three iterations: ''head like a half-sucked mango; face like a half-sucked mango'' and ''hair like a half-sucked mango.''

At least one of those appeared in a memoir by Nick Cummins, a former professional rugby player, nicknamed ''the Honey Badger,'' who rose to prominence after starring on the sixth season of Australia's version of ''The Bachelor.'' His mop of unruly hair seemed to be a source, but it was far from the only reference Dr. Laugesen found.

''I'm not sure how we'll organize these kinds of idioms at this stage, especially the head, face being somewhat interchangeable,'' she said.

Like ''latte line,'' the phrase seemed destined for inclusion in next year's new online edition.

''It needs to tell some kind of story about Australia,'' Dr. Laugesen said. ''The story might not be totally evident from the entry, but it has to be there.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/19/world/australia/national-dictionary-center.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/19/world/australia/national-dictionary-center.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Amanda Laugesen, above, worked on updates at the Australian National Dictionary Center, below left, in Canberra. The dictionary has sought to change an accepted disrespect for how Australians talk. Most of the thousands of entries started on index cards, with citations to where the earliest use could be found. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ISABELLA MOORE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 20, 2022

**End of Document**



[***A top Trump donor gave $10 million for ‘Hillbilly Elegy’ author J.D. Vance to explore an Ohio Senate bid.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6275-79H1-DXY4-X06J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 492 words

**Byline:** Glenn Thrush

**Highlight:** Peter Thiel, one of former President Donald J. Trump’s few big tech industry donors, pumped the funds into a super PAC bankrolling a possible campaign for one of Ohio’s Senate seats in 2022.

**Body**

Peter Thiel, one of former President Donald J. Trump’s few big tech industry donors, pumped the funds into a super PAC bankrolling a possible campaign for one of Ohio’s Senate seats in 2022.

Peter Thiel, one of former President Donald J. Trump’s few big tech industry donors, has pumped $10 million into a super PAC bankrolling a possible campaign for one of Ohio’s Senate seats in 2022 by J.D. Vance, the author of “Hillbilly Elegy.”

Mr. Thiel, a co-founder of PayPal who once employed Mr. Vance at his hedge fund, was the first donor to Protect Ohio Values PAC, a committee founded in Virginia last month, allowing Mr. Vance to explore a possible run for the seat being vacated in by Senator Rob Portman.

The Mercer family, also contributors to Mr. Trump, are expected to write a big check to the PAC shortly, said Bryan Lanza, a veteran Republican strategist working with the group.

“Trump, J.D. and Peter see these communities in a much different light than the Republican establishment,” said Mr. Lanza in an interview. “J.D. and Peter share the same vision.”

The donation, made last Friday, was first reported by the [*Cincinnati Inquirer.*](https://www.cincinnati.com/story/news/politics/elections/2021/03/15/super-pac-supporting-possible-ohio-senate-candidate-j-d-vance-gets-10-m-donation-peter-thiel/4700540001/)

Mr. Vance, whose 2016 memoir chronicled his rise from a hardscrabble Appalachian childhood to Yale Law School, has positioned himself as the voice of a frustrated white underclass energized by Mr. Trump’s defiance and disruptions. His book was turned into a 2020 movie starring Glenn Close and Amy Adams.

Mr. Vance, 36, briefly considered a challenge to Senator Sherrod Brown of Ohio, a Democrat, in 2018 after the Republican favorite, Josh Mandel, dropped out. Mr. Brown defeated his Republican opponent, former Representative Jim Renacci, [*by seven points*](https://www.cincinnati.com/story/news/politics/elections/2021/03/15/super-pac-supporting-possible-ohio-senate-candidate-j-d-vance-gets-10-m-donation-peter-thiel/4700540001/) that year, in a state Mr. Trump won handily in 2016 and 2020.

The field in 2022 is expected to be crowded, well-financed and highly competitive.

Mr. Mandel, the former state treasurer, is expected to run, as is former Ohio Republican Party chairwoman Jane Timken, another big Trump donor.

Potential Democratic candidates include Representative Tim Ryan — a fiery orator whose pitch, like that of Mr. Vance, is rooted in a populist appeal to the ***working class***; Amy Acton, the state’s former health director; and Emilia Sykes, the state House minority leader.

The German-born Mr. Thiel and Mr. Vance have been friends for years, and talk often about politics and their views on the country’s problems, a person close to Mr. Vance said.

Shortly after graduating from Yale, Mr. Vance began working for Mr. Thiel’s Mithril Capital Management. When he began his own Cincinnati-based firm focused on projects in the Midwest, [*Narya Capital*](https://www.cincinnati.com/story/news/politics/elections/2021/03/15/super-pac-supporting-possible-ohio-senate-candidate-j-d-vance-gets-10-m-donation-peter-thiel/4700540001/), he raised [*about $93 million*](https://www.cincinnati.com/story/news/politics/elections/2021/03/15/super-pac-supporting-possible-ohio-senate-candidate-j-d-vance-gets-10-m-donation-peter-thiel/4700540001/) from Mr. Thiel, tech entrepreneur Marc Andreessen, Eric Schmidt of Google and ExactTarget co-founder Scott Dorsey.

PHOTO: J.D. Vance speaking with lawmakers and members of a venture capital bus tour in Youngstown, Ohio in 2018. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Andrew Spear for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 16, 2021

**End of Document**



[***How Student Debt Killed the Plot***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66DM-6X51-JBG3-60DG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 16; ESSAY

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**Byline:** By Jennifer Wilson

**Body**

Fictional characters, too, are saddled with college loans, and struggling to keep the story of their lives moving forward.

In Emily St. John Mandel's novel ''The Glass Hotel'' (2020), a young woman named Vincent is trying to understand how she went from being a bartender at a remote inn in the Canadian wilderness to preparing to leave for Nice on the arm of a Ponzi-scheme billionaire named Jonathan Alkaitis. After all, shouldn't she be in school?

Vincent had considered college, but ''knowing that a college degree might change your life'' and possessing ''a willingness to actually commit to the terrifying weight of student loans'' were two different things. Moreover, she had worked alongside other bartenders who had gone to college and were now back at the bar, paying off the debt they took on supposedly in order to catapult themselves into a new life. It was as Vincent was weighing these options that Jonathan first walked into her bar. Yes, she would later have to sell a piece of her soul to be with him, but the Devil, unlike Sallie Mae, doesn't report to the credit bureaus: ''I'm paying a price for this life, she told herself, but the price is reasonable.''

In the United States, federal student loans were first issued in 1958 in response to the Soviets' launch of Sputnik. The government, anxious that the country was falling behind in science, held out student loans as an incentive for Americans to specialize in engineering and math. The space race is in many ways a fitting origin story for a debt system that has been powered by the fantasy of upward mobility. The cherished American belief that a college degree provides a pathway to the middle class has made student loans among the most recession-proof forms of personal debt. In August, President Biden announced a student debt forgiveness program, to begin later this year, that could wipe out as much as $300 billion in student loan debt. Collectively, however, we owe $1.7 trillion in such loans, and the number of borrowers continues to grow steadily, even though as many as 40 percent finish their schooling with debt but no degree in hand. In the process, they are learning what really happens to a dream deferred -- it accrues interest.

This precarious reality and its accompanying emotional fallout -- a unique concoction of dread, bewilderment and uncertainty -- have lately begun to pervade contemporary fiction, yielding a spate of novels featuring protagonists mired in student loan debt. In Lily King's ''Writers & Lovers'' (2020), the main character is an aspiring novelist who waitresses to pay the bills. She has defaulted on her loans, and with added late fees and penalties the amount she owes has doubled, a frustratingly common scenario. ''All I can do now is manage it,'' she thinks, ''pay the minimums until -- and this is the thing -- until what? Until when? There's no answer. That's part of my looming blank specter.'' For people in this kind of debt, the future feels as if it might as well not exist. In Raven Leilani's ''Luster'' (2020), Edie, a low-paid assistant at a publishing house, is on a date with her married boyfriend at an amusement park, and after a couple of rides, she jokes, ''I am enjoying myself, and not just because dying means I won't have to pay my student loans.''

If plot is a sequence of events, then the student loan crisis is upending the scale at which story lines, real and fiction, can progress. In novels like Jo Hamya's ''Three Rooms'' (2021), Lee Conell's ''The Party Upstairs'' (2020) and Camille Perri's ''The Assistants'' (2016), we can observe characters who have gone from ambition-driven to survival-minded. For protagonists saddled with hefty student loans, a dramatic denouement is the news that a job comes with Blue Cross Blue Shield health insurance (''Writers & Lovers'') or ''not debating between eating the slightly-off leftover burrito in the fridge or splurging on some groceries from C-Town'' (''The Assistants''). In ''Three Rooms,'' the main character -- who has a graduate degree in English -- longs to throw a dinner party. However, she cannot pay back her loans and cover rent in London on the meager wages that come with working for a magazine. ''Now, even to me,'' she reflects, ''it seemed ridiculous to concede that I had accumulated substantial debt and a few degrees so that I might contractually labor for the sake of having two free days a week in which to cook a meal in a kitchen I could not actually afford to own, for a small crowd of people my age who spent their lives doing the same.''

Of course, such scenarios still remain out of reach for many working poor, including those suffering under the burden of different kinds of debt (i.e., medical, the biggest source of debt collections in the United States). What makes student loan borrowers in recent fiction unique, and uniquely literary, is that they often complain of having been betrayed by narrative itself. The notion that a college degree powers upward mobility is so foundational to the American dream (and other national versions of the bootstraps tale) that it has taken on the stature of myth. ''The governing class believes in a story of mobility and financial prosperity that has not been true for 20 years,'' says the writer Molly McGhee, who is currently at work on her first novel, about a young man drowning in student loan debt. (He takes a job as a low-paid ''dream auditor,'' entering the sleep of white-collar workers to eliminate any stress triggers, ensuring that their dreams can carry on unperturbed.)

The way Americans cling, almost illogically, to the narrative of upward mobility is dramatized in Conell's ''The Party Upstairs.'' Ruby, a recent graduate who attended college on a partial scholarship, has moved back in with her ***working-class*** parents in their basement apartment. Her ex-boyfriend encourages her to take an unpaid internship at the American Museum of Natural History, apparently unable to grasp that because she has loans she cannot work for free. He is from a wealthy family, but volunteers with underprivileged schoolchildren. He is so tethered to the idea that education is the key to social mobility that he can see her plight only as a personal failure. As her boyfriend, he once lectured her that his students ''came from way more difficult backgrounds than she had, by the way, and turned into real success stories.'' Ruby, frustrated, lectured him back. ''They don't turn into stories,'' she says. ''They're people. They'll just keep on being people.''

''The Party Upstairs'' is also a meta-narrative about the way student loans have derailed the forward motion of storytelling. Ruby still hopes to work at the natural history museum designing dioramas (like the ones she made for a senior project). ''I am interested in the way dioramas generate stories while sidestepping traditional narrative forms of rising action and conflict,'' she writes in an artist statement for the project. ''Instead, the diorama form immobilizes and captures a moment we recognize as part of a story larger than the form itself.'' At first, the diorama seems to function as an allegory for her life, which, thanks to her debt, is also robbed of ''rising action.'' But as Ruby turns her back on her aspirations to class mobility, she experiences a quiet peace. Immobilized in the present, no longer a story waiting to reach crescendo, she can now tend to herself as a person.

Other writers have attempted to circumvent the limitations that paralyzing debt places on a character by partaking in what I have come to think of as the student loan caper. In these novels, a ragtag crew of desperate borrowers will go to extreme, even criminal lengths, to erase their debt. In Perri's ''The Assistants,'' young female assistants at a media company falsify expense reports to pay off their loans, one fake lunch at Porter House at a time. In John Grisham's ''The Rooster Bar'' (2017), three law school students realize they have enrolled in a diploma mill designed to feed money back to private loan lenders, and form a fake firm to get justice (and debt relief). In other novels, the desperate need to pay off student loans leads to desperate measures: In Jonathan Franzen's ''Purity'' (2015), a young woman with $130,000 in student loan debt travels to Bolivia to work for a Julian Assange hacker type in the hope that he can track down her father -- who could maybe help with her monthly payments. Student loans have also become a subplot in the world of erotica. In ''Against the Ropes'' (2013), by Sarah Castille, a debt-laden college graduate named Makayla takes a job at a mixed martial arts studio and falls for a sexy fighter, who just happens to be a venture capitalist willing to pay off her loans.

That these writers are able to find ways out of debt for their protagonists only through unlikely or implausible plot twists is a testament to how impossible student loan repayment can feel in reality. In ''The Party Upstairs'' and ''Three Rooms,'' we instead get realism, which manifests as arrested development, a bildungsroman where no one becomes anything, least of all the thing you went to school for in the first place.

This trend is not without precedent. In his book ''Unseasonable Youth'' (2011), the scholar Jed Esty wrote about how modernist writers at the turn of the 20th century revised the coming-of-age novel to account for the unequal spread of prosperity under colonialism and global capitalism. Esty notes the tropes of ''frozen youth'' and ''uneven development'' in novels like Joseph Conrad's ''Lord Jim'' (1900) and Virginia Woolf's ''The Voyage Out'' (1915). ''Such novels,'' he explains, ''mark the end of the bildungsroman proper as they fixate on youth and defer, distort or distend.'' Today, the student-loan crisis is producing a similar effect: a stymied bildungsroman for a generation who have been robbed of the possibility of becoming, sold a story that would cost them everything.

Jennifer Wilson is a contributing essayist at the Book Review.Jennifer Wilson is a contributing essayist at the Book Review.

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Ricardo Tomás FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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**End of Document**



[***After Four Decades, the Swamp-Pop Singer Tommy McLain Rises Again***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6679-D2V1-DXY4-X2SP-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Jim Farber

**Highlight:** The 82-year-old musician never stopped performing, but “I Ran Down Every Dream,” made with a little help from Elvis Costello and Nick Lowe, is his first new album in more than 40 years.

**Body**

The 82-year-old musician never stopped performing, but “I Ran Down Every Dream,” made with a little help from Elvis Costello and Nick Lowe, is his first new album in more than 40 years.

On a June evening at the Colony music club in Woodstock, N.Y., an 82-year old man slowly ambled onto the stage and gingerly took a seat at his keyboard. The packed crowd, here for the headliner, was drinking heavily, talking loudly and looking everywhere but the stage. That is, until the man, Tommy McLain, cut the din with a voice so sure, soaring and strong that, suddenly, heads snapped in his direction and conversations ceased.

“You’ve got to shock ’em,” McLain said the next day during an interview at LunÀtico, a music venue in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn. “They didn’t know me. But if you’ve got enough air in your lungs and soul in your singing, you got ’em.”

McLain should know. For decades, he has been belting over drunk crowds in casinos around his home state of Louisiana, as if living the life of the lead character in Billy Joel’s “Piano Man” in perpetuity. Now, however, with the help of well-known admirers like Nick Lowe (who headlined that Woodstock show) and Elvis Costello, McLain has the chance to sing on higher-profile tours and to showcase material from his first official album of new recordings in over 40 years.

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/LjBWpQPWFLc)]

The album, “I Ran Down Every Dream,” which drops on Friday, features the title track, which McLain wrote with Costello, as well as a song he penned with Lowe (the wry “The Greatest Show on Hurt”). The two stars also perform on the record, as do storied artists including Van Dyke Parks and Ivan Neville. The music offers a stripped-down twist on the sound that made McLain a linchpin of an important, but largely regional, musical movement from the 1950s through ’70s that came to be known as [*swamp-pop*](https://www.nytimes.com/2001/02/16/movies/film-review-a-ramble-through-louisiana-s-roots-music.html).

Nurtured in McLain’s south Louisiana, in key part by Cajun artists, swamp-pop has as many roots as a bayou cypress tree, twisting together New Orleans R&amp;B, country, soul, pop and rock, along with various Louisianian styles. Elements of that rolling sound can be heard in songs recorded by pivotal stars, including Elvis Presley (his version of “Lawdy Miss Clawdy” by Lloyd Price) and the Beatles (“Oh, Darling”). But, mainly, it spawned regional legends like McLain, Bobby Charles, Johnnie Allan and Warren Storm. For a brief while, starting in 1966, McLain earned national acclaim by scoring a Top 20 hit with [*“Sweet Dreams,”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oiABttoehxw) which Patsy Cline had also successfully recorded.

“I heard her version,” McLain said. “But I did it my own way.”

Nearly a decade later, McLain’s music made an improbable, but indelible, connection in Britain when the London-based D.J. and label owner Charlie Gillett created a compilation album of swamp-pop titled “Another Saturday Night,” which included work by McLain. The soul and immediacy of the music made it a cult favorite in Britain, earning ardor from the then young stars Costello and Lowe, as well as Robert Plant.

“Hearing the ‘Another Saturday Night’ album was like opening a door for me to a whole new world,” Costello said in an interview. “When you hear Tommy McLain sing, if he doesn’t reach you in some way, you should check your pulse. When I cut ‘Sweet Dreams’” — [*on his own*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vQ2EkVGrD-E) 1981 album, “Almost Blue” — “I had Tommy’s phrasing in my head.”

In an interview, Lowe noted how the sound and timbre of McLain’s voice comes from a specific place and time. “It’s a place where Black and white music meet, which is something I’ve always loved,” he said. “When Tommy sings, you can hear his life. He’s clearly someone who’s got a past. And you get the idea he was a handful in his youth. He’s not a young man, but he can still make you feel that.”

To C.C. Adcock, a successful Louisiana musician who produced McLain’s new album, there’s a connection between the down-to-earth ethos of Southern swamp-pop and British pub-rock, the rootsy scene that spawned stars like Lowe in the ’70s. “There’s a commonality in the lightheartedness,” Adcock said. “They’re both for ***working class*** people, not art school kids.”

It’s Adcock who made McLain’s comeback possible. A longtime swamp-pop fan, he befriended the older singer in the Louisiana music scene and was thrilled to discover that McLain had been writing new songs in secret for years. But he had no outlet for them. Adcock recorded parts of those songs on his phone, played them for his publishing company and, in 2019, helped secure a fresh contract for McLain with Decca Records.

Unfortunately, things went deeply south from there. While creating the album over the last five years, McLain endured a Job-like string of disasters, including three Louisiana hurricanes that “tore up everything,” he said. “No air-conditioners working — and in that heat!”

Then, his house burned down. “If I’d been in there, I’d be up in smoke,” he said.

Oh, and he also had a massive heart attack, requiring a double bypass operation that many believed he wouldn’t survive. “It got my attention — but it didn’t get me,” the singer said with pluck.

In fact, McLain says practically everything with pluck. Though he sat in a wheelchair for the interview — his Santa Claus-long white beard underscores his age — McLain animates himself like a triathlete. Much like his singing, his speaking voice could pin you to the wall. He talks quickly, too, but with an assurance born of eight decades of life as well as a transformative experience he had at age 45.

McLain’s success in the 1960s earned him some money, but he ran through it and, eventually, found himself lost in a life that involved a daily routine of “a little coke, a little beer and a lot of short-skirted girls,” he said. “I woke up one morning with women on the floor I didn’t know and said to myself, ‘What am I doing?’”

Though he had been turned off to religion as a child because of the condemning nature of his Baptist minister father, he sought redemption in the Catholic Church, inspired by his mother-in-law who found solace there. McLain got so into it, he became a preacher himself. Later, he self-released a gospel album, titled “Moving to Heaven,” beloved by Costello. “I don’t know how he heard it,” McLain said. “I didn’t have more than 500 copies pressed of that thing.” Costello said he sought it out: “I would go to local, secondhand record shops looking for albums by people like Tommy McLain.”

Costello finally met the singer in 2010 when the two performed at a tribute in New Orleans to the local legend Bobby Charles. Lowe met McLain the next year when he played in London with Adcock’s group Lil’ Band O’ Gold. “Those are good friends to have,” Adcock said, with a laugh.

When the producer contacted each to help finish writing some songs McLain intended for the new album, they leaped at the chance. Most of the songs on the set are new, but there’s also a fresh version of a well-known McLain song from the ’60s, “Before I Grow Too Old,” with lyrics that have far more urgency and depth delivered at his age.

The songs, which often address dashed love, squandered opportunities and diminishing time, form a sustained suite of loss. But McLain sings them with a wily grace, and there’s humor laced throughout. In “I Ran Down Every Dream,” McLain catalogs those dreams, calling “some good, some bad, some we shall not ever mention.” “This is Tommy telling his tale,” Costello said. “It’s like ‘My Way,’ if that song weren’t so self-aggrandizing.”

When the album was complete, he faced yet another setback: Decca elected not to release it. McLain and Adcock said they never received a full explanation. (Decca Records did not respond to requests for comment.) Soon after, the indie label Yep Roc, which releases Lowe’s music, stepped up. “Tommy is 82,” Adcock said. “God forbid anything would have happened. I wanted these songs to come out.”

McLain shares that relief as well as a thrill in finally having new material to sing. As he wrote in one new lyric: “When I wake up with a brand-new tune, that’s how I know I’m still livin.’” “I got stagnated,” McLain said. “But I still have the desire to be creative.”

“Turns out, I’m kinda hard to kill,” he added, with a cackle. “Believe me, they tried. But I keep comin’.”

PHOTOS: While recording his new album, Tommy McLain, 82, endured hurricanes, a house fire and major heart surgery. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY PETER FISHER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 25, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Dozens of Candidates of Color Give House Republicans a Path to Diversity***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66KJ-GRC1-JBG3-643R-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 1862 words

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**Highlight:** The party has fielded 67 Black, Latino, Asian or Native American candidates for the House, by its count, and the number in Congress is almost certain to grow.

**Body**

The party has fielded 67 Black, Latino, Asian or Native American candidates for the House, by its count, and the number in Congress is almost certain to grow.

House Republicans are fielding a slate of 67 Black, Latino, Asian or Native American candidates on the ballot in November, by the party’s count, raising an opportunity to change the composition of a House G.O.P. conference that now has only a dozen members of color.

Depending on the outcome, those Republican candidates say, they could challenge the notion that theirs is the party of white voters.

The lineup of Republican candidates is historic — 32 Latinos, 22 Black candidates, 11 Asian Americans and two Native Americans, according to the National Republican Congressional Committee. (Of those candidates, four identify as more than one race.) Many of them are long shots in heavily Democratic districts, but with so few Republicans of color now in Congress, the party’s complexion will almost certainly look different next year.

More remarkable, perhaps, is that the Republican candidates are nearing the finish line even as some of the party’s white lawmakers have ratcheted up racist language or lines of attack — a sign that some party leaders remain unconcerned about racial sensitivity.

This weekend, Senator Tommy Tuberville, Republican of Alabama, rallied with former President Donald J. Trump in Nevada and [*told the crowd that Democrats were “pro-crime” and wanted reparations*](https://apnews.com/article/tuberville-comments-reparations-19d58a87c23b57c1e9a6c8ca7f8fcb70) — widely understood as a reference to slavery — for “the people that do the crime.” At the same event, Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene, Republican of Georgia, [*invoked*](https://www.c-span.org/video/?523358-101/introductory-speakers-president-trumps-rally-arizona-republicans) the racist [*“great replacement theory”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/16/us/politics/republicans-great-replacement.html) when she said, “Joe Biden’s five million illegal aliens are on the verge of replacing you.”

Elsewhere, including in [*Wisconsin*](https://www.jsonline.com/story/news/politics/elections/2022/09/22/mandela-barnes-supporters-accuse-republicans-airing-racist-ads-race-us-senate-race-ron-johnson/8074904001/) and [*North Carolina*](https://youtu.be/TidAbar7E2U), Democrats have accused Republicans of darkening the skin of Black candidates in campaign materials and of running ads brazenly trying to tether Black politicians to Black criminals.

The 2022 candidates do not want such issues to derail their groundbreaking runs. After watching the comments from Ms. Greene and Mr. Tuberville, Anna Paulina Luna, a Latina favored to win a House seat in Florida, responded carefully but did not condemn them, instead saying, “Establishment Democrats are exploiting illegals as political currency.”

“Many times, illegal immigrants are employed under the table. Many Americans are not offered fair wages because some choose to pay illegals under the table at lower cost,” she said, continuing, “During the naturalization process, individuals are required to learn about our history and culture. That is important as a nation.”

Still, the numbers speak for themselves. The only two Black Republicans in the House, Representatives Burgess Owens of Utah and Byron Donalds of Florida, are likely to be joined by Wesley Hunt of Texas and John James of Michigan, Black G.O.P. candidates who are favored to win on Nov. 8. The numbers of this small group could rise further with victories by Jennifer-Ruth Green in Indiana, John Gibbs in Michigan and George Logan in Connecticut, all of whom have a chance.

The ranks of the seven incumbent Latino Republicans in the House could nearly double if all six Latino candidates in tight races triumph. And Allan Fung, a Republican in a tossup contest in Rhode Island, could lift the number of Asian American Republicans by 50 percent if he wins and two Southern California incumbents, Representatives Young Kim and Michelle Steel, beat back Democratic challengers.

“It’s Hispanic people, Black people, Black women, Black men, Asian men, Asian women,” Mr. Hunt of Texas said in an interview. “It has been outstanding to see our party get to the point where, yeah, we’re conservatives, but guess what: We’re also not monolithic.”

Republicans have a long way to go to match the Democrats in diversity. A strong G.O.P. showing in November could bring the number of Black Republicans in the House to seven. House Democrats have 56 Black members, including influential leaders.

If Republicans end up with 13 Latino members in the House, they still will not measure up to the 34 Hispanic Democrats.

And with the right political breaks, Democrats could end up bolstering their already diverse caucus. Fourteen out of the 36 Democrats aiming for competitive Republican seats are candidates of color.

Chris Taylor, a spokesman for the House Democratic campaign arm, said that “Republicans are mistaken if they think finally engaging with communities of color in the year 2022 with flawed candidates” would distance their party from what he called an “unpopular, extreme agenda.”

“While Republicans attempt to dilute the number of white supremacists within their ranks, their politics of dividing Americans and promoting hate remains,” he said.

Republicans, however, see a virtuous circle in the gains they are making: As more candidates of color triumph, the thinking goes, more will enter future races, and more voters of color will see a home in the Republican Party.

“We’re narrative busters,” said Mr. Donalds, who helped the National Republican Congressional Committee with recruiting candidates. “We break up the dogma of Democratic politics, in terms of how to view Republicans.”

Representative Tom Emmer of Minnesota, the group’s chairman, said this year’s slate was no accident. Four years ago, when he took over the committee, he set about changing the way Republicans recruited candidates, seeking far more diversity. The group would de-emphasize the Washington-based consultants who had a financial stake in promoting their candidates and instead rely on members to seek out talent in their districts.

Two years ago was a dry run; House Republicans gained an unexpected 14 seats, and every seat they flipped from Democrats was captured by a woman or a candidate of color.

Mr. Trump’s gains with Hispanic voters and Black men — which he made despite his stream of [*racist and xenophobic comments*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/23/us/politics/trump-race-racism-protests.html) while in office — inspired a fresh push by Republicans.

Representative Mario Diaz-Balart, Republican of Florida, who helped with Latino recruitment, said it was not a difficult pitch. More Hispanic candidates were galvanized to run by soaring inflation rates, a surge of migrants in heavily Latino border districts and a growing sense that Democrats were now the party of the educated elite, he said.

“Democrats, one could argue, have done a good job with their rhetoric, but their policies have been disastrous, and they’ve been particularly disastrous for the ***working class***,” Mr. Diaz-Balart said. “Was Trump’s rhetoric the words that would be ideal to get Latino voters? No, but the policies were.”

Mr. Donalds insisted the former president was not a racist but said, “The question is really silly at this point.”

“Republicans now are far more open and far more direct about talking to every voter, not just Republican voters, quote, unquote,” he said. “I think that that’s what’s given the impetus for people to decide to run.”

That and a lot of pushing. Mr. Emmer spoke of meeting a trade expert who worked for Gov. Doug Ducey of Arizona two years ago, then telling Representative Kevin McCarthy of California, the Republican leader, to persuade Juan Ciscomani to run.

Mr. Ciscomani recalled talking over the possibility with his wife and Mr. Ducey in 2018 and 2020 before backing away. In the spring of 2021, the one-two push from Mr. Emmer and Mr. McCarthy sealed the deal.

“Democrats have taken the Hispanic vote for granted,” he said. “They pandered to the Hispanic community, saying what they wanted to hear and doing nothing about it.” He added: “But Republicans never made an effort. They never tried to get their votes.”

Mr. Ciscomani is now favored to win back Arizona’s Sixth Congressional District from the Democrats.

In 2020, Mr. James — a Black Republican whom Mr. Emmer called “a candidate that only comes along once in a while” — [*fell short in a surprisingly close race*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/04/us/politics/gary-peters-holds-on-to-his-senate-seat-in-michigan-as-susan-collins-is-re-elected-in-maine.html) to unseat Senator Gary Peters, Democrat of Michigan. Afterward, the N.R.C.C. chairman cleared a path for Mr. James to run for the House.

“I told him, ‘To learn to really refine your ability when it comes to campaigning and to understand the business of campaigning, there’s nothing wrong with starting in the House,’” Mr. Emmer said.

Mr. Hunt had also tried to run for office and failed — in 2020, for a House seat in the Houston suburbs. In 2018, Mr. McCarthy had been in Houston for a fund-raiser when he met Mr. Hunt, a veteran West Point graduate with a conservative bent, and pressed him to run.

Mr. Hunt recalled that after his 2020 loss, “Kevin McCarthy called me the next day, and he said: ‘Hang in there. Let’s see what happens after redistricting. We need you up here. Please don’t give up the fight.’”

Mr. Hunt added, “It changed everything.”

Ms. Luna had been a conservative activist and political commentator when she decided on her own to run for a Tampa-area House seat in 2020. She said she did not hear from Republicans in Washington until after she won the Republican primary. But when she came up short against Representative Charlie Crist, the hard sell descended.

Representative Ralph Norman, Republican of South Carolina, called her days after her defeat, seeing her as a potential recruit for the conservative House Freedom Caucus. Former Speaker Newt Gingrich followed, and then Mr. Donalds took her under his wing.

“When people see that we are conservatives, we are Republicans, and there’s not this stereotype of what it means to be Republican, I think it empowers them to own their convictions, to own their ideologies,” she said on Friday.

Democrats have made it clear that they will not shy away from criticizing Republican candidates for their positions just because of their backgrounds. They have highlighted [*college writings by Mr. Gibbs*](https://www.detroitnews.com/story/news/politics/michigan/2022/09/22/john-gibbs-argued-against-womens-suffrage-work-in-college-anti-feminist-site/69510438007/) suggesting women should not have the right to vote. Representative [*Mayra Flores of Texas*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/06/us/politics/mayra-flores-latina-republicans.html), who [*won a special election in June*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/14/us/politics/mayra-flores-texas-election.html) but faces a tough race in a more Democratic district, has promoted QAnon conspiracy theories.

Republicans who want to diversify their ranks say they also hope to change the views of some G.O.P. voters. Mr. Hunt told of a young man who talked with him after a campaign event, then handed his phone over so he could talk to the man’s white grandfather.

“He said: ‘Mr. Hunt, you’re the first Black person I ever voted for my entire life. I’m here to tell you that I was racist, and I grew up racist, and there have been times in my life that I have not treated Black people fairly,’” Mr. Hunt recounted. “‘I met you and I said, I have to get behind this guy, in spite of my prejudice.’”

PHOTOS: “We’re conservatives, but guess what: We’re also not monolithic,” said Wesley Hunt, who is favored to win a Texas seat. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRISTIAN K. LEE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); After failing to unseat Senator Gary Peters of Michigan in 2020, John James is leading his rival for a seat in the House. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SYLVIA JARRUS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Michelle Steele of Southern California is one of only two Asian American Republican representatives in the House. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JENNA SCHOENEFELD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A12.

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[***Conservatism's Uncertain Future***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65R6-W371-DXY4-X4H3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Length:** 1339 words

**Byline:** By Jonathan Rauch

**Body**

THE RIGHTThe Hundred-Year War for American ConservatismBy Matthew Continetti

MAGA preceded Donald Trump. It created him at least as much as the other way around. My own first glimpse of it came at a Tea Party convention in downtown Phoenix in February 2011.

The Tea Party, in its early days, was anything but MAGA-like. Dominated by white, college-educated professionals and small-business owners who were fed up with politicians' broken promises to shrink government, it was the first grass-roots movement to take reducing federal spending seriously. In Phoenix, at what they billed as their first national policy conference, Tea Partiers gathered for seminars on topics like the Constitution's Ninth Amendment and the gold standard. Sure, some of their ideas were screwy, but they were striving earnestly to restore what they thought was the vision of the founders.

Another faction, however, was vying for control. It was interested in cutting immigration, not the budget. It was more focused on America's complexion than its Constitution. At a plenary session in an acre-wide convention hall, I watched as the Republican president of the Arizona State Senate, a demagogue named Russell Pearce, galvanized the crowd with a lacerating attack on the illegal migrants who, he said, were breaking into our country and stealing it.

Pearce, who would go on to support the sterilization of Medicaid recipients, lost his seat later that year in a recall election. But he was an augury, not an outlier. Though his rhetoric shocked me at the time, it was mild compared with ''rapists'' and ''criminals'', calves like cantaloupes, Muslim bans and more that followed. His faction swamped and then subsumed first the Tea Party, then the Republican Party and at last the conservative movement. A decade after Pearce's stemwinder, as Matthew Continetti writes in ''The Right,'' his superb new history of modern American conservatism, President Trump would leave the White House ''with the Republican Party out of power, conservatism in disarray and the right in the same hole it had dug with Charles Lindbergh, Joe McCarthy, the John Birch Society, George Wallace and Pat Buchanan. Not only was the right unable to get out of the hole, it did not want to.''

A journalist and senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, Continetti is a career conservative. The movement, he writes, ''has been my life.'' He brings an insider's nuance and a historian's dispassion to the ambitious task of writing the American right's biography, and he adds a journalist's knack for deft portraiture and telling details. (Franklin Roosevelt was ''wily, boisterous and charming''; Milton Friedman, ''elfin, mischievous, implacable.'') His accuracy is impressive, too; in his 400-plus pages spanning 100 years, I found no claims to cavil with.

From his account a dramatic arc emerges, and it is a tragic one. In the early 20th century, conservatism was a loose bundle of temperaments and policies, not a philosophy or a movement. ''The Republican Party of the 1920s stood for a popular mix of untrammeled commerce, high tariffs, disarmament, foreign policy restraint and devotion to the constitutional foundation of American policy.'' Then came the Depression, the New Deal and the war. Alarmed by what they saw as Roosevelt's socialism and the prospect of being dragged into Europe's blood bath, the right veered toward isolationism, nostalgia and irrelevance. The Republican Party ''tended to adopt an adversarial and catastrophizing attitude toward the government that it never quite shook off.'' By the end of the 1940s, liberals had every reason to dismiss the right as the preserve of ''irritable mental gestures which seek to resemble ideas'' (as Lionel Trilling wisecracked in 1950).

And then, beginning in the Eisenhower era, came a Cambrian explosion of ideas. Much of it centered on William F. Buckley, the founder of National Review. Though not a great thinker, Buckley had a sharp pen, a magnetic personality, an eye for talent and a vision of conservatism as more than the sum of dyspeptic parts. Around Buckley swirled fearless and far-reaching debates involving intellectuals like Russell Kirk and Frank Meyer, Whittaker Chambers and James Burnham. Everything was discussed, everything was tried, and even failures, like Barry Goldwater's wipeout in the 1964 presidential election, were learned from. By the time Daniel Patrick Moynihan declared, in 1981, ''Of a sudden, the G.O.P. has become the party of ideas,'' the right had assembled a three-pillared edifice of strong defense, traditional values and growth-oriented economics.

That was the right I encountered when I first came to Washington as a journalism intern in the summer of 1981. There was not a desk in the city that did not boast an open copy of the Heritage Foundation's magnum opus, ''Mandate for Leadership,'' a phone-book-thick compendium of conservative policy proposals, many of which inspired legislation. David Stockman, the wunderkind budget director under Ronald Reagan, was electrifying the capital with reforms culled from years of policy wonkery in journals like Irving Kristol's The Public Interest. Bestriding the scene was President Reagan himself, a visionary whose optimism and confidence overthrew the gloom that had afflicted conservatism since the time of Calvin Coolidge.

Or so it seemed. We did not then know that Reagan's triumph was also a culmination. The Cold War's end dissolved the conservative coalition's glue, Buckley's sparkling generation receded, Kristol's journal closed, Rush Limbaugh ascended. George W. Bush's efforts to frame an activist, idealistic conservatism never took hold. Cheered on by the inflammatory rhetoric of conservative media and confrontation entrepreneurs like Newt Gingrich, the base steered straight for the abyss of pessimism, authoritarianism, nativism and grievance that Buckley and Reagan had labored so hard to escape.

As if cued in a screenplay, a celebrity demagogue arrived to complete the tragic arc. ''Trump was the return of a repressed memory,'' Continetti writes. He ''looked to the past. His American right resembled conservatism before the Cold War.'' Even Trump's achievements, like his court appointments, his China and Middle East policies, and his elevation of ***working-class*** concerns, were overshadowed by his refusal to concede an election he lost -- a lawless choice that, Continetti correctly says, consigns him to ''the ranks of American villains.''

So here we are. The work of two conservative generations lies in rubble. ''What began as an elite-driven defense of the classical liberal principles enshrined in the Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States ended up, in the first quarter of the 21st century, as a furious reaction against elites of all stripes,'' Continetti writes. ''Many on the right embraced a cult of personality and illiberal tropes. The danger was that the alienation from and antagonism toward American culture and society expressed by many on the right could turn into a general opposition to the constitutional order.'' Some of us would say this is a fact, not a danger.

Continetti believes that de-Trumpifying the G.O.P. is not sufficient to restore constitutional conservatism, but it is necessary. ''Untangling the Republican Party and conservative movement from Donald Trump won't be easy,'' he says. ''But a conservatism anchored to Trump the man will face insurmountable obstacles in attaining policy coherence, government competence and intellectual credibility.''

Post-Trump, can conservatism reassemble and reinvent itself as it did once before, 70 years ago? We'll see. On the strength of this authoritative and entertaining book, I hope Continetti will be around to write the next volume.Jonathan Rauch, a senior fellow of the Brookings Institution, is the author of ''The Constitution of Knowledge: A Defense of Truth.''THE RIGHTThe Hundred-Year War for American ConservatismBy Matthew Continetti496 pp. Basic Books. $32.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/19/books/review/matthew-continetti-the-right.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/19/books/review/matthew-continetti-the-right.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Election Day, Nov. 3, 2020. (PHOTOGRAPH BY AMR ALFIKY/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Close to Manhattan, but Laid-Back and Neighborly***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66DM-6X51-JBG3-60F4-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

Sandwiched between Astoria and Long Island City -- and often overlooked because of it -- this formerly sleepy industrial area is looking at big changes.

During the height of the pandemic, when city sidewalks seemed especially dirty, residents of Dutch Kills, a neighborhood in northwestern Queens, awoke one day to an unusual sight: Hanging on fences around fallow construction sites and on the sides of hotels that had seen better days were more than two dozen bright-yellow brooms. Some had signs urging, ''Let's come together to clean.''

Free to anyone who wanted to grab and use them, the brooms were an instant hit, said Noni Pratt, a 14-year Dutch Kills resident, who conceived and installed them in October 2021. Those brooms, channeling the scrappy spirit of Dutch Kills, may also be an apt symbol of change. As developers pressure longtime owners to sell their properties, the laid-back vibe of this low-slung neighborhood seems on the verge of being swept away.

''It can feel like we're turning into an extension of Manhattan,'' said Richard Madrid, 53, a lifetime resident who owns DK PubLIC, a local restaurant. ''But growth is inevitable, and you have to roll with it.''

Rolling with the changes has been a constant for Mr. Madrid during his time in this 36-block neighborhood, which is wedged between the better-known Astoria and Long Island City. Once a bit industrial and rough, Dutch Kills began to evolve in the early years of the 21st century, as developers arrived to put up hotels for tourists seeking affordable alternatives to Manhattan. Then, in 2008, officials rezoned the neighborhood to encourage the building of apartments, a move that residents largely supported -- but one that some may now regret, as the rezoning opened the door to the dozen or so luxury rentals and condos that gleam like spaceships next to century-old brick and clapboard buildings.

Mr. Madrid has moved around, although never far, from 39th Avenue to 27th Street to 28th Street, where he currently shares a two-story brick home with his wife, Marcia Madrid, and their two children, ages 10 and 16. The Italianate-style building cost $400,000 in 2008.

But while Mr. Madrid aspires to live and let live, he and some neighbors are miffed about the city's plan to slap congestion pricing on those driving into Midtown. The Ed Koch Queensboro Bridge, which crosses the East River at East 59th Street, is just shy of the East 60th Street boundary set under the plan, meaning that inbound bridge users would soon have to pay tolls. And Mr. Madrid, who drives to his second job as a manager of a veterinary practice on East 39th Street, could be one of them.

Others worry that drivers from Long Island seeking to avoid the new fees will dump their cars in Dutch Kills and hop on subways, jamming streets where parking is already tight.

''I feel like we will be hit with a ransom just to get to New Jersey,'' said Stephen Morena, 76, a retired cook for railroads and hospitals, who lives in his childhood home, a shingle-sided two-family on 38th Avenue that cost his relatives $4,500 in 1916, he said. But in the same way that his family has stuck around, Mr. Morena finds few reasons to leave.

''We're so close to the city,'' he said. ''But you get to live here without all the craziness of Manhattan.''

What You'll Find

Whether Dutch Kills is distinct or part of a larger neighborhood has long been debated. And signs on businesses can confuse: A building-supply company proclaims that the neighborhood is in Long Island City, while the Astoria Music Studio on Crescent Street takes a different view. Still, some felt vindicated in 2019, when the Metropolitan Transportation Authority caved to community pressure and added ''Dutch Kills'' to the 39th Avenue subway station's name.

Bracketed by two busy commercial strips, Northern Boulevard and 21st Street, and 37th and 41st Avenues, the neighborhood does have its own governing group, the Dutch Kills Civic Association, formed in 1979.

Lines of modest rowhouses and machine shops give a throwback, ***working-class*** look to some blocks. And those two-story houses can seem unusually short compared with the three or more stories that are standard elsewhere. Vinyl siding conceals many corbels and clapboards, although fewer than it once did. Walking down the older blocks, toward Long Island City and its thicket of glamorous high-rises, can feel like approaching a stage set from behind.

Dutch Kills does have a few developments of its own, most of them rentals. Newer arrivals include Dutch House, an eight-story, 186-unit building from Slate Property Group, at 37-05 30th Street; Crescent Tower, a glassy six-story, 17-unit version, at 38-35 Crescent Street; and Line LIC, a seven-story, 42-unit project, at 38-11 31st Street, where a recycling business once stood.

Condos include the Neighborly, a seven-story, 77-unit project from the developer New Empire, at 37-14 34th Street, that began closings this spring; the Sunswick LIC, a skinny, 10-unit property at 37-29 32nd Street, where buyers moved in this summer; and Novo LIC, a seven-story, 33-unit project that Park Construction is developing at 37-28 30th Street.

Those looking to raze and build anew seem to have several options -- many properties currently listed have ads citing their development potential. And in some cases, owners appear to be long gone, as along 31st Street, where some for-sale houses are boarded up.

''Projects planned years ago are now finally coming to fruition,'' said Tim Rothman, an agent with Compass, who is marketing the Sunswick. ''This is now a completely different neighborhood, though people still have a hard time finding it.''

What You'll Pay

Because rowhouses are often valued as development sites, their prices can be extra-steep, like $2 million for a property requiring a lot of work. Some buyers start looking in densely developed areas of Long Island City, like Court Square and Queensboro Plaza, before realizing that they can find something similar in Dutch Kills for less, brokers say.

Recently, activity has been brisk. This year, through early September, 43 condos, co-ops and rowhouses sold in Dutch Kills for an average of $1.04 million, according to an analysis of data from StreetEasy. By contrast, during all of 2021, there were 50 home sales for an average price of $932,000, according to the data.

On the rental side, there were 14 apartments available on StreetEasy as of Sept. 5, for an average rent of $3,600 a month. At the high end was a two-bedroom with a balcony at 23-10 41st Avenue, a glassy 17-story building, asking $6,200 a month. The least expensive was a one-bedroom at 38-38 29th Street, a brick prewar building, for $2,100.

The Vibe

Despite receiving generous light, Dutch Kills is not known for its green space. The fountain-centered Dutch Kills Playground is one of just a few such spaces in the neighborhood.

During the worst of the pandemic, Steffan Partridge, 49, a real estate broker, invited neighbors to establish garden plots behind his two-family house on 28th Street, and drew about a dozen families. ''One was a comedian who liked to try out his material on plants because they're such a tough crowd,'' said Mr. Partridge, who added that some ''Dutch killers'' -- that is, locals -- continue to grow tomatoes, peppers and flowers there today.

Restaurants are here and there, like Beija Flor, a Brazilian joint on 29th Street with live music on weekends, and Carla, which exudes a tropical vibe on 40th Avenue. Those seeking truly lively nightlife visit Astoria's 36th Avenue, which has a United Nations-worthy assortment of Japanese, Greek and Irish restaurants.

The Schools

The neighborhood's zoned public elementary school is Public School 112 Dutch Kills, which enrolls 400 students in prekindergarten through fifth grade. The student body is 38 percent Hispanic, 27 percent Asian, 23 percent Black and 8 percent white, according to city data, and 18 percent of the student body is learning English. In 2021, the pass rate by former fifth graders in their sixth-grade classes in subjects like math and English was 95 percent.

Most students attend Intermediate School 204 Oliver W. Holmes, which has an enrollment of 380 in sixth through eighth grade. The school's pass rate for core classes last year was 85 percent, according to the city.

For high school, a popular option is Long Island City High School, just outside the neighborhood. Thirty-seven percent of its 2,160 students take at least one Advanced Placement class, and 85 percent graduate in four years, according to city data. Of the graduates, 56 percent head to college the following year.

The Commute

There are two subway stops in the neighborhood: N and W trains stop at 39th Avenue, and the F train stops at 21st Street and 41st Avenue. Commuting to Times Square takes about 15 minutes. Other subway stops, just beyond the neighborhood's borders, offer access to E, M, R and 7 trains.

The History

The ''kills'' in Dutch Kills -- as with Fresh Kills or Catskills -- is Dutch for streams. A waterway once meandered along present-day Northern Boulevard en route to Newtown Creek, according to a map provided by the Greater Astoria Historical Society; a canal near 47th Avenue is a kills remnant. During the Revolutionary War, British soldiers shacked up in farmhouses along what is now 39th Avenue. In 1903, those historic structures were demolished to make way for railroad tracks, according to the Civic Association. The bridge opened in 1909.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/14/realestate/dutch-kills-queens-new-york.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/14/realestate/dutch-kills-queens-new-york.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: DK PubLIC, a restaurant at 29th Street and 39th Avenue in Dutch Kills, Queens, is owned by Richard Madrid, who grew up nearby. In Dutch Kills, families tend to stick around. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TIMOTHY MULCARE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Biden, in Michigan to Push a Jobs Plan, Tears Into Trump’s Virus Response***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60T2-T0C1-JBG3-616H-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** Before sketching out a plan to keep more jobs in the United States, the former vice president denounced his rival over revelations in a new book that the president knowingly minimized the coronavirus’s dangers.

**Body**

Before sketching out a plan to keep more jobs in the United States, the former vice president denounced his rival over revelations in a new book that the president knowingly minimized the coronavirus’s dangers.

WARREN, Mich. — [*Joseph R. Biden Jr.*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html) tore into [*President Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html) on Wednesday over [*new revelations*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html) from a forthcoming book by the journalist Bob Woodward that the president knowingly minimized the risks of the coronavirus, arguing that Mr. Trump had lied to the American public and put lives in danger.

Mr. Biden’s remarks came as part of a broader effort to take on Mr. Trump over protecting American jobs, and to blame the president’s handling of the pandemic for the nation’s plunge into recession this year.

“He had the information,” Mr. Biden said during a trip to the critical battleground state of Michigan. “He knew how dangerous it was. And while this deadly disease ripped through our nation, he failed to do his job on purpose. It was a life-and-death betrayal of the American people.”

“It’s beyond despicable,” Mr. Biden added, detailing the crises the nation faces as a result of the pandemic that go far beyond the staggering public health costs. “It’s a dereliction of duty. It’s a disgrace.”

During an interview with CNN on Wednesday, Mr. Biden used even sharper language to criticize Mr. Trump’s contradictory message about the gravity of the pandemic.

“It was all about making sure the stock market didn’t come down, that his wealthy friends didn’t lose any money,” [*Mr. Biden said*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html). “He waved a white flag. He walked away. He didn’t do a damn thing. Think about it. Think about what he did not do. It’s almost criminal.”

And in an exchange with reporters Wednesday evening, asked whether he blamed Mr. Trump for “thousands of deaths” given the knowledge the president had earlier in the year, Mr. Biden replied: “Yes, I do. I absolutely do.”

In his outdoor speech at the United Auto Workers Region 1 headquarters in Warren, Mich., Mr. Biden assailed the president’s record on the economy, suggesting that Mr. Trump had not kept his promises to American workers on a range of issues. He also lashed his record on matters like job creation and keeping work in the United States rather than letting it move overseas.

The remarks represented an effort by Mr. Biden, the former vice president, to turn the focus of the campaign to the economy after weeks of attention on issues of civil unrest and a series of Trump-related controversies.

Mr. Biden’s speech was also another display of how he is trying to campaign in person during the pandemic: He spoke in a parking lot, with journalists and a small number of other attendees sitting at a distance in white circles.

A number of Mr. Biden’s allies had made clear in recent weeks that they wanted to see him focus more on Mr. Trump’s stewardship of the economy, something Mr. Biden tried to do in scathing terms on Wednesday.

“He’s failed our economy and our country,” Mr. Biden said in his speech, in which he made direct appeals to autoworkers.

The former vice president, standing in front of a giant American flag and an array of gleaming automobiles, announced plans to change the tax code to discourage moving jobs overseas and to reward companies for investing in domestic production. He also promised to take a series of executive actions to ensure the purchase of American goods in the federal procurement process.

Mr. Biden, who has already proposed raising the corporate tax rate to 28 percent from 21 percent, would create a tax penalty aimed at American companies that move jobs to other countries, known as offshoring. The penalty would apply to “profits of any production by a United States company overseas for sales back to the United States,” bumping up the tax rate to nearly 31 percent on those profits.

That penalty would effectively serve as a new tax on American companies that make products abroad and sell them back to customers in the United States, but it would not apply to foreign-owned companies that operate in America and import products to sell. Conservative tax experts said on Wednesday that the disparity would disadvantage American corporations and possibly push them to sell their foreign operations to rivals.

“These kinds of rules are not going to bring real activity back to the United States,” said George Callas, who was a senior tax counsel for former Speaker Paul D. Ryan, Republican of Wisconsin, and is now a managing director at Steptoe in Washington.

Rohit Kumar, a former aide to Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the majority leader, who is now a principal at PwC in Washington, said that Mr. Biden’s proposals would in isolation “make U.S. multinationals less competitive vis-à-vis their foreign-headquartered competitors.”

“It could also create an incentive for U.S. companies to re-domicile in foreign countries,” he added.

Mr. Biden’s plan calls for tougher federal rules against so-called inversions, when an American multinational merges with a foreign-owned one in order to shift its headquarters abroad and qualify for different tax treatment. He has previously announced plans to increase the rate on what amounts to a minimum tax on multinational companies’ income, and to apply that minimum to income earned from each individual country that a company earns revenue in.

Liberal economists praised the plan, saying it would reduce incentives to move production and profits overseas. They also said Mr. Biden’s efforts could lead to more countries joining forces to impose a standard set of minimum taxes on multinationals in order to stop companies from shifting profits across borders in search of lower tax rates.

“Other countries have a thirst for solving these problems too,” said Kimberly Clausing, an economist at Reed College in Portland, Ore., who studies international tax issues, “and international coordination around minimum taxes may be more feasible than we might think.”

Mr. Biden would also create a tax credit for companies that make domestic investments, such as revitalizing closed manufacturing plants, upgrading facilities or bringing back production from overseas.

Campaign officials said on Wednesday that they did not have an estimate to share of how the plans Mr. Biden announced would increase or decrease federal tax revenues, in total.

“Make it in Michigan, make it in America, invest in our communities and the workers in places like Warren,” Mr. Biden said. “That’s what this is about.”

At one point, Mr. Biden appeared to mix up the approximate number of military service members who have died of the coronavirus and the number of people in Michigan who have died from it. As he read from notes, he said that 6,000 service members had died of the virus; in fact, [*the number is seven*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html).

Warren, where Mr. Biden spoke, sits in [*Macomb County*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html), which is associated with white ***working-class*** voters who traditionally voted Democratic but embraced Ronald Reagan and, later, Mr. Trump and his criticism of a number of free trade deals. Mr. Biden has intensified his efforts in recent months to unveil more [*populist policies*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html) aimed at helping American workers. Some major labor unions praised his announcement on Wednesday, including the [*United Steelworkers*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html).

In [*an interview*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html) with Fox 2 Detroit that aired later Wednesday, Mr. Biden also criticized elements of how the North American Free Trade Agreement was carried out under the George W. Bush administration, when asked to respond to scrutiny from the Trump campaign and others over his own support for NAFTA.

“The Bush administration did not keep its commitment on NAFTA, number one, and it was a mistake,” Mr. Biden said.

A Biden adviser said that he had not been calling NAFTA a mistake, but was referring to other aspects of trade policy under that administration concerning the agreement.

Last year, on the campaign trail, Mr. Biden [*said*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html) he did not regret his vote for the deal.

On Wednesday, Mr. Biden said, “I don’t accept the defeatist view that the forces of automation and globalization mean we can’t keep good-paying union jobs here in America, and create more of them,” adding, “I don’t buy for one second that the vitality of American manufacturing is a thing of the past.”

Representative Andy Levin, Democrat of Michigan, whose district includes parts of Macomb, described the county as a “complete bellwether” and increasingly diverse.

“We’ve got to win Macomb County,” he said. “It’s both a symbol of the white ***working class***, but also really about how diverse the ***working class*** actually is.”

Thomas Kaplan reported from Warren, Katie Glueck from New York and Jim Tankersley from Washington.

Thomas Kaplan reported from Warren, and Katie Glueck from New York.

PHOTO: Joseph R. Biden Jr. spoke in Warren, Mich., part of a bellwether district in a battleground state. (PHOTOGRAPH BY AMR ALFIKY/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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**End of Document**



[***25 Years After ‘Sensation,’ Has London’s Art Scene Kept Its Cool?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66KB-7F51-JBG3-631W-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Scott Reyburn

**Highlight:** The city is still capitalizing on the success of a landmark 1997 show that put it on the contemporary art map and launched the careers of Damien Hirst and Tracey Emin.

**Body**

The city is still capitalizing on the success of a landmark 1997 show that put it on the contemporary art map and launched the careers of Damien Hirst and Tracey Emin.

LONDON — A monumental mural of a notorious [*child murderer*](https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2009/feb/21/marcus-harvey-margaret-thatcher) painted with children’s hand prints. A [*tent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2009/11/14/arts/design/14emin.html) embroidered with the names of all the lovers the artist had slept with. A 14-foot-long [*tiger shark*](https://www.nytimes.com/2006/10/01/arts/design/01voge.html) embalmed in a tank of formaldehyde. Mannequins made to look like [*mutilated corpses*](https://www.tate.org.uk/tate-etc/issue-8-autumn-2006/id-have-stepped-on-goyas-toes-shouted-his-ears-and-punched-him-face) tied to a tree.

Britain’s exhibition-going public had never seen anything like it.

This fall is the 25th anniversary of “Sensation,” the famously provocative exhibition at the Royal Academy of Arts in London that alerted the world to the radically new kind of art being made by young graduates like Angus Fairhurst, Damien Hirst, Tracey Emin and Jake and Dinos Chapman. The 1997 exhibition showcased pieces owned by the advertising mogul [*Charles Saatchi*](https://www.nytimes.com/1999/09/26/magazine/the-collector.html), Britain’s most voraciously acquisitive contemporary art collector at the time. [*It drew 300,000 visitors and set off a media storm*](https://www.nytimes.com/1997/09/20/arts/art-that-tweaks-british-propriety.html).

A quarter of a century later, international V.I.P.s will attend the preview this week of the city’s 19th edition of [*Frieze*](https://www.frieze.com/fairs/frieze-london), the highly successful commercial art fair. For years, Frieze and the various satellite fairs, exhibitions and auctions that cluster around it during “Frieze Week” have capitalized on the sense of cutting-edge cool generated by the “Sensation” generation of artists. Maybe it’s worth reminding ourselves how that sense was created in the first place.

“Suddenly art became like what pop music used to be,” said Norman Rosenthal, a co-curator of the “Sensation” show. “Art had been for a little coterie of people. London was a tiny little world with very few galleries. Most of it took place in New York, with a little bit in Los Angeles, north Italy and Düsseldorf,” Rosenthal said, recalling the 1990s art trade, before the rise of international mega-galleries and art fairs. “‘Sensation’ played an important part in the expansion of the art world,” he added.

But the show wasn’t immediately to local tastes. The Evening Standard newspaper described the artists in it as “louts,” and the BBC was repelled by their “gory images of dismembered limbs” and “explicit pornography.” Marcus Harvey’s mural of the child murderer Myra Hindley, vilified in the popular press, triggered [*vandalizations and resignations*](https://www.widewalls.ch/magazine/sensation-art-exhibition) at the Royal Academy.

“Things had been so awful. We came scrambling out of it, fighting, doing stuff. We wouldn’t take no for an answer,” said Emin in an interview, recalling how she and other artists of her generation reacted against the country they felt Britain had become in the 1980s and early ’90s. “Sensation” opened some five months after Tony Blair and the Labour party [*swept to power*](https://www.nytimes.com/1997/05/02/world/britons-back-labor-party-conservatives-are-routed-after-18-years-of-control.html) in Britain, ending 18 years of Conservative government.

“Britain was moldy, like white sandwiches that curled up at the ends,” said Emin. “In the 1990s we had Cool Britannia, we had Blair. There was a greater feeling of optimism.” Emin’s tent memorializing her ex-lovers was one of the most talked-about works at “Sensation.”

Now, Britain once again has a new prime minister: [*Liz Truss*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/09/05/world/uk-prime-minister), the fourth Conservative premier in 12 years. In the [*export-shrinking aftermath*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/12/world/europe/brexit-britain-trade.html) of the country’s 2016 shock decision to [*leave the European Union*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/25/world/europe/britain-brexit-european-union-referendum.html), and with the Truss government’s more recent poorly received announcement of [*unfunded tax cuts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/27/world/europe/uk-economy-truss-pound.html), many Britons are inclining toward pessimism. Culture does not figure very highly on the Conservative Party’s list of funding priorities, but the declining status of art in Britain does tell us something about what has happened to the country over the last 25 years.

“That generation of artists completely changed the position of British art internationally,” said Michael Craig-Martin, the American-born artist and teacher who was a formative tutor at Goldsmiths College in London, where most of the 42 artists included in “Sensation” studied, including Hirst, Harvey, [*Sarah Lucas*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/05/arts/design/sarah-lucas-new-museum.html) and [*Michael Landy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/12/arts/michael-landy.html). “Artists from all over the world wanted to come to London. It had an enormous impact.”

After its stint in ‌London, the show was also a hit in Berlin, where, in 1998, its run was extended for a month by popular demand. It then transferred to New York in 1999. Chris Ofili’s painting of a ‌Black “Holy Virgin Mary,” mounted on balls of elephant dung and incorporating collaged genitalia from pornographic magazines, provoked outrage when it was exhibited at the [*Brooklyn Museum*](https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/library/arts/092899brooklyn-museum.html). The painting was branded “sick stuff” by Rudolph W. Giuliani, New York’s mayor at the time, who unsuccessfully attempted to block the city’s funding for the museum.

By then, buoyed by the popularity of “Sensation” and Saatchi’s savvy creation of the “Young British Artists” brand, works by the so-called Y.B.A.s were beginning to attract hefty prices at international auctions. In 1998, one of the four medicine cabinets Hirst made for his Goldsmiths degree show sold for $315,000.

Though most rejected the catchall Y.B.A. branding, the participating artists often acknowledge that “Sensation” was also part of a more general efflorescence of culture in Britain that, as punk had done in the late 1970s, gave two youthful fingers to the status quo. Irvine Welsh’s novel “[*Trainspotting,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/1996/07/28/books/books-in-brief-fiction-017060.html) a visceral, vernacular dive into Edinburgh’s drug subculture, was published in 1993 and made into a [*cult movie*](https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/library/filmarchive/trainspotting.html?module=inline) by Danny Boyle in 1996. The angsty Manchester band [*Oasis*](https://www.nytimes.com/1997/10/10/movies/pop-review-forget-the-breezy-60-s-it-s-time-for-a-tantrum.html) released huge albums in 1994 and 1995. The London fashion designer [*Alexander McQueen*](https://www.nytimes.com/1997/09/30/style/review-fashion-in-london-a-newfound-maturity.html) launched his posterior-revealing “bumster” pants in 1994.

All of these cultural figures, like most of the artists in “Sensation,” came from ***working-class*** backgrounds, and what they produced burned with a coarse energy. Back then, government grants allowed free study at universities and art colleges for those who could not otherwise afford it.

“They were reflecting the concerns of young people at the time,” Rosenthal said. “They were an art movement. Now it’s broken up: They’re different; times change.”

They sure do. The so-called Young British Artists are now middle-aged, and most are no longer the innovators they once were. After making hundreds of millions of dollars over two decades as a [*quasi-industrial artistic brand*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/21/arts/design/damien-hirst-nft.html), Hirst has now returned to the kind of spot paintings he made as a student, but now in bulk, monetized as his “[*Currency”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/23/your-money/nft-art-lebron-james-damien-hirst.html) NFTs. Jake Chapman, who, with his brother Dinos, made the mannequin sculpture that so flustered critics at “Sensation,” has [*parted creative ways with his brother*](https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2022/may/11/we-had-a-seething-disdain-for-each-other-jake-chapman-on-splitting-from-brother-dinos) and now devotes much of his time to writing and documentary filmmaking. The [*Saatchi Gallery*](https://www.saatchigallery.com/), founded in 1985 as a space to display Saatchi’s museum-quality collection, has turned into a rental space for commercial art events. He has sold most of the major works he exhibited at “Sensation.” (Saatchi declined to comment for this article.)

Education subsidies have been cut and Britain’s state-funded art colleges like Goldsmiths now charge tuition of 9,250 pounds, or about $10,200, in the form of a government-backed loan. Living expenses are financed by further borrowing. The prospect of beginning adult life with a seven-figure mountain of debt is dissuading [*less-well-off British students*](https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2020/05/07/britains-young-artists-had-a-hard-time-before-the-pandemic-what-will-happen-to-them-now) from applying.

“It’s so difficult to have an art education now. I’m trying to combat that,” said Emin, who is creating a [*free art school*](https://www.traceyeminfoundation.com/about) with 30 studios in Margate, southeast England, where her own studio is based. “It’s not right that people can’t have an art education.”

Having returned recently to painting, which she studied at the Royal College of Art, Emin is arguably the one artist of the “Sensation” generation who is still at the forefront of British contemporary art. Painting now prevails, as it does internationally. [*Frenzied market speculation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/28/arts/design/flora-yukhnovich-art-market.html) has driven works by emerging artists, predominantly women and people of color, to dizzying heights. Reputations are quickly made by influencers on social media, not critics in newspapers.

“Tracy Emin has constantly blazed a trail and appeals to this generation,” said Katy Hessel, 28, an influencer (292,000 followers on [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/thegreatwomenartists/?hl=en)) and curator and the author of the best-selling book “[*The Story of Art Without Men*](https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/the-story-of-art-without-men-by-katy-hessel-review-tsgq2crpx).” Last month, as an amuse-bouche for Frieze Week, Hessel celebrated the book’s publication with an exhibition she curated at the [*Victoria Miro*](https://www.victoria-miro.com/exhibitions/605/) gallery of 16 works by women artists, including vibrant semi-abstracts by the young British auction favorites Jadé Fadojutimi and Flora Yukhnovich. Hessel said the selected works defined, at the “highest level,” the most important developments in art in the last 20 years. “Painting has never been more alive than it is now,” Hessel said.

The show also included a recent, brutally expressionistic canvas of a female nude by Emin in which, according to Hessel’s catalog note, the artist is “culminating decades’ worth of love, pain, death and desire into one canvas.” A quarter of a century on, Emin is still summoning up the don’t-take-no-for-an-answer spirit of “Sensation.”

Somehow that mold-breaking 1997 exhibition still resonates in the memory of a country increasingly ill at ease with itself. Arthur Hobhouse, a schoolteacher based in Suffolk, eastern England, recalls being taken to “Sensation” at age 11 by his mother.

“I felt like everything forbidden to me — sex, death, gore — was suddenly not only on show but being honored,” Hobhouse said. “Understanding that the status quo could be so quickly washed away, and that the challenge could be so explicit and public, remains a guiding light to this day. I feel privileged to have peered over the edge at that exact moment.”

You might have loved or hated “Sensation.” But you couldn’t forget it.

PHOTOS: The exhibition “Sensation” opened in London in 1997, then traveled to Berlin and Brooklyn. Top, an embalmed tiger shark in a work by Damien Hirst. Above: Marcus Harvey’s mural of the child murderer Myra Hindley, left; and Tracey Emin with her installation “Everyone I Have Ever Slept With 1963-1995.” Below: “Watch Out Boy She’ll Chew You Up,” left, a 2022 painting by Flora Yukhnovich; and Emin, at right, with the author Katy Hessel last month at the Victoria Miro gallery in London. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY PA IMAGES, VIA GETTY IMAGES; MICHAEL STEPHENS/PA IMAGES, VIA GETTY IMAGES; TRACEY EMIN/ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY (ARS), NEW YORK; ALL RIGHTS RESERVED, DACS/ ARTIMAGE 2022; PHOTO BY JOHNNIE SHAND KYDD; FLORA YUKHNOVICH; VIA VICTORIA MIRO; DAVE BENETT/GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page C14.

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**End of Document**



[***How Roe Warped the Republic***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65D8-3991-JBG3-627T-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Ross Douthat

**Body**

In one sense, liberal outrage at the prospect of the Supreme Court overturning Roe v. Wade seems like an uneasy fit with liberalism's current master narrative, which holds that liberals are defending democracy against the threat of authoritarianism and fighting for the principle of majority rule against a Republican Party that benefits from counter-majoritarian power. After all, overturning Roe would return the abortion issue to the democratic process, after two generations in which abortion policy has been set by a juristocracy, an elites-only vote of 7 to 2 or 5 to 4.

However, narratives are adaptable. ''In Draft Abortion Ruling, Democrats See a Court at Odds With Democracy'' ran a recent Washington Post headline, over a story summarizing some of the arguments (the polls showing public support for Roe, the fact that three of the justices were appointed by a president elected with a minority of the popular vote) being offered to prove that letting states or Congress legislate on abortion is actually authoritarian, not democratic.

I don't want to argue with these interpretations so much as take note of them, while offering a different view of abortion's place in the American republic's discontents. I share some of the anxieties that inform the liberal master narrative these days -- about a country too deeply polarized to function, a populist right that's steeped in paranoia, a decay of the norms that allow republican government to function. But if I set out to write a story about how exactly we got here, I would place the original Roe decision near the center of the narrative -- as an inflection point where the choices of elite liberalism actively pushed the Republic toward our current divisions, our age of chronic strife.

When seven Supreme Court justices overturned the nation's abortion laws in 1973, they were intervening in a debate whose politics were unstable and complex. Both pro-life and pro-choice sentiment cut across both parties, and across ideologies as well -- there were anti-abortion liberals, many of them Catholic Democrats, and Republican and right-wing supporters of abortion who regarded it as a possible prop to social stability.

It's likely that the debate would have been nationalized and polarized eventually no matter what. But the Supreme Court decision nationalized abortion politics in a very specific way, removing most abortion regulation from the realm of legislative debate and linking it to the court itself and the office of the presidency. Thereafter, instead of being fought over in the institutions that are designed to channel mass opinion and activist mobilization into stable settlements -- whether state legislatures or the Congress -- abortion would be bound to the all-or-nothing outcomes of presidential elections and Supreme Court nomination fights.

The predictable result was an increasingly Manichaean politics: You were either for the original ruling or against it, no compromises could be negotiated or local policy experiments conducted, and the issue was distilled every few years to a referendum on presidential candidates and high court nominees, the friend-enemy distinction in its purest form.

Over time the apocalyptic style that this encouraged in both parties would expand to encompass other issues, such that the role of abortion was partially obscured. But whether it was feminists rallying to a sexual-predator president in the 1990s or religious conservatives throwing over all their ideas about character and decency and piety to back Donald Trump in 2016, when polarization corrupted principle, the Roe debate was usually at the root.

But the nature of the polarization also mattered. A nationalized abortion debate split America along two especially dangerous lines of fracture, class and religion. Though liberals often insist that they are championing abortion rights on behalf of the poor and marginalized, the reality is that poorer and less-educated Americans are more likely to be pro-life, while the rich and well-educated are more likely to be pro-choice. Likewise, though pro-lifers stress the secular arguments against abortion, the reality is that Christian beliefs are one the best predictors of anti-abortion sentiment.

So the sorting that defines our politics today -- a right that's ***working-class***, rural and religious, a liberalism of the city and the secular and the managerial class -- was accelerated by the divisions over Roe.

And the way Roe was decided made this polarization worse. From the perspective of geography and class, a group of robed lawyers in Washington, D.C., demanding that the country simply accept their settlement on one of the gravest moral questions imaginable is the perfect primer for a populist revolt. What has happened in similar ways with other issues -- immigration, most notably -- happened with abortion first: The elite settlement failed to settle the issue, and the backlash encompassed not just the issue itself but elite legitimacy writ large.

From the perspective of religion, meanwhile, by constitutionalizing the issue Roe didn't just hand a normal political defeat to the pro-life side; it seemed to read their core convictions out of the American constitutional order entirely, seeding a religious alienation that continues to bear bitter fruit today. And the timing was particularly unfortunate: When Roe was handed down, both Catholicism and evangelicalism had just passed through periods of reform and modernization that promised a reconciliation between Christian faith and liberal modernity. Then immediately, liberal modernity changed its demands and made them all-or-nothing, making the moral price of admission more than many Christians could reasonably pay.

Finally, and crucially for the deformation of liberalism itself, the price demanded was not just moral but intellectual -- because Roe was not a persuasive constitutional decision, but rather the clearest-possible case study in what it looks like when justices legislate from the bench.

This is something that was acknowledged by a few rigorous liberals from the beginning, and the best feminist legal scholarship -- including the work of Ruth Bader Ginsburg -- always sought a different grounding for abortion rights.

But once you have nationalized and constitutionalized an issue, it is not so easy to adapt your position or your arguments. Having (seemingly) won the policy battle, you are incentivized to avoid hard debates, avoid reopening vexing questions, assume the worst of your opponents and never admit they have a point. And in that sense the commitments that Roe required of its supporters anticipate the entirety of liberalism's drift: toward a debilitating mix of expert certainty and incuriosity, moral superiority and ignorance of what its adversaries actually believe.

Nothing in the story I've just told means that overturning Roe now will necessarily improve either liberalism or conservatism, reinvigorate democracy or depolarize our politics. You begin from where you are, and where we've ended up does not inspire confidence in whatever may come next.

But if Roe does fall, it makes sense that a decision that did so much to divide our parties and delegitimize our institutions would ultimately be undone by the very forces it unleashed: In its beginning was its end.

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**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Damon Winter/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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**End of Document**



[***Return of Royal Artifacts Inspires 'Artistic Awakening'***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:666V-3S31-DXY4-X38H-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Elian Peltier

**Body**

As more looted art comes back to Africa, countries have wrestled with the right way to display it. That 200,000 people have lined up for a show suggests Benin has found an answer.

COTONOU, Benin -- For centuries, his ancestors had ruled over a powerful kingdom in what is now Benin, but the first time Euloge Ahanhanzo Glèlè saw the throne of his great-great-great grandfather was in a Paris museum a decade ago.

''How did it end up here?'' he remembered asking himself as he faced the throne of King Glélé, surrounded by artworks that were plundered by French colonial forces at the end of the 19th century.

That throne is now back in Benin after France returned 26 artifacts last year, and on a recent morning Mr. Ahanhanzo Glèlè bowed and sat barefoot in front of it, just as subjects would do in front of a king, he said.

Mr. Ahanhanzo Glèlè, a 45-year-old sculptor and one of the thousands of descendants of King Glélé, who reigned over the Kingdom of Dahomey in the 19th century, said he was hopeful the artworks' return would prompt the Beninese to explore their history and artistic heritage.

''The artistic awakening of our population was switched off from the end of the 19th century to 2022,'' he said. ''We are now waking up.''

In 2017, President Emmanuel Macron of France said that ''African heritage cannot be a prisoner of European museums'' and vowed to return looted artworks. But for years after that promise, the pieces were returned in little more than a trickle.

Now, they're slowly becoming a steady stream, art historians say, and countries across West and Central Africa are exploring how best to exhibit them and how to educate a public that may have never heard of their existence, let alone seen them.

The government of Benin, a West African nation of 12 million people, believes it has found the right way.

More than 200,000 people have come to a free exhibition of the artworks in the presidential palace, with 90 percent of the visitors Beninese, according to the government, which has heavily promoted the show.

Children have asked their parents to bring them because they didn't want to miss what friends were discussing at school. Spiritual leaders have traveled from across the country to contemplate the ancient artifacts. Some families have lined up for half a day before they could catch a glimpse.

The exhibition, ''Art of Benin From Yesterday and Today: From Restitution to Revelation,'' also has seized on the chance to expose the crowds to artists working now. It showcases 34 contemporary artists from Benin in a bid to better place them on the map of West Africa's thriving contemporary art scene.

''All artists dream of posterity, so we're honored to be next to them,'' Julien Sinzogan, one of the exhibited artists, said about the artifacts. ''We're now part of posterity, too.''

Following the popularity of the inaugural exhibition in the spring, it reopened last month. On the morning of the reopening, Marcus Hounsou, a 13-year-old French-Beninese boy living in France and visiting for the summer, left with his smartphone full of pictures and a lingering thought he said he would need time to address. ''I didn't know any of these artists,'' he said. ''While I know so many French or American ones.''

The ancient artifacts, looted by French colonial forces when they sacked the palace of King Béhanzin in 1892, were exhibited until last year at the Quai Branly museum in Paris. They include wooden effigies of Kings Béhanzin and Glélé, depicted as half-man, half-animal; two thrones; and four painted gates from Béhanzin's palace.

Almost all of Africa's ancient artistic heritage remains in Europe and the United States, according to the French historian Bénédicte Savoy, co-author of a report on restitutions. Yet from Germany to Nigeria; Belgium to the Democratic Republic of Congo; and France to Senegal, Ivory Coast and Benin, European and African countries are now working toward making restitutions more systematic.

The return of the 26 artifacts last year was the largest of these acts between a former European colonial power and an African country since Mr. Macron's promise in 2017.

But the Beninese authorities have repeatedly said they want more.

''It's not possible anymore to say, 'At the time, we looted some war spoils; too bad, now it's ours,''' Benin's culture minister, Jean-Michel Abimbola, said in an interview.

Mr. Abimbola said that it made little sense for Benin to claim all the objects the Quai Branly museum holds from the country -- more than 3,500 of them. ''We want the most emblematic artworks, those speaking to our soul,'' Mr. Abimbola said.

At the presidential palace, Mr. Ahanhanzo Glèlè, the king's descendant, is also one of the contemporary artists on display. In a room adjacent to the throne, his own terra-cotta sculptures open the contemporary part of the exhibition, the first time his work has been showcased in a Beninese institution.

But he predicted the artifacts' return would not fill in the gaps of people's knowledge of their past overnight.

''Our children don't know our history,'' said the artist, describing the challenges that Benin now faces in educating its population about a past that was snatched away and kept in European museums for more than a century. ''Even I, when I'm asked about my own ancestors, I often don't know.''

Some of that history is now presented by contemporary artists not far from the presidential palace. Along the port of Cotonou, Benin's largest city, a government-funded wall of street art, which spreads across nearly half a mile, features flashy murals and graffiti celebrating Benin's past and hopes for its future.

On a recent evening, an artist was busy finishing a painting of voodoo priestesses, while teenagers nearby posed in front of a mural depicting the Amazons of Dahomey, the all-female army that famously fought for the eponymous kingdom. Other artworks showed masks worn by Yoruba dancers and a fictional Beninese astronaut walking on the moon. Upon completion next year, the wall is vying to be the world's longest piece of street art at nearly a mile.

President Patrice Talon of Benin, a former businessman elected in 2016 -- who critics say has turned a model of democracy into a repressive state that stifles political opposition and prosecutes journalists -- has vowed to harness a sense of patriotism through artistic expression, as long as it depicts a glorious past or present.

An art aficionado himself, according to his advisers, Mr. Talon has given over two gigantic walls of the exhibition space in the presidential palace where he works to a 32-year-old mural painter, Drusille Fagnibo. The Amazon fighters she depicted now tower above the contemporary artworks toward the exhibition's end (and Mr. Talon inaugurated a 98-foot-tall statue of an Amazon warrior that towers over the city).

Despite the exhibition's overall success, some say it falls short of letting Beninese people interact with the artifacts. The exhibition's explanatory text and the free tours offered by guides are available only in French, not in Fon, the local language.

''We need to think of African visitors -- those who don't have access to French, and those coming from Togo, Nigeria, Burkina Faso,'' said Didier Houénoudè, a professor of art history at the University of Abomey-Calavi, Benin's main public university.

When the exhibition finishes at the end of August, the objects will travel to Ouidah, once a slave port, where the authorities are building a new slavery museum.

The government is also building three additional museums, one of them aimed at promoting the work of contemporary artists like Mr. Ahanhanzo Glèlè.

On a recent afternoon in his workshop, a courtyard at the back of his home in a ***working-class*** district of Cotonou, Mr. Ahanhanzo Glèlè molded the clay sculpture of a farmer holding a hoe. Friends and acquaintances stopped by to sip a beer or a soda with him as he worked.

Twenty similar sculptures would follow, some commissioned for one of the museums under construction. Overlooking some of his work in a small storage room was a message on the wall that read, ''Clay helps me find reason.''

Mr. Ahanzo Glèlè, a father of four, said that his own children were more interested in manga than their country's history or his sculptures but that he was determined to change that, inspired in part by the return of his ancestors' belongings.

''I barely tell them about my art and its influences,'' he said. ''I need to do it more.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/21/world/africa/benin-art-restitution-exhibition.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/21/world/africa/benin-art-restitution-exhibition.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Drusille Fagnibo in front her work in Cotonou. The exhibit at the presidential palace devotes two gigantic walls to her murals.

Statues representing Kings Béhanzin and Glélé in ''Art of Benin From Yesterday and Today: From Restitution to Revelation.''

Urbain Zannou, left, took his son Harlen, 12, to see the artifacts so he could better understand the history he learns in school.

Euloge Ahanhanzo Glèlè, a sculptor in Benin, in front of the throne of his ancestor King Glélé at an exhibition of looted artifacts recently returned to the country.

Mr. Ahanhanzo Glèlè in his workshop. His terra-cotta sculptures open the contemporary part of the exhibition. more.'' (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CARMEN ABD ALI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Capitalism Reconsidered***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YF2-YB11-DXY4-X246-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Paul Krugman

**Body**

CAPITAL AND IDEOLOGY By Thomas Piketty

Seven years ago the French economist Thomas Piketty released ''Capital in the Twenty-First Century,'' a magnum opus on income inequality. Economists already knew and admired Piketty's scholarly work, and many -- myself included -- offered the book high praise. Remarkably, the book also became a huge international best seller.

In retrospect, however, what professionals saw in ''Capital'' wasn't the same thing the broader audience saw. Economists already knew about rising income inequality. What excited them was Piketty's novel hypothesis about the growing importance of disparities in wealth, especially inherited wealth, as opposed to earnings. We are, Piketty suggested, returning to the kind of dynastic, ''patrimonial'' capitalism that prevailed in the late 19th century.

But for the book-buying public, the big revelation of ''Capital'' was simply the fact of soaring inequality. This perceived revelation made it a book that people who wanted to be well informed felt they had to have.

To have, but maybe not to read. Like Stephen Hawking's ''A Brief History of Time,'' ''Capital in the Twenty-First Century'' seems to have been an ''event'' book that many buyers didn't stick with; an analysis of Kindle highlights suggested that the typical reader got through only around 26 of its 700 pages. Still, Piketty was undaunted.

His new book, ''Capital and Ideology,'' weighs in at more than 1,000 pages. There is, of course, nothing necessarily wrong with writing a large book to propound important ideas: Charles Darwin's ''On the Origin of Species'' was a pretty big book too (although only half as long as Piketty's latest). The problem is that the length of ''Capital and Ideology'' seems, at least to me, to reflect in part a lack of focus.

[ This book was one of our most anticipated titles of March. See the full list. ]

To be fair, the book does advance at least the outline of a grand theory of inequality, which might be described as Marx on his head. In Marxian dogma, a society's class structure is determined by underlying, impersonal forces, technology and the modes of production that technology dictates. Piketty, however, sees inequality as a social phenomenon, driven by human institutions. Institutional change, in turn, reflects the ideology that dominates society: ''Inequality is neither economic nor technological; it is ideological and political.''

But where does ideology come from? At any given moment a society's ideology may seem immutable, but Piketty argues that history is full of ''ruptures'' that create ''switch points,'' when the actions of a few people can cause a lasting change in a society's trajectory.

To make that case, Piketty provides what amounts to a history of the world viewed through the lens of inequality. The book's archetypal case study is French society over the past two and a half centuries. But Piketty ranges very far afield, telling us about everything from the composition of modern Swedish corporate boards to the role of Brahmins in the pre-colonial Hindu kingdom of Pudukkottai.

He describes four broad inequality regimes, obviously inspired by French history but, he argues, of more general relevance. First are ''ternary'' societies divided into functional classes -- clergy, nobility and everyone else. Second are ''ownership'' societies, in which it's not who you are that matters but what you have legal title to. Then come the social democracies that emerged in the 20th century, which granted considerable power and privilege to workers, ranging from union representation to government-provided social benefits. Finally, there's the current era of ''hypercapitalism,'' which is sort of an ownership society on steroids.

Piketty tries to apply this schema to many societies across time and space. His discussion is punctuated by many charts and tables: Using a combination of extrapolation and guesswork to produce quantitative estimates for eras that predate modern data collection is a Piketty trademark, and it's a technique he applies extensively here, I'd say to very good effect. It is, for example, startling to see evidence that France on the eve of World War I was, if anything, more unequal than it was before the French Revolution.

But while there is a definite Francocentric feel to ''Capital and Ideology,'' for me, at least, the vast amount of ground it covers raises a couple of awkward questions.

The first is whether Piketty is a reliable guide to such a large territory. His book combines history, sociology, political analysis and economic data for dozens of societies. Is he really enough of a polymath to pull that off?

I was struck, for example, by his extensive discussion of the evolution of slavery and serfdom, which made no mention of the classic work of Evsey Domar of M.I.T., who argued that the more or less simultaneous rise of serfdom in Russia and slavery in the New World were driven by the opening of new land, which made labor scarce and would have led to rising wages in the absence of coercion. This happens to be a topic about which I thought I knew something; how many other topics are missing crucial pieces of the literature?

The second question is whether the accumulation of cases actually strengthens Piketty's core analysis. It wasn't clear to me that it does. To be honest, at a certain point I felt a sense of dread each time another society entered the picture; the proliferation of stories began to seem like an endless series of digressions rather than the cumulative construction of an argument.

Eventually, however, Piketty comes down to the meat of the book: his explanation of what caused the recent surge in inequality and what can be done about it.

For Piketty, rising inequality is at root a political phenomenon. The social-democratic framework that made Western societies relatively equal for a couple of generations after World War II, he argues, was dismantled, not out of necessity, but because of the rise of a ''neo-proprietarian'' ideology. Indeed, this is a view shared by many, though not all, economists. These days, attributing inequality mainly to the ineluctable forces of technology and globalization is out of fashion, and there is much more emphasis on factors like the decline of unions, which has a lot to do with political decisions.

But why did policy take a hard-right turn? Piketty places much of the blame on center-left parties, which, as he notes, increasingly represent highly educated voters. These more and more elitist parties, he argues, lost interest in policies that helped the disadvantaged, and hence forfeited their support. And his clear implication is that social democracy can be revived by refocusing on populist economic policies, and winning back the ***working class***.

Piketty could be right about this, but as far as I can tell, most political scientists would disagree. In the United States, at least, they stress the importance of race and social issues in driving the white ***working class*** away from Democrats, and doubt that a renewed focus on equality would bring those voters back. After all, during the Obama years the Affordable Care Act extended health insurance to many disadvantaged voters, while tax rates on top incomes went up substantially. Yet the white ***working class*** went heavily for Trump, and stayed Republican in 2018.

Maybe the political science consensus is wrong. What I can say with confidence, though, is that until the final 300 pages ''Capital and Ideology'' doesn't do much to make the case for Piketty's views on modern political economy.

The bottom line: I really wanted to like ''Capital and Ideology,'' but have to acknowledge that it's something of a letdown. There are interesting ideas and analyses scattered through the book, but they get lost in the sheer volume of dubiously related material. In the end, I'm not even sure what the book's message is. That can't be a good thing.Paul Krugman is an Op-Ed columnist for The Times.CAPITAL AND IDEOLOGY By Thomas PikettyTranslated By Arthur Goldhammer 1,093 pp. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. $39.95.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/08/books/review/capital-and-ideology-thomas-piketty.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/08/books/review/capital-and-ideology-thomas-piketty.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Thomas Piketty in 2014. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Ed Alcock for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 15, 2020

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[***Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction: Sunday, January 31st 2021***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61WX-N6R1-DXY4-X31N-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 31, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 486 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the January 31, 2021 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending January 16, 2021. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction |
| This | On |  |
| Week | List |  |
| 1 | 79 | ON TYRANNY, by Timothy Snyder. (Tim Duggan) Twenty lessons from the 20th century about the course of tyranny. |
| 2 | 117 | THE BODY KEEPS THE SCORE, by Bessel van der Kolk. (Penguin) How trauma affects the body and mind, and innovative treatments for recovery. |
| 3 | 124 | WHITE FRAGILITY, by Robin DiAngelo. (Beacon) Historical and cultural analyses on what causes defensive moves by white people and how this inhibits cross-racial dialogue. |
| 4 | 40 | BRAIDING SWEETGRASS, by Robin Wall Kimmerer. (Milkweed Editions) A botanist and member of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation espouses having an understanding and appreciation of plants and animals. |
| 5 | 63 | HILLBILLY ELEGY, by J.D. Vance. (Harper) A Yale Law School graduate looks at the struggles of the white ***working class*** through the story of his own childhood. |
| 6 | 26 | MY OWN WORDS, by Ruth Bader Ginsburg with Mary Hartnett and Wendy W. Williams. (Simon & Schuster) A collection of articles and speeches by the Supreme Court justice. |
| 7 | 101 | BORN A CRIME, by Trevor Noah. (One World) A memoir about growing up biracial in apartheid South Africa by the host of ?The Daily Show.? |
| 8 | 217 | THE NEW JIM CROW, by Michelle Alexander. (New Press) A law professor on the ?war on drugs? and its role in the disproportionate incarceration of Black men. |
| 9 | 237 | JUST MERCY, by Bryan Stevenson. (One World) A civil rights lawyer and MacArthur grant recipient?s memoir of his decades of work to free innocent people condemned to death. |
| 10 | 55 | THE WARMTH OF OTHER SUNS, by Isabel Wilkerson. (Vintage) An account of the Great Migration of 1915-70, in which six million African-Americans abandoned the South. |
| 11 | 127 | SAPIENS, by Yuval Noah Harari. (Harper Perennial) How Homo sapiens became Earth?s dominant species. |
| 12 | 11 | LEAD FROM THE OUTSIDE, by Stacey Abrams. (Picador) A memoir by the former minority leader of the Georgia House of Representatives who ran to be the state?s governor in 2018. |
| 13 | 28 | SO YOU WANT TO TALK ABOUT RACE, by Ijeoma Oluo. (Seal) A look at the contemporary racial landscape of the United States. |
| 14 | 36 | THE COLOR OF LAW, by Richard Rothstein. (Liveright) A case for how the American government abetted racial segregation in metropolitan areas across the country. |
| 15 | 12 | MY GRANDMOTHER'S HANDS, by Resmaa Menakem. (Central Recovery) A therapist who specializes in trauma, body-centered psychotherapy and violence prevention explains racism's effect on the body. |

**Load-Date:** February 1, 2021

**End of Document**



[***How Roe Warped the Republic; Ross Douthat***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65D3-67X1-JBG3-620D-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 7, 2022 Saturday 13:42 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1278 words

**Byline:** Ross Douthat

**Highlight:** Why Roe v. Wade may be overturned by the very forces of polarization it unleashed.

**Body**

In one sense, liberal outrage at the prospect of the Supreme Court overturning Roe v. Wade seems like an uneasy fit with liberalism’s current master narrative, which holds that liberals are defending democracy against the threat of authoritarianism and fighting for the principle of majority rule against a Republican Party that benefits from counter-majoritarian power. After all, overturning Roe would return the abortion issue to the democratic process, after two generations in which abortion policy has been set by a juristocracy, an elites-only vote of 7 to 2 or 5 to 4.

However, narratives are adaptable. “In Draft Abortion Ruling, Democrats See a Court at Odds With Democracy” ran a recent Washington Post [*headline*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/05/04/draft-abortion-ruling-democrats-see-court-odds-with-democracy/), over a story summarizing some of the arguments (the polls showing public support for Roe, the fact that three of the justices were appointed by a president elected with a minority of the popular vote) being offered to prove that letting states or Congress legislate on abortion is actually authoritarian, not democratic.

I don’t want to argue with these interpretations so much as take note of them, while offering a different view of abortion’s place in the American republic’s discontents. I share some of the anxieties that inform the liberal master narrative these days — about a country too deeply polarized to function, a populist right that’s steeped in paranoia, a decay of the norms that allow republican government to function. But if I set out to write a story about how exactly we got here, I would place the original Roe decision near the center of the narrative — as an inflection point where the choices of elite liberalism actively pushed the Republic toward our current divisions, our age of chronic strife.

When seven Supreme Court justices overturned the nation’s abortion laws in 1973, they were intervening in a debate whose politics were unstable and complex. Both pro-life and pro-choice sentiment cut across both parties, and across ideologies as well — there were anti-abortion liberals, many of them Catholic Democrats, and Republican and right-wing supporters of abortion who regarded it as a possible prop to social stability.

It’s likely that the debate would have been nationalized and polarized eventually no matter what. But the Supreme Court decision nationalized abortion politics in a very specific way, removing most abortion regulation from the realm of legislative debate and linking it to the court itself and the office of the presidency. Thereafter, instead of being fought over in the institutions that are designed to channel mass opinion and activist mobilization into stable settlements — whether state legislatures or the Congress — abortion would be bound to the all-or-nothing outcomes of presidential elections and Supreme Court nomination fights.

The predictable result was an increasingly Manichaean politics: You were either for the original ruling or against it, no compromises could be negotiated or local policy experiments conducted, and the issue was distilled every few years to a referendum on presidential candidates and high court nominees, the friend-enemy distinction in its purest form.

Over time the apocalyptic style that this encouraged in both parties would expand to encompass other issues, such that the role of abortion was partially obscured. But whether it was feminists rallying to a [*sexual-predator*](https://www.vox.com/2016/1/6/10722580/bill-clinton-juanita-broaddrick) president in the 1990s or religious conservatives throwing over all their ideas about character and decency and piety to back Donald Trump in 2016, when polarization corrupted principle, the Roe debate was usually at the root.

But the nature of the polarization also mattered. A nationalized abortion debate split America along two especially dangerous lines of fracture, class and religion. Though liberals often insist that they are championing abortion rights on behalf of the poor and marginalized, the reality is that poorer and less-educated Americans are more likely to be pro-life, while the rich and well-educated are more likely to be pro-choice. Likewise, though pro-lifers stress the secular arguments against abortion, the reality is that having Christian beliefs is one of the best predictors of anti-abortion sentiment.

So the sorting that defines our politics today — a right that’s ***working-class***, rural and religious, a liberalism of the city and the secular and the managerial class — was accelerated by the divisions over Roe.

And the way Roe was decided made this polarization worse. From the perspective of geography and class, a group of robed lawyers in Washington, D.C., demanding that the country simply accept their settlement on one of the gravest moral questions imaginable is the perfect primer for a populist revolt. What has happened in similar ways with other issues — immigration, most notably — happened with abortion first: The elite settlement failed to settle the issue, and the backlash encompassed not just the issue itself but elite legitimacy writ large.

From the perspective of religion, meanwhile, by constitutionalizing the issue Roe didn’t just hand a normal political defeat to the pro-life side; it seemed to read their core convictions out of the American constitutional order entirely, seeding a religious alienation that continues to bear bitter fruit today. And the timing was particularly unfortunate: When Roe was handed down, both Catholicism and evangelicalism had just passed through periods of reform and modernization that promised a reconciliation between Christian faith and liberal modernity. Then immediately, liberal modernity changed its demands and made them all-or-nothing, making the moral price of admission more than many Christians could reasonably pay.

Finally, and crucially for the deformation of liberalism itself, the price demanded was not just moral but intellectual — because Roe was not a persuasive constitutional decision, but rather the clearest-possible case study in what it looks like when justices legislate from the bench.

This is something that was [*acknowledged*](https://www.jstor.org/stable/795536) by a few rigorous liberals from the beginning, and the best feminist legal scholarship — including the work of Ruth Bader Ginsburg — always sought a different grounding for abortion rights.

But once you have nationalized and constitutionalized an issue, it is not so easy to adapt your position or your arguments. Having (seemingly) won the policy battle, you are incentivized to avoid hard debates, avoid reopening vexing questions, assume the worst of your opponents and never admit they have a point. And in that sense the commitments that Roe required of its supporters anticipate the entirety of liberalism’s drift: toward a debilitating mix of expert certainty and incuriosity, moral superiority and ignorance of what its adversaries actually believe.

Nothing in the story I’ve just told means that overturning Roe now will necessarily improve either liberalism or conservatism, reinvigorate democracy or depolarize our politics. You begin from where you are, and where we’ve ended up does not inspire confidence in whatever may come next.

But if Roe does fall, it makes sense that a decision that did so much to divide our parties and delegitimize our institutions would ultimately be undone by the very forces it unleashed: In its beginning was its end.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Damon Winter/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 8, 2022

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[***Profiting in Congress***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66D5-X9D1-JBG3-6237-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 16, 2022 Friday 14:20 EST

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1707 words

**Byline:** German Lopez

**Highlight:** Dozens of lawmakers trade stocks related to their work, and it’s harming trust in the government.

**Body**

Dozens of lawmakers trade stocks related to their work, and it’s harming trust in the government.

Members of Congress have access to information that ordinary Americans don’t. They meet with chief executives, read classified intelligence reports and help set the rules by which the economy works.

That level of knowledge can give them an advantage if they or their families want to invest in the stock market — and many of them do: Nearly one in five members of Congress, from both parties, have in recent years bought stocks that intersected with their congressional committee work, [*a Times investigation found*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/09/13/us/politics/congress-stock-trading-investigation.html). And that’s probably an underestimate because lawmakers’ work extends beyond their committee duties, my colleague Kate Kelly, who reported on the story, told me.

Among the conflicts uncovered:

* The wife of Representative Alan Lowenthal, a California Democrat, sold Boeing shares a day before a House committee that he sits on released a report exposing the company’s mishandling of its 737 Max jet, which had been involved in two deadly crashes.

1. Representative John Rose, a Republican of Tennessee, sold $100,000 to $250,000 in Wells Fargo stock a few months before a committee he is on released a report that was critical of the bank.
2. Senator Tommy Tuberville, an Alabama Republican on the Armed Services Committee, and his wife sold options tied to Microsoft less than two weeks before the company lost a $10 billion contract with the Defense Department.

(You can see whether your representative or senator [*made the list*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/09/13/us/politics/congress-members-stock-trading-list.html).)

In many of these cases, little or no evidence directly links congressional work to a purchase or a sale. Most lawmakers questioned about potential conflicts of interest say that they followed the law or that a relative or broker with no knowledge of their congressional work made a purchase or sale.

But that demonstrates the problem: Lawmakers can profit from their inside knowledge while remaining within the bounds of the law but creating, at a minimum, the appearance of a conflict of interest.

Widespread distrust

The trades exacerbate many voters’ sense that politicians put their own interests above the public’s or the country’s. That, in turn, helps fuel Americans’ distrust of their government. Congress in particular [*consistently scores poorly*](https://news.gallup.com/poll/1597/confidence-institutions.aspx) in surveys about confidence in institutions.

Each of the past three presidents promised to restore that trust, in his own way. Barack Obama campaigned on his anticorruption record and later signed a law trying to stop congressional insider trading. Donald Trump vowed to “drain the swamp” of corruption and self-dealing (though his administration was plagued by ethics scandals). President Biden has called on Congress to prove that “democracy still works” and that government “can deliver for our people.”

The institutional distrust can pose a threat to democracy, scholars [*warn*](https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2022/global-expansion-authoritarian-rule/reversing-decline-democracy-united-states). If Americans don’t believe the government is working for them, they may be more likely to support alternatives, even nondemocratic options. In other countries, authoritarians have tapped into public distrust to justify more extreme measures and changes, eroding democracy [*around the world*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/27/briefing/putin-democracy-ukraine.html).

Potential solutions

Lawmakers have proposed bills to restrict their own stock trading. Some proposals would bar members of Congress and their spouses from buying stocks, a measure that [*majorities of voters support*](https://morningconsult.com/2022/01/19/ban-stock-trading-congress-poll/). Other legislation would force lawmakers and their spouses to put their investments into blind trusts.

On Wednesday, Speaker Nancy Pelosi [*promised*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/14/us/politics/congress-stock-trading-legislation.html) a House vote on a congressional stock-trading bill this month. But neither that bill nor any other [*appears to have*](https://www.businessinsider.com/senate-bill-ban-congress-trading-stocks-after-midterms-merkley-2022-9) the bipartisan support needed to pass the Senate.

Why? For one, congressional stock trading can be a genuinely tricky issue. Some proposals would effectively force spouses to abandon yearslong careers that preceded a lawmaker’s time in Congress. That would be the case with, for example, Pelosi and Senator Tina Smith, whose husbands are professional investors.

It’s also unclear where to draw the line. Should lawmakers’ children, for example, be barred from buying stocks? (Some members of Congress think so: Representative Angie Craig said her college-age son had bought stocks without her knowledge. She told The Times that she disapproved of her son’s purchases and wanted to pass a law “to force him to listen to his mother.”)

And despite the optics, members of Congress may not be profiting much. Lawmakers’ stock purchases and sales from 2012 to 2020 did not perform better than other, similar stocks, [*a recent study found*](https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0047272722000044).

Still, there may be a simpler explanation for why lawmakers haven’t passed a bill, Kate said: “It’s not in their personal interest.”

THE LATEST NEWS

Politics

* Democrats remain even with Republicans in the battle for Congress, and support for Biden is growing, [*a New York Times/Siena College poll found*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/16/us/politics/biden-democrats-abortion-trump-poll.html).

1. The judge in the Mar-a-Lago documents case appointed a [*special master*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/15/us/trump-documents-special-master.html) and continued to bar the Justice Department from using the seized files in its investigation.
2. Decisions by the governors of Florida and Texas to send migrants to liberal states were [*meant to protest border crossings*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/15/us/desantis-abbott-migrants-immigration.html) they blame on Biden.
3. The Senate will delay a vote [*to protect same-sex marriage*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/15/us/politics/senate-gay-marriage.html) until after the midterms. Bipartisan negotiators haven’t yet secured enough Republican support to pass it.
4. After winning the New Hampshire Republican Senate primary on Tuesday, Don Bolduc said the 2020 presidential election “was not stolen” — despite having repeatedly [*claimed that it was*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/15/us/politics/don-bolduc-nh.html).

War in Ukraine

* Vladimir Putin acknowledged that [*China had “questions and concerns”*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/09/15/world/ukraine-russia-war/putin-xi-meeting) about the invasion of Ukraine, a cryptic admission that Beijing may not fully approve.

1. A mass grave [*with more than 400 bodies*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/09/16/world/ukraine-russia-war/mass-grave-site-found-in-recently-reclaimed-izium?smid=url-share) was found in the reclaimed city of Izium, Ukrainian officials said.
2. The U.S. will send $600 million in [*additional military supplies to Ukraine*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/15/world/europe/biden-ukraine-military-aid.html?smid=url-share).

Other Big Stories

* To avoid a damaging railroad strike, [*negotiators had to resolve a central issue*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/15/business/economy/railroad-workers-strike.html): schedules that workers said were upending their personal lives.

1. Mortgage rates [*climbed above 6 percent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/15/business/mortgage-rates.html), their highest point since 2008, squeezing the budgets of would-be home buyers.
2. An assassination attempt against Argentina’s vice president failed. Many Argentines [*now believe it was a hoax*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/15/world/americas/argentina-assassination-attempt-hoax.html).
3. Kanye West and Gap [*ended their partnership*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/15/business/kanye-west-yeezy-gap.html). The Yeezy Gap apparel line deal was supposed to last 10 years.

Opinions

America is something like 2,160,000 hours old. [*One and a half of which*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/14/opinion/women-candidate-2022.html) have been under a woman’s direction, Gail Collins writes.

To stop Trump and the MAGA movement, Democrats need to [*stop speaking to elites*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/15/opinion/strategy-defeat-donald-trump.html) and start appealing to more ***working-class*** voters, David Brooks argues.

MORNING READS

A queer haven: What will happen to [*“the people’s beach”*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/09/15/nyregion/jacob-riis-beach-nyc.html)

“The Little Mermaid”: Parents shared [*their kids’ emotional reactions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/14/arts/little-mermaid-trailer-halle-bailey.html) to seeing a Black actress playing Ariel.

Modern Love: As his vision deteriorated, domestic tasks [*became an expression of love*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/16/style/modern-love-marriage-embracing-domestic-tasks-vision-loss.html).

A Times classic: How to [*clean gross workout clothes*](http://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/30/smarter-living/how-to-clean-your-gross-workout-gear.html).

Advice from Wirecutter: Protect your home [*from water damage*](https://www.nytimes.com/wirecutter/blog/smart-gadgets-save-homes-from-water-leaks/).

Lives Lived: Fred Franzia, better known as Two-Buck Chuck, took on the wine industry’s high markups, selling wine at prices many families could afford every day. [*He died at 79*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/15/dining/drinks/fred-franzia-dead.html).

SPORTS NEWS FROM THE ATHLETIC

Roger Federer says goodbye: The tennis great [*announced his retirement*](https://theathletic.com/3597582/2022/09/15/roger-federer-retire/) yesterday. His brilliance lifted the sport to [*new heights of popularity*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/15/sports/tennis/roger-federer-came-along-when-tennis-desperately-needed-him.html), The Times’s Matthew Futterman writes. (Revisit the 2006 classic, “[*Roger Federer as Religious Experience*](https://www.nytimes.com/2006/08/20/sports/playmagazine/20federer.html).”)

Mahomes and Chiefs win early battle: Kansas City’s [*27-24 win*](https://theathletic.com/3599637/2022/09/15/chiefs-chargers-thursday-night-football/) over Los Angeles last night felt like a playoff game in Week 2, a boon for general viewership and Amazon Prime’s first N.F.L. broadcast. Jaylen Watson’s 99-yard interception return for a touchdown broke up a back-and-forth battle. Circle these teams’ rematch, set for Nov. 20.

Sun avoid elimination: Alyssa Thomas recorded the first-ever triple-double in a W.N.B.A. Finals game in [*Connecticut’s 105-76 win over Las Vegas*](https://theathletic.com/3599601/2022/09/15/wnba-finals-game-3-alyssa-thomas/). Game 4 is Sunday, with the Aces still one win away from a title.

ARTS AND IDEAS

A tragic debut

Perhat Tursun’s “The Backstreets” was released this week, the first Uyghur novel to be published in English. The book tells the tale of a man descending into madness in an oppressive environment. The [*real-life story of its creation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/14/books/uyghur-novel-backstreets-perhat-tursun.html) is similarly harrowing, Tiffany May writes in The Times.

Soon after the English translation was finished, China escalated its repression of Uyghur people — including the detention of intellectuals — and Darren Byler, its translator, held off on releasing it. Still, Tursun and Byler’s Uyghur co-translator had disappeared into camps by 2018. After learning that Tursun had received a 16-year sentence, Byler decided to publish the book.

“They deserve to have their voices and their work recognized,” he said.

PLAY, WATCH, EAT

What to Cook

Salmon, [*roasted to a buttery medium-rare*](https://cooking.nytimes.com/recipes/1021938-ginger-dill-salmon), stars in this make-ahead-friendly dish.

What to Watch

Martine Syms’s [*film “The African Desperate”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/15/movies/the-african-desperate-review.html) brings the invisible, everyday negotiations of a Black artist to visual life.

What to Read

In “The Divider,” political journalists chronicle [*the conduct and the infighting*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/14/books/review/the-divider-trump-peter-baker-susan-glasser.html) that marked the Trump presidency.

Late Night

The hosts discussed Florida [*sending migrants to Martha’s Vineyard*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/16/arts/television/ron-desantiss-migrant-stunt-gets-poor-reviews-from-late-night.html).

News Quiz

How well did you [*keep up with this week’s headlines*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/09/16/briefing/16news-quiz-ukraine-marthas-vineyard.html)

Now Time to Play

The pangrams from yesterday’s Spelling Bee were delight, delighted, highlighted and lighted. Here is [*today’s puzzle*](https://www.nytimes.com/puzzles/spelling-bee).

Here’s [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/crosswords/game/mini), and a clue: Extraterrestrial (five letters).

And here’s [*today’s Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/games/wordle/index.html). After, [*use our bot*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/upshot/wordle-bot.html) to get better.

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow. — German

P.S. The Times’s Travel desk [*won 10 awards*](https://www.nytco.com/press/times-wins-10-lowell-thomas-awards/) from the Society of American Travel Writers.

Here’s [*today’s front page*](https://static01.nyt.com/images/2022/09/16/nytfrontpage/scan.pdf).

“[*The Daily*](https://www.nytimes.com/thedaily)” is about the future of the Pacific. On “[*The Ezra Klein Show*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/16/opinion/ezra-klein-podcast-felicia-wong.html),” how Biden went from flailing to building.

Matthew Cullen, Lauren Hard, Claire Moses, Ian Prasad Philbrick, Tom Wright-Piersanti and Ashley Wu contributed to The Morning. You can reach the team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](mailto:themorning@nytimes.com).

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing).

PHOTO: Members of Congress can buy and sell stocks with few restrictions. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Tom Brenner for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 16, 2022

**End of Document**



[***‘Artistic Awakening’ in Benin as Return of Royal Artifacts Attracts Huge Crowds; Benin Dispatch***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:666N-0VS1-JBG3-60M9-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Elian Peltier

**Highlight:** As more looted art comes back to Africa, countries have wrestled with the right way to display it. That 200,000 people have lined up for a show suggests Benin has found an answer.

**Body**

As more looted art comes back to Africa, countries have wrestled with the right way to display it. That 200,000 people have lined up for a show suggests Benin has found an answer.

COTONOU, Benin — For centuries, his ancestors had ruled over a powerful kingdom in what is now Benin, but the first time Euloge Ahanhanzo Glèlè saw the throne of his great-great-great grandfather was in a Paris museum a decade ago.

“How did it end up here?” he remembered asking himself as he faced the throne of King Glélé, surrounded by artworks that were plundered by French colonial forces at the end of the 19th century.

That throne is now back in Benin after France returned 26 artifacts last year, and on a recent morning Mr. Ahanhanzo Glèlè bowed and sat barefoot in front of it, just as subjects would do in front of a king, he said.

Mr. Ahanhanzo Glèlè, a 45-year-old sculptor and one of the thousands of descendants of King Glélé, who reigned over the Kingdom of Dahomey in the 19th century, said he was hopeful the artworks’ return would prompt the Beninese to explore their history and artistic heritage.

“The artistic awakening of our population was switched off from the end of the 19th century to 2022,” he said. “We are now waking up.”

In 2017, President Emmanuel Macron of France said that “African heritage cannot be a prisoner of European museums” and vowed to return looted artworks. But for years after that promise, the pieces were returned in little more than a trickle.

Now, they’re slowly becoming a steady stream, art historians say, and countries across West and Central Africa are exploring how best to exhibit them and how to educate a public that may have never heard of their existence, let alone seen them.

The government of Benin, a West African nation of 12 million people, believes it has found the right way.

More than 200,000 people have come to a free exhibition of the artworks in the presidential palace, with 90 percent of the visitors Beninese, according to the government, which has heavily promoted the show.

Children have asked their parents to bring them because they didn’t want to miss what friends were discussing at school. Spiritual leaders have traveled from across the country to contemplate the ancient artifacts. Some families have lined up for half a day before they could catch a glimpse.

The exhibition, “[*Art of Benin From Yesterday and Today: From Restitution to Revelation*](https://www.expoartbenin.bj/en/),” also has seized on the chance to expose the crowds to artists working now. It showcases 34 contemporary artists from Benin in a bid to better place them on the map of West Africa’s [*thriving contemporary art scene*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/15/arts/design/dakar-biennale.html).

“All artists dream of posterity, so we’re honored to be next to them,” Julien Sinzogan, one of the exhibited artists, said about the artifacts. “We’re now part of posterity, too.”

Following the popularity of the inaugural exhibition in the spring, [*it reopened last month*](https://www.expoartbenin.bj/). On the morning of the reopening, Marcus Hounsou, a 13-year-old French-Beninese boy living in France and visiting for the summer, left with his smartphone full of pictures and a lingering thought he said he would need time to address. “I didn’t know any of these artists,” he said. “While I know so many French or American ones.”

The ancient artifacts, looted by French colonial forces when they sacked the palace of King Béhanzin in 1892, were exhibited until last year at the Quai Branly museum in Paris. They include wooden effigies of Kings Béhanzin and Glélé, depicted as half-man, half-animal; two thrones; and four painted gates from Béhanzin’s palace.

Almost all of Africa’s ancient artistic heritage remains in Europe and the United States, according to the French historian Bénédicte Savoy, co-author of [*a report on restitutions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/21/arts/design/france-museums-africa-savoy-sarr-report.html). Yet from [*Germany to Nigeria*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/01/arts/design/germany-benin-bronzes-nigeria.html); [*Belgium to the Democratic Republic of Congo*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/08/world/africa/belgian-king-congo-mask.html); and [*France to Senegal*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/15/arts/design/museum-of-black-civilizations-restitution-senegal-macron.html), Ivory Coast and Benin, European and African countries are now working toward making restitutions more systematic.

The [*return*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/28/arts/design/france-benin-restitution.html) of the 26 artifacts last year was the largest of these acts between a former European colonial power and an African country since [*Mr. Macron’s promise in 2017*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/29/arts/emmanuel-macron-africa.html).

But the Beninese authorities have repeatedly said they want more.

“It’s not possible anymore to say, ‘At the time, we looted some war spoils; too bad, now it’s ours,’” Benin’s culture minister, Jean-Michel Abimbola, said in an interview.

Mr. Abimbola said that it made little sense for Benin to claim all the objects the Quai Branly museum holds from the country — more than 3,500 of them. “We want the most emblematic artworks, those speaking to our soul,” Mr. Abimbola said.

At the presidential palace, Mr. Ahanhanzo Glèlè, the king’s descendant, is also [*one of the contemporary artists*](https://www.expoartbenin.bj/line-up/) on display. In a room adjacent to the throne, his own terra-cotta sculptures open the contemporary part of the exhibition, the first time his work has been showcased in a Beninese institution.

But he predicted the artifacts’ return would not fill in the gaps of people’s knowledge of their past overnight.

“Our children don’t know our history,” said the artist, describing the challenges that Benin now faces in educating its population about a past that was snatched away and kept in European museums for more than a century. “Even I, when I’m asked about my own ancestors, I often don’t know.”

Some of that history is now presented by contemporary artists not far from the presidential palace. Along the port of Cotonou, Benin’s largest city, a government-funded wall of street art, which spreads across nearly half a mile, features flashy murals and graffiti celebrating Benin’s past and hopes for its future.

On a recent evening, an artist was busy finishing a painting of [*voodoo priestesses*](https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-15792001), while teenagers nearby posed in front of a mural depicting the Amazons of Dahomey, the all-female army that famously fought for the eponymous kingdom. Other artworks showed masks worn by Yoruba dancers and a fictional Beninese astronaut walking on the moon. Upon completion next year, the wall is vying to be the world’s longest piece of street art at nearly a mile.

President Patrice Talon of Benin, a former businessman elected in 2016 — who critics say has turned a model of democracy into a repressive state that stifles political opposition and [*prosecutes journalists*](https://africasacountry.com/2022/07/detained-and-deported) — has vowed to harness a sense of patriotism through artistic expression, as long as it depicts a glorious past or present.

An art aficionado himself, according to his advisers, Mr. Talon has given over two gigantic walls of the exhibition space in the presidential palace where he works to a 32-year-old mural painter, Drusille Fagnibo. The Amazon fighters she depicted now tower above the contemporary artworks toward the exhibition’s end (and Mr. Talon inaugurated [*a 98-foot-tall statue*](https://face2faceafrica.com/article/the-story-behind-the-giant-bronze-amazon-statue-in-benin) of an Amazon warrior that towers over the city).

Despite the exhibition’s overall success, some say it falls short of letting Beninese people interact with the artifacts. The exhibition’s explanatory text and the free tours offered by guides are available only in French, not in Fon, the local language.

“We need to think of African visitors — those who don’t have access to French, and those coming from Togo, Nigeria, Burkina Faso,” said Didier Houénoudè, a professor of art history at the University of Abomey-Calavi, Benin’s main public university.

When the exhibition finishes at the end of August, the objects will travel to Ouidah, once a slave port, where the authorities are building a new slavery museum.

The government is also building three additional museums, one of them aimed at promoting the work of contemporary artists like Mr. Ahanhanzo Glèlè.

On a recent afternoon in his workshop, a courtyard at the back of his home in a ***working-class*** district of Cotonou, Mr. Ahanhanzo Glèlè molded the clay sculpture of a farmer holding a hoe. Friends and acquaintances stopped by to sip a beer or a soda with him as he worked.

Twenty similar sculptures would follow, some commissioned for one of the museums under construction. Overlooking some of his work in a small storage room was a message on the wall that read, “Clay helps me find reason.”

Mr. Ahanzo Glèlè, a father of four, said that his own children were more interested in manga than their country’s history or his sculptures but that he was determined to change that, inspired in part by the return of his ancestors’ belongings.

“I barely tell them about my art and its influences,” he said. “I need to do it more.”

PHOTOS: Drusille Fagnibo in front her work in Cotonou. The exhibit at the presidential palace devotes two gigantic walls to her murals.; Statues representing Kings Béhanzin and Glélé in “Art of Benin From Yesterday and Today: From Restitution to Revelation.”; Urbain Zannou, left, took his son Harlen, 12, to see the artifacts so he could better understand the history he learns in school.; Euloge Ahanhanzo Glèlè, a sculptor in Benin, in front of the throne of his ancestor King Glélé at an exhibition of looted artifacts recently returned to the country.; Mr. Ahanhanzo Glèlè in his workshop. His terra-cotta sculptures open the contemporary part of the exhibition. more.” (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CARMEN ABD ALI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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**End of Document**



[***Hard-Right Candidate Poised to Lead Italy Tries to Soften Edges***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66D5-CDY1-DXY4-X260-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Length:** 1677 words

**Byline:** By Jason Horowitz

**Body**

The hard-right leader has excoriated the European Union in the past, and she regularly blasts illegal immigrants and George Soros. But she is closer than ever to becoming prime minister.

CAGLIARI, Sardinia -- Giorgia Meloni, the hard-right leader of a party descended from post-Fascist roots and the favorite to become Italy's next prime minister after elections this month, is known for her rhetorical crescendos, thundering timbre and ferocious speeches slamming gay-rights lobbies, European bureaucrats and illegal migrants.

But she was suddenly soft-spoken when asked on a recent evening if she agreed, all caveats aside, with the historical consensus that the Fascist leader Benito Mussolini -- whom she admired in her youth as a ''good politician'' -- had been evil and bad for Italy.

''Yeah,'' she said, almost inaudibly, between sips of an Aperol Spritz and drags on a thin cigarette during an interview in Sardinia, where she had completed another high-decibel political rally.

That simple syllable spoke volumes about Ms. Meloni's campaign to reassure a global audience as she appears poised to become the first politician with a post-Fascist lineage to run Italy since the end of World War II.

Such a feat seemed unimaginable not so long ago, and to pull it off, Ms. Meloni -- who would also make history as the first woman to lead Italy -- is balancing on a high-stakes wire, persuading her hard-right base of ''patriots'' that she hasn't changed, while seeking to convince international skeptics that she's no extremist, that the past is past, not prologue, and that Italy's mostly moderate voters trust her, so they should, too.

On Sept. 25, Italians will vote in national elections for the first time since 2018. In those years, three governments of wildly different political complexions came and went, the last a broad national unity government led by Mario Draghi, a technocrat who was the personification of pro-European stability.

Ms. Meloni led the only major party, the Brothers of Italy, to stay outside that unity government, allowing her to vacuum up the opposition vote. Her support in polls steadily expanded from 4 percent in 2018 to 25 percent in a country where even moderate voters have grown numb to Fascist-Communist name calling, but remain enthusiastic about new, and potentially providential, leaders.

Ms. Meloni said her skyrocketing popularity did not mean the country had ''moved to the extremes,'' but that it had simply grown more comfortable with her and confident in her viability, even as she has tried to reposition herself closer to the European mainstream.

Ms. Meloni, whose campaign slogan is ''Ready,'' has become a staunch supporter of NATO and Ukraine, and says she backs the European Union and the euro.

Global markets and the European establishment remain wary. ''I fear the social and moral agenda of the right wing,'' Frans Timmermans, the European Commission's vice president, said recently about the threat Ms. Meloni's coalition posed to E.U. values. As recently as last month, she called for a naval blockade against migrants. She has depicted the European Union as an accomplice to ''the project of ethnic replacement of Europe's citizens desired by the great capitals and international speculators.''

She has in the past characterized the euro as the ''wrong currency'' and gushed with support for Viktor Orban of Hungary, Marine Le Pen of France and the illiberal democracies in Eastern Europe. She excoriated ''Brussels bureaucrats'' and ''emissaries'' of George Soros, a favorite boogeyman of the nationalist right and conspiracy theorists depicting a world run by Jewish internationalist financiers.

There remains concern that, once in power, Ms. Meloni would toss off her pro-European sheep's wool and reveal her nationalist fangs -- reverting to protectionism, caving in to her Putin-adoring coalition partners, rolling back gay rights and eroding liberal E.U. norms.

International investors and global leaders are wrong to be ''afraid,'' said Ms. Meloni, who is as affable and easygoing in private as she is vitriolic in public. Even in the midst of a heated campaign, she refused to take the bait from a desperate leader of the divided Italian left, who sounded ''the alarm for Italian democracy.''

''They'll accuse me of being a Fascist my whole life,'' Ms. Meloni said. ''But I don't care because in any case the Italians don't believe anymore in this garbage.''

She is delivering rations of red meat to her base (mass immigration is ''an instrument in the hands of big great powers'' to weaken workers, she growled in Cagliari) and is trying to mend fractures with the other right-wing leaders she is running with in a coalition.

Her chief ally, Matteo Salvini, became the darling of the hard right in 2018 when he pivoted his once-secessionist northern-based League party into a nationalist force. But Ms. Meloni said those hard-right voters ''came back home, because I am of that culture, so no one can do it better than I can.''

Even so, Mr. Salvini is already creating problems for Ms. Meloni by urging a reconsideration of sanctions against Russia.

Ms. Meloni acknowledged that her other coalition partner, Silvio Berlusconi, the former prime minister who famously named a bed after President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia, had put her ''in difficulty as a woman'' during his Bunga Bunga sex scandals with young women, when she was herself a young woman in his government.

Neither of her partners, she suspects, wants a woman in charge.

''I would like to say, 'No, it's not a problem that I'm a woman,''' Ms. Meloni said. ''But I'm no more sure about that.''

But when it comes to being a woman in politics, Ms. Meloni has leaned in. Her veneer of Roman-accented authenticity and her escalating and incensed style have become a part of the Italian political, and pop, landscape.

In 2019, her hard-line defense of the traditional family, and against L.G.B.T.Q. marriage and adoption -- while herself being an unwed mother -- prompted D.J.s to mockingly put one of her furious refrains, ''I am Giorgia, I am a woman, I am a mother, I am Italian, I am Christian,'' to a beat. It went viral. Ms. Meloni used it as a calling card. She titled her best-selling book ''I am Giorgia.''

Ms. Meloni grew up without her father, who when she was a toddler set sail for the Canary Islands, where she learned Spanish on summer visits. After a fire that she and her older sister accidentally started, her mother, who at one point wrote romance novels to make ends meet, moved the family into the ***working class*** and left-leaning Garbatella neighborhood of Rome.

Ms. Meloni was overweight and introverted, but as a 15-year-old fan of fantasy books (and Michael Jackson, from whom she said she learned her good English) found what she has called a second family in the hard-right Youth Front of the post-Fascist Italian Social Movement.

She considered herself a soldier in Rome's perpetual, often violent and sometimes fatal ideological wars between Communist and post-Fascist extremists, where everything from soccer games to high schools was politicized. Her party leader went to Israel to renounce the crimes of Fascism at the same time as she was rising quickly, later becoming the republic's youngest-ever minister.

But as populism swept Italy in the last decade, Ms. Meloni adopted harsher tones and created the hard right's latest iteration, the Brothers of Italy. She said she resented its members' being depicted as ''nostalgic imbeciles,'' because she had worked hard to purge Fascists and build a new history.

Like Mr. Salvini, she turned her social media accounts into populist pasta on the wall as she desperately sought traction. In the town of Vinci she accused the French of trying to claim Leonardo da Vinci as one of their own. She went to a grappa distillery to call the president then of the E.U., Jean-Claude Juncker, a drunk. She warned about an ''empire'' of ''invaders'' consisting of President Emmanuel Macron of France, Angela Merkel of Germany, Mr. Soros and Wall Street.

At her annual political conference in 2018, she hosted Stephen K. Bannon and said that she supported his effort ''to build a network that goes beyond the European borders,'' and that ''I look with interest at the phenomenon of Donald Trump'' and at the ''phenomenon of Putin in Russia.'' She added, ''And so the bigger the network gets, the happier I am.''

But on the threshold of running Italy, Ms. Meloni has pivoted. After years of fawning over Ms. Le Pen, she is suddenly distancing herself. (''I haven't got relations with her,'' she said.) Same for Mr. Orban. (''I didn't agree with some positions he had about Ukrainian war.'') She now calls Mr. Putin an anti-Western aggressor and said she would ''totally'' continue to send offensive arms to Ukraine.

But critics say she revealed her true self during a recent speech at a conference supporting Spain's hard-right Vox party. ''There is no possible mediation. Yes to the natural family. No to the L.G.B.T. lobbies,'' she bellowed in Spanish. ''No to the violence of Islam, yes to safer borders, no to mass immigration, yes to work for our people. No to major international finance.''

''The tone, that was very wrong,'' she said in the interview. ''But it happens to me when I'm very tired,'' she said, adding that her passionate delivery ''becomes hysteric.''

There are things she won't give up on, including the tricolor flame she inherited as her party symbol. Many historians say it evokes the flickers over the tomb of Mussolini.

The flame, she has said, has ''nothing to do with fascism but is a recognition of the journey made by the democratic right in our Republican history.''

''Don't extinguish the flame, Giorgia,'' a supporter shouted as Ms. Meloni commanded the stage in Cagliari, where she reserved her sharpest invective for leftist attacks that she said tried to depict her as ''a monster.''

''They don't scare me,'' she screamed above chants of ''Giorgia, Giorgia, Giorgia.'' ''They don't scare me.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/15/world/europe/giorgia-meloni-italy-right.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/15/world/europe/giorgia-meloni-italy-right.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Giorgia Meloni, center, would be the first woman to lead Italy. Frans Timmermans, vice president of the European Commission, said, ''I fear the social and moral agenda of the right wing.''

A rally for the Brothers of Italy political party this month. Ms. Meloni's support in the polls has steadily increased. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY GIANNI CIPRIANO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 16, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Sometimes, Prayers Are Performed Onstage***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64J4-MYD1-DXY4-X20N-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Length:** 841 words

**Byline:** By Gia Kourlas

**Body**

The Northern Irish choreographer Oona Doherty looks at despair through an ethereal lens at the Irish Arts Center.

The choreographer Oona Doherty grasps that in everybody -- and in every body -- there is a point of tension between hard and soft, tough and vulnerable, pleasure and pain. For all their posturing, her characters, anonymous ***working-class*** youth from Belfast, ache. And while her movement language creates an exacting physical entity, transcendence comes through an inner battle: fighting the hard to find the soft.

In ''Hard to Be Soft -- A Belfast Prayer,'' inspired by the city she grew up in, Doherty explores the trauma caused by the Troubles, which lasted around 30 years. Unfolding in four sections, the work, tenacious yet ethereal, begins and ends with shape-shifting solos in which Doherty embodies young men from Belfast -- with an air of machismo, she snarls a lip, digs her hands deep into her pockets and stands stooped, her back curling into its pelvis. She takes a few steps, a sauntering kind of stroll known locally as a dander.

But gradually, as her mannerisms evaporate, she becomes more than a macho body. She has described ''Hard to Be Soft'' as a physical prayer, and moments have an otherworldly effect: What is trapping her? What is trying to escape? It's the soul, the essence of a spirit.

With the opening tableau featuring wafting incense, the theater -- the new Irish Arts Center -- even smelled like a church. (It was the first dance performance in the space, but that still didn't warrant 20 minutes of monotonous speeches.) The score, by the electronic musician and composer David Holmes, had a liturgical feel as choral music mingled with voice-overs that capture the sound of chaotic street life.

In the score, fights erupt as Doherty -- her blond hair slicked back in a small bun, a gold chain bouncing against her chest -- crumbles and rises from the floor as if floating between a dream and a nightmare. All the while, the lighting gives the set, essentially a tall white cage that opens on one side, a haunting, angelic glow. Is it heaven or purgatory?

And is Doherty laughing or crying? Doherty has an uncanny ability to quiet her features so abruptly that, suddenly, her face can become as still and peaceful as eyes staring out at you from an icon. The way she uses her eyes is one of the most arresting things about her -- sometimes they gleam brightly; sometimes they're dead.

A blackout gives way to the second section, in which a female voice-over talks about overcoming the ''tragedy in the walls'' by dressing ''it up with glamour because we have to make light of tragedy.''

For the women of Belfast, she says, looking good is a form of armor. It's also empowering. Eight young women from Young Dancemakers Company swirl into the space, circling the stage as if marking territory with forthright, punctuated steps to a steady percussive beat. Wearing black leggings and bright satin jackets, they are boldly defiant. Doherty calls them the Sugar Army for a reason. (To fill their ranks, she finds local dancers in each city she tours.)

Inspired by the girls she went to school with in Belfast who, as she wrote in the performance publication Draff, practiced disco dancing for competitions, Doherty's strident, tough army echoes her memory of them: ''Wiping sexuality and shapes out into space like weapons.''

Here, perhaps, they needed more stage time to discover how to draw their individual power into a shimmering unit. One of the most tender moments comes when they break apart, laughing and falling over one another to convey the innocence of women in the making -- some there, others on the cusp.

In the third section, John Scott, a veteran Dublin choreographer, and Sam Finnegan -- both bare chested, with protruding bellies -- slowly make their way to the center of the stage like sumo wrestlers. A voice-over hints at the relationship of father and son. An embrace soon becomes more tense, more loaded -- one pushes, the other pulls -- as the way they use their weight and flesh (again, locating the tension between soft and hard) hints at grief, at conflict. When Scott briefly cups the back of Finnegan's head, we see not just love but the anguish of it.

Physically, ''Hard to Be Soft'' wasn't a great fit for the Irish Arts Center theater. It seemed cramped and sightlines were spotty for both the opening solo and the duet, much of which took place at the lip of the stage. But the final solo, in which Doherty enters with a hard fall onto the stage, was glittering.

Performing again as a young Belfast man, she gradually slips between distress and calm -- a kind of resignation -- as flickering memories take over her body and the sound of melancholic strings fills the air. Doherty echoes moments of her first solo as she patiently paints the story of a man's life through a dance. Or is it a physical prayer? In ''Hard to Be Soft,'' it feels like the same thing.

Hard to Be Soft -- A Belfast Prayer

Through Jan. 23 at the Irish Arts Center; irishartscenter.org

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/14/arts/dance/oona-doherty-review.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/14/arts/dance/oona-doherty-review.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Above, the Sugar Army, dancers recruited from New York, in ''Hard to Be Soft -- A Belfast Prayer.'' Right, from left, Sam Finnegan and John Scott

and Oona Doherty in the work. Below from left, Harlyn Lopera, Genesis Perdomo Santos and Nevaeh Davis in performance. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY NIR ARIELI)

**Load-Date:** January 15, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Racist Conspiracy Theory Seeps Into France's Mainstream***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64SY-PTH1-DXY4-X34R-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 6

**Length:** 997 words

**Byline:** By Norimitsu Onishi

**Body**

Valérie Pécresse, the center-right presidential candidate, used the phrase 'great replacement' in a speech punctuated with coded attacks on immigrants and Muslims.

PARIS -- Until a couple of years ago, the ''great replacement'' -- a racist conspiracy theory that white Christian populations are being intentionally replaced by nonwhite immigrants -- was so toxic in France that even Marine Le Pen, the longtime leader of the country's far right, pointedly refused to use it.

But in a presidential race that has widened the boundaries of political acceptability in France, Valérie Pécresse, the candidate of the mainstream center-right party in the coming election, used the phrase over the weekend in a speech punctuated with coded attacks against immigrants and Muslims.

The use of the slogan -- in what had been billed as the most important speech so far by Ms. Pécresse, a top rival of President Emmanuel Macron -- has fueled intense criticism from both her opponents as well as allies within her party. It also underscored France's further shift to the right, especially among middle-class voters, and the overwhelming influence of right-wing ideas and candidates in this campaign, political experts said.

The ''great replacement,'' a conspiracy theory adopted by many white supremacists worldwide, has inspired mass killings in the United States and New Zealand.

Éric Zemmour, a far-right author, television pundit and now presidential candidate, was the leading figure to popularize the concept in France in the past decade -- describing it as a civilizational threat against the country and the rest of Europe.

In a 75-minute speech before 7,000 supporters in Paris -- intended to introduce Ms. Pécresse, 54, the current leader of the Paris region and a former national minister of the budget and then higher education, to voters nationwide -- Ms. Pécresse adopted Mr. Zemmour's themes, saying the election would determine whether France is a ''a united nation or a divided nation.''

She said that France was not doomed to the ''great replacement'' and called on her supporters ''to rise up.'' In the same speech, she drew a distinction between ''French of the heart'' and ''French of papers'' -- an expression used by the extreme right to point to naturalized citizens. Vowing not to let France be subjugated, she said of the symbol of France, ''Marianne is not a veiled woman'' -- referring to the Muslim veil.

''By using the 'great replacement,' she gave it legitimacy and put the ideas of the extreme right at the heart of the debate of the presidential race,'' said Philippe Corcuff, an expert on the far right who teaches at the Institute of Political Studies in Lyon. ''When she talks of 'French of papers,' she's saying that distinctions will be made between French people according to ethnic criteria. Her stigmatization of the Muslim veil is in the same logic of the extreme right.''

The use of a term once limited to the extreme right by Ms. Pécresse -- who is the candidate of the Republicans, the party of former Presidents Nicolas Sarkozy and Jacques Chirac -- marked a ''Rubicon,'' said Anne Hidalgo, the Socialist presidential candidate and current mayor of Paris.

But it also made uneasy people inside her own party, who still want to draw clear lines between it and the extreme right. Xavier Bertrand, a party heavyweight, said, ''The great replacement, that's not us,'' according to French news media.

Polls show Ms. Pécresse, Ms. Le Pen and Mr. Zemmour neck and neck for second place behind Mr. Macron in the first round of voting, scheduled for April 10. One of them would face off against Mr. Macron, who has also shifted to the right, especially in the past two years of his presidency, in the second round on April 24.

The sudden rise of Mr. Zemmour as a candidate has injected the ''great replacement'' and other explosive issues into the race, forcing other candidates on the right to fine-tune their positions at the risk of losing support to him.

Ms. Le Pen had expressly rejected the slogan, criticizing it as a conspiracy theory. While she has kept her distance from the term, her party's president, Jordan Bardella, has started referring to it in recent months.

Facing criticism, Ms. Pécresse backpedaled a little, saying her use of the expression had been misconstrued.

But Nicolas Lebourg, a political scientist specializing in the right and far right, said that her use of the term simply reflected a political calculation: the center right's traditional middle-class supporters have also shifted rightward in recent years.

''Since 2010, there's been a significant hardening by upper-middle-class voters against immigration and Islam, but we hadn't seen its political effects yet,'' Mr. Lebourg said. ''So what we're experiencing now is a tipping over of part of the middle-class and upper middle-class.''

These voters are worried about issues like ''wokisme'' -- the supposed contamination of France by ''woke'' American ideas on social justice that they see as overwrought political correctness.

''It's middle-class voters who care about 'wokisme,' while Le Pen's ***working-class*** supporters are completely uninterested in that,'' Mr. Lebourg said.

The ''great replacement'' was conjured up by a French writer named Renaud Camus in 2010. In an interview in 2019, Mr. Camus bemoaned the fact that leading politicians had rejected the slogan. The slogan and his embrace of the far right had turned him into a pariah in France's literary and media circles, forcing him to publish his own books.

But in recent months, Mr. Camus has been invited back on television talk shows.

In an email exchange on Tuesday, he said, ''I can only be delighted by the use of the expression, 'great replacement,' during this presidential campaign.''

Other campaign issues, like the pandemic and consumer purchasing power, were minor next to the reality described by the slogan, he said.

''The rest is of no importance by comparison,'' he said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/15/world/europe/france-elections-pecresse-great-replacement.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/15/world/europe/france-elections-pecresse-great-replacement.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: In a speech, Valérie Pécresse, a mainstream center-right candidate, referred to the ''great replacement,'' a racist conspiracy theory. (PHOTOGRAPH BY FRANCOIS MORI/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

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**End of Document**



[***Review: Dancing That Unfolds Like a Prayer; Critic’s Pick***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64J0-GJ11-JBG3-62N4-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Gia Kourlas

**Highlight:** The Northern Irish choreographer Oona Doherty looks at despair through an ethereal lens at the Irish Arts Center.

**Body**

The Northern Irish choreographer Oona Doherty looks at despair through an ethereal lens at the Irish Arts Center.

The choreographer Oona Doherty grasps that in everybody — and in every body — there is a point of tension between hard and soft, tough and vulnerable, pleasure and pain. For all their posturing, her characters, anonymous ***working-class*** youth from Belfast, ache. And while her movement language creates an exacting physical entity, transcendence comes through an inner battle: fighting the hard to find the soft.

In [*“Hard to Be Soft — A Belfast Prayer,”*](https://irishartscenter.org/event/oona-doherty-hard-to-be-soft-a-belfast-prayer)inspired by the city she grew up in, Doherty explores the trauma caused by the Troubles, which lasted around 30 years. Unfolding in four sections, the work, tenacious yet ethereal, begins and ends with shape-shifting solos in which Doherty embodies young men from Belfast — with an air of machismo, she snarls a lip, digs her hands deep into her pockets and stands stooped, her back curling into its pelvis. She takes a few steps, a sauntering kind of stroll known locally as a dander.

But gradually, as her mannerisms evaporate, she becomes more than a macho body. She has [*described “Hard to Be Soft” as a physical prayer,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/10/arts/dance/oona-doherty-hard-to-be-soft-irish-arts-center.html)and moments have an otherworldly effect: What is trapping her? What is trying to escape? It’s the soul, the essence of a spirit.

With the opening tableau featuring wafting incense, the theater — the new Irish Arts Center — even smelled like a church. (It was the first dance performance in the space, but that still didn’t warrant 20 minutes of monotonous speeches.) The score, by the electronic musician and composer David Holmes, had a liturgical feel as choral music mingled with voice-overs that capture the sound of chaotic street life.

In the score, fights erupt as Doherty — her blond hair slicked back in a small bun, a gold chain bouncing against her chest — crumbles and rises from the floor as if floating between a dream and a nightmare. All the while, the lighting gives the set, essentially a tall white cage that opens on one side, a haunting, angelic glow. Is it heaven or purgatory?

And is Doherty laughing or crying? Doherty has an uncanny ability to quiet her features so abruptly that, suddenly, her face can become as still and peaceful as eyes staring out at you from an icon. The way she uses her eyes is one of the most arresting things about her — sometimes they gleam brightly; sometimes they’re dead.

A blackout gives way to the second section, in which a female voice-over talks about overcoming the “tragedy in the walls” by dressing “it up with glamour because we have to make light of tragedy.”

For the women of Belfast, she says, looking good is a form of armor. It’s also empowering. Eight young women from [*Young Dancemakers Company*](https://sites.google.com/ecfs.org/young-dancemakers-company/home) swirl into the space, circling the stage as if marking territory with forthright, punctuated steps to a steady percussive beat. Wearing black leggings and bright satin jackets, they are boldly defiant. Doherty calls them the Sugar Army for a reason. (To fill their ranks, she finds local dancers in each city she tours.)

Inspired by the girls she went to school with in Belfast who, as she wrote in the [*performance publication Draff,*](https://www.draff.net/oona-doherty-hard-to-be-soft.html) practiced disco dancing for competitions, Doherty’s strident, tough army echoes her memory of them: “Wiping sexuality and shapes out into space like weapons.”

Here, perhaps, they needed more stage time to discover how to draw their individual power into a shimmering unit. One of the most tender moments comes when they break apart, laughing and falling over one another to convey the innocence of women in the making — some there, others on the cusp.

In the third section, John Scott, a veteran Dublin choreographer, and Sam Finnegan — both bare chested, with protruding bellies — slowly make their way to the center of the stage like sumo wrestlers. A voice-over hints at the relationship of father and son. An embrace soon becomes more tense, more loaded — one pushes, the other pulls — as the way they use their weight and flesh (again, locating the tension between soft and hard) hints at grief, at conflict. When Scott briefly cups the back of Finnegan’s head, we see not just love but the anguish of it.

Physically, “Hard to Be Soft” wasn’t a great fit for the Irish Arts Center theater. It seemed cramped and sightlines were spotty for both the opening solo and the duet, much of which took place at the lip of the stage. But the final solo, in which Doherty enters with a hard fall onto the stage, was glittering.

Performing again as a young Belfast man, she gradually slips between distress and calm — a kind of resignation — as flickering memories take over her body and the sound of melancholic strings fills the air. Doherty echoes moments of her first solo as she patiently paints the story of a man’s life through a dance. Or is it a physical prayer? In “Hard to Be Soft,” it feels like the same thing.

Hard to Be Soft — A Belfast Prayer

Through Jan. 23 at the Irish Arts Center; [*irishartscenter.org*](https://irishartscenter.org/event/oona-doherty-hard-to-be-soft-a-belfast-prayer)

PHOTOS: Above, the Sugar Army, dancers recruited from New York, in “Hard to Be Soft — A Belfast Prayer.” Right, from left, Sam Finnegan and John Scott; and Oona Doherty in the work. Below from left, Harlyn Lopera, Genesis Perdomo Santos and Nevaeh Davis in performance. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY NIR ARIELI)

**Load-Date:** January 14, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Crypto Is Tumbling, but in Argentina It’s Still a Safer Bet***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:666F-R251-DXY4-X1N1-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Ana Lankes

**Highlight:** Even though cryptocurrencies have lost value, many Argentines see them as a less risky choice than their own currency, whose worth has plunged as inflation has soared.

**Body**

Even though cryptocurrencies have lost value, many Argentines see them as a less risky choice than their own currency, whose worth has plunged as inflation has soared.

BUENOS AIRES — Romina Sejas’s entry into the world of cryptocurrency — in a country where digital currencies have soared in popularity despite their volatility — started with pizza.

She was helping prepare pizza dough at a friend’s house a few years ago outside Mendoza, a ‌midsize city in western Argentina. The friend suggested leavening the dough in his mine. “I was so confused,” Ms. Sejas said. “I thought mines involved men with helmets and picks.”

Instead, he opened a door into a room where shelves were stacked with whirring computers. Known as miners in tech jargon, the computers work nonstop, verifying [*cryptocurrency*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/cryptocurrency) transactions and rewarding their owners in ‌digital currency. They consume so much energy that the room was a functional oven.

Ms. Sejas’s friend — who mines ether, one of the world’s most popular cryptocurrencies — ‌explained that getting into cryptocurrency had raised his monthly salary by nearly 40 percent, from $800 doing odd jobs to $1,100.

Ms. Sejas soon became a cryptocurrency convert, joining a wave of Argentines turning to digital currencies as a way to earn more, increase their savings and even conduct everyday business.

Even though the cryptocurrency market has cratered in recent months, many Argentines see it as a safe haven ‌in a country where surging inflation and a grinding economic crisis have battered the national currency, the peso, and people’s bank accounts.

“Money here is like ice cream,” said Marcos Buscaglia, an economist in Buenos Aires, the capital. “If you keep a peso for too long, it melts in terms of how much you can buy with it.”

Because so few Argentines trust the peso, they prefer to save in other currencies, including dollars.

About one-third of Argentines believed that savings kept in pesos in a local bank would hold onto their value over two years, the lowest percentage among respondents in [*15 countries surveyed*](https://go.morningconsult.com/2022-07-pg8039a1-state-of-cryptocurrency-report-download.html) in June by Morning Consult, a data firm based in Washington.

Nearly 60 percent of Argentines believed that Bitcoin, one of the most popular cryptocurrencies, would retain the value of their savings over that same period, the survey said.

With inflation expected to reach 90 percent by December, the peso’s worth keeps tumbling, pushing up prices of everyday products, from toilet paper to tuna fish, and making it virtually impossible to save.

The ongoing global supply chain challenges and the war in Ukraine have contributed to rising prices, but many economists blame Argentina’s woes on years of excessive government spending. Since the government does not collect enough revenue to make up the shortfall, the central bank prints pesos — pushing inflation even higher.

Now, many Argentines are turning to cryptocurrencies as one way to escape the peso. About one-third of Argentines said they bought or sold cryptocurrencies at least once a month, double the percentage of people in the United States, according to a separate survey by Morning Consult.

But cryptocurrency, given its instability, also brings risks.

Vicente Cappelletti, 26, said he had lost around $1,000, about 10 percent of his savings, when TerraUSD, a so-called stablecoin — a type of cryptocurrency that can be pegged to government currencies like the dollar — [*collapsed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/18/technology/terra-luna-cryptocurrency-do-kwon.html)in May.

Mr. Cappelletti, an industrial engineer, said it was easy to lose money “if you are not on top of this all the time and don’t have a lot of information.” He sold all the savings he had held in cryptocurrencies for pesos and put them in a traditional investment fund.

Pablo Sabbatella, who runs an organization in Buenos Aires that offers cryptocurrency classes, said hundreds of people had contacted him in the days after TerraUSD imploded, desperate to recover their money.

“Most people don’t understand what they are doing,” he said.

Bitcoin’s value has dropped from $65,000 last November to about $24,000 today, nearly double the fall in value of the peso. But many Argentines believe cryptocurrencies will rebound — unlike the peso.

Still, for some, cryptocurrency has brought welcome financial benefits.

Ms. Sejas, who worked as a waitress and in telemarketing, earns a living as a cryptocurrency consultant and by teaching workshops about digital currencies. She runs an online [*marketplace*](https://cryptoavisos.com/) with 7,000 members who can use cryptocurrency to buy almost anything — from hiking boots to a house.

Ms. Sejas grew up in a ***working-class*** ‌family without access to the internet. Her parents did not finish middle school or have bank accounts. “My family used to measure the length of toilet paper rolls we had, because we had very little,’’ she said.

The money she has made from cryptocurrency has transformed her life. “I’m studying law at a private university,” she said. “I’ve done all the health checks I never did growing up‌.”

Across the world, people in low-income and emerging countries have become the biggest users of cryptocurrencies, according to various reports, overtaking the United States and Europe.

Digital coins are prized in countries where the local money is volatile and where governments have made it harder for citizens to buy foreign currencies.

Two poor countries, El Salvador and the Central African Republic, have even adopted Bitcoin as another official national currency — though the bet has [*not paid off*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/05/world/americas/el-salvador-bitcoin-national-currency.html) in El Salvador, and it’s too [*early*](https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-61248809) to tell whether it will do so in the Central African Republic.

Argentina provides some clues about the appeal of cryptocurrencies.

Argentines have long looked to the dollar as a safe haven. Saving in dollars “is tattooed into our DNA,” said Daniel Convertini, 34, who works in communications for a ride-hailing company. “I learned to do it from my dad and my grandfather, not because I read it in some financial newspaper.”

Argentines are thought to hold more dollars in cash or in foreign financial institutions than almost any other population — other than Americans, said Gian Maria Milesi-Ferretti, an economist at the Brookings Institution.

But three years ago, the Argentine government made it more difficult to buy U.S. currency. Argentines can legally purchase only $200 a month and have to pay hefty taxes on every transaction.

Instead, many people have turned to the black market for dollars, and the streets of downtown Buenos Aires are filled with money-changers who whisper their conversion rates at passers-by.

But digital currencies provide an advantage by not requiring people to haul around large stashes of bills.

“We offered a way around the currency controls by selling crypto dollars,” said Julián Fraiese, a founder of Buenbit, an Argentine cryptocurrency exchange that focuses on stablecoins pegged to the dollar. The company said it had added 200,000 users in the seven months after government controls on dollars were tightened in 2019.

Ismael Loyo, 34, a taxi driver who moved to Argentina from Venezuela in 2018, turned to cryptocurrency after seeing the peso devalue rapidly, a repeat of what he had experienced back at home. As soon as he gets paid, he logs onto an exchange online and buys cryptocurrencies.

Aware of the vagaries of the digital currency market, he explained that he gets out of a currency “that only devalues” and gets into a currency, which, even though it is volatile, “maintains its value in the long term and goes up.”

For people like Mr. Loyo, who has lived in two countries pummeled by high inflation, Bitcoin seems less a speculative bet than a necessity. “Maybe if I lived in another country, I would never have had to learn about all this,” he said.

Still, the plunging value of cryptocurrencies has taken a toll, and concerns over its risks have led to greater regulatory scrutiny.

Buenbit recently [*fired*](https://www.clarin.com/tecnologia/buenbit-primera-victima-argentina-colapso-cripto-dijeron-directivos-despidos-masivos_0_s7V6VMiLtS.html) nearly half of its employees, and days after two Argentine banks had started giving customers the option of buying and selling cryptocurrencies, the country’s Central Bank [*barred*](https://www.cronista.com/finanzas-mercados/el-bcra-no-permitira-a-bancos-ofrecer-la-posibilidad-de-invertir-en-criptos/) such services.

But because many Argentines have such little faith in their government’s management of the economy, cryptocurrency, despite its turbulence, remains in high demand.

More workers in Argentina than any other country, including many freelancers in jobs like software developers and translators, choose to receive part of their pay in cryptocurrencies, according to Deel, a payroll company used by more than 100,000 workers in 150 nations.

“Technology is the language of the world to come,” said the Rev. Fabián Báez, a priest who helps organize technology classes in Buenos Aires that include showing students how to open a digital wallet to start collecting cryptocurrency coins.

In Buenos Aires, signs on public buses lure people with promises of high returns on stablecoins. Inside a busy subway station, an advertisement declares: “Beat inflation. Buy Bitcoin.”

“I prefer to expose myself to the risks of crypto,” Mr. Convertini, the ride-hailing employee, said, “than the risks of the Argentine government.”

PHOTOS: Romina Sejas, a former waitress, now earns a living at her home in Buenos Aires as a cryptocurrency consultant and by teaching workshops.; Machines known as miners that verify digital transactions at a so-called cryptocurrency farm in La Plata.; Ismael Loyo, a taxi driver, keeps all his savings in cryptocurrency. “Maybe if I lived in another country, I would never have had to learn about all this,” he said.; THE REV. FABIÁN BÁEZ, who helps organize classes on collecting cryptocurrency. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SARAH PABST FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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**End of Document**



[***What to See in N.Y.C. Galleries in April***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67Y3-32F1-DXY4-X0MB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** ARTS; design

**Length:** 4557 words

**Byline:** Holland Cotter, John Vincler, Travis Diehl, Max Lakin, Blake Gopnik, Seph Rodney and Martha Schwendener

**Highlight:** Want to see new art in the city? Catch Helen Lundeberg’s bracing canvases and Erin Jane Nelson’s biomorphic ceramics in TriBeCa, and Sarah Palmer’s photomontages in Queens.

**Body**

Want to see new art in the city? Catch Helen Lundeberg’s bracing canvases and Erin Jane Nelson’s biomorphic ceramics in TriBeCa, and Sarah Palmer’s photomontages in Queens.

Newly Reviewed

Helen Lundeberg

Through May 6. Bortolami, 55 Walker Street, Manhattan; 212-727-2050; [*bortolamigallery.com*](http://bortolamigallery.com/).

In the 1930s the Angeleno modernist Helen Lundeberg advanced a style referred to as Post-Surrealism, an American splinter movement meant to temper the European version’s weirder imagery (but not by much; one of her early efforts includes a wrench plucking a wilted nail out of a crimson pool). By contrast, the ‌10 bracing canvases ‌here share more with the strain of work Lundeberg created contemporaneously as a W.P.A. muralist in Southern California: hard-lined geometric abstraction rendered in plush color delineating domestic zones. But Lundeberg’s feel for space wasn’t entirely rigid, leaving room for Surrealism’s psycho-geography to haunt its corners.

Made between 1952 and 1975, the selection here focuses on bands of vertical color, soft tones dialed up or down the spectrum to achieve an enigmatic interplay of shadow, flatness and depth — an uncanny sense of spatial perception that collides classicism with the illogical dimensions of de Chirico, his empty arcades shot through with ‌Los Angeles’s‌ sepia-smog light.

When Lundeberg’s uniform fields are ruptured it’s with beguiling effect: punctuated by three-dimensional still lifes, as in two versions of the same arrangement called “The Mirror and Pink Shell.” The earlier painting, from 1952, appears to fuzz, its brushwork legible, while the later version, started in the same year but not completed until 1969, stiffens into focus, its fields smoothed and amplified. This vignette — a simple chair, a mirror reflecting a bare bulb — was one Lundeberg returned to for over ‌30 years, the contours of her life distilled into the metaphysical plane. MAX LAKIN

Erin Jane Nelson

Through May 6. Chapter NY, 60 Walker Street, Manhattan; 646-850-7486, [*chapter-ny.com*](https://chapter-ny.com/).

[*Erin Jane Nelson*](https://erinjanenelson.com/)’s ceramics seem curiously alive — not as recognizable creatures, but as biomorphic forms, maybe microorganisms blown up to visible size. Mounted on the wall, they have irregular, curvy shapes and short, spindly tentacles. They’re almost always clumped together, in pairs or larger groups, as if each one were dependent on the others for its existence.

If you’ve seen some of these pieces before, like in Nelson’s contribution to the [*2021 New Museum Triennial*](https://www.newmuseum.org/exhibitions/view/2021-triennial-soft-water-hard-stone), it may not come as a surprise that her current exhibition, “[*Sublunary*](https://chapter-ny.com/exhibitions/current/erin-jane-nelson/),” was inspired by the Okefenokee Swamp. There’s a purposeful murkiness to the work of this Atlanta-based artist, who is also a curator and writer. Nelson’s creations are rarely one thing or another, but hybrids that thrive in between.

“Sublunary” displays the outgrowths of a private performance Nelson conducted on multiple visits to the Okefenokee. There are quilted silks featuring photographs; a set of 365 glazed stoneware mounds titled, collectively, “Chronomicrobiome” (2023), that could represent a kind of ritualized, abstract calendar and the wall-bound ceramics, which still intrigue me most. They have rims and are covered with a clear layer of waterlike resin, so that looking at them recalls peering into a series of shallow pools.

What’s inside? Sculpted mini-mounds, flowers, and fungi; multicolored patterns; and real photographs, sometimes of Nelson. If these complex artworks were alive, I would imagine them as swimming or slinking omnivores, accumulating bits of swamp and traces of Nelson’s experiences as they go. JILLIAN STEINHAUER

Mamie Tinkler

Through May 13. Ulterior, 424 Broadway, #601, Manhattan. 917-472-7784; [*ulteriorgallery.com*](http://ulteriorgallery.com/).

I’ve never seen watercolors quite like Mamie Tinkler’s. The still lifes of [*“A Troubling,” her second solo show at Ulterior Gallery*](http://www.ulteriorgallery.com/mamie-tinkler_a-troubling), depict densely patterned textiles, unusually tinted feathers, mirrors, skulls, curious rocks, glass globes and crackling flames. All these things shade imperceptibly into patches of saturated color that sometimes read as continuations of the pictures — as red velvet backdrops, say, or deep black shadows — and sometimes as a loosening into abstraction. The contrast between exactingly rendered detail and the paint’s naturally soft edges is subtle, but it registers as an undertone of tension, even anguish. It’s as if Tinkler is using her medium against itself.

This tension struck me as very apropos to a moment when many old certainties are melting away. Things that used to look solid, like science, journalism, the Arctic ice shelf or liberal democracy, are starting to seem more like passing apparitions. But it also says something about perception and knowing. In the show’s title piece, a golden finch alights on a twig atop a blue celestial globe. Above it and beside it, as reflections or possibly familiars, two more finches rest on two more globes, their highlights indicated by larger or smaller circles of unpainted white paper. The “real” twig, in front, is loose and fuzzy, like a vision or a dream; the shadow it casts is as crisp as a razor blade. WILL HEINRICH

Sarah Palmer

Through May 6. Mrs., 60-40 56th Drive, Maspeth, Queens; 347-841-6149, [*mrsgallery.com*](http://www.mrsgallery.com).

Photography was well on track to becoming Image Producer of the millennium — then came smartphones. Now we are so inundated with images artists have to work like archivists to wade through the morass. Sarah Palmer, a Brooklyn-based artist, does this, using images from old catalogs, New York Public Library archives, slides bought on eBay and A.I.-generated images to create photomontages. The curious and uncanny results are on view in “[*The Delirious Sun” at Mrs*](https://www.mrsgallery.com/).

Recycling and repurposing are essentially the subject of the work, immediately obvious in the jumble and juxtaposition of image fragments. But Palmer teases out some through lines, like how the female body is represented in photography. In “Age of Earth and Us All Chattering” (2022), an assemblage tinted an eerie orange, photos clipped from a vintage bondage catalog sit alongside an A.I. representation of a bouncy blonde. The bondage magazine images are attached with hot pink tape to a landscape photograph of the American West taken by Palmer, and rephotographed. “Under the Tangled Forest” (2023) visually rhymes human hair, tape and ribbons; other works feature a sculpture of a female torso and close-ups of the artist’s pregnant belly.

Palmer scrambles the codes of photography that tell us what, when and why an image was produced — which is what A.I. does too. However, by putting her own body in the image, Palmer reminds us that making, crafting and contemplating photographs remain a deeply human and embodied enterprise, even at a moment when machines, once again, seem to be taking over. MARTHA SCHWENDENER

Last Chance

‘Red, White, Yellow, and Black: 1972-73’

Through April 29. The Kitchen at Westbeth, 163 Bank Street, fourth floor loft, Manhattan; [*thekitchen.org*](https://thekitchen.org/).

It’s hard to recapture, in an exhibition, the fresh, experimental, now-feeling vibe of downtown avant-garde New York art in the early 1970s. But this four-artist show gets it. Organized by the Kitchen, one of the city’s oldest alternative spaces (founded in 1971), and installed in a loft-like, window-filled gallery at Westbeth, the artists’ housing complex in the West Village, the show is an evocation of two Kitchen “concerts” presented in December 1972 and April 1973. Like much of the most interesting work of that era, the events were interdisciplinary, combining video and performance. More radically, they were shaped by what we now call identity politics.

The title of the original program, “Red, White, Yellow, and Black,” referred to the racial and ethnic backgrounds of the collaborating artists: Shigeko Kubota (1937-2015), born in Japan; the white American Mary Lucier; the Native American Cecilia Sandoval; and the African American Charlotte Warren-Huey. Much of the work on those two occasions referred to these identities in fluid, light-touch ways, though at a time when feminism still splintered along racial lines, it was the simple fact of the artists’ collaboration that really broke ground.

By necessity, the current exhibition has a light touch, too. Some installations have been lovingly recreated, but most of what’s here is ephemera: exhibition posters, reprints of texts and letters exchanged among the four artists. The letters are wonderful, a reminder of how much art of the time was communal, social, ad hoc, proudly unmarketable. After the project’s conclusion, the four participants took different directions. Kubota and Lucier continued with art careers; Sandoval became a nurse; Warren-Huey went into teaching. But at the Kitchen their brief, lucid togetherness burns bright. HOLLAND COTTER

C.C. Wang

Through April 29. Bertha and Karl Leubsdorf Gallery at Hunter College Art Galleries, 132 East 68th Street, Manhattan; 212-772-4991, [*leubsdorfgallery.org*](http://www.leubsdorfgallery.org/).

Wang Chi-ch’ien, or C.C. Wang (1907-2003), began painting when he was 14 years old in China, but he thrived in a very different atmosphere: New York, where he emigrated in 1949. Wang was the rare artist versed in both traditional Chinese art and radical modernism. He copied Chinese old masters and practiced calligraphy, but he also took classes at the Art Students League from 1949 to 1974 and studied the work of Cezanne, Matisse and Georges Braque. What emerged in his work, on view in “Lines of Abstraction” [*at the Bertha and Karl Leubsdorf Gallery*](http://huntercollegeartgalleries.org/events/2023/2/2/c-c-wang-lines-of-abstraction), was an extraordinary fusion of Eastern and Western, ancient and contemporary.

Several hanging scrolls copy or emulate Chinese landscape painters like [*Wang Meng*](https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/39550), [*Dong Qichang*](https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/48950) or [*Ni Zan*](https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/45636). A cityscape that includes Mark Rothko’s old carriage-house studio shows Wang absorbing Cubist influences. In addition to learning-by-copying (Chinese masters explicitly did this, often to cement their aesthetic-political alliances), like a good modernist, Wang innovated: He used fibrous paper to emphasize geologic textures in landscapes, employed ox blood as pigment, or dabbed the painting’s surface with ink applied to crumpled rice paper.

Wang’s calligraphy transformed, too. Initially, he dutifully quoted classical texts. Later, scrolls of “abstract calligraphy” are filled with engorged characters that tease the line between text, image and graphic design. Wang even used the telephone book — that old 20th-century relic — to practice his calligraphy. The dance of his brush stroke over rectilinear columns of names and numbers formed a perfect marriage of traditional technique and quotidian New York. MARTHA SCHWENDENER

Michael Ray Charles

Through May 6. Templon, 293 10th Avenue, Manhattan. 212-922-3745; [*templon.com*](https://www.templon.com/exhibitions/current/).

In the 1990s and early 2000s, Michael Ray Charles’s paintings excavated the ugly history of antebellum minstrelsy with nervy appropriations of ubiquitous racist imagery — the grotesque faces and rictus grins of Sambos and mammy figures — and not always to appreciative reception. He was accused of perpetuating painful stereotypes when many people would have preferred they remain buried. For the last 20 years he has shown sporadically, mostly in Europe.

The pictures in Charles’s first New York exhibition since then finds an artist still surfacing that past, but with a slicker veneer. Where the demeaning depictions of minstrel performance and advertising were replicated at confrontational scale, unblinking in their harshness, here their bitter taste is blended into ornament. The shining obsidian bust in “(Forever Free) Veni Vidi” (2002) sits in a richly appointed Baroque interior, a recognition of the ways racism smooths itself into the background of modern life.

These are contextually complex paintings, incorporating ideas about performance (of gender, race, sexuality) and the theatricality of identity. Blackface caricatures still haunt the canvases, but they’re flattened à la wheatpaste street art and spliced onto burlesque dancers and dominatrixes. The figures are often half-formed — Black faces grafted onto white bodies missing limbs or segments of torso, obscured by gimp masks or African ones studded with cowrie shells, performing in circuses and masquerades — a dizzying cascade of historical references that reveals the nightmare of our insatiable need for extravaganza. The metaphors can get tangled, but Charles’s equation of American racism with entertainment is hard to shake, a sadomasochistic relationship dependent equally on pain and pleasure. MAX LAKIN

Anna Uddenberg

Through April 29. Meredith Rosen Gallery, [*11 East 80th Street, Manhattan*](https://www.google.com/maps/search/11+East+80th%0D%0AStreet,+Manhattan?entry=gmail&amp;source=g); 212-655-9791, [*meredithrosengallery.com*](http://meredithrosengallery.com/)

Feel like you’re trapped inside today’s technology?

Like your tech has you twisted into a pretzel?

Like your apps have you strapped in for a ride you don’t want to take?

Then get a look at the sculptures of the Swedish Berlin-based artist Anna Uddenberg … for a perfect summing-up of how you feel.

Uddenberg’s three imposing objects in her show “Continental Breakfast” at Rosen, as immaculately crafted as any industrial prototype, look like they cross a first-class airplane seat, a gym’s pec machine and a gynecologist’s exam table. Actually climbing into one would seem to have as much chance of causing bodily harm as curing what ails you.

But even if these sculptures invite us to think about machines and bodies — almost to feel that interaction in our muscles and bones — they also work as a powerful metaphor for what our brains are up against as A.I. asks us to mind-meld with it. Over coming months and years, real human intelligence will get as pretzeled-up with the artificial kind as our limbs could ever be in one of Uddenberg’s infernal machines. BLAKE GOPNIK

More to See

Chris Burden

Through June 24. Gagosian, 821 Park Avenue, Manhattan; 212-796-1228, [*Gagosian.com*](http://gagosian.com/)

There can’t be many artists whose works are as textbook-famous and as rarely encountered as Chris Burden’s. We can’t expect to see repeats of the 1970s performances for which he was nailed to a Volkswagen Beetle or shot in the arm with a .22. He died in 2015, and even when he was living those were one-offs. But this rare Burden show presents other examples of the Angeleno’s radical works of the 1970s. They shifted the boundaries of art, which makes them now look safely “artistic” and gallery-worthy.

The show gathers several of the “relics” — Burden’s term — meant to stand for his performances: An empty display case represents “Disappearing,” a piece for which he made himself scarce for three days; a telephone and cassette recorder represent “Wiretap,” for which Burden taped calls with art dealers.

There’s also footage of Burden’s shooting and of [*“Bed Piece,”*](https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-1789187) a well-known performance that had him lying in a gallery for 22 days.

More surprising are the one-minute “TV Commercials” that let Burden infiltrate art into broadcast TV, after buying the ad space required. One of them, “Full Financial Disclosure,” sits in Andy Warhol’s Business Art genre, revealing the numbers for Burden’s 1976 income and expenses — and for his paltry profit. In “Chris Burden Promo,” names of world-famous artists fill the TV one after another: “Leonardo da Vinci,” “Michelangelo,” “Rembrandt,” “Vincent van Gogh,” “Pablo Picasso” and then … “Chris Burden.” That final name would once have seemed a joke or wildly wishful thinking, but now it lives cozily with the others. BLAKE GOPNIK

Closed Shows

Jane Freilicher

Through April 22. Kasmin, 509 West 27th Street, Manhattan. 212-563-4474; [*kasmingallery.com*](http://kasmingallery.com/).

Jane Freilicher’s paintings of the late 1950s are technically abstractions, though like those of many of her second-generation Abstract Expressionist peers, they speak with a representational lilt, her washy daubs resolving into the open landscape of Southampton on Long Island, where she spent her summers. They’re less a departure from the traditional compositions of intimate domestic scenes‌ — cut flowers and still lifes — she was making before than a layover, eventually returning to them.

Perhaps the East End, with its ghosts of Pollock, loosened Freilicher’s brush. There’s a stirring tension between form and object in the dozen pictures on view here, numinous, brushy oils made between 1958 and 1962. Maybe that’s because they were not made en plein air but rather after Freilicher returned to her Greenwich Village studio, and so depict less the salt air and patchy scrub of South Shore marshes but inventions of them, their memory effervescing like sea spray.

Freilicher’s dedication to her unfashionable subject matter is transfixing; she never tired of the languid view from her window — “opulent beauty in a homespun environment,” as she put it. “Untitled (Mecox Bay and Field)” circa 1958, with its loosely applied strokes on a creamy ground redolent of sand dunes, is like an exploded Bonnard, lyricizing the ambient East End light in blotches of gold and green refracted as if off water. These aren’t so much about sentimentality than reverence. They flatten the space between foreground and background, their lack of pictorial depth contributing to a weightless quality, like a free-floating world tethered to but distinct from the visible one. MAX LAKIN

sidony o’neal

Through April 23. Dracula’s Revenge, 23 Pell Street, second floor, Manhattan; [*draculasrevenge.net.*](https://draculasrevenge.net/)

The five works by sidony o’neal at Dracula’s Revenge parse the argot of algebraic functions and personal poetry — its energy comes from shuttling between the two. All from 2023, the installations and prints have titles like “U+220E 0” and “Mo osit.” The name of one spindly, oiled steel sculpture, “Hash Table 4 Tensors Like Us,” punningly invokes the vocabulary of computing: A “hash table” is a quickly searchable way to store large sets of data, but the sculpture is also a table, as in furniture. Its razor-blade-like legs and distended paisley top suggest the aesthetics of a head shop: “hash” as in hashish.

The language of abstract math underlies the show; its forms seem describable with ornate equations. The reaching fractal shape of the tabletop, and of two leggy gray prints framed with sloping hardwood, have the sense of being tugged by vectors and anchored by points. Abstract art, so-called, comes from the artist’s head, while abstract math (for example, the Cartesian grid) derives from the observed world; they meet here in a kind of wild philosophy, where bodies and memories have lines of force and proper places in the matrix. “Generating fn,” two unfurling holes roughly sliced in the gallery’s grimy gray carpet, applies two mathematically pure shapes to the impurity of the built environment, stains and all; the imperfection of the world refutes the abstraction of algebra, while the floor also takes on some of the promise of a perfect plane. TRAVIS DIEHL

Che Lovelace

Through April 22. Nicola Vassell Gallery, 138 10th Avenue, Manhattan; 212-463-5160, [*nicolavassell.com*](https://www.nicolavassell.com).

Before, after, during, long ago — it’s hard to determine when things are happening for Che Lovelace’s figures in his show “[*Bathers*](https://www.nicolavassell.com/exhibitions/18-che-lovelace-bathers/)” at Nicola Vassell. Not all of the framed paintings, rendered here in acrylic on board, suggest a narrative, but many do, such as “Shallow Pools” (2022), so I want to see temporal progression in it. Are the two embracing women in the foreground at the bottom of the painting the same women seen separately in the composition’s receding distance, perhaps at another time that day, or in an imagined future? Adding to this fey lyricism are Lovelace’s formal choices, including the quasi-Cubist fracturing of each scene into four equal squares that don’t quite align. Hues so bright they are almost garish hum through prismatic washes. Linear time stops, then staggers dazedly.

Born and based in Trinidad, Lovelace portrays people who dwell in the waters of the Caribbean, but more, they bend and stretch, squat or sit, pose with an arm akimbo, or flung over a head, while the other arm supports a languorous torso arcing like a crescent moon. The water is a transformative, poetic medium — through Lovelace’s attentive gaze — the otherwise prosaic routines of his fellow Trinidadians become lyrical. Even our inherited classical mythology can be transmuted. In “The Gun” (2022), a figure peers intently into a pool, but the scene isn’t a version of Narcissus falling in love with himself. Rather it’s an act of seeking in those depths something bygone, antiquated that may be rescued and made anew. SEPH RODNEY

Shellyne Rodriguez

Through April 22. PPOW Gallery, 392 Broadway, Manhattan; 212-647-1044, [*ppowgallery.com*](http://ppowgallery.com/).

Shellyne Rodriguez’s terrific debut exhibition at PPOW is forthrightly political art warmed by tender personal detail. The artist was born in the Bronx in 1977. That’s the terrain she focuses in her photographically precise color pencil drawings on black paper. And a wide terrain it is, global in population, rich in cultural history.

Rodriquez broadly charts it in three big word-and-image pieces generically titled “BX Third World Liberation Mixtape.” Stylistically, they’re modeled on early 1980s hip-hop event fliers designed by the Bronx-based handbill artist Buddy Esquire. Compositionally, they’re action-packed interlaces of figures and words: lyrics, rap group names, magical numbers, and place names spelled in Arabic, Chinese, English, Bangla, Spanish and Twi.

Each “Mixtape” functions as a nodal point for a gathering of large portraits. Several are of Rodriquez’s neighbors — bodega owners, barbers, playground kids. Others are of activist friends and mentors: the abolitionist scholar Ruth Wilson Gilmore; the queer theorist Jasbir K. Puar; the former gang matriarch, now community leader Lorine Padilla. As in Baroque paintings of saints, each is depicted with symbolic attributes: Gilmore and Puar with books; Padilla with a compact Santeria altar.

Just as art and life meet in the paintings, so they do in the gallery. A real altar sits on the floor near Padilla’s portrait. And Rodriguez has turned the space into a study center, a reading room, with a table holding revolutionary literature, and pens and paper for taking notes. Pull up a chair. You’re in awesome company. HOLLAND COTTER

Tauba Auerbach

Through April 22. Paula Cooper Gallery, 534 West 21st Street, Manhattan, 212-255-1105; [*paulacoopergallery.com*](https://www.paulacoopergallery.com/).

Bubbles combine the geometry of perfect spheres with the chaotic behaviors of floating, bursting, conjoining and pressing up against one another. In the dozen paintings, each titled “Foam” (all 2023), Tauba Auerbach finds a mass of bubbles a fitting subject for their coolly elegant art. The exhibition, titled “Free Will,” is this New York-based artist’s first hometown gallery show since the success of their 2022 San Francisco Museum of Modern Art survey exhibition. The paintings reproduce images of bubbled foam photographed through a microscope, here painted using accumulations of pointillist-like dots. When viewed up close, they resemble topographical maps marked by multicolored pins or even reptile skin.

Shown alongside the paintings on four low metal tables are six beaded glass sculptures, also all sharing a title, “Org” (2023 with one from 2022). In the front of the gallery, where light floods in from the street through frosted windows are seven semicircular arcs of kiln-fired glass mounted on vertical aluminum armatures, again all titled “Spontaneous Lace” (2023). These translucent half-moons feature colored powdered glass that after heating look delicately patterned, like melted lacework. The tabletop beaded sculptures suggest minimalist jewelry as well as instructional models of complex molecules. All of Auerbach’s works here seem to capture order at a moment before seizing into chaos, or vice versa. The works may seem at a glance almost coldly scientific, but is there anything more human than the struggle of barely maintaining order with grace? JOHN VINCLER

‘Photography Then’

Through April 15. Anonymous Gallery, 136 Baxter Street, Manhattan; 646-478-7112, anonymousgallery.com.

“Photography Then?” The title of this group show takes a swipe at perennial museum exhibitions (“Photography Now”) that try to sum up the state of the art. The six artists here exploit the broad cultural fluency in the medium to variously frame American masculinity as fraught, turgid and heavily constructed. Alyssa Kazew’s portrait of five muscular, shirtless young men looks Photoshopped: Even if they earned their abs the hard way, their bodies look strange and taut, disjointed from their laughing faces.

In this show, photography has been manipulated to manipulate. For the photo “Saying Goodbye,” Jesse Gouveia staged a tearful embrace at the airport, the son clutching the father as if for the last time. As the soft-focus strangeness of the moment settles in, the cherry-red tags on their clothes punch through, and the eerie feeling dawns that this might be an ad for Supreme x Levi’s or an airport. Buck Ellison stuffed “Christmas Card #2” with upper-class signifiers; as for how the other half lives, Chessa Subbiondo gives us an Instagram star posing like a cutoff-jean-shorts Venus in the flash-lit night, in front of a Big 5 Sporting Goods, while an awkward, awe-struck boy behind her spills his drink. This is the desirous world photography makes.

Not all of the artists in the show identify as photographers. When everyone and their mother has a 12-megapixel digital camera in their pocket, photography is a choice, not a vocation: “Photography, then.” TRAVIS DIEHL

Rudolf Maeglin

Through April 15. Meredith Rosen Gallery, 11 East 78th Street, Manhattan; 212-655-9791, [*meredithrosengallery.com*](https://www.meredithrosengallery.com/).

The painter [*Rudolf Maeglin*](https://www.galerieknoell.ch/en/artists/maeglin-rudolf) (1892-1971) grew up upper-middle class in Basel, Switzerland, and studied medicine after high school. He worked as a doctor for only a year, though, before making a radical break: He decided to become an artist. Maeglin spent the next eight years traveling around Europe and studying art. Then he returned to Basel, where he worked in chemical factories and building sites. Those places, and the people who labored there, became his subjects.

Maeglin didn’t work in solitude; in 1933, he helped found the antifascist Gruppe 33 and exhibited publicly. But his art hasn’t been seen much beyond Switzerland. [*This exhibition*](https://www.meredithrosengallery.com/rudolf-maeglin) is its first outing in the United States.

The show consists entirely of portraits, to mixed effect. On one hand, the larger context of how these painted people relate to Maeglin’s architectural scenes, and thus his project of rendering the city, is missing. On the other hand, seeing just the portraits — small, colorful oil paintings on board — emphasizes how beguiling and modern they are. Almost all depict flat, frontal, full-body figures, almost all of them men. Maeglin was gay, and there’s more than a hint of homoeroticism in his subjects’ pursed lips and cocked hips. Especially in paintings like “Controllore” (1960) and “Junge” (1961), I got a sense of gender as a performance — not necessarily on the sitters’ part, but on Maeglin’s. These aren’t romantic renderings of the ***working class*** or faithful likenesses of people, but rather, intimate character studies that fall somewhere in between. JILLIAN STEINHAUER

PHOTO: Helen Lundeberg’s “The Mirror and Pink Shell (The Mirror),” 1952-69. (PHOTOGRAPH BY via The Feitelson/Lundeberg Art Foundation and Bortolami Gallery, New York; Photo by Guang Xu FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 26, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Driver Rams 2 Police Motorcyclists in a Paris Suburb***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YS9-98D1-JBG3-62SD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 27, 2020 Monday 22:25 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 355 words

**Highlight:** The collision was intentional, and the officers were gravely injured, the authorities said.

**Body**

The collision was intentional, and the officers were gravely injured, the authorities said.

PARIS — A motorist deliberately drove his car into two police motorcyclists on patrol in a Paris suburb on Monday, gravely injuring both, police unions said. One of the officers sustained a fractured skull and has been placed in a medically induced coma.

The assault took place in Colombes, in the northwestern outskirts of Paris.

Video footage circulating on social media and on the website of a newspaper, [*Le Parisien*](http://www.leparisien.fr/faits-divers/un-automobiliste-fonce-sur-des-policiers-a-colombes-deux-blesses-27-04-2020-8306964.php), showed one motorbike sandwiched between the crumpled hoods of a police car and a black BMW. Debris from a second bike lay strewn on the road.

“Two police motorcyclists in a serious condition after being deliberately hit in Colombes by an individual who also rammed a police car. Thoughts with our colleagues,” the Synergie-Officiers union [*wrote on Twitter*](http://www.leparisien.fr/faits-divers/un-automobiliste-fonce-sur-des-policiers-a-colombes-deux-blesses-27-04-2020-8306964.php).

Police sources say the suspect, 30, was arrested at the scene and lived nearby in a ***working-class*** area close to where unrest erupted last week.

The French interior minister, Christophe Castaner, hailed the response of officers who gave first aid to their comrades at the scene.

“My thoughts go out to the two injured policemen who were committed to protecting us,” [*Mr. Castaner wrote on Twitter*](http://www.leparisien.fr/faits-divers/un-automobiliste-fonce-sur-des-policiers-a-colombes-deux-blesses-27-04-2020-8306964.php).

Police sources called the collision a deliberate act. Sources familiar with the investigation said the perpetrator had targeted the officers to avenge events in Palestine.

An investigation was being conducted, including psychiatric tests and searches, before a decision is made whether to hand the case over to France’s terrorism prosecutor, a source close to the inquiry said.

France has suffered major attacks by Islamist militants. Police officers and soldiers have been targeted on multiple occasions in recent years.

In October, an information technology assistant at police headquarters in central Paris [*went on a knife rampage*](http://www.leparisien.fr/faits-divers/un-automobiliste-fonce-sur-des-policiers-a-colombes-deux-blesses-27-04-2020-8306964.php) inside the building, killing four people before he was shot dead.

PHOTO: Police officers in Colombes, the Paris  suburb where a driver injured two policemen. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Franck Fife/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 14, 2020

**End of Document**



[***An Unusually Optimistic Conversation With Bernie Sanders***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:628K-H1G1-DXY4-X0G1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 23, 2021 Tuesday 14:31 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 4054 words

**Byline:** ‘The Ezra Klein Show’

**Highlight:** The Vermont senator discusses the Rescue Act, cancel culture, the filibuster and more.

**Body**

Bernie Sanders didn’t win the 2020 election. But he may have won its aftermath.

If you look back at Joe Biden and Bernie Sanders’s careers, the $1.9 trillion stimulus package, the American Rescue Plan, looks a lot like the proposals Sanders has fought for forever, without much of the compromise or concerns that you used to see from Senator Joe Biden. That’s not to take anything away from Biden. He’s the president. This is his plan. And it is to his credit that he saw what the country needed, what the politics of the moment would support and where his party had moved, and met it with full force.

[You can listen to this episode of “The Ezra Klein Show” on [*Apple*](https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/the-ezra-klein-show/id1548604447), [*Spotify*](https://open.spotify.com/show/3oB5noYIwEB2dMAREj2F7S), [*Google*](https://www.google.com/podcasts?feed=aHR0cHM6Ly9mZWVkcy5zaW1wbGVjYXN0LmNvbS84MkZJMzVQeA%3D%3D) or [*wherever you get your podcasts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/19/opinion/how-to-listen-ezra-klein-show-nyt.html?action=click&amp;module=RelatedLinks&amp;pgtype=Article).]

But Sanders’s two presidential campaigns are part of the reason that the Democratic Party had moved, and the politics of the moment had changed. And so I’ve wondered what Sanders makes of this moment. Is it a triumph? A disappointment? A beginning?

And I’ve wondered about his take on some of the other questions swirling around the Democratic Party: Are liberals alienating people who agree with them on economics by being too censorious on culture? Is there room to work with populist Republicans who might be open to new economic ideas even as they turn against liberal democracy itself?

You can listen to our whole conversation by following “The Ezra Klein Show” on [*Apple*](https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/the-ezra-klein-show/id1548604447), [*Spotify*](https://open.spotify.com/show/3oB5noYIwEB2dMAREj2F7S), [*Google*](https://www.google.com/podcasts?feed=aHR0cHM6Ly9mZWVkcy5zaW1wbGVjYXN0LmNvbS84MkZJMzVQeA%3D%3D) or [*wherever you get your podcasts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/19/opinion/how-to-listen-ezra-klein-show-nyt.html?action=click&amp;module=RelatedLinks&amp;pgtype=Article). An edited transcript follows.

The 2009 stimulus was 5.6 percent of the G.D.P. in 2008. The Rescue Plan this year is 9.1 percent of last year’s G.D.P. So it’s just much bigger. And the individual policies in it are, in my view, much less compromised. So why are 50 Democrats in 2021 legislating so much more progressively than 59 Democrats did in 2009?

Well, I think that there is a growing understanding that we face unprecedented crises, and we have got to act in an unprecedented way. Members of Congress look around this country, and they see children who don’t have enough food, people facing eviction. People can’t get health care. We have, obviously, the need to crush this terrible pandemic that has taken over 500,000 lives.

And I think the conclusion from the White House and from Congress is, now is the time to do what the American people need us to do. And it turned out to be a $1.9 trillion bill, which, to my mind, was the single most significant piece of legislation for ***working-class*** people that has been passed since the 1960s.

Let’s say I’m someone on the left who supported you in 2020. I’m looking at the American Rescue Plan and I see the $15 minimum wage got dropped, paid family leave got dropped. The child tax credit, which is my favorite part of the bill, it’s only temporary. Convince me that I should be excited about this. Why do you think it’s so significant?

I don’t have to convince you. We have already convinced 75 percent of the American people that this is a very good piece of legislation. And I think progressives out there understand that given a fairly conservative Congress, it is hard to do everything that we want to do.

I was bitterly disappointed that we lost the minimum wage in the reconciliation process as a result of a decision from the parliamentarian, which I think was a wrong decision. But we’re not giving up on that. We’re going to come back, and we’re going to do it.

But in this legislation, let us be clear we have gotten for a family of four — a ***working-class*** family struggling to put food on the table for their kids — a check of $5,600. Now people who have money may not think that’s a lot of money. But when you are struggling day and night to pay the bills, to worry about eviction, that is going to be a lifesend for millions and millions of people.

We extended unemployment to September with the $300 supplement. We expanded the child tax credit to cut child poverty in America by 50 percent. Now, that’s an issue we have not dealt with for a very long time — the disgrace of the U.S. having one of the highest rates of childhood poverty of any major country on Earth. Well, we did it, and we hope to make it permanent. That is a big deal.

And obviously, we invested heavily in dealing with the pandemic, getting the vaccines out to the people as quickly as possible to save lives. In terms of education, billions of dollars are going to make sure that we open our schools as quickly and as safely as we can. We tripled funding for summer programs so the kids will have the opportunity to make up the academic work that they have lost. Tripled funding for after-school programs so when kids come back next fall, there will be programs the likes of which we have never seen.

So this is not a perfect bill. Congress does not pass perfect bills. But for ***working-class*** people, this is the most significant piece of legislation passed since the 1960s. And I’m proud of what we have done.

However, it is clear to me — and I think the American people — that we have more to do. This is an emergency bill that says, in America families should not go hungry. People should not be forced out of their homes.

Now we have to deal with the long-term structural problems facing our country that have long, long been neglected way before the pandemic: rebuild our crumbling infrastructure, address the existential threat of climate change, create many millions of decent-paying jobs, build the millions of units of affordable housing that we need.

In terms of the social issues: fight structural racism, immigration reform, fight against the growing trend of authoritarianism. We’re living in a nation today where 30 percent or 40 percent of the American people have given up on democracy — a worldwide problem. How do we combat that? We got to deal with voter suppression and the effort of Republicans to make it harder and harder for people of color, lower-income people, to vote.

There are a huge number of issues out there. Some of them are existential — they have to be dealt with. And I intend to do everything that I can as chairman of the Budget Committee to make sure that we continue to move forward.

This bill, as you mentioned, passed through budget reconciliation. The things that couldn’t go through budget reconciliation got dropped from it. But a bunch of the different policy measures you just mentioned can’t go through budget reconciliation. You can’t do immigration reform there. You can’t do H. R. 1, the For the People Act, or H.R. 4, the Voting Rights Act.

Well, I’m not so sure.

You’re budget chairman. Tell me why.

I don’t want to bore the American people with the rules of the United States.

Bore me. [LAUGHS]

If you have insomnia, pick up the rule book. You’ll be asleep in about five minutes. It is enormously complicated. It is enormously undemocratic. It is designed to move very, very slowly, which we cannot afford to do, given the crises that we face today.

This is the way I look at it: We have a set of literally unprecedented crises. Ideally, it would be nice that we could work in a bipartisan way with our Republican colleagues — and maybe in some areas, we can. But the major goal is to address these crises. That is what the American people want. And if we can’t do it in a bipartisan way with 60 votes, we’re going to figure out a way that we get it done with 50 votes.

I have never heard a theory under which you could do democracy reform bills like the John Lewis Voting Rights Act or a major immigration reform bill through budget reconciliation. Do you see a way around that? Are you talking about the Democrats changing reconciliation or changing the filibuster?

Well, obviously, I believe that we should do away with the filibuster. I think the filibuster is an impediment to addressing the needs of this country, and especially of ***working-class*** people. So I believe that at this moment we should get rid of the filibuster, and I will work as hard as I can to do that.

I’m not going to lay out all of our strategy that we’re working on right now. But what I repeat is that this country faces huge problems. The American people want us to address those problems. And we cannot allow a minority to stop us from going forward.

There’s a lot of coverage, as there always is, about potential friction in the Democratic caucus in the Senate — differences between, say, a Senator Joe Manchin and Kyrsten Sinema and others. Do you find the caucus to be united on strategy more, or less than in the past?

Obviously, you’ve got 50 people. And when you have 50 people, the crazy situation is that any one person could prevent us from moving forward. But I think and hope that there is an understanding that despite our differences — and some of these differences are significant — we have got to work with the president of the United States, who I think is prepared to go forward aggressively in a number of issues. We cannot sabotage the needs of the American people.

So any one person really has enormous power. But I would hope that by definition, when you are a member of a caucus, you fight for what your views are within the caucus. But at the end of the day, nobody is going to get everything they want. I did not get everything that I want in the American Rescue Plan. Others did not get everything they wanted.

But at the end of the day, we have got to go forward together because we need to be united. And I think there is a widespread understanding about the importance of that.

Let’s talk about the dynamics between the parties right now. A few months ago, you were working with Senator Josh Hawley on bigger stimulus checks. That was a very effective project. But then Senator Hawley votes against certifying the election. He raised his fist to the mob from the Capitol. How have your relationships with Republicans changed in the aftermath of Jan. 6?

Well, all in all, I don’t want to get into personalities here. But this is what I would say. And I think it’s a very sad state of affairs.

Obviously, in the last many years, only accelerated by Donald Trump, the Republican Party has moved not only very far to the right, but moved in the direction of authoritarianism. You have a president of the United States saying a month before the election that the only way he could lose that election is if it was stolen from him. After he lost the election, he says, obviously, it was stolen. And you have now a very significant majority of Republicans who believe that the election was stolen.

That is where many Republicans are. You got a lot of Republican senators, members of the House, who are refusing even today to say that Joe Biden won a fair and square election. So you’ve got a whole lot of problems. That’s one of the issues that as a nation, as a Democratic Party, we have got to address.

Do you think a byproduct of how the Republican Party has changed is that it puts less emphasis on economic issues than it used to? I was struck by how much more energized Republicans were the week that the American Rescue Plan passed by the debate over Dr. Seuss’s books than by this $1.9 billion spending bill.

Look, the energy in the Republican Party has nothing to do with tax breaks to the rich. Republicans are not going into the streets, the Trump Republicans, saying: We need more tax breaks for the rich, we need more deregulation, we need to end the Affordable Care Act and throw 30 million people off their health care. That’s not what they’re talking about.

What Trump understood is we are living in a very rapidly changing world. And there are many people — most often older white males, but not exclusively — who feel that they’re losing control of the world that they used to dominate. And somebody like Donald Trump says: “We are going to preserve the old way of life, where older white males dominated American society. We’re not going to let them take that away from us.” That is where their energy is.

One of the gratifying things is the American Rescue Plan had [*a decent amount of Republican support*](https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2021/03/09/broad-public-support-for-coronavirus-aid-package-just-a-third-say-it-spends-too-much/) — 35 percent, 40 percent. But among lower-income Republicans, that number was 63 percent.

So I think that our political goal in the coming months and years is to do everything we can to reach out to young people, reach out to people of color, reach out to all people who believe in economic and social justice, but also reach out aggressively to ***working-class*** Republicans and tell them we’re going to make sure that you and your children will have a decent standard of living. We’re going to raise the minimum wage for you. We’re going to make it easier for you to join a union. We’re going to make sure that health care in America is a human right. We’re going to make sure that if we do tax breaks, you’re going to get them and not the billionaire class.

I think we have a real opportunity to pick up support in that area. And if we can do that — if you can get 10 percent of Trump’s support and grow our support by addressing the real issues that our people feel are important — you’re going to put together a coalition that is not going to lose a lot of elections.

The Republican strategy right now, to your exact point, is to go to these people and say, the Democrats want to take away things that are culturally important to you. They want to take away your Dr. Seuss books. They want to take away your guns. They want to make it so your kids can’t go to religious school.

How do you talk to voters who are actually worried about those direct questions — who may agree with Democrats on the economic side, but are worried the Democrats are going to take things they culturally care about?

It’s a good question, and no one that I know has a magical answer to it. I do think that addressing economic issues is helpful. It’s not the 100 percent solution. As you know, you’ve got the QAnon people telling their supporters that Democrats — I’m not sure what the latest particular thing is, killed babies and eat their brains or something. Is that the latest thing that we’re supposed to be doing? I don’t know.

But when people who are in trouble suddenly receive a check for $5,600 for a family of four, when their unemployment is extended, when they get health care that they previously did not have, when they’re better able to raise their child, it’s not going to solve all of these cultural problems by a long shot, but it begins maybe to open the door and say, well, you know what? This is good. Trump didn’t do this for us. And maybe these Democrats are not as bad as we thought that they were.

I think it’s going to take a lot of work. These cultural issues, I don’t know how you bridge the gap. You have people who are fervently anti-choice, and I’m not sure that you are going to win many of them over. But I think what we have got to do is do what I’m afraid the Democrats have not always done in the past. And that is treat people with respect.

I come from one of the most rural states in America, and I lived in a town of 200 people for a couple of years. And I think there is not an appreciation of rural America or the values of rural America, the sense of community that exists in rural America. And somehow or another, the intellectual elite does have, in some cases, a contempt for the people who live in rural America. I think we’ve got to change that attitude and start focusing on the needs of people in rural America, treat them with respect, and understand there are areas there are going to be disagreements, but we can’t treat people with contempt.

Do you think there is truth to the critique that liberals have become too censorious and too willing to use their cultural and corporate and political power to censor or suppress ideas and products that offend them?

Look, you have a former president in Trump, who was a racist, a sexist, a xenophobe, a pathological liar, an authoritarian, somebody who doesn’t believe in the rule of law. This is a bad-news guy. But if you’re asking me, do I feel particularly comfortable that the then-president of the United States could not express his views on Twitter? I don’t feel comfortable about that.

Now, I don’t know what the answer is. Do you want hate speech and conspiracy theories traveling all over this country? No. Do you want the internet to be used for authoritarian purposes and an insurrection, if you like? No, you don’t. So how do you balance that? I don’t know, but it is an issue that we have got to be thinking about. Because yesterday it was Donald Trump who was banned, and tomorrow, it could be somebody else who has a very different point of view.

I don’t like giving that much power to a handful of high-tech people. But the devil is obviously in the details, and it’s something we’re going to have to think long and hard on.

Do you think Joe Biden is having an easier time selling an ambitious progressive agenda than Barack Obama did, at least to these audiences, partly because he’s an older white man, rather than a young Black man?

I don’t know the answer to that. Let’s not forget that Barack Obama, after four years, was re-elected with a pretty good majority. He was a popular president and a very popular figure today. But I think you can’t look at Biden or Obama without looking into the moment in which they are living. I think in the last number of years since Obama, political consciousness in this country has changed.

I think to a significant degree, the progressive movement has been successful in saying to the American people that are in the richest country in the history of the world, you know what? You’re entitled to health care as a right. You’re entitled to a decent-paying job. Your kid is entitled to go to a public college or university tuition-free. That it is absolutely imperative that we have the courage to take on the fossil-fuel industry and save this planet by transforming our energy system away from fossil fuels. That it is a moral issue that we finally deal in a comprehensive way with 11 million undocumented immigrants in this country.

I think Biden is in a position where this country has moved forward at the grass-roots level in a much more progressive way. It is not an accident that today the House of Representatives is far more progressive than it was when I was there in the House.

And then you had a president who was a moderate Democrat throughout his time in the Senate, who had the courage to look at the moment and say, you know what? The future of American democracy is at stake, tens of millions of people are struggling economically. They’re really in pain. Our kids are hurting. Seniors are hurting. I’ve got to act boldly. And Biden deserves credit for that.

But what I hope very much is that understanding of the need to act bold goes beyond the American Rescue Plan and is the path that Biden continues during his administration.

Let’s talk about those generational differences. You’re no spring chicken, but you were the overwhelming choice of young voters in 2020. How are the politics of younger voters different, and why are they different?

I love the younger generation. I really do. And it’s not just because they supported me. People say, how did you get the support of the younger people? We treated them with respect and we talked about the issues to them in the same way we talked about the issues to every other generation that’s out there. I think you’ve got a couple of factors, though.

No. 1, for a variety of reasons, the younger generation today is the most progressive generation in the modern history of this country. This is the generation that is firmly anti-racist, anti-sexist, anti-homophobia, anti-xenophobia — a very compassionate generation that believes in economic and social and environmental justice. So you’ve got that.

And then the second thing you’ve got is, this is a generation of young people that is really hurting economically. This is the first generation in the modern history of this country where, everything being equal, they’re going to have a lower standard of living than their parents. And that’s even before the pandemic, which has made a bad situation worse.

This is a generation where, on average, young workers are making less money than their parents. They’re having a much harder time buying a home or paying the rent. This is a generation stuck with a huge amount of student debt. And I was surprised, when we first raised this issue of student debt back in 2016, how it really caught on.

Because people are saying, you know what? What crime did I commit that I have to be $50,000 or $100,000 in debt? I was told over and over again, get an education. I got an education. I went to a state university. I went to a private school. I went to school for four years, and now I’m stuck with a $50,000, $100,000 debt. I went to graduate school. I went to medical school. I got $300,000 in debt. That’s insane.

I think if you look at the young generation from an idealistic point of view, it’s a generation that has expectations and views that are much more progressive than their parents and grandparents. But it is also a generation that wants the government to address the economic pain that they are feeling.

It was a striking moment when President Biden released a video pretty explicitly backing the workers trying to unionize at Amazon’s Alabama warehouse. What could Congress do to help? What do you want to do to help reverse the decline of unionization in the U.S.?

I’m chairman of the Budget Committee, and we just had a hearing which touched on that issue. We had a young woman from a warehouse in Bessemer, Ala., the Amazon plant there, and she was talking about why they need a union. I invited Jeff Bezos to attend the hearing to tell me why a guy who was worth $182 billion thinks he has to spend millions of dollars to fight workers who are trying to form a union to improve their wages and working conditions.

What I have believed for a long time, what Joe Biden believes, is we need to pass legislation to make it easier for workers to join unions. Because if workers are in unions and can negotiate decent contracts, their wages will go up. Their working conditions and their benefits will improve. So we are working hard on that issue, and something I know [*the House has passed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/09/us/politics/house-labor-rights-bill.html). I want to see it passed here in the Senate as well.

Should Democrats be pushing for something bigger, like sectoral bargaining?

I believe so. I campaigned on that. But I think bottom line is that Democrats got to take a deep breath and to make the determination of whether or not they’re going to become the party of the American ***working class*** — a class, by the way, which has suffered really terribly in the last 40 or 50 years, where today, workers are barely in real wages making any more than they did 40 or 50 years ago, despite huge increases in technology and productivity. I think we got to do that.

And I think when we do that — when we have the courage to take on powerful special interests, taking on Wall Street, taking on the drug companies, taking on the health care industry, taking on big campaign contributors who want to maintain the status quo — we are going to be able to transform this country and create an economy and a government that works for all. And I think Democrats are going to have very good political success as well.

The Rescue Plan will be followed up by a big jobs and investment package. What needs to be in that package for it to win your support?

The simple stuff and obvious stuff is, you’ve got an infrastructure which is crumbling and roads and bridges and water systems and wastewater plants. I would add affordable and low-income housing to any discussion of infrastructure. So you’ve got to deal with infrastructure, and when you do that, you can create millions of good-paying jobs.

But obviously, also, you have to deal with the existential threat of climate change. We’ve got to guarantee health care to all people as a right. You got to deal with immigration reform. You’ve got to deal with criminal justice and systemic racism. So those are some of the big, big issues that are out there.

[You can listen to this episode of “The Ezra Klein Show” on [*Apple*](https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/the-ezra-klein-show/id1548604447), [*Spotify*](https://open.spotify.com/show/3oB5noYIwEB2dMAREj2F7S), [*Google*](https://www.google.com/podcasts?feed=aHR0cHM6Ly9mZWVkcy5zaW1wbGVjYXN0LmNvbS84MkZJMzVQeA%3D%3D) or [*wherever you get your podcasts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/19/opinion/how-to-listen-ezra-klein-show-nyt.html?action=click&amp;module=RelatedLinks&amp;pgtype=Article).]

“The Ezra Klein Show” is produced by Rogé Karma and Jeff Geld; fact-checking by Michelle Harris; original music by Isaac Jones; mixing by Jeff Geld.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by The New York Times; photograph by Allison Farrand for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Dutch Kills, Queens: Low-Key and Low-Slung, but Not for Much Longer; Living in***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66CR-TCG1-JBG3-60RP-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** Sandwiched between Astoria and Long Island City — and often overlooked because of it — this formerly sleepy industrial area is looking at big changes.

**Body**

Sandwiched between Astoria and Long Island City — and often overlooked because of it — this formerly sleepy industrial area is looking at big changes.

During the height of the pandemic, when city sidewalks seemed especially dirty, residents of Dutch Kills, a neighborhood in northwestern Queens, awoke one day to an unusual sight: Hanging on fences around fallow construction sites and on the sides of hotels that had seen better days were more than two dozen bright-yellow brooms. Some had signs urging, “Let’s come together to clean.”

Free to anyone who wanted to grab and use them, the brooms were an instant hit, said Noni Pratt, a 14-year Dutch Kills resident, who conceived and installed them in October 2021. Those brooms, channeling the scrappy spirit of Dutch Kills, may also be an apt symbol of change. As developers pressure longtime owners to sell their properties, the laid-back vibe of this low-slung neighborhood seems on the verge of being swept away.

“It can feel like we’re turning into an extension of Manhattan,” said Richard Madrid, 53, a lifetime resident who owns DK PubLIC, a local restaurant. “But growth is inevitable, and you have to roll with it.”

Rolling with the changes has been a constant for Mr. Madrid during his time in this 36-block neighborhood, which is wedged between the better-known Astoria and Long Island City. Once a bit industrial and rough, Dutch Kills began to evolve in the early years of the 21st century, as developers arrived to put up hotels for tourists seeking affordable alternatives to Manhattan. Then, in 2008, officials rezoned the neighborhood to encourage the building of apartments, a move that residents largely supported — but one that some may now regret, as the rezoning opened the door to the dozen or so luxury rentals and condos that gleam like spaceships next to century-old brick and clapboard buildings.

Mr. Madrid has moved around, although never far, from 39th Avenue to 27th Street to 28th Street, where he currently shares a two-story brick home with his wife, Marcia Madrid, and their two children, ages 10 and 16. The Italianate-style building cost $400,000 in 2008.

But while Mr. Madrid aspires to live and let live, he and some neighbors are miffed about the city’s plan to slap [*congestion pricing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/18/nyregion/nyc-congestion-pricing-manhattan.html) on those driving into Midtown. The Ed Koch Queensboro Bridge, which crosses the East River at East 59th Street, is just shy of the East 60th Street boundary set under the plan, meaning that inbound bridge users would soon have to pay tolls. And Mr. Madrid, who drives to his second job as a manager of a veterinary practice on East 39th Street, could be one of them.

Others worry that drivers from Long Island seeking to avoid the new fees will dump their cars in Dutch Kills and hop on subways, jamming streets where parking is already tight.

“I feel like we will be hit with a ransom just to get to New Jersey,” said Stephen Morena, 76, a retired cook for railroads and hospitals, who lives in his childhood home, a shingle-sided two-family on 38th Avenue that cost his relatives $4,500 in 1916, he said. But in the same way that his family has stuck around, Mr. Morena finds few reasons to leave.

“We’re so close to the city,” he said. “But you get to live here without all the craziness of Manhattan.”

What You’ll Find

Whether Dutch Kills is distinct or part of a larger neighborhood has long been debated. And signs on businesses can confuse: A building-supply company proclaims that the neighborhood is in Long Island City, while the Astoria Music Studio on Crescent Street takes a different view. Still, some felt vindicated in 2019, when the Metropolitan Transportation Authority caved to community pressure and added “Dutch Kills” to the 39th Avenue subway station’s name.

Bracketed by two busy commercial strips, Northern Boulevard and 21st Street, and 37th and 41st Avenues, the neighborhood does have its own governing group, the Dutch Kills Civic Association, formed in 1979.

Lines of modest rowhouses and machine shops give a throwback, ***working-class*** look to some blocks. And those two-story houses can seem unusually short compared with the three or more stories that are standard elsewhere. Vinyl siding conceals many corbels and clapboards, although fewer than it once did. Walking down the older blocks, toward Long Island City and its thicket of glamorous high-rises, can feel like approaching a stage set from behind.

Dutch Kills does have a few developments of its own, most of them rentals. Newer arrivals include Dutch House, an eight-story, 186-unit building from Slate Property Group, at 37-05 30th Street; Crescent Tower, a glassy six-story, 17-unit version, at 38-35 Crescent Street; and Line LIC, a seven-story, 42-unit project, at 38-11 31st Street, where a recycling business once stood.

Condos include the Neighborly, a seven-story, 77-unit project from the developer New Empire, at 37-14 34th Street, that began closings this spring; the Sunswick LIC, a skinny, 10-unit property at 37-29 32nd Street, where buyers moved in this summer; and Novo LIC, a seven-story, 33-unit project that Park Construction is developing at 37-28 30th Street.

Those looking to raze and build anew seem to have several options — many properties currently listed have ads citing their development potential. And in some cases, owners appear to be long gone, as along 31st Street, where some for-sale houses are boarded up.

“Projects planned years ago are now finally coming to fruition,” said Tim Rothman, an agent with Compass, who is marketing the Sunswick. “This is now a completely different neighborhood, though people still have a hard time finding it.”

What You’ll Pay

Because rowhouses are often valued as development sites, their prices can be extra-steep, like $2 million for a property requiring a lot of work. Some buyers start looking in densely developed areas of Long Island City, like Court Square and Queensboro Plaza, before realizing that they can find something similar in Dutch Kills for less, brokers say.

Recently, activity has been brisk. This year, through early September, 43 condos, co-ops and rowhouses sold in Dutch Kills for an average of $1.04 million, according to an analysis of data from StreetEasy. By contrast, during all of 2021, there were 50 home sales for an average price of $932,000, according to the data.

On the rental side, there were 14 apartments available on StreetEasy as of Sept. 5, for an average rent of $3,600 a month. At the high end was a two-bedroom with a balcony at 23-10 41st Avenue, a glassy 17-story building, asking $6,200 a month. The least expensive was a one-bedroom at 38-38 29th Street, a brick prewar building, for $2,100.

The Vibe

Despite receiving generous light, Dutch Kills is not known for its green space. The fountain-centered Dutch Kills Playground is one of just a few such spaces in the neighborhood.

During the worst of the pandemic, Steffan Partridge, 49, a real estate broker, invited neighbors to establish garden plots behind his two-family house on 28th Street, and drew about a dozen families. “One was a comedian who liked to try out his material on plants because they’re such a tough crowd,” said Mr. Partridge, who added that some “Dutch killers” — that is, locals — continue to grow tomatoes, peppers and flowers there today.

Restaurants are here and there, like Beija Flor, a Brazilian joint on 29th Street with live music on weekends, and Carla, which exudes a tropical vibe on 40th Avenue. Those seeking truly lively nightlife visit Astoria’s 36th Avenue, which has a United Nations-worthy assortment of Japanese, Greek and Irish restaurants.

The Schools

The neighborhood’s zoned public elementary school is Public School 112 Dutch Kills, which enrolls 400 students in prekindergarten through fifth grade. The student body is 38 percent Hispanic, 27 percent Asian, 23 percent Black and 8 percent white, according to city data, and 18 percent of the student body is learning English. In 2021, the pass rate by former fifth graders in their sixth-grade classes in subjects like math and English was 95 percent.

Most students attend Intermediate School 204 Oliver W. Holmes, which has an enrollment of 380 in sixth through eighth grade. The school’s pass rate for core classes last year was 85 percent, according to the city.

For high school, a popular option is Long Island City High School, just outside the neighborhood. Thirty-seven percent of its 2,160 students take at least one Advanced Placement class, and 85 percent graduate in four years, according to city data. Of the graduates, 56 percent head to college the following year.

The Commute

There are two subway stops in the neighborhood: N and W trains stop at 39th Avenue, and the F train stops at 21st Street and 41st Avenue. Commuting to Times Square takes about 15 minutes. Other subway stops, just beyond the neighborhood’s borders, offer access to E, M, R and 7 trains.

The History

The “kills” in Dutch Kills — as with Fresh Kills or Catskills — is derived from Dutch for streams. A waterway once meandered along present-day Northern Boulevard en route to Newtown Creek, according to a map provided by the Greater Astoria Historical Society; a canal near 47th Avenue is a kills remnant. During the Revolutionary War, British soldiers shacked up in farmhouses along what is now 39th Avenue. In 1903, those historic structures were demolished to make way for railroad tracks, according to the Civic Association. The bridge opened in 1909.

For weekly email updates on residential real estate news, [*sign up here*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/realestate/).

PHOTO: DK PubLIC, a restaurant at 29th Street and 39th Avenue in Dutch Kills, Queens, is owned by Richard Madrid, who grew up nearby. In Dutch Kills, families tend to stick around. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TIMOTHY MULCARE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***A Success Story, but Also a Myth?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64SH-SC71-JBG3-61X9-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 18; LETTERS

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**Body**

Readers respond to an essay by Tara Westover, the author of ''Educated,'' about college education and the American dream.

To the Editor:

Re ''I Am Not Proof of the American Dream,'' by Tara Westover (Opinion guest essay, Sunday Review, Feb. 6):

I grew up poor in New York City and had experiences similar to Ms. Westover's.

The American dream is unobtainable today for the vast majority of poor students, particularly because of the outrageous cost of obtaining a college, let alone a graduate school, education. This is an American tragedy, a threat to our democracy, yet is a problem that is solvable if as a nation we put our minds to it.

Student debt needs to be eliminated. We as a nation need to rein in the explosion in the costs of higher education, and we need to make it affordable through government subsidy, an expansion of Pell grants or other means not yet identified.

Our democracy is still an experiment that requires constant nurturing by an educated and informed populace. Education has always been, and shall continue to be, a pillar of a successful democracy. That fact ought to be a guiding light in bringing together our otherwise polarized nation because we all shall ''win'' or ''lose'' based on whether we successfully address this challenge.

Barry S. SziklayWest Orange, N.J.

To the Editor:

Through her own tenacity, grit and will, Tara Westover, using a modest government grant to help pay basic expenses and tuition subsidized by the Mormon Church, transformed herself from an unsophisticated, impoverished young girl into a highly skilled, successful and well-educated professional.

But she has become disillusioned with the American dream she personified, and paints a depressingly bleak and disheartening picture of the prospects for a new generation of equally determined young strivers.

Ms. Westover vividly describes how she struggled to achieve her goals. She writes: ''But it was possible. Without family money, without cultural advantages, it was a thing that could be done, if only just, if you really wanted it.''

That's a pretty good definition of the American dream, and it remains a reality for many thousands of motivated offspring of ***working-class*** Americans as well as immigrants who came here with next to nothing, and who are equally plucky and determined as the younger Ms. Westover.

The inflated costs (of tuition, housing, etc.) that Ms. Westover justifiably laments may indeed seem impossibly imposing. But lesser costs once seemed so to her. Why underestimate today's dreamers? They are out there, undeterred.

By all means, let us pursue Ms. Westover's suggestions: restore funding, reduce inefficiencies and inequalities. But let us promote the hopeful example of her earlier experience rather than the discouraging despair of her current view of the American dream.

Alan M. SchwartzTeaneck, N.J.

To the Editor:

Tara Westover's essay notes that her life was transformed by the financial stability provided by a Pell grant she received as a college sophomore.

Ms. Westover applied for that grant because a church leader insisted she do so. It was this person's intervention, as much as the grant itself, that allowed Ms. Westover to shift her focus from keeping a roof over her head to her academic work. She succeeded because she gained access to both personal and financial resources that enabled her to fully participate in her studies.

Most of us have benefited from a timely offer of help, encouragement or information. The networks that provide such support, at least as much as the resources they mobilize, enable people to succeed. None of us can make it alone.

Ms. Westover's experiences show how important it is that each of us embrace our opportunities to extend a helping hand.

Deborah BeckAustin, TexasThe writer is an associate professor of classics at the University of Texas at Austin.

To the Editor:

Tara Westover's essay resonated deeply with me. I feel like a fraud because people tell me I should be proud of my success, but none of it would have been possible if not for financial aid from the State of Texas and scholarships from private donors that allowed me to have a slightly more normal college experience than the typical kid putting herself through college. I can't imagine putting time toward extracurriculars or taking only one job during college if not for that.

Even with all that help, I still had to take on student loans, and if not for my major and career choice, I wouldn't have been able to pay them off so soon. I definitely wouldn't recommend that most people make the choices I made.

My story, like the author's, proves what's so nefarious about the American dream: We're conditioned to think that if we ask for help we're a drain on society, thus shaming us into silence and avoiding an honest conversation on the role of government in this crisis.

Dhananjay KhannaSeattle

To the Editor:

The underlying message in Tara Westover's fine piece is really about the failures of our financial aid system.

Students are perplexed about how much funding is available. Ms. Westover didn't know she was eligible for a Pell grant until her sophomore year. Even if she had, though, financial aid can still be inadequate today.

If we are going to provide economic opportunity to all students who manage the inequities of the K-12 education system and are college-ready, the financial aid system needs to be more transparent so that students know what college will really cost them. And it needs to provide sufficient aid so that lower-income students don't need to work multiple jobs, go into excessive debt, and survive on ramen noodles. Our current system fails on both scores.

Phillip B. LevineWellesley, Mass.The writer is a professor of economics at Wellesley College and the author of the forthcoming book ''A Problem of Fit: How the Complexity of College Pricing Hurts Students -- and Universities.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/13/opinion/letters/tara-westover-educated-college.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/13/opinion/letters/tara-westover-educated-college.html)

**Graphic**

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[***Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction: Sunday, January 24th 2021***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61VN-GWX1-DXY4-X35V-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 24, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 480 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the January 24, 2021 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending January 9, 2021. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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| --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |
|  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction |
| This | On |  |
| Week | List |  |
| 1 | 78 | ON TYRANNY, by Timothy Snyder. (Tim Duggan) Twenty lessons from the 20th century about the course of tyranny. |
| 2 | 116 | THE BODY KEEPS THE SCORE, by Bessel van der Kolk. (Penguin) How trauma affects the body and mind, and innovative treatments for recovery. |
| 3 | 39 | BRAIDING SWEETGRASS, by Robin Wall Kimmerer. (Milkweed Editions) A botanist and member of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation espouses having an understanding and appreciation of plants and animals. |
| 4 | 123 | WHITE FRAGILITY, by Robin DiAngelo. (Beacon) Historical and cultural analyses on what causes defensive moves by white people and how this inhibits cross-racial dialogue. |
| 5 | 62 | HILLBILLY ELEGY, by J.D. Vance. (Harper) A Yale Law School graduate looks at the struggles of the white ***working class*** through the story of his own childhood. |
| 6 | 25 | MY OWN WORDS, by Ruth Bader Ginsburg with Mary Hartnett and Wendy W. Williams. (Simon & Schuster) A collection of articles and speeches by the Supreme Court justice. |
| 7 | 126 | SAPIENS, by Yuval Noah Harari. (Harper Perennial) How Homo sapiens became Earth?s dominant species. |
| 8 | 236 | JUST MERCY, by Bryan Stevenson. (One World) A civil rights lawyer and MacArthur grant recipient?s memoir of his decades of work to free innocent people condemned to death. |
| 9 | 100 | BORN A CRIME, by Trevor Noah. (One World) A memoir about growing up biracial in apartheid South Africa by the host of ?The Daily Show.? |
| 10 | 10 | LEAD FROM THE OUTSIDE, by Stacey Abrams. (Picador) A memoir by the former minority leader of the Georgia House of Representatives who ran to be the state?s governor in 2018. |
| 11 | 54 | THE WARMTH OF OTHER SUNS, by Isabel Wilkerson. (Vintage) An account of the Great Migration of 1915-70, in which six million African-Americans abandoned the South. |
| 12 | 216 | THE NEW JIM CROW, by Michelle Alexander. (New Press) A law professor on the ?war on drugs? and its role in the disproportionate incarceration of Black men. |
| 13 | 27 | SO YOU WANT TO TALK ABOUT RACE, by Ijeoma Oluo. (Seal) A look at the contemporary racial landscape of the United States. |
| 14 | 35 | THE COLOR OF LAW, by Richard Rothstein. (Liveright) A case for how the American government abetted racial segregation in metropolitan areas across the country. |
| 15 | 260 | THINKING, FAST AND SLOW, by Daniel Kahneman. (Farrar, Straus & Giroux) When we can and cannot trust our intuitions in making business and personal decisions. |

**Load-Date:** January 26, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Democrats Worry as G.O.P. Attack Ads Take a Toll in Wisconsin***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66JF-5GC1-DXY4-X08K-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 6, 2022 Thursday 19:46 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1743 words

**Byline:** Reid J. Epstein

**Highlight:** Mandela Barnes, the party’s Senate candidate, is now wobbling in his race against Ron Johnson, the Republican incumbent. Democratic nominees in other states face similar challenges.

**Body**

Mandela Barnes, the party’s Senate candidate, is now wobbling in his race against Ron Johnson, the Republican incumbent. Democratic nominees in other states face similar challenges.

MADISON, Wis. — Politicians who visit diners know the deal: In exchange for photos establishing their ***working-class*** bona fides, they must cheerfully accept heaping portions of unsolicited advice.

But on Tuesday at Monty’s Blue Plate Diner here in Madison, one of the first people to approach Lt. Gov. Mandela Barnes, the Democratic nominee for Senate in Wisconsin, took the tradition to a new level, presenting him with a typed-up list of concerns about his campaign.

The supporter, Jane Kashnig, a retired businesswoman who has spent recent weeks going door to door to speak with voters, told Mr. Barnes his backers were jittery about his inability to repel an unending volley of attack ads from Senator Ron Johnson and his Republican allies.

Show more fire, Ms. Kashnig urged the Democrat and his campaign. “The people on the doors want him to fight,” she said.

Democrats in Wisconsin are wringing their hands about how Mr. Barnes’s political fortunes have sagged under the weight of the Republican advertising blitz. Grumbling about his campaign tactics and the help he is receiving from national Democrats, they worry that he could be one of several of the party’s Senate candidates whose struggles to parry a withering G.O.P. onslaught could sink their candidacies and cost Democrats control of the chamber.

Beyond Wisconsin, Republican Senate candidates and their allies in Pennsylvania, Nevada and Georgia have alarmed Democrats with their gains in the polls after an enormous investment in television advertising. In those three states, Republicans and their allies outspent Democrats in September, according to data from AdImpact, a media-tracking firm.

The Republican wave of ads has helped counteract the [*Democratic momentum*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/14/us/politics/abortion-midterms-2022-ads-democrats.html) that followed the Supreme Court’s decision in June to end the constitutional right to an abortion. Republicans have shifted the debate to more friendly terrain, [*focusing in Wisconsin and other places on crime*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/26/us/politics/republicans-crime-midterms.html).

“There were weeks where we would get outspent two-to-one on TV,” Mr. Barnes said in an interview. “There has been an unprecedented amount of negative spin against me.”

It has been an abrupt turnaround for Mr. Barnes since late summer, when he won the Democratic primary by [*acclamation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/27/us/politics/alex-lasry-senate-wisconsin.html) and opened up a [*lead in polls*](https://law.marquette.edu/poll/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/MLSP71Toplines.html#Q16a:_Johnson_vs_Barnes) over Mr. Johnson, who has long had the [*lowest approval ratings*](https://morningconsult.com/2022/01/25/ron-johnson-unpopular-in-wisconsin-can-he-win-anyway/) of any incumbent senator on the ballot this year. But the hail of attack ads from Mr. Johnson and allied super PACs has tanked Mr. Barnes’s standing, particularly among the state’s finicky independent voters.

Republicans have seized in particular on Mr. Barnes’s past progressive stances, including his suggestion in a 2020 television interview that funding be diverted from “over-bloated budgets in police departments” to social services — a key element of the movement to defund the police. Since then, Mr. Barnes has [*disavowed defunding the police*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/wisconsins-field-of-democratic-senate-hopefuls-is-lining-up-on-left-of-biden-11642942804) and has called for an increase in funding.

Race has also been at the center of the televised assault on Mr. Barnes, who is Black. Mail advertising from Republicans has [*darkened Mr. Barnes’s skin*](https://www.jsonline.com/story/news/politics/elections/2022/09/22/mandela-barnes-supporters-accuse-republicans-airing-racist-ads-race-us-senate-race-ron-johnson/8074904001/), while some TV ads from a Republican super PAC have [*superimposed his name*](https://mycmag.kantarmediana.com/KMIcmagvidbin2/USSEN_WI_WITRUTHPAC_ACTUAL_CRIME_SCENES.html) next to images of crime scenes.

Those overtones come as no surprise to Wisconsin Democrats. He is only the third Black statewide official in Wisconsin’s history; the first two both lost re-election in campaigns widely regarded as racist. And Democratic strategists and voters are well aware that fighting back aggressively has its dangers.

“It’s real easy to go from ‘fired up for change’ to ‘the angry Black guy from Milwaukee’ in the public perception,” said Alexia Sabor, the Democratic Party chairwoman in Dane County, which includes Madison.

For all of the Republican optimism, Mr. Barnes still has a path to victory. Wisconsin elections over the last two decades have been very close, with [*Donald J. Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/elections/2016/results/wisconsin-president-clinton-trump) and [*Joseph R. Biden Jr.*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-wisconsin.html) each winning the deeply polarized state by fewer than 25,000 votes in their successful presidential campaigns. And Wisconsin Democrats have a record of winning tight races: Including nonpartisan State Supreme Court elections, the party has won nine of the 10 statewide elections since 2018. Mr. Johnson is also less popular in the state now than he was when he won narrow victories in 2010 and 2016.

“I have not met somebody who’s like, ‘Oh, gee, how should I vote in the Senate race?’” said Mayor Katie Rosenberg of Wausau, a longtime friend and political supporter of Mr. Barnes. “I mean, mostly people know.”

Mr. Barnes entered the primary as a favorite of the progressive wing of the Democratic Party. When he first ran for office, in 2012, [*he wrote on Twitter*](https://www.jsonline.com/story/news/investigations/daniel-bice/2022/09/29/mandela-barnes-us-senate-candidate-vs-ron-johnson-2022-election-on-twitter-donald-trump-russian-spy/10440513002/) that progressive candidates who moved to the political center were “[*compromising all integrity*](https://twitter.com/TheOtherMandela/status/230329137162752000).” In 2019, he delivered [*the Working Families Party’s response*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LsUSKeRfbBE) to Mr. Trump’s State of the Union address.

Mr. Barnes, 35, a former state legislator who was elected lieutenant governor in 2018, consistently led in the primary polls. Two weeks before the primary, his leading rivals [*dropped out*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/27/us/politics/alex-lasry-senate-wisconsin.html) and endorsed him one by one, saying they hoped to give him a runway to raise money and begin attacking Mr. Johnson.

“I gave him a two-week head start,” said Tom Nelson, the Outagamie County executive, who was the first Democratic Senate candidate to end his campaign and back Mr. Barnes.

But now, Mr. Nelson said, “The campaign needs to fire its media consultant.” He added, “They’re losing.”

The Republican ads have been remarkably effective. Shortly after the Aug. 9 primary, Mr. Barnes led Mr. Johnson by seven percentage points overall and by 15 points among independent voters, according to [*a poll conducted by Marquette University Law School*](https://law.marquette.edu/poll/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/MLSP71Toplines.html#Q16a:_Johnson_vs_Barnes). But 41 percent of voters still didn’t have an opinion about Mr. Barnes. A month later, Mr. Johnson led by [*a point overall*](https://law.marquette.edu/poll/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/MLSP72ToplinesRV.html#Q15a:_Johnson_vs_Barnes) and by two points among Wisconsin’s independents.

Mr. Johnson declined an interview request. In an [*interview with a conservative talk radio host*](https://soundcloud.com/kelly-conner-476395918/ron-johnson-on-the-dan-odonnell-show-9222022/s-8vuILJgXNW4?si=1a6050451eec45999e2a8afa9e29b02a&amp;utm_source=clipboard&amp;utm_medium=text&amp;utm_campaign=social_sharing) in Milwaukee last month, Mr. Johnson accused Democrats of “playing the race card,” adding, “That’s what leftists do.”

Mr. Barnes, who announced on Wednesday that he had raised $20 million during the three-month fund-raising period that ended Sept. 30, has responded to Mr. Johnson with gentle advertisements in which he speaks to the camera and calmly asserts that the senator is lying about his record. In one, he is at a kitchen table [*making a peanut butter and jelly sandwich*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qRgTuFwaCPw). Only on Monday did the Barnes campaign [*begin airing an ad*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=27YOIWwFfEU) criticizing Mr. Johnson’s opposition to abortion rights.

Some Democrats also worry that Mr. Barnes is not sufficiently motivating Black voters, a key constituency largely concentrated in Milwaukee. Most of the city’s leading Black elected officials endorsed other candidates during the Senate primary.

“The progressives have been Mandela’s base from the day that he was elected — it really has never been the Black community,” said Lena Taylor, a Black Democratic state senator from Milwaukee whom Mr. Barnes [*unsuccessfully challenged*](https://www.jsonline.com/story/news/politics/elections/2016/08/09/barnes-taylor-square-off/88428860/) in a 2016 primary for her seat. “Because of that, he does have to do a little bit more with what other people would have seen as his natural base.”

Even Mr. Barnes’s longtime supporters are frustrated that his campaign has allowed Republicans to frame the contest as being about crime rather than Mr. Johnson’s past support for overturning the 2020 election and [*the misinformation he continues to spread*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/21/us/politics/ron-johnson-wisconsin-misinformation.html) about the Jan. 6, 2021, attack on the Capitol.

“To call what happened on Jan. 6 an armed insurrection, I just think is not accurate,” Mr. Johnson [*said on Tuesday*](https://www.jsonline.com/story/news/politics/elections/2022/10/04/ron-johnson-calls-snap-audits-voting-results-elections/8174866001/) during remarks to the Rotary Club of Milwaukee.

Senior Democrats in Wisconsin and Washington concluded long ago that condemning Mr. Johnson over Jan. 6 in television ads is not a winning argument with swing voters.

“To make Mandela and Black folks endure the relentless racist attacks, then not hit back on treason, corruption and lies, is unfortunate,” said Francesca Hong, a state representative from Madison who was an early supporter of Mr. Barnes.

In the interview with Mr. Barnes, held after a campaign stop at a brewery in Racine, he both reiterated his support for increasing funding for law enforcement and said he had not changed any progressive positions he took earlier in his political career.

“Things haven’t changed, right? But it’s what we talk about,” he said. “My positions are the same and where I stand on those issues is the exact same.”

He also said he did not believe he faced extra hurdles running to represent Wisconsin as a Black Democrat from Milwaukee — the state’s largest city but one that has long punched below its weight in statewide elections. Since 1913, when the ratification of the 17th Amendment provided for the direct election of senators, Wisconsin has elected only one from Milwaukee, Herb Kohl, who served four terms.

“There’s a Black dude from Chicago whose middle name was Hussein,” Mr. Barnes said, referring to former President Barack Obama. “He won Wisconsin twice.”

Perhaps the clearest sign of Mr. Barnes’s political challenges is the lack of eagerness by some of his fellow Democrats to campaign with him.

Three hours before Mr. Barnes’s stop at the Madison diner, Gov. Tony Evers, a Democrat locked in a tight re-election race of his own, held a rally on the steps of the State Capitol calling on voters to punish Republicans for refusing to consider changes to the state’s 1849 law banning abortion. Those present included the state’s attorney general, treasurer, Democratic state legislators and the state Democratic Party’s chairman.

Mr. Barnes wasn’t there, and the parade of speakers barely mentioned him.

“It wasn’t that he wasn’t invited or was invited,” Mr. Evers said afterward. “He just scheduled something different at the same time to talk about the same thing.”

Mr. Johnson, for his part, appears to be in a jubilant mood. On Wednesday, he thanked the Tavern League of Wisconsin, the state’s trade association for bars, for endorsing him by posting [*a video*](https://twitter.com/ronjohnsonwi/status/1577735480883515392) in which the 67-year-old senator chugs a Miller Lite in four seconds.

PHOTOS: Sarah Kerch, 36, played with her daughter as she waited for a photo-op with Mandela Barnes in Madison, Wis., on Tuesday. Left, women at a mingling event in Little Brewery in Racine. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HAIYUN JIANG/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 7, 2022

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[***Thomas Piketty Turns Marx on His Head; nonfiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YCK-4781-JBG3-64P5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 8, 2020 Sunday 23:24 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 1383 words

**Byline:** Paul Krugman

**Highlight:** Piketty’s latest book, “Capital and Ideology,” takes a global overview to inequality and other pressing economic issues of our time.

**Body**

CAPITAL AND IDEOLOGY

By Thomas Piketty

Seven years ago the French economist Thomas Piketty released “Capital in the Twenty-First Century,” a magnum opus on income inequality. Economists already knew and admired Piketty’s scholarly work, and many — [*myself included*](https://www.nybooks.com/articles/2014/05/08/thomas-piketty-new-gilded-age/) — offered the book high praise. Remarkably, the book also became a huge international best seller.

In retrospect, however, what professionals saw in “Capital” wasn’t the same thing the broader audience saw. Economists already knew about rising income inequality. What excited them was Piketty’s novel hypothesis about the growing importance of disparities in wealth, especially inherited wealth, as opposed to earnings. We are, Piketty suggested, returning to the kind of dynastic, “patrimonial” capitalism that prevailed in the late 19th century.

But for the book-buying public, the big revelation of “Capital” was simply the fact of soaring inequality. This perceived revelation made it a book that people who wanted to be well informed felt they had to have.

To have, but maybe not to read. Like Stephen Hawking’s “A Brief History of Time,” “Capital in the Twenty-First Century” seems to have been an “event” book that many buyers didn’t stick with; an analysis of Kindle highlights suggested that the [*typical reader*](https://www.nybooks.com/articles/2014/05/08/thomas-piketty-new-gilded-age/) got through only around 26 of its 700 pages. Still, Piketty was undaunted.

His new book, “Capital and Ideology,” weighs in at more than 1,000 pages. There is, of course, nothing necessarily wrong with writing a large book to propound important ideas: Charles Darwin’s “On the Origin of Species” was a pretty big book too (although only half as long as Piketty’s latest). The problem is that the length of “Capital and Ideology” seems, at least to me, to reflect in part a lack of focus.

[ This book was one of our most anticipated titles of March. [*See the full list*](https://www.nybooks.com/articles/2014/05/08/thomas-piketty-new-gilded-age/). ]

To be fair, the book does advance at least the outline of a grand theory of inequality, which might be described as Marx on his head. In Marxian dogma, a society’s class structure is determined by underlying, impersonal forces, technology and the modes of production that technology dictates. Piketty, however, sees inequality as a social phenomenon, driven by human institutions. Institutional change, in turn, reflects the ideology that dominates society: “Inequality is neither economic nor technological; it is ideological and political.”

But where does ideology come from? At any given moment a society’s ideology may seem immutable, but Piketty argues that history is full of “ruptures” that create “switch points,” when the actions of a few people can cause a lasting change in a society’s trajectory.

To make that case, Piketty provides what amounts to a history of the world viewed through the lens of inequality. The book’s archetypal case study is French society over the past two and a half centuries. But Piketty ranges very far afield, telling us about everything from the composition of modern Swedish corporate boards to the role of Brahmins in the pre-colonial [*Hindu kingdom of Pudukkottai*](https://www.nybooks.com/articles/2014/05/08/thomas-piketty-new-gilded-age/).

He describes four broad inequality regimes, obviously inspired by French history but, he argues, of more general relevance. First are “ternary” societies divided into functional classes — clergy, nobility and everyone else. Second are “ownership” societies, in which it’s not who you are that matters but what you have legal title to. Then come the social democracies that emerged in the 20th century, which granted considerable power and privilege to workers, ranging from union representation to government-provided social benefits. Finally, there’s the current era of “hypercapitalism,” which is sort of an ownership society on steroids.

Piketty tries to apply this schema to many societies across time and space. His discussion is punctuated by many charts and tables: Using a combination of extrapolation and guesswork to produce quantitative estimates for eras that predate modern data collection is a Piketty trademark, and it’s a technique he applies extensively here, I’d say to very good effect. It is, for example, startling to see evidence that France on the eve of World War I was, if anything, more unequal than it was before the French Revolution.

But while there is a definite Francocentric feel to “Capital and Ideology,” for me, at least, the vast amount of ground it covers raises a couple of awkward questions.

The first is whether Piketty is a reliable guide to such a large territory. His book combines history, sociology, political analysis and economic data for dozens of societies. Is he really enough of a polymath to pull that off?

I was struck, for example, by his extensive discussion of the evolution of slavery and serfdom, which made no mention of the classic work of [*Evsey Domar of M.I.T.*](https://www.nybooks.com/articles/2014/05/08/thomas-piketty-new-gilded-age/), who argued that the more or less simultaneous rise of serfdom in Russia and slavery in the New World were driven by the opening of new land, which made labor scarce and would have led to rising wages in the absence of coercion. This happens to be a topic about which I thought I knew something; how many other topics are missing crucial pieces of the literature?

The second question is whether the accumulation of cases actually strengthens Piketty’s core analysis. It wasn’t clear to me that it does. To be honest, at a certain point I felt a sense of dread each time another society entered the picture; the proliferation of stories began to seem like an endless series of digressions rather than the cumulative construction of an argument.

Eventually, however, Piketty comes down to the meat of the book: his explanation of what caused the recent surge in inequality and what can be done about it.

For Piketty, rising inequality is at root a political phenomenon. The social-democratic framework that made Western societies relatively equal for a couple of generations after World War II, he argues, was dismantled, not out of necessity, but because of the rise of a “neo-proprietarian” ideology. Indeed, this is a view shared by many, though not all, economists. These days, attributing inequality mainly to the ineluctable forces of technology and globalization is out of fashion, and there is much more emphasis on factors like the decline of unions, which has a lot to do with political decisions.

But why did policy take a hard-right turn? Piketty places much of the blame on center-left parties, which, as he notes, increasingly represent highly educated voters. These more and more elitist parties, he argues, lost interest in policies that helped the disadvantaged, and hence forfeited their support. And his clear implication is that social democracy can be revived by refocusing on populist economic policies, and winning back the ***working class***.

Piketty could be right about this, but as far as I can tell, most political scientists would disagree. In the United States, at least, they stress the importance of race and social issues in driving the white ***working class*** away from Democrats, and doubt that a renewed focus on equality would bring those voters back. After all, during the Obama years the Affordable Care Act extended health insurance to many disadvantaged voters, while tax rates on top incomes went up substantially. Yet the white ***working class*** went heavily for Trump, and stayed Republican in 2018.

Maybe the political science consensus is wrong. What I can say with confidence, though, is that until the final 300 pages “Capital and Ideology” doesn’t do much to make the case for Piketty’s views on modern political economy.

The bottom line: I really wanted to like “Capital and Ideology,” but have to acknowledge that it’s something of a letdown. There are interesting ideas and analyses scattered through the book, but they get lost in the sheer volume of dubiously related material. In the end, I’m not even sure what the book’s message is. That can’t be a good thing.

Paul Krugman is an Op-Ed columnist for The Times. CAPITAL AND IDEOLOGY By Thomas Piketty Translated By Arthur Goldhammer 1,093 pp. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. $39.95.

PHOTO: Thomas Piketty in 2014. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Ed Alcock for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Related Articles**

* [*Why Is It So Hard for Democracy to Deal With Inequality?*](https://www.nybooks.com/articles/2014/05/08/thomas-piketty-new-gilded-age/)

1. [*Review: ‘The Economics of Inequality,’ by Thomas Piketty*](https://www.nybooks.com/articles/2014/05/08/thomas-piketty-new-gilded-age/)
2. [*Hey, Big Thinker*](https://www.nybooks.com/articles/2014/05/08/thomas-piketty-new-gilded-age/)

**Load-Date:** March 12, 2020

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[***Is Government Money Creation Actually Enabling Deficit Spending?; Paul Krugman***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64HB-C651-DXY4-X0YB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 11, 2022 Tuesday 03:22 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 888 words

**Byline:** Paul Krugman

**Highlight:** Bitcoin can’t solve a problem we don’t actually have.

**Body**

I [*had some fun*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/10/opinion/crypto-cryptocurrency-money-conspiracy.html) yesterday with a tweet by Josh Mandel, the would-be MAGA senator from Ohio, who has declared his allegiance to fundamental American values: God, family and Bitcoin. I didn’t have space to go on about some of the things he has said about Bitcoin, which really is at the center of his campaign. But I was struck in particular by [*this tweet*](https://twitter.com/JoshMandelOhio/status/1444422889906839552) from October, in which he appears to assert that fiat money (dollars aren’t backed by anything except their official role as legal tender, and dollars can be created at the discretion of appointed officials at the Fed) is a crucial enabler of inflationary spending:

Mockery aside, is there any truth to that assertion? Has the U.S. government relied on the printing press to cover deficits and thereby fed inflation?

It’s not an absurd notion in principle. Money-financed deficits, sometimes leading to extreme inflation, have happened in other times and other places. In fact, excessive reliance on the printing press is how hyperinflation happens. And maybe it’s worth laying out how that works, if only to contrast with what’s actually happening in America in 2022.

The story of hyperinflation goes like this: You have a government that can’t borrow and can’t collect enough in taxes to cover its expenses. So it turns to the printing press, simply issuing money to pay its bills. This money issuance causes rapid growth in the money supply, which leads to high inflation.

High inflation, however, turns money into a hot potato people want to get rid of as quickly as possible, so the velocity of money — the rate at which it turns over — shoots up, which drives prices up even more. The problem is that as the value of money declines, the government has to print even more — in fact, has to increase the money supply at an even faster rate — in order to cover its deficits. This leads to even faster inflation, which leads to further rises in velocity, and the whole thing spirals into chaos.

The thing is, everyone understands this story, so hyperinflations happen only when governments are very weak — usually during or just after disastrous wars or revolutions. That’s not the situation in America now; in fact, investors are practically begging the government to take their money, with [*real interest rates*](https://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/data-chart-center/interest-rates/pages/TextView.aspx?data=realyield) on federal debt significantly below zero.

Still, the U.S. government does cover some of its bills by issuing new currency — a process known by the old-fashioned term “[*seigniorage*](https://www.investopedia.com/terms/s/seigniorage.asp),” derived from the ancient tradition in which monarchs charged a fee for minting gold or silver into coins. So how big a deal is seigniorage in modern America?

That’s actually a slightly trickier question to answer than you might think. When people talk about the money supply, they’re usually referring to a measure that includes bank deposits, which aren’t created by the government. Historically, we used to measure seigniorage by the annual increase in the monetary base — currency in the hands of the public, plus the reserves banks were required to hold. Since the 2008 financial crisis, however, banks have been voluntarily holding vast excess reserves, apparently because they don’t see enough good lending opportunities — and the Fed has been paying interest on these reserves, which makes them more like government debt than money the private sector was forced to accept.

My take is that it’s best to focus just on currency — pieces of green paper bearing pictures of dead presidents — which made up 98 percent of the monetary base before the crisis. So how much new currency has the U.S. government been putting into circulation? Over the course of 2021, the answer is about $150 billion — actually down from the last year of the Trump administration:

That’s not a lot. I know, $150 billion here, $150 billion there, and eventually you’re talking about real money. But it’s a small fraction of the [*budget deficit*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/FYFSD), let alone the economy as a whole.

Oh, and to the extent that we are implicitly taxing people by getting them to accept green paper instead of gold or Bitcoin, who, exactly, is being taxed? As I noted in [*a recent column*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/10/opinion/crypto-cryptocurrency-money-conspiracy.html), more than 80 percent of the value of dollars in circulation consists of $100 bills:

We don’t know exactly who’s holding those bills, but I don’t think it’s mainly ***working-class*** Americans sitting in diners. And a significant fraction is probably held by foreigners; printing money for foreigners who want to hide their wealth and their activities from their governments is a significant U.S. export, albeit not an especially honorable one.

So, no, ordinary Americans aren’t being impoverished by a government that is abusing the power of the printing press. The inflation of 2021 was painful, although we can argue that accepting it was [*better than the alternatives*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/06/opinion/inflation-unemployment-economy-growth.html). In any case, careful analysis says that asserting that none of this would have happened if we had been using Bitcoin is as silly as it sounds.

Quick Hits

How many dollars are overseas, anyway? It’s [*complicated*](https://www.bundesbank.de/resource/blob/634976/06c32c73f4488278407d159075571593/mL/2012-02-27-eltville-03-feige-paper-data.pdf).

El Salvador is officially on a Bitcoin standard. It’s [*not going well*](https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/12/06/bitcoin-city-el-salvador-nayib-bukele/).

Welcome to [*Cryptoland*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jf3ajS5me78). Apparently not a parody.

[*Conspiracy theory*](https://davidgerard.co.uk/blockchain/the-conspiracist-gold-bug-economics-of-bitcoin/) economics.

Facing the Music

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/SCpzYhXSkcU)]

The [*taxman*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SCpzYhXSkcU) keeps the seigniorage away.

PHOTO: Coin production in England in the early 19th century. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Oxford Science Archive/Print Collector/Getty Images) FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** January 12, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The Rogue Valley Was Set to Become a Food Paradise. Then It Burned.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66PG-KXH1-JBG3-61KD-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Brett Anderson

**Highlight:** Two years ago, the Almeda fire tore through southern Oregon. Many people haven’t fully recovered, but farmers, chefs and others have rallied to sustain the area.

**Body**

Two years ago, the Almeda fire tore through southern Oregon. Many people haven’t fully recovered, but farmers, chefs and others have rallied to sustain the area.

ASHLAND, Ore. — When she decided to leave Texas, Sarah Cook dreamed of her ideal new home. She shared what she imagined with friends: a small city that offered natural beauty, a slower pace and an audience for the kind of artful, intricate food she made at Kyōten Sushiko, [*a six-seat omakase restaurant in Austin that closed*](https://austin.eater.com/2020/9/28/21459839/kyoten-sushiko-closed-austin-japanese-restaurant) during the pandemic.

“I was describing Ashland before I’d ever even heard of it,” Ms. Cook said.

Her dream seemed to be coming true in June, after she became chef at [*Nama*](https://www.namaashland.com/), a 20-seat restaurant in this city of 21,000, which she calls “perfect in a lot of ways.”

But, she recalled, “there was a day when it was orange outside, and you could see ash falling.”

“It was apocalyptic,” she said.

This split screen — paradise on one side, disaster on the other — illustrates an uneasy tension here in the Rogue Valley, one that has pushed its food community into a period of transition and innovation.

The vision of turning the region into a laid-back alternative to the West’s more celebrated culinary destinations appears on the cusp of being realized, thanks to the emergence of dynamic restaurant and wine scenes and the return of tourism.

But climate change has become that vision’s most imposing threat — one that turned tragically undeniable two years ago, when the [*Almeda fire*](https://www.nytimes.com/video/us/100000007341513/oregon-fires-path.html) tore through the valley, destroying more than 3,000 businesses and homes, according to the Oregon Department of Forestry. As many as [*8,500 residents were left homeless*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/09/07/us/oregon-wildfires.html).

Ashland is the cultural capital of the Rogue Valley, where wineries, farms and orchards are abundant. Even in years when flames don’t threaten the area, smoke is a perennial problem, carried by wind from fires elsewhere and trapped in the valley by the mountains and warmer temperatures high in the atmosphere.

The new reality is startling for locals who recall a time, not long ago, when the valley was a smoke-free Eden.

“We can’t expect that the fire seasons won’t affect us anymore,” said Amber Ferguson, an Ashland native and the director of [*Rogue Food Unites*](https://roguefoodunites.org/), a relief organization she co-founded to feed fire victims.

She was sitting outside [*Mix Bakeshop*](http://www.mixashland.com/) in July of 2021, on a day when smoke made it appear as if dusk had arrived in midafternoon. The conditions were hazy again last month, around the second anniversary of the fires, when Ms. Ferguson observed, “We’re still recovering from what happened two years ago.”

The Almeda fire started in Ashland, three blocks from Ms. Ferguson’s house, but caused the most damage in the neighboring towns of Talent and Phoenix.

Rogue Food’s initial mission was to use state recovery funds to collaborate with local chefs and restaurants, many shuttered by the pandemic, to provide food to residents living in temporary housing.

“It just sort of came together like this beautiful dream of let’s find money, pay the restaurants, buy from farms, feed the people,” said Ms. Ferguson, who was a manager at the Portland restaurants [*Beast*](https://pdx.eater.com/2020/10/14/21252610/beast-potential-closing-coronavirus-covid) and Toro Bravo before moving to Ashland in 2016. “It’s a resilience program and feeding program all at once.”

It has also become a permanent entity, Ms. Ferguson said, with contracts to feed current and future fire victims in five southern Oregon counties.

The fires laid bare local social and economic inequities by causing disproportionate harm to low-income residents in Talent and Phoenix, which are less affluent and more diverse than Ashland. [*Coalición Fortaleza*](https://www.coalicionfortaleza.org/), an advocacy group for local Latino and Indigenous communities, has been working to develop affordable alternatives to homes [*lost in the fire*](https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/2e0346d538444551afec5f1bb050879c). Locals say the replacement costs for mobile homes far exceed the means of most farm and hospitality workers.

Like Rogue Food, Fortaleza formed after the fires. They are among a number of charity organizations that have helped forge solidarity between hospitality and farm workers, expanding views on what relief work should provide in the process.

Celinés Garcia, 26, a Fortaleza organizer, was raised in a mobile home in Talent by a mother who came from Mexico to work in the orchards. Her father lost his home to the fire.

Rogue Food, she said, “always just seems to be there, giving people food and meals. And we still need them.”

More than 50 Ashland-area families remain in temporary housing, according to the Oregon Department of Human Services, but relief workers say that number obscures widespread economic pain, particularly for a ***working class*** reeling from an affordable-housing crisis the fires aggravated. Rogue Food created a new mobile farmers’ market to meet those customers where they are.

During the market’s debut, at a fair in Medford, Lucas Wedeman, a Rogue Food employee, helped fill customers’ bags with locally grown zucchini, tomatoes and more. The produce, much of it provided by [*Fry Family Farm*](https://www.fryfamilyfarm.org/), was restaurant quality — and free.

Mr. Wedeman, 27, started doing relief work after watching the fires burn nearly every building around his house in Talent.

“We were so blessed that we didn’t lose our home,” he said. “That reinforced my drive to volunteer.”

Flavio Martinez, 42, was similarly grateful that the fire spared El Comal Taqueria, his restaurant in Phoenix. He was among the local chefs and restaurateurs who started pitching in at Rogue Food soon after the fire. He has since opened a third El Comal location.

“I grew up here,” Mr. Martinez said. “It wouldn’t be fair for me not to help when there is so much need.”

Rogue Food is just one example of the communal spirit and creative thinking coursing through the valley.

Pioneering winemakers, especially in the [*Applegate Valley*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/23/dining/drinks/oregon-wine-applegate-valley.html), have elevated southern Oregon wines, historically overshadowed by the Willamette Valley, to the north. Their work developing techniques for growing grapes in the arid climate is mirrored at small and midsize farms nearby.

[*Kelsey Jacques*](https://www.roguefarmcorps.org/grads/kelsey-jacques) moved from her native Michigan to start Orange Marmalade Farms last year. She’s optimistic about expanding beyond the quarter acre she cultivates in Ashland, even though competition for land and water is fierce, particularly from the fast-growing local cannabis industry, and despite an inaugural season in which she, like many local farmers, suspects smoke prevented crops from flourishing.

“There’s so much I can learn here” she said. “It’s just a pocket of knowledge.”

Ms. Jacques’s potential customer base is growing in Ashland, not far from her rows of Siskiyou orange tomatoes and sweet Walla Walla onions. [*Osteria La Briccola*](https://www.osterialabriccola.com/), the Korean-inspired [*Miss Yoon*](https://www.heymissyoon.com/) and the natural wine-focused [*Bar Julliet*](https://www.barjuillet.com/) have all opened in Ashland since last summer, when the [*Oregon Shakespeare Festival*](https://www.osfashland.org/), an important driver of local tourism, was still hobbled by the pandemic.

Carla Guimaraes moved to Ashland from Santa Barbara, Calif., in 2020, in the thick of Covid lockdowns and just before the fires. The next year she opened [*Vida Baking Company*](https://www.vidabaking.com/), which specializes in gluten-free pão de queijo, the popular cheese bread from her native Brazil.

She looked forward to the Shakespeare Festival’s returning to its full schedule this year — only to be disappointed when outdoor performances were [*canceled*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/11/arts/climate-change-outdoor-theater.html) because of heat and smoke.

“People vanished from the streets,” Ms. Guimaraes said. She figures that Vida’s business was down 25 percent in August and September from a year earlier.

After more than a decade of cooking in Ashland restaurants owned by others, Josh Dorcak opened [*MÄS*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/dining/best-restaurants-list-america.html), a 16-seat tasting menu restaurant, in 2018. The California native wanted his first business to be small, in part to insulate it from economic turbulence.

“Today it’s blue skies, tomorrow could be a completely different story,” he said. “If I have to shut down, it’s only me and a few other people I have to worry about.”

The forced discipline, coupled with inspiration from an immersive tour of Tokyo’s izakayas and sushi bars, caused Mr. Dorcak to re-evaluate his cooking and his adopted home.

“It went from feeling claustrophobic and small to like, ‘Wait a second, I actually live in a chef’s dreamland,’ ” he said. “We have so much at our fingertips.”

His cooking, which he calls Cascadian cuisine, highlights local and regional ingredients in precise, tiny dishes, like poached Pacific oysters dressed with cantaloupe aguachile or figs in shiso custard with crème anglaise.

Ms. Cook brings kindred skill and passion to Nama, the 20-seat restaurant Mr. Dorcak opened last fall, next door to MÄS. In a recent meal, amberjack slices came in a slick of grapefruit juice, finished with dried flowers and oil infused with herbs from Orange Marmalade Farms. Ms. Jacques, the farm’s owner, waits tables at Nama on weekends.

“If someone thinks the carrot they just had is amazing, I can tell them, ‘Talk to the person who grew it,’” Ms. Cook said.

The new era of vitality that these and other chefs are bringing to the Rogue Valley rests on a foundation built by Charlene and Vernon Rollins, according to Mr. Dorcak. The couple opened New Sammy’s Cowboy Bistro in Talent, just outside Ashland, in 1989. It was destroyed by the Almeda fire.

Ms. Rollins was the chef at Sammy’s (named for their son), and Mr. Rollins its host and sommelier; much of the restaurant’s produce came from gardens on the acre and a half of land, where the Rollins family also lived.

“We owe it to Charlene and Vernon for educating travelers who come here about what they can expect from the culture,” said Mr. Dorcak. Bamboo that grew around Sammy’s appears in artwork hanging at Nama.

The charred remains of Sammy’s had yet to be cleared when Ms. Rollins, 74, gave a tour of the property in July 2021. She explained how she spent the months after the fire furiously cooking Sammy’s dishes — paper copies of the recipes burned — before she forgot them.

“I made so many different ice creams,” she said, standing near a fig tree that survived the fire.

This summer Ms. Rollins moved into a modest, fire-resistant house built on land above her old restaurant site. She walked through her gardens last month, stopping to admire the tomatillos, cantaloupe and tromboncino squash. She looked forward to cooking for friends in her new kitchen, but will not rebuild Sammy’s. The property is for sale.

Mr. Rollins, who died in March at age 77, is buried near the new house. Ms. Rollins planted a fig tree at the center of his grave, she said, “because fig trees never die.”

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PHOTOS: Charlene Rollins examining a sprout she suspected was kale at her former garden, which burned in 2020 with her restaurant, in Talent, Ore. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JOE KLINE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (D1); Clockwise from top: the site of New Sammy’s Cowboy Bistro in Talent, Ore., before it burned; Amber Ferguson, the director of Rogue Food Unites; Josh Dorcak preparing scallops at MÄS, one of two restaurants he owns in Ashland; Mr. Dorcak adding whitefish roe to the scallops; Lucas Wedeman, a Rogue Food Unites employee, helping Maria Jimenez select produce; Sarah Cook, the chef at Nama, who moved from Texas to southern Oregon partly for the food scene. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JOE KLINE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (D8) This article appeared in print on page D1, D8.

**Load-Date:** October 26, 2022

**End of Document**



[***‘The Crown’: The History Behind Season 5 on Netflix***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66V4-8MC1-DXY4-X33W-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Saskia Solomon

**Highlight:** The Netflix show’s blending of fact and fiction has received more criticism than ever around its most recent season. Here’s how The Times reported on its plotlines.

**Body**

The Netflix show’s blending of fact and fiction has received more criticism than ever around its most recent season. Here’s how The Times reported on its plotlines.

LONDON — Before Season 5 of “The Crown” even arrived on Netflix, the show’s blending of fact and fiction was drawing criticism in Britain.

For each season, the show’s creator, Peter Morgan, focuses on a period in the reign of Queen Elizabeth II, and the fifth installment covers 1991 to 1997. These years were always going to be provocative, spanning marital chaos, fragile mental health and public confessions of infidelity among members of the royal family.

But this season was also released just eight weeks after the [*queen’s death*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/08/world/europe/queen-elizabeth-dead.html), and with King Charles III newly on the throne, criticism has seemed harsher than with other seasons. Figures like [*the actress Judi Dench*](https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/the-crown-is-crude-and-cruel-says-dame-judi-dench-l6wzqpns9) and the former prime minister [*John Major*](https://news.sky.com/story/john-major-rubbishes-the-crowns-depiction-of-charles-trying-to-force-queens-abdication-in-1990s-12721855#:~:text=%22There%20was%20never%20any%20discussion,than%20damaging%20and%20malicious%20fiction), who features prominently in the new season, condemned the show’s approach to historical fact.

When Season 5 opens, Elizabeth is 65 years old, and Imelda Staunton has stepped into her loafers, corgis at her heels. The queen is also facing new challenges: The British public is questioning the relevance of the monarchy, and how much the institution costs; she feels increasingly distant from her husband, Philip (now played by Jonathan Pryce); the unhappy marriage between Charles (Dominic West) and Diana (Elizabeth Debicki) is being played out in increasingly public ways; and her sister, Margaret (Lesley Manville), is still feeling the cost of public duty.

Here’s a look at how those stories of a monarchy in flux were reported at the time. You can find more in the [*TimesMachine*](https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/browser) archive browser. (Warning: This feature contains spoilers for all 10 episodes of Season 5.)

Episode 1, ‘Queen Victoria Syndrome’

The season opens with crackling black and white footage of a ship being launched in 1953: the Royal Yacht Britannia. The young queen (Claire Foy) tells the crowd: “I hope that this brand-new vessel, like your brand-new queen, will prove dependable and constant.”

The Times didn’t report such a prophetic speech at the time, but [*did describe the ship*](https://www.nytimes.com/1953/04/17/archives/elizabeths-new-yacht-named-britannia-by-her.html) “sliding gracefully down to the sea” to the “cheers of several thousand men who helped to build her, their wives, and a brassy salute from a military band playing ‘Rule Britannia.’”

The episode then flashes forward to 1991, when the queen and the Duke of Edinburgh are vacationing on Britannia, and London’s Sunday Times publishes a poll revealing that more than half of Britons [*wanted the queen to abdicate, and Charles to be put on the throne.*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/lifestyle/1988/12/29/poll-urges-queens-abdication/5629f52a-5acc-4e5d-b64a-5844bb0ef465/) “It’s outrageous,” says Philip as he reads the front page.

News starts swirling about Charles urging his mother to step down, and much of the uproar around this season has been directed at a subsequent scene in which Charles lobbies John Major (Jonny Lee Miller) to facilitate the queen’s abdication.

Last month, a spokesman for Major [*told the Daily Mail*](https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-11319595/Boycott-hurtful-TV-Crown-say-Kings-friends-Furious-John-Major-condemns-Netflix-drama.html) that such a discussion never took place, and emphasized that Major’s view on the royal family was depicted inaccurately by the show.

Episode 2, ‘The System’

Diana, lonely in Kensington Palace and dressed in her ’90s uniform of oversize sweatshirts, starts collaborating with Andrew Morton, a journalist who wants to write a book about her experiences in the royal family.

Morton’s 1992 biography “Diana: Her True Story” was an explosive book, in which the princess opened up about her struggles with bulimia and depression, and explained the “system” on which the royal family operates.

In “The Crown,” we see the book’s publication greatly upsetting the royal family, especially Charles, who calls it a “complete decimation of my character … everything I worked so hard for.” In reality, Buckingham Palace tried to discredit the book, “taking the position that the princess was emotionally unbalanced and that Morton was a self-promoting hack,” [*The Times reported at the time*](https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/books/97/10/05/bsp/27261.html).

But Morton had little remorse, telling [*The Times in a 1992 profile*](https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/books/97/10/05/bsp/27261.html): “What you see there is the British establishment out for tooth and blood from a ***working-class***-boy-made-good who dares to write about the Princess of Wales.”

After Diana’s tragic death in 1997, the extent of her involvement in the book was revealed, including that she had “read the manuscript and made revisions in her own handwriting, then personally approved every page of the book and selected the cover photo,” [*The Times reported*](https://www.nytimes.com/1997/09/30/world/now-it-can-be-told-1992-tell-all-book-s-source-was-diana.html). Morton also released an extended version of the book, titled “[*Diana: Her True Story — In Her Own Words*](https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/royals/etc/morton.html).”

Episode 3, ‘Mou Mou’

In the third episode we meet Mohamed Al-Fayed (Salim Daw), the Egyptian businessman who owned[*Harrods, the landmark London department store, from 1985 until 2010*](https://www.nytimes.com/1985/09/08/business/harrod-s-new-owner-mohamed-al-fayed-a-quiet-acquisitor-is-caught-in-a-cross-fire.html).

“Mou Mou” traces Al-Fayed’s infatuation with the royal family, including his early life in Alexandria and his later efforts to belong in European high society. We also meet his son, Dodi (Khalid Abdalla), who would become Diana’s lover and be with her in the fatal car accident in Paris. To help him ascend through the British class system, he hires a footman, Sydney Johnson (Jude Akuwudike), who had previously [*worked for the Windsors*](https://apnews.com/article/86e5bfad011336e78c3a2d143f3170ec), and takes out a 50-year lease on Villa Windsor, the three-floor mansion on the outskirts of Paris that was once occupied by Edward VIII and his wife Wallis Simpson after his abdication.

Reporting on his ambition to turn the building into a museum as well as a private residence, [*The Times noted*](https://www.nytimes.com/1989/12/21/garden/the-year-1959-the-city-paris-the-house-windsor.html) that by 1989, Al-Fayed had “spent three years and $14.4 million on recreating the mansion as it was 30 years ago.”

Episode 4, ‘Annus Horribilis’

On Nov. 20, 1992 a fire broke out at Windsor Castle, ripping through its private chapel and banquet hall.

In a report the following day, [*The Times quoted*](https://www.nytimes.com/1992/11/21/world/big-fire-in-windsor-castle-raises-fear-about-artwork.html) the chief royal spokesman, Dickie Arbiter, telling reporters that the queen’s reaction to seeing the fire was, “Probably the same reaction as yours if you saw your house burning down. She appeared very upset.”

Three days later, at a lunch in London celebrating 40 years since her accession to the throne, the queen broke with tradition, and spoke about her feelings in public.

“1992 is not a year on which I shall look back with undiluted pleasure. In the words of one of my more sympathetic correspondents, it has turned out to be an ‘Annus Horribilis,’” [*she said*](https://www.royal.uk/annus-horribilis-speech), the Latin translating as “terrible year.”

The scene is recreated in the season’s third episode, as are the collapses, in 1992, of three royal marriages: Princess Anne divorced her first husband, Captain Mark Phillips; Prince Andrew and Sarah, Duchess of York announced they would divorce, before she was snapped canoodling with her financial adviser on holiday; and the very public breakdown of the marriage of Prince Charles and Diana, Princess of Wales.

After these painful disappointments, the fire dealt an “emotional blow to the queen,” wrote [*The Times.*](https://www.nytimes.com/1992/11/21/world/big-fire-in-windsor-castle-raises-fear-about-artwork.html)

Episode 5, ‘The Way Ahead’

Charles and Diana formally separated in December 1992, and Charles’s ongoing relationship with Camilla Parker Bowles became a nationwide scandal the next month, when the transcript and audio of a highly personal phone call between the couple was leaked by [*The Daily Mirror*](https://www.mirror.co.uk/tv/tv-news/charles-camillas-tampongate-scandal-explained-28390680), in what came to be known as “tampongate.”

In 1994, in an effort to clear the air, Charles gave a rare televised interview with the British broadcaster Jonathan Dimbleby. As [*The Times reported*](https://www.nytimes.com/1994/06/30/world/prince-charles-in-tv-documentary-admits-to-infidelity.html), “in the course of a two-and-a-half-hour television documentary, the heir to the British throne admitted that he had committed adultery.”

It was “[*a stunning departure from royal tradition*](https://www.nytimes.com/1994/10/17/nyregion/chronicle-555339.html),” Nadine Brozan wrote in The Times, that would lead to the release, that same year, of Charles’s own tell-all biography titled “The Prince of Wales,” written by Dimbleby, which emphasized how Philip had pushed him into marrying Diana.

The episode also recreates Diana’s infamous “revenge dress,” which she wore to a London event the same evening as the Dimbleby interview. At the time, The Times [*reported*](https://www.nytimes.com/1994/06/30/style/chronicle-539546.html) “how dazzling she looked, and how oblivious she seemed to Prince Charles’s television appearance.”

Episode 6, ‘Ipatiev house’

This episode opens with a flashback to the execution of members of the Russian Romanov in Yekaterinburg at the hands of the Bolsheviks [*in July 1918*](https://www.nytimes.com/1918/07/21/archives/exczar-of-russia-killed-by-order-of-ural-soviet-nicholas-romanoff.html).

The queen’s grandfather, King George V, was a cousin of [*Nicholas II*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/06/insider/czar-nicholas-ii-under-arrest-and-doomed-to-die.html), a Romanov who had been czar of Russia until he resigned in 1917. In “The Crown,” we see the British king receive a letter asking for a ship to be sent to bring the Romanovs to safety in England, and it is his wife, Mary, who decides not to send aid.

Letters have recently revealed, [*according to the British newspaper The Express*](https://www.express.co.uk/news/royal/1029280/Royal-news-King-George-V-Tsar-Nicholas-II-Russian-revolution-First-World-War-assassination), that King George himself worried that bringing Nicholas to Britain would stoke anti-monarchy feeling in the country. Still, about a dozen Romanovs, including Nicholas’s mother and sister, were evacuated from their Crimean estate by warships sent by King George, [*The Times has noted*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/10/opinion/red-century-russia-romanov.html).

In 1994, Queen Elizabeth II traveled with Prince Philip to Moscow to meet the then-president of Russia, Boris N. Yeltsin. It was “the first visit of a British monarch to Russia, and Yeltsin and his spokesmen were quick to describe it as support for democratic reforms. ‘The queen would not have come to a totalitarian country,’ one spokesman said,” [*Steven Erlanger reported in The Times.*](https://www.nytimes.com/1994/10/20/world/moscow-journal-at-court-of-yeltsin-royalty-and-hints-of-intrigue.html)

Episode 7, ‘No Woman’s Land’

In the seventh episode, we see Martin Bashir (played by Prasanna Puwanarajah) working hard to persuade Diana to give an interview on the BBC program Panorama.

Last year, an inquiry concluded that “Bashir deceived Diana’s brother, Charles, Earl Spencer, to obtain the interview. And it faulted the British Broadcasting Corporation’s management for covering up Bashir’s conduct, which included creating fake bank statements to undermine a rival news organization,” [*Mark Landler reported*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/20/world/europe/BBC-diana-bashir.html). Both [*Bashir*](https://deadline.com/2021/05/martin-bashir-apologizes-princess-diana-sons-1995-bombshell-interview-bbc-1234762488/) and the BBC issued apologies.

The show depicts Bashir working on the fake bank statements, and assuring Diana that “you’d be protected by the best brand name in the world, when it comes to journalistic integrity.”

Bashir [*left the BBC*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/14/us/martin-bashir-bbc-princess-diana.html) last year “to focus on his health,” just days before the findings of the inquiry into his Diana interview were published.

Episode 8, ‘Gunpowder’

“There were three of us in this marriage, so it was a bit crowded.”

Diana’s BBC Panorama interview explodes onto the screen, and the royal family deals with the fallout. The interview took place at Kensington Palace under great secrecy, and when it aired on the BBC on Nov. 20, 1995, some 15 million people around the world tuned in, [*The Times reported*](https://www.nytimes.com/1995/11/21/world/london-journal-as-15-million-watch-diana-relives-painful-years.html).

In the show’s recreation of the interview, we see Diana discussing her marriage and experiences in the royal family, but she also talked about several stories about her love life circulating in the British newspapers at the time, including her relationship with a former army officer, James Hewitt, about which a 1994 book called “Princess in Love” was written. In the interview, [*The Times reported*](https://www.nytimes.com/1995/11/21/world/london-journal-as-15-million-watch-diana-relives-painful-years.html), she said: “Yes, I was in love with him, but I was very let down.”

Episode 9, ‘Couple 31’

“How sad,” the queen remarks in the penultimate episode to Prime Minister John Major in a tone of great regret. “The biggest, most celebrated wedding in memory. Then this.”

Having encouraged Charles and Diana to stay together, we see the queen finally approving the termination of the couple’s marriage, and she convinces Major to act as an intermediary between the couple as they negotiate the split, a favor which has been [*confirmed*](https://www.esquire.com/uk/culture/tv/a41910573/the-crown-john-major-charles-diana-divorce/) by Major’s biographer.

Thus, “with the impersonal thwack of a rubber stamp,” [*The Times wrote*](https://www.nytimes.com/1996/08/29/world/it-s-official-charles-and-diana-split-and-she-pays-her-own-bills.html), “the tumultuous marriage of the Prince and Princess of Wales officially ended today, 15 years after it began.” The report added, “the Prince has formally declared that he will no longer foot his ex-wife’s bills, leaving her to pay all her expenses out of a lump-sum divorce settlement said to be at least $22.5 million.”

Episode 10, ‘Decommissioned’

The season’s final episode, set in 1997, explores the monarchy’s shifting relationship to an equally changing world.

One change, in June, was the handover of Hong Kong to China, ending 156 years of British rule. “Seconds after British soldiers lowered the Union Jack for the last time to the strains of ‘God Save the Queen,’ China’s red banner was raised, marking the transfer of this freewheeling capitalist territory to communist control,” wrote [*The Times*](https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/specials/hongkong/070197hongkong.html).

The episode also dramatizes the Labour Party’s landslide election victory, and Tony Blair’s accession to prime minister. Under the headline “Britain Backs Labour,” [*the Times reported*](https://www.nytimes.com/1997/05/02/world/britons-back-labor-party-conservatives-are-routed-after-18-years-of-control.html) how “Tony Blair and the Labour Party swept to a victory of historic proportions in Britain’s national election on Thursday, ending 18 years of Conservative control.”

The crippling costs of repairs mean it’s also time for the queen to say goodbye to her beloved Britannia, which this paper referred to as “[*a floating platform for business diplomacy.*](https://www.nytimes.com/1997/01/23/world/britain-s-surprise-the-queen-gets-a-brand-new-yacht-in-2002.html)” A season that begins with the boat’s first sail, closes with its last.

PHOTO: Charles (Dominic West) and Diana (Elizabeth Debicki) in Season 5 of “The Crown,” which covers the couple’s divorce. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Keith Bernstein/Netflix FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 11, 2022

**End of Document**



[***How Student Debt Killed the Plot; Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66C4-CMJ1-DXY4-X0M6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 11, 2022 Sunday 18:23 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 1678 words

**Byline:** Jennifer Wilson

**Highlight:** Fictional characters, too, are saddled with college loans, and struggling to keep the story of their lives moving forward.

**Body**

Fictional characters, too, are saddled with college loans, and struggling to keep the story of their lives moving forward.

In Emily St. John Mandel’s novel “[*The Glass Hotel*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/22/books/review/the-glass-hotel-emily-st-john-mandel.html)” (2020), a young woman named Vincent is trying to understand how she went from being a bartender at a remote inn in the Canadian wilderness to preparing to leave for Nice on the arm of a Ponzi-scheme billionaire named Jonathan Alkaitis. After all, shouldn’t she be in school?

Vincent had considered college, but “knowing that a college degree might change your life” and possessing “a willingness to actually commit to the terrifying weight of student loans” were two different things. Moreover, she had worked alongside other bartenders who had gone to college and were now back at the bar, paying off the debt they took on supposedly in order to catapult themselves into a new life. It was as Vincent was weighing these options that Jonathan first walked into her bar. Yes, she would later have to sell a piece of her soul to be with him, but the Devil, unlike Sallie Mae, doesn’t report to the credit bureaus: “I’m paying a price for this life, she told herself, but the price is reasonable.”

In the United States, federal student loans were first issued in 1958 [*in response to the Soviets’ launch of Sputnik.*](https://history.house.gov/HouseRecord/Detail/15032436195) The government, anxious that the country was falling behind in science, held out student loans as an incentive for Americans to specialize in engineering and math. The space race is in many ways a fitting origin story for a debt system that has been powered by the fantasy of upward mobility. The cherished American belief that a college degree provides a pathway to the middle class has made student loans among the most recession-proof forms of personal debt. In August, [*President Biden announced a student debt forgiveness program*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/24/us/politics/student-loan-forgiveness-biden.html), to begin later this year, that could wipe out as much as $300 billion in student loan debt. Collectively, however, [*we owe $1.7 trillion in such loans*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/18/learning/should-we-cancel-student-debt.html?searchResultPosition=1), and the number of borrowers [*continues to grow steadily*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/27/your-money/student-debt-what-to-do.html), even though [*as many as 40 percent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/01/your-money/student-loan-debt-degree.html) finish their schooling with debt but no degree in hand. In the process, they are learning what really happens to a dream deferred — it accrues interest.

This precarious reality and its accompanying emotional fallout — a unique concoction of dread, bewilderment and uncertainty — have lately begun to pervade contemporary fiction, yielding a spate of novels featuring protagonists mired in student loan debt. In Lily King’s “[*Writers &amp; Lovers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/10/books/review-writers-lovers-lily-king.html?searchResultPosition=3)” (2020), the main character is an aspiring novelist who waitresses to pay the bills. She has defaulted on her loans, and with added late fees and penalties the amount she owes has doubled, a frustratingly common scenario. “All I can do now is manage it,” she thinks, “pay the minimums until — and this is the thing — until what? Until when? There’s no answer. That’s part of my looming blank specter.” For people in this kind of debt, the future feels as if it might as well not exist. In Raven Leilani’s “[*Luster*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/06/books/review/raven-leilani-luster.html?searchResultPosition=6)” (2020), Edie, a low-paid assistant at a publishing house, is on a date with her married boyfriend at an amusement park, and after a couple of rides, she jokes, “I am enjoying myself, and not just because dying means I won’t have to pay my student loans.”

If plot is a sequence of events, then the student loan crisis is upending the scale at which story lines, real and fiction, can progress. In novels like Jo Hamya’s “[*Three Rooms*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/28/books/review/three-rooms-jo-hamya.html?searchResultPosition=2)” (2021), Lee Conell’s “The Party Upstairs” (2020) and Camille Perri’s “[*The Assistants*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/15/books/review/the-assistants-by-camille-perri-and-more.html?searchResultPosition=1)” (2016), we can observe characters who have gone from ambition-driven to survival-minded. For protagonists saddled with hefty student loans, a dramatic denouement is the news that a job comes with Blue Cross Blue Shield health insurance (“Writers &amp; Lovers”) or “not debating between eating the slightly-off leftover burrito in the fridge or splurging on some groceries from C-Town” (“The Assistants”). In “Three Rooms,” the main character — who has a graduate degree in English — longs to throw a dinner party. However, she cannot pay back her loans and cover rent in London on the meager wages that come with working for a magazine. “Now, even to me,” she reflects, “it seemed ridiculous to concede that I had accumulated substantial debt and a few degrees so that I might contractually labor for the sake of having two free days a week in which to cook a meal in a kitchen I could not actually afford to own, for a small crowd of people my age who spent their lives doing the same.”

Of course, such scenarios still remain out of reach for many working poor, including those suffering under the burden of different kinds of debt (i.e., medical, the [*biggest source of debt collections in the United States*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/20/upshot/medical-debt-americans-medicaid.html)). What makes student loan borrowers in recent fiction unique, and uniquely literary, is that they often complain of having been betrayed by narrative itself. The notion that a college degree powers upward mobility is so foundational to the American dream (and other national versions of the bootstraps tale) that it has taken on the stature of myth. “The governing class believes in a story of mobility and financial prosperity that has not been true for 20 years,” says the writer Molly McGhee, who is currently at work on her first novel, about a young man drowning in student loan debt. (He takes a job as a low-paid “dream auditor,” entering the sleep of white-collar workers to eliminate any stress triggers, ensuring that their dreams can carry on unperturbed.)

The way Americans cling, almost illogically, to the narrative of upward mobility is dramatized in Conell’s “The Party Upstairs.” Ruby, a recent graduate who attended college on a partial scholarship, has moved back in with her ***working-class*** parents in their basement apartment. Her ex-boyfriend encourages her to take an unpaid internship at the American Museum of Natural History, apparently unable to grasp that because she has loans she cannot work for free. He is from a wealthy family, but volunteers with underprivileged schoolchildren. He is so tethered to the idea that education is the key to social mobility that he can see her plight only as a personal failure. As her boyfriend, he once lectured her that his students “came from way more difficult backgrounds than she had, by the way, and turned into real success stories.” Ruby, frustrated, lectured him back. “They don’t turn into stories,” she says. “They’re people. They’ll just keep on being people.”

“The Party Upstairs” is also a meta-narrative about the way student loans have derailed the forward motion of storytelling. Ruby still hopes to work at the natural history museum designing dioramas (like the ones she made for a senior project). “I am interested in the way dioramas generate stories while sidestepping traditional narrative forms of rising action and conflict,” she writes in an artist statement for the project. “Instead, the diorama form immobilizes and captures a moment we recognize as part of a story larger than the form itself.” At first, the diorama seems to function as an allegory for her life, which, thanks to her debt, is also robbed of “rising action.” But as Ruby turns her back on her aspirations to class mobility, she experiences a quiet peace. Immobilized in the present, no longer a story waiting to reach crescendo, she can now tend to herself as a person.

Other writers have attempted to circumvent the limitations that paralyzing debt places on a character by partaking in what I have come to think of as the student loan caper. In these novels, a ragtag crew of desperate borrowers will go to extreme, even criminal lengths, to erase their debt. In Perri’s “The Assistants,” young female assistants at a media company falsify expense reports to pay off their loans, one fake lunch at Porter House at a time. In John Grisham’s “[*The Rooster Bar*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/25/books/review-john-grisham-rooster-bar.html?searchResultPosition=1)” (2017), three law school students realize they have enrolled in a diploma mill designed to feed money back to private loan lenders, and form a fake firm to get justice (and debt relief). In other novels, the desperate need to pay off student loans leads to desperate measures: In Jonathan Franzen’s “[*Purity*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/30/books/review/jonathan-franzen-purity-review.html?searchResultPosition=1)” (2015), a young woman with $130,000 in student loan debt travels to Bolivia to work for a Julian Assange hacker type in the hope that he can track down her father — who could maybe help with her monthly payments. Student loans have also become a subplot in the world of erotica. In “Against the Ropes” (2013), by Sarah Castille, a debt-laden college graduate named Makayla takes a job at a mixed martial arts studio and falls for a sexy fighter, who just happens to be a venture capitalist willing to pay off her loans.

That these writers are able to find ways out of debt for their protagonists only through unlikely or implausible plot twists is a testament to how impossible student loan repayment can feel in reality. In “The Party Upstairs” and “Three Rooms,” we instead get realism, which manifests as arrested development, a bildungsroman where no one becomes anything, least of all the thing you went to school for in the first place.

This trend is not without precedent. In his book “Unseasonable Youth” (2011), the scholar Jed Esty wrote about how modernist writers at the turn of the 20th century revised the coming-of-age novel to account for the unequal spread of prosperity under colonialism and global capitalism. Esty notes the tropes of “frozen youth” and “uneven development” in novels like Joseph Conrad’s “Lord Jim” (1900) and Virginia Woolf’s “The Voyage Out” (1915). “Such novels,” he explains, “mark the end of the bildungsroman proper as they fixate on youth and defer, distort or distend.” Today, the student-loan crisis is producing a similar effect: a stymied bildungsroman for a generation who have been robbed of the possibility of becoming, sold a story that would cost them everything.

Jennifer Wilson is a contributing essayist at the Book Review.

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Ricardo Tomás FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 18, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Clean Toilets, Inspired Teachers: How India’s Capital Is Fixing Its Schools***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:665J-N201-DXY4-X1FJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 16, 2022 Tuesday 23:00 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; asia

**Length:** 1510 words

**Byline:** Karan Deep Singh

**Highlight:** The Aam Aadmi Party, which rose to power in New Delhi, is overhauling an education system that serves as a lifeline for millions of families looking to break the cycle of poverty.

**Body**

The Aam Aadmi Party, which rose to power in New Delhi, is overhauling an education system that serves as a lifeline for millions of families looking to break the cycle of poverty.

NEW DELHI — Pradeep Paswan used to skip school for weeks, sometimes months. His classrooms with tin ceilings were baking hot in the summer. The bathrooms were filthy.

Now, he gets dressed by 7 a.m., in a blue shirt and trousers, eager to go to school, in a new building where the toilets are clean. “I come to school because I know that I can become something,” said Mr. Paswan, 20, who is in the 12th grade and dreams of becoming a top officer in India’s elite bureaucracy.

In India, where millions of families look to education to break the cycle of poverty, public schools have long had a reputation for decrepit buildings, mismanagement, poor instruction, even [*tainted lunches*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/18/world/asia/children-die-from-tainted-lunches-at-indian-school.html). Mr. Paswan’s school, in a ***working-class*** Delhi neighborhood, was known as “the red school,” for the regular brawls on campus and the color of its uniforms.

Today, it is a highly sought-after school, a beneficiary of the broader transformation of Delhi’s education system. Last year, 100 percent of students in the school who took the standardized examinations for grades 10 and 12 passed, compared to 89 percent and 82 percent in 2014. The red uniforms have been swapped for navy blue and lavender.

The [*Aam Aadmi Party*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/11/world/asia/delhi-election-modi.html) rose to power in Delhi on the promise to improve basic services: health, electricity, water and education. The party’s leader, Arvind Kejriwal, who became Delhi’s chief minister in 2015, said he wanted to “revamp” the system to a point where government ministers would feel comfortable sending their children to public schools.

Mr. Kejriwal committed billions of additional dollars to overhaul schools, some of which until recently had no drinking water or had been invaded by snakes. The school system partnered with top experts and universities to design new curriculums, while working with parents, students and teachers to improve day-to-day operations.

“The first strong thing that Delhi has signaled is that our children are worth it, our schools are worth it and our teachers are worth it,” said Padma Sarangapani, a professor of education at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences in Mumbai.

The school system is still a work in progress, with student-to-teacher ratios high in some schools and many buildings still in need of basic upgrades. But Mr. Kejriwal is finding success, announcing in December that 250,000 students had left private schools in the last five years to attend government schools. (Some of those moved to public schools because of pandemic-related losses in family income.)

Almost 100 percent of students who appeared for their final high school examinations last year passed, compared to 87 percent who appeared in 2012, according to data from the Delhi government. And other state governments, including Telangana and Tamil Nadu, are now pushing to adopt “[*the Delhi model*](https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/delhi/adopt-delhi-edu-health-models-in-all-states-kcr/articleshow/91715424.cms).”

The work on education has helped generate solid political wins for the party, which in March gained control of [*a second state in India*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/10/world/asia/india-elections-modi.html), Punjab. The party is taking its approach countrywide, campaigning on an education and basic-services platform in state elections this year in Himachal Pradesh and Gujarat.

The transformation of Delhi’s schools started in 2015 with surprise visits by Manish Sisodia, Mr. Kejriwal’s education minister, and his chief adviser on education at the time, Atishi. The two would question school officials, pointing to rundown classrooms, misleading records and leaky taps.

“You would enter a school and you could smell the toilets from 50 meters away,” said Ms. Atishi, who goes by one name. “The message was that if the government can’t even clean schools, how is the government serious about education?”

The government enlisted private companies to clean hundreds of schools. It hired retired defense personnel as “estate managers” who oversaw repairs. The estate managers freed up school principals to focus on academic work.

Between 2015 and 2021, the Delhi government spent about $10 billion (769 billion rupees) on the 1,037 schools it runs, which serve about 1.8 million students. That was more than double what the previous governments, which did not see education as an election-winning issue, spent in the previous seven years, [*according to data from the Delhi government*](https://ddc.delhi.gov.in/sites/default/files/2022-06/Delhi-Government-Performance-Report-2015-2022.pdf).

The new money was used to build new classrooms, laboratories and running tracks, as well as to develop curriculums and create a new board of education.

Officials also tried to address a fundamental problem: a lack of trust between students, teachers and parents.

In 2016, the Delhi government set up school management committees, groups of parents, teachers and local officials that provided [*a platform for airing concerns*](https://indianexpress.com/article/cities/delhi/delhi-government-holds-first-school-management-committee-meet/) and holding the government accountable.

In monthly meetings, school heads and teachers discussed achievements and problems, and sought consent for new purchases or repairs. The government allowed the committees to hire teachers on an interim basis during the long process to [*fill*](https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/delhi/tests-fail-to-find-teachers-for-delhi-govt-schools-rti/articleshow/90136120.cms) the posts permanently.

It also invested in the teaching staff. Some had been absent or left school in the middle of the day, or were even found [*knitting sweaters*](https://www.business-standard.com/article/current-affairs/what-s-changed-in-delhi-schools-there-s-unprecedented-energy-says-sisodia-120011101007_1.html) during classes, according to government officials.

Changing attitudes in a long-stagnant system required a different approach, said Mr. Sisodia, the education minister.

In the summer of 2016, the government held training sessions with over 25,000 teachers. In addition to the usual subject-matter training, it selected teachers from within the public school system to offer training on the basics of teaching.

Those sessions focused on building a personal connection with students. For instance, teachers were encouraged to talk to students about their family backgrounds to understand if it impeded their ability to focus on class work.

“I felt empowered,” said Anita Singh, a teacher who took the course and went to a public school herself. “There was a realization that, as a teacher, if I think about this carefully and make it a part of daily learning, the students will get the actual learning.”

A year later, the government sent one teacher from almost every school in the city for further training at world-class institutions, including the University of Cambridge and the National Institute of Education in Singapore.

“We got exposure, and I got more confidence,” said Atul Kumar, who attended a weeklong training session in London.

Until six months ago, Dr. Kumar was the head of Sarvodaya Vidyalaya, the public school where Mr. Paswan studies. Dr. Kumar said the school is now rejecting applications. Applicants far exceed the school’s capacity of 3,500 students, said Zennet Lakra, the vice principal.

One recent afternoon, Indu Devi, a parent, dropped by Ms. Lakra’s office to get her 17-year-old son, Sanjay Kumar, readmitted after nearly two years out of school. Ms. Devi, who works as a house cleaner, explained that the family had needed him to work during the pandemic.

“I want him to study in this school because it has a name,” she said. “I want him to do better than me.”

Aside from regular subjects, the students learn gardening and how to be happy and mindful, part of an effort to promote “humane values” and de-emphasize rote learning.

Delhi’s education system seems to be working, experts say. The city’s students achieved significantly better scores than their peers countrywide in English, science, mathematics and social sciences in [*2017*](https://nas.gov.in/download-data-state-wise-2017) and [*2021*](https://nas.gov.in/report-card/nas-2021), according to surveys by the Ministry of Education.

Still, challenges remain. Teachers and staff members complain about salaries and benefits that haven’t been increased in years. It’s also been tough to bring children back to school after two pandemic years.

At Mr. Paswan’s school, about 150 students have dropped out. Many who returned have “forgotten how to write their names,” Ms. Lakra said.

Around 1 a.m. on a school night, Mr. Paswan, who works part time as a garbage collector to earn money for his family, hauled his cycle cart filled with cardboard and plastic to the tiny shack where his family lives. He had been collecting and sifting through garbage bins at subway stations, salons and gyms for about six hours.

His body was tired and his eyes bloodshot, but instead of crawling into his hard bed, he opened his Sanskrit notebook to start reading.

“My school is helping me,” said Mr. Paswan, who at 20 is older than most of his classmates because he started school late and repeated a year. “I can dream of doing something big, a job of respect.”

PHOTOS: Sarvodaya Vidyalaya, a public school in New Delhi, top and above. Billions have been spent to improve campuses, including by providing clean drinking water. The education minister, Manish Sisodia, left, pays visits to schools.; Lunchtime at Sarvodaya Vidyalaya. The improvements have helped bring back students who left during the pandemic, and even private school students are transferring. Some schools have to turn away applicants. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SAUMYA KHANDELWAL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 16, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The Pandemic Wasn’t Supposed to Hurt New York Transit This Much***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:665B-9JB1-DXY4-X0GV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1599 words

**Byline:** Ana Ley

**Highlight:** New Yorkers fear a repeat of past service cuts as the Metropolitan Transportation Authority faces a $2.5 billion budget deficit in 2025.

**Body**

New Yorkers fear a repeat of past service cuts as the Metropolitan Transportation Authority faces a $2.5 billion budget deficit in 2025.

New York City’s transit leaders guessed from the start of the pandemic that the crisis would sap subway and bus ridership, strain the system’s budget and underscore its overreliance on fares.

But they didn’t expect passenger numbers to slump for so long.

At its most recent board meeting, the Metropolitan Transportation Authority [*revealed that it will face a $2.5 billion deficit in 2025*](https://new.mta.info/press-release/mta-preliminary-budget-forecasts-fiscal-cliff-closer-and-looms-larger-ridership). An infusion of federal aid that has propped up the system during the pandemic will have dried up by then with no more relief expected from Washington.

The shortfall, which amounts to 12 percent of the operating budget, arrives a year sooner than predicted largely because ridership has struggled to rebound in the face of a quickly evolving coronavirus and the continued popularity of remote work. Some transit riders could also be staying away after several high-profile violent incidents have amplified the [*perception that the system has become more dangerous*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/08/nyregion/subway-crime-ridership-nyc.html?searchResultPosition=7).

The authority had already been heavy in debt before the pandemic, when more than five million people packed the city’s trains every weekday. Today, passenger levels hover at about 60 percent of that number, and forecasters predict they will reach only 80 percent of prepandemic levels by 2026 — trailing earlier [*expectations*](https://new.mta.info/document/91721)  [*of*](https://new.mta.info/document/91721)  [*86 percent by next year*](https://new.mta.info/document/91721).

If the authority, which operates the city’s subway, bus network and commuter rail lines, cannot plug its budget, it has limited options including cutting service, laying off workers or raising fares.

Service reductions could allow a diminished transit system to limp along. But similar measures in the aftermath of the subprime mortgage crisis of 2008, still vivid in the memory of some New Yorkers, left the city harder to navigate and harder to work and live in. Many now fear a return to those conditions.

It’s a dilemma shared by many transit systems across the United States — from Philadelphia to Chicago to San Francisco — and abroad in European capitals.

In a phone call last week, Janno Lieber, the authority’s chairman, avoided specifics when addressing the looming budget gap but stressed that service reductions were out of the question.

“Transit for us in New York City and the region is like air and water,” Mr. Lieber said. “We cannot exist without it.”

Lessons from the Great Recession

The last time transit leaders cut their way out of a fiscal crisis, the damage for some riders was [*enduring*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q-mgv-sNThA) and painful.

Officials [*permanently eliminated*](https://queenseagle.com/all/how-the-short-lived-v-train-altered-queens-subway-lines-forever) the subway’s V train. The G line stopped serving some heavily immigrant, ***working-class*** communities in western Queens, though that portion of the line had already been reduced to weekend service only. Dozens of bus schedules [*were abbreviated or canceled.*](http://web.mta.info/news/pdf/NYCT_Revised_Service_Changes.pdf)

When the cuts came in 2010 — following the 2008 recession — Anadelia Cerón, 60, could no longer take the G train from her home in Queens to Brooklyn, where she worked odd cleaning jobs. The changes added half an hour to her commute, and getting around generally became more time-consuming and complicated, she recalled.

“Those of us who earn the least are always affected the most,” said Ms. Cerón, a Colombian immigrant who moved to New York more than 30 years ago.

The authority had started running trains and buses less frequently to help plug a $400 million budget hole, and the cuts angered many New Yorkers. At [*one pivotal authority board meeting*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5FrAUa_V0xU), a Brooklyn resident, Irene Berkson, took the lectern to protest the closure of the B37 bus. She had spoken to 500 commuters who could not attend the meeting but signed a petition urging the authority to spare the Bay Ridge route.

“I’m trying to save the neighborhood,” Ms. Berkson, a retired teacher, told the board as she relayed the frustration of fellow petitioners. In a 2011 study, the authority would estimate that 15 percent of all transit riders were inconvenienced by the cuts, while 1 percent of bus riders stopped using the system altogether.

The authority [*gradually restored service*](https://www.thirteen.org/metrofocus/2012/07/finally-good-news-from-mta-cut-services-will-be-restored/) over a few years — notably, [*the W line was resurrected*](https://www.mta.info/press-release/nyc-transit/mta-advances-work-second-avenue-subway-service) after a six-year hiatus. An analysis of Federal Transit Administration data by Steven Higashide, a researcher at the advocacy group TransitCenter, shows that the authority returned to a comparable level of service by 2016.

But some routes were never replaced, and the subway’s reliability continued to deteriorate.

While the exact economic impact of the cuts is unknown, [*American Public Transportation Association*](https://www.apta.com/research-technical-resources/economic-impact-of-public-transit/#:~:text=Economic%20Impact%20of%20Public%20Transportation%20Investment&amp;text=Investment%20in%20transit%20can%20yield,the%20short-term%20stimulative%20effect) research shows that every $1 invested into public transportation yields $4 in economic returns for communities. Rough estimates would place New York’s lost productivity into the hundreds of millions of dollars, if not far beyond.

The turmoil surrounding the diminished service led to the formation of the Riders Alliance, a grass-roots organization of transit users that remains active. Betsy Plum, the group’s executive director, recalls her own commute growing from one train ride to three.

“We so often just accept that the government makes a cut and we just have to resign ourselves to that being our new reality,” Ms. Plum said, contemplating the current fiscal threat to transit. “This is a moment when we should be pushing for more service. We shouldn’t be talking about what we are going to lose.”

An uncertain future for riders

The authority has not specified plans to tackle the current looming deficit. Despite vows to the contrary from transit officials, observers and advocates fear that the authority will revisit its familiar playbook.

At the height of the pandemic in 2020 — and before the federal bailout — [*the authority had proposed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/18/nyregion/nyc-mta-budget-cuts.html) slashing subway service by 40 percent, eliminating some bus routes and cutting service on the remaining ones by a third. Transit officials have previously said they target bus routes and subway lines that overlap.

Transit has continued to suffer steep losses nationwide since 2020 as many commuters with white-collar jobs have worked from home and abandoned the system. Trips on public transportation fell by 40 percent from 2019 to 2020, according to [*the Congressional Budget Office*](https://www.cbo.gov/publication/57940). Although ridership has partially rebounded, it remained well below prepandemic levels through last year.

While the M.T.A. [*lost nearly half its annual operating revenue*](https://new.mta.info/document/88981) in that time period, [*its budget problems have long predated the pandemic*](https://www.osc.state.ny.us/press/releases/2022/04/dinapoli-debt-adding-mtas-financial-pressures-riders-and-fare-revenue-slow-return). The system was saved from decay in the early 1980s when [*lawmakers allowed it to issue bonds.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2008/07/26/nyregion/26mta.html) The authority’s debt load, however, ballooned.

Expenses have outpaced income, and the authority has borrowed heavily to keep up. The amount of outstanding long-term debt issued by the authority [*rose by 55 percent between 2010 and 2021*](https://www.osc.state.ny.us/press/releases/2022/04/dinapoli-debt-adding-mtas-financial-pressures-riders-and-fare-revenue-slow-return), up from $25.8 billion to $40.1 billion.

A one-time shot of more than $14 billion in federal pandemic aid helped stabilize the M.T.A.’s budget, but its long-term financial health depends heavily on the return of riders. Nearly 40 percent of the agency’s operating revenue comes from fares, a higher percentage than most other major public transit systems, which rely more on government subsidies.

Still, many cities around the world are confronting similar fiscal woes. [*Research by TransitCenter and Governing magazine*](https://www.governing.com/now/for-mass-transit-agencies-a-fiscal-cliff-looms) found that in the United States, the threat of a budget collapse is even greater for transit systems in Washington and Boston. Ridership in other places like London, Berlin and Paris remains well below prepandemic levels, [*according to the Brussels-based International Association of Public Transport*](https://citytransit.uitp.org/london/covid-19-ridership-fall).

“Without new sources of local or state revenue, transit agencies face really impossible choices,” Mr. Higashide said.

In New York, any new service reductions risk deepening work force inequities laid bare by the pandemic. While white-collar workers often have the option to stay home, many lower-wage workers, who tend to be people of color with longer commutes, must travel to jobs even when coronavirus cases surge.

Subway stations in lower-income areas in Brooklyn, Queens and Upper Manhattan, [*where residents typically depend more on public transit*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/17/nyregion/nyc-subway-ridership.html), have rebounded far faster from the pandemic than stations in office-heavy sections of Manhattan.

“It’s incumbent upon the M.T.A. leadership to be creative and innovative,” said Thomas DiNapoli, the New York State comptroller, urging the agency “to be open, transparent — communicate what the options are that they’re looking at.”

The M.T.A. is pursuing new sources of revenue. Officials last week moved a step closer to implementing a congestion pricing program that would toll drivers who enter Manhattan below 60th Street. The authority released an environmental assessment of the pricing plan, which [*would charge drivers as much as $23 to drive into the borough*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2022-08-10/nyc-congestion-pricing-calls-for-extra-23-toll-for-some-drivers). The proceeds would fund improvements to the transit network.

Some New Yorkers are already resigned to the possibility of more cuts, even as the price of a ride goes up. The M.T.A. [*usually raises fares*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/15/nyregion/mta-train-subway-nyc.html) every two years, [*but it has staved off hikes*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2022-01-19/n-y-mta-aims-to-skip-fare-hikes-in-2022-with-state-revenue-bump#xj4y7vzkg) through the pandemic for fear of losing even more riders.

Alejandra Llinás, 58, said she misses the days when getting around the city was cheaper, faster and easier. As service retreats, “You get used to it,” she said as she sipped a beer at a cafe in Jackson Heights, Queens. “But of course it’s inconvenient.”

PHOTO: The Metropolitan Transportation Authority, the state agency that runs New York City’s subways, buses and commuter rail lines, is facing a $2.5 billion budget shortfall in 2025. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Carly Zavala for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 15, 2022

**End of Document**



[***New York City Braces for M.T.A. Budget Disaster Brought On by Pandemic***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:665B-9FY1-JBG3-61WD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 15, 2022 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 13

**Length:** 1573 words

**Byline:** By Ana Ley

**Body**

New Yorkers fear a repeat of past service cuts as the Metropolitan Transportation Authority faces a $2.5 billion budget deficit in 2025.

New York City's transit leaders guessed from the start of the pandemic that the crisis would sap subway and bus ridership, strain the system's budget and underscore its overreliance on fares.

But they didn't expect passenger numbers to slump for so long.

At its most recent board meeting, the Metropolitan Transportation Authority revealed that it will face a $2.5 billion deficit in 2025. An infusion of federal aid that has propped up the system during the pandemic will have dried up by then with no more relief expected from Washington.

The shortfall, which amounts to 12 percent of the operating budget, arrives a year sooner than predicted largely because ridership has struggled to rebound in the face of a quickly evolving coronavirus and the continued popularity of remote work. Some transit riders could also be staying away after several high-profile violent incidents have amplified the perception that the system has become more dangerous.

The authority had already been heavy in debt before the pandemic, when more than five million people packed the city's trains every weekday. Today, passenger levels hover at about 60 percent of that number, and forecasters predict they will reach only 80 percent of prepandemic levels by 2026 -- trailing earlier expectations of 86 percent by next year.

If the authority, which operates the city's subway, bus network and commuter rail lines, cannot plug its budget, it has limited options including cutting service, laying off workers or raising fares.

Service reductions could allow a diminished transit system to limp along. But similar measures in the aftermath of the subprime mortgage crisis of 2008, still vivid in the memory of some New Yorkers, left the city harder to navigate and harder to work and live in. Many now fear a return to those conditions.

It's a dilemma shared by many transit systems across the United States -- from Philadelphia to Chicago to San Francisco -- and abroad in European capitals.

In a phone call last week, Janno Lieber, the authority's chairman, avoided specifics when addressing the looming budget gap but stressed that service reductions were out of the question.

''Transit for us in New York City and the region is like air and water,'' Mr. Lieber said. ''We cannot exist without it.''

Lessons from the Great Recession

The last time transit leaders cut their way out of a fiscal crisis, the damage for some riders was enduring and painful.

Officials permanently eliminated the subway's V train. The G line stopped serving some heavily immigrant, ***working-class*** communities in western Queens, though that portion of the line had already been reduced to weekend service only. Dozens of bus schedules were abbreviated or canceled.

When the cuts came in 2010 -- following the 2008 recession -- Anadelia Cerón, 60, could no longer take the G train from her home in Queens to Brooklyn, where she worked odd cleaning jobs. The changes added half an hour to her commute, and getting around generally became more time-consuming and complicated, she recalled.

''Those of us who earn the least are always affected the most,'' said Ms. Cerón, a Colombian immigrant who moved to New York more than 30 years ago.

The authority had started running trains and buses less frequently to help plug a $400 million budget hole, and the cuts angered many New Yorkers. At one pivotal authority board meeting, a Brooklyn resident, Irene Berkson, took the lectern to protest the closure of the B37 bus. She had spoken to 500 commuters who could not attend the meeting but signed a petition urging the authority to spare the Bay Ridge route.

''I'm trying to save the neighborhood,'' Ms. Berkson, a retired teacher, told the board as she relayed the frustration of fellow petitioners. In a 2011 study, the authority would estimate that 15 percent of all transit riders were inconvenienced by the cuts, while 1 percent of bus riders stopped using the system altogether.

The authority gradually restored service over a few years -- notably, the W line was resurrected after a six-year hiatus. An analysis of Federal Transit Administration data by Steven Higashide, a researcher at the advocacy group TransitCenter, shows that the authority returned to a comparable level of service by 2016.

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While the exact economic impact of the cuts is unknown, American Public Transportation Association research shows that every $1 invested into public transportation yields $4 in economic returns for communities. Rough estimates would place New York's lost productivity into the hundreds of millions of dollars, if not far beyond.

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''We so often just accept that the government makes a cut and we just have to resign ourselves to that being our new reality,'' Ms. Plum said, contemplating the current fiscal threat to transit. ''This is a moment when we should be pushing for more service. We shouldn't be talking about what we are going to lose.''

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Still, many cities around the world are confronting similar fiscal woes. Research by TransitCenter and Governing magazine found that in the United States, the threat of a budget collapse is even greater for transit systems in Washington and Boston. Ridership in other places like London, Berlin and Paris remains well below prepandemic levels, according to the Brussels-based International Association of Public Transport.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/14/nyregion/mta-nyc-budget.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/14/nyregion/mta-nyc-budget.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: The Metropolitan Transportation Authority, the state agency that runs New York City's subways, buses and commuter rail lines, is facing a $2.5 billion budget shortfall in 2025. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Carly Zavala for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 15, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The Case for Joe Biden***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y9F-2001-DXY4-X3YM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 16, 2020 Thursday 10:13 EST

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**Section:** OPINION; sunday

**Length:** 850 words

**Byline:** Ross Douthat

**Highlight:** The promise of victory, and then the promise of (relative) calm.

**Body**

The promise of victory, and then the promise of (relative) calm.

The Democratic Party has an opportunity: Donald Trump’s chronic unpopularity, even in the midst of solid economic growth, means that 2020 is a once-in-a-generation chance to really go for it — to nominate the leftward-most candidate, reverse Ronald Reagan’s 1980s revolution and pull the whole political system decisively toward social democracy.

To nominate [*Joe Biden*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html) is to pass up that opportunity.

The Democratic Party has a choice: to root itself anew in ***working-class*** politics, trying to weld together the interests of younger Americans with downscale and service-sector voters, or to lean into its emerging identity as an upper-middle-class coalition, a party of progressivism and technocratic competence.

To nominate [*Joe Biden*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html) is to duck that choice.

This combination — plus, let’s be frank, Biden’s fumbling, wavering, I’m-too-old-for-this persona — explains why it’s so hard to find passionate supporters of the former vice president among pundits and commentators, real-world activists and Twitter agitators. To choose Biden over the more interesting options, over Bernie Sanders and Mike Bloomberg and Elizabeth Warren and Pete Buttigieg, is to choose the past over the future, sustainable decadence over dynamism and drama, the same old ineffective establishment over a more decisive break.

But Biden might still be the best choice for his party.

I’ve written favorably about Sanders’s capacity to unite Democrats and play a reverse-Reagan role — with the coronavirus, perhaps, as Trump’s Iran hostage crisis. But no one should doubt that Bernie’s ideological revolution is a gamble, and it remains an open question whether Sanders can pivot, as Reagan did, from revolution to reassurance once swing voters are in play.

For now Biden and Sanders both lead Trump consistently in polls, but Biden’s policies are considerably more popular, and if Sanders can claim that the polls prove socialism isn’t necessarily a liability, then Biden can say they prove the same of his age and his family’s buckraking. Candidates with more baggage than Biden have won the presidency (Trump himself being an example); a socialist promising the end of private health insurance has not.

Likewise, the different realignments that Sanders and Bloomberg and Warren seek all run the risk of realigning the Democrats right out of a majority. Root yourself in ***working-class*** politics and you might lose too many suburban women; become too fully upper-middle-class progressive and you might start to lose black and Hispanic men. The Sanders coalition relies on extremely optimistic projections about youth turnout; the Bloomberg coalition risks seeing suburban gains canceled out by rural and blue-collar losses. Nominating Biden won’t generate wild enthusiasm or infuse the party with Bloombergian billions, and enthusiasm and money matter — but so does having the broadest possible support.

So Biden remains the cautious, more-things-to-more-people choice, and if Democrats believe Trump to be an unprecedented authoritarian threat, then the case for such caution is self-evident. One might reasonably prefer a different cautious choice, an Amy Klobuchar or one of the failed-to-launch moderates — but Biden is the only one who appears viable, the only not-Sanders candidate who still has a clear-enough path to the nomination. And with Super Tuesday upon us, for cautious Democrats there may be no alternative.

The same case for the advantages of caution applies to what a Biden presidency might bring. He will not induce Mitch McConnell to pass Medicare for All or make college free, or perform the prestidigitation on the country’s regulatory system that Warren promises. But in a world with a Republican-controlled or 50-50 Senate, he is somewhat less likely than other candidates to see his agenda gridlocked from the start, more likely to successfully jawbone Joe Manchin on health care or Pat Toomey on guns, and perhaps modestly more likely to gain a Democratic majority in the Senate after 2022.

You lose any immediate chance at sweeping change, in other words, but you gain some room for incrementalism that greater ideological ambition might foreclose.

Finally, the strongest argument for Biden is nonideological: More than the other candidates, he offers the possibility of a calmer presidency, where politics fades a bit from the daily headlines, where the average American is less bombarded by social-media swarms and cable-news freakouts, where gridlock and polarization persist but their stakes feel modestly reduced.

I’ll be honest: It wouldn’t be good news for political columnists, but as a citizen it doesn’t sound that bad.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html), [*Twitter (@NYTOpinion)*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html) and [*Instagram*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html), join the Facebook political discussion group, [*Voting While Female*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Kelsey Wroten FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 13, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction: Sunday, January 17th 2021***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61VN-GWX1-DXY4-X35T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 17, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 491 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the January 17, 2021 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending January 2, 2021. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction |
| This | On |  |
| Week | List |  |
| 1 | 115 | THE BODY KEEPS THE SCORE, by Bessel van der Kolk. (Penguin) How trauma affects the body and mind, and innovative treatments for recovery. |
| 2 | 61 | HILLBILLY ELEGY, by J.D. Vance. (Harper) A Yale Law School graduate looks at the struggles of the white ***working class*** through the story of his own childhood. |
| 3 | 24 | MY OWN WORDS, by Ruth Bader Ginsburg with Mary Hartnett and Wendy W. Williams. (Simon & Schuster) A collection of articles and speeches by the Supreme Court justice. |
| 4 | 125 | SAPIENS, by Yuval Noah Harari. (Harper Perennial) How Homo sapiens became Earth?s dominant species. |
| 5 | 122 | WHITE FRAGILITY, by Robin DiAngelo. (Beacon) Historical and cultural analyses on what causes defensive moves by white people and how this inhibits cross-racial dialogue. |
| 6 | 53 | THE WARMTH OF OTHER SUNS, by Isabel Wilkerson. (Vintage) An account of the Great Migration of 1915-70, in which six million African-Americans abandoned the South. |
| 7 | 38 | BRAIDING SWEETGRASS, by Robin Wall Kimmerer. (Milkweed Editions) A botanist and member of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation espouses having an understanding and appreciation of plants and animals. |
| 8 | 9 | THE SPY AND THE TRAITOR, by Ben Macintyre. (Broadway) The story of Oleg Gordievsky, a K.G.B. spy who secretly worked for the British intelligence service, and Aldrich Ames, a C.I.A. officer who was a K.G.B. double agent. |
| 9 | 99 | BORN A CRIME, by Trevor Noah. (One World) A memoir about growing up biracial in apartheid South Africa by the host of ?The Daily Show.? |
| 10 | 235 | JUST MERCY, by Bryan Stevenson. (One World) A civil rights lawyer and MacArthur grant recipient?s memoir of his decades of work to free innocent people condemned to death. |
| 11 | 259 | THINKING, FAST AND SLOW, by Daniel Kahneman. (Farrar, Straus & Giroux) When we can and cannot trust our intuitions in making business and personal decisions. |
| 12 | 215 | THE NEW JIM CROW, by Michelle Alexander. (New Press) A law professor on the ?war on drugs? and its role in the disproportionate incarceration of Black men. |
| 13 | 1 | HOW TO DO NOTHING, by Jenny Odell. (Melville House) An argument for unplugging from technology in order to potentially focus attention on important matters. |
| 14 | 15 | THE TRUTHS WE HOLD, by Kamala Harris. (Penguin) A memoir by the daughter of immigrants who is now the vice president-elect. |
| 15 | 129 | THE POWER OF HABIT, by Charles Duhigg. (Random House) An examination of the science behind habits, how we form them and break them. |

**Load-Date:** January 26, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Egypt Overturns Prison Terms In Case of TikTok 'Debauchery'***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61S3-P9M1-DXY4-X3P8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 14, 2021 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 10

**Length:** 454 words

**Byline:** By Vivian Yee

**Body**

Convicted of inciting debauchery and violating family values, the women were caught up in a conservative backlash as the authorities tried to enforce strict social norms.

CAIRO -- An Egyptian court has overturned the sentences of two young women who were convicted and imprisoned last year on charges of ''violating family values'' and ''inciting debauchery'' after they gained fame on TikTok, according to state-run media.

The case drew widespread attention as Egyptian prosecutors waged a far-ranging legal battle last year against what they considered public immorality in social media.

The two women were among a handful of social media influencers, including a female pop star and a belly dancer, to come under scrutiny for their posts in recent years. As their social media followings and, in some cases, income earned through videos have grown, young female influencers have faced a conservative backlash in a country where activist lawyers and prosecutors take it upon themselves to enforce strict social norms for women.

The women, Haneen Hossam and Mawada el-Adham, were 20 and 22 when they were convicted and sentenced in July to two years in prison. They became stars on TikTok, Instagram and other social media platforms with playful videos they posted of themselves dancing, lip-syncing and singing.

Egyptians stuck at home during the coronavirus lockdown loved it, and the women accrued millions of followers. But compared with other social media posts in Egypt and the West, the videos seemed tame; Ms. Hossam usually appeared in a head scarf.

But prosecutors accused the women of ''indecent'' activity, homing in on one clip Ms. Hossam posted on Instagram in which she encouraged female followers to try getting into the social media influencer game by posting videos of themselves to the app Likee, which pays creators based on the number of views they rack up.

Prosecutors accused Ms. Hossam of instigating young women to sell sex on the app and of human trafficking. The women denied the charges against them.

The women's defenders, including digital rights activists, have said their middle- and ***working-class*** backgrounds made them more vulnerable to charges of indecency than more affluent Egyptian women, who are subject to less moral scrutiny.

Under the new ruling, the women are supposed to be released from prison, but it was not immediately clear whether they had been freed yet.

Though the court overturned the prison sentences for both women, it upheld a fine of about $19,000 for Ms. el-Adham.

Three other defendants convicted on charges of helping the women evade arrest and conceal their alleged crimes also won their appeals on Tuesday, according to Al-Ahram, a state-owned news outlet.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/13/world/middleeast/egypt-women-tiktok.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/13/world/middleeast/egypt-women-tiktok.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: A combination of images showing videos from Haneen Hossam, left, and Mowada el-Adham, who became stars on social media. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Khaled Desouki/Agence France-Presse -- Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** January 14, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Five Collectives Compete For the Turner Prize***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62MC-V4R1-JBG3-6171-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 8, 2021 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 576 words

**Byline:** By Alex Marshall

**Body**

The jurors were drawn to politically and socially engaged art, which was often about representing minority groups, the chair of the judges said.

LONDON -- A group that runs raves for gay, transgender and queer people of color, and an association of artists with neurological conditions, are among five art collectives shortlisted for this year's Turner Prize.

It is the first time the shortlist for the British art prize has been made up entirely of group entries, without a single painter, photographer or filmmaker in the running. The nominees were announced on Friday.

Cooking Sections, a pair of activists whose work examines the role of food in people's lives, are perhaps the most prominent name on the shortlist. They have held an exhibition at Tate Britain, in London, and showed work at this year's Shanghai Biennial and at the 2018 Manifesta biennial, in Palermo, Italy.

The other nominees:

Black Obsidian Sound System, a group of 18 London artists that stages club nights and installations

Array Collective, a group of Northern Irish artists who design costumes, props and banners and take part in protests, such as recent rallies over the decriminalization of abortion in the territory

Gentle/Radical, a group from Wales that aims to bring art to the doors of poor households in the city of Cardiff

Project Art Works, an art space in Hastings, in southern England, where ''neurodiverse'' people, such as those with autism, can make art. Its associated collective will present work in the next edition of Documenta, a huge international art exhibition held in Kassel, Germany, every five years. Another collective, called ruangrupa, from Indonesia, is curating that show, which is set to take place in 2022.

The closing of galleries in Britain throughout the past year influenced the shortlist, said Alex Farquharson, the director of Tate Britain and chair of the prize's judges, in a telephone interview. ''Clearly, there was so little to see with the lockdowns,'' he said.

Because of that, ''the jurors took the opportunity to think about art practices that are long-term, and really about a locality, rather than art which can be moved,'' he added. Those judges were also drawn to politically and socially engaged art, which was often about representing minority groups, Farquharson added.

The 2021 winner will not be the first agenda-driven collective to take the prize. In 2015, Assemble, an architecture and design group, triumphed with a project that refurbished derelict houses in a ***working-class*** neighborhood of Liverpool, England. In 2019, the four shortlisted artists -- who included Oscar Murillo, the Colombian-born artist once hailed as ''the new Basquiat'' -- refused to be judged against one another, and formed a temporary syndicate so they could share the prize between them.

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An exhibition of work by the five shortlisted collectives will be held at the Herbert Art Gallery and Museum in Coventry, England, from Sept. 29 to Jan 12. The winner will be announced on Dec. 1 at a ceremony in Coventry.

The winner will receive 25,000 British pounds, about $34,800, and the unsuccessful collectives will each get £10,000.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/07/arts/design/turner-prize-shortlist.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/07/arts/design/turner-prize-shortlist.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Cooking Sections, which focuses on the role of food, is on the shortlist. (PHOTOGRAPH BY RUTH CLARK)

**Load-Date:** May 8, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Biden builds on his economic populist message and courts Trump voters in Ohio.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6123-5RD1-DXY4-X12J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 12, 2020 Monday 00:12 EST

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**Section:** US; elections

**Length:** 403 words

**Byline:** Katie Glueck

**Highlight:** “He turned his back on you,” Mr. Biden said of President Trump. “I promise you, I will never do that.”

**Body**

“He turned his back on you,” Mr. Biden said of President Trump. “I promise you, I will never do that.”

Almost four years after Ohio so fully embraced President Trump that many Democrats wrote off the state for the 2020 election, Joseph R. Biden Jr. headed there on Monday, aiming to energize the Democratic base and engage suburbanites, and also to court white ***working-class*** Americans who supported Mr. Trump last time.

In an address brimming with populist fervor, Mr. Biden lashed his opponent as an out-of-touch plutocrat who repeatedly betrayed union workers while playing up his own Irish Catholic, middle-class background and stressing the Obama administration’s work on behalf of the auto industry.

“He turned his back on you,” Mr. Biden told the crowd of his opponent. “I promise you, I will never do that.”

And Mr. Biden escalated his criticism of Mr. Trump’s stewardship of the coronavirus — and of the president’s own diagnosis — accusing him of “reckless personal conduct” since testing positive for the coronavirus that has been “unconscionable.”

“The longer Donald Trump is president, the more reckless he seems to get,” Mr. Biden said.

Mr. Biden’s remarks came as [*part of a speech in Toledo*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/12/us/politics/biden-ohio-working-class.html), delivered at what the campaign called a “drive-in rally” outside the United Auto Workers’ Local 14 union hall.

Later Monday, he headed to Cincinnati, where he sought to both energize voters in the city and to appeal to to those who live in the suburbs, which have historically favored Republicans but appear more competitive this year. Reprising many of the themes he hit in a [*speech in Gettysburg, Pa.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/12/us/politics/biden-ohio-working-class.html), last week, Mr. Biden urged national unity, denounced racial injustice and stressed his continued belief in the possibility of bipartisanship even in a polarized environment.

“Those Republicans who are willing to cooperate get punished by this president,” he said. “I refuse to let that happen. We need to revive the spirit of bipartisanship in this country. I know that sounds bizarre in light of where we are.”

He also warned in stark terms about the possibility of voter intimidation.

“Don’t be intimidated by talk of having some of these Proud Boys stand there with their rifles in lines, where you can open carry, try to intimidate people without saying anything,” he said, referencing concerns that far-right supporters of Mr. Trump could be organizing for Election Day. “You, the American people, decide our future.”

**Load-Date:** October 13, 2020

**End of Document**



[***How to Flourish, The Rock for President? and a 7-Eleven Grudge Match: The Week in Narrated Articles***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62M6-68T1-JBG3-6548-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 7, 2021 Friday 05:22 EST

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**Section:** PODCASTS

**Length:** 601 words

**Highlight:** Five articles from around The Times, narrated just for you.

**Body**

Five articles from around The Times, narrated just for you.

This weekend, listen to a collection of narrated articles from around The New York Times, read aloud by the reporters who wrote the story.

[*The Other Side of Languishing Is Flourishing. Here’s How to Get There.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/04/well/mind/flourishing-languishing.html)

Written and narrated by [*Dani Blum*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/04/well/mind/flourishing-languishing.html)

With vaccination rates on the rise, hope is in the air. But after a year of trauma, isolation and grief, how long will it take before life finally feels good?

Post-pandemic, some answers to that question may be in your own hands.

◆ ◆ ◆

[*Could ‘Young Rock’ Be Dwayne Johnson’s ‘Apprentice’?*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/04/well/mind/flourishing-languishing.html)

Written and narrated by Jeremy Gordon

“Young Rock,” which has just finished airing its first season on NBC, purports to trace how Dwayne Johnson’s upbringing turned him into the man he is today: a wrestling champion and the highest-paid actor on the planet.

The reason we’re learning about Young Rock’s life is that Johnson is on the campaign trail for the 2032 presidential election.

“Roll your eyes, but accept the possibility,” Jeremy Gordon writes. “Ever since Donald Trump was elected, plenty of charismatic celebrities have been floated as potential candidates.”

◆ ◆ ◆

[*A Grudge Match in Japan: One Corner, Two 7-Elevens*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/04/well/mind/flourishing-languishing.html)

Written by [*Ben Dooley*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/04/well/mind/flourishing-languishing.html) and [*Hisako Ueno*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/04/well/mind/flourishing-languishing.html) | Narrated by Ben Dooley

Across Japan, it can seem as if there’s a 7-Eleven on every corner. Now, on a single corner in a ***working-class*** suburb of Osaka, there are two.

Mitoshi Matsumoto, a franchisee, ran a 7-Eleven until the chain revoked his contract in 2019 after he dared to shorten his operating hours. For over a year, his store has sat empty as he and 7-Eleven have battled in court over control of the shop. Fed up and with no end in sight, the company decided on a stopgap: It built a second shop in what used to be Mr. Matsumoto’s parking lot.

A look inside the war between the very powerful company and a very stubborn franchisee, complete with threats, spies and videotape.

◆ ◆ ◆

[*How a Miami School Became a Beacon for Anti-Vaxxers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/04/well/mind/flourishing-languishing.html)

Written and narrated by [*Patricia Mazzei*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/04/well/mind/flourishing-languishing.html)

Centner Academy, a small school in Miami’s trendy Design District, became a national shining light for anti-vaccination activists practically overnight last week.

The school barred teachers newly vaccinated against the coronavirus from being near students. Some parents threatened to withdraw their children. Others clamored to enroll.

◆ ◆ ◆

[*From the Past, a Chilling Warning About the Extremists of the Present*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/04/well/mind/flourishing-languishing.html)

Written and narrated by [*Neil MacFarquhar*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/04/well/mind/flourishing-languishing.html)

They robbed an armored car outside a sprawling Seattle shopping mall. They bombed a synagogue in Boise, Idaho, and within weeks assassinated a Jewish talk radio host in Denver. Then a month later, they plundered another armored car on a California highway.

In 1984, what initially seemed to F.B.I. agents like distant, disparate crimes turned out to be the opening salvos in a war against the federal government by members of a violent extremist group called the Order, who sought to establish a whites-only homeland out West.

Almost four decades after officials dismantled the Order, experts see echoes in the far right of today.

Want to hear more narrated articles from publications like The New York Times? [*Download Audm for iPhone and Android*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/04/well/mind/flourishing-languishing.html).

The Times’s narrated articles are made by Parin Behrooz, Carson Leigh Brown, Anna Diamond, Aaron Esposito, Elena Hecht, Emma Kehlbeck, Marion Lozano, Anna Martin, Tracy Mumford, Tanya Perez, Margaret Willison, Kate Winslett, John Woo and Claudine Ebeid McElwain. Special thanks to Sam Dolnick, Ryan Wegner, Julia Simon and Desiree Ibekwe.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Cristina Spanò FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 7, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Five Collectives Compete for the Turner Prize***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62M6-F5W1-JBG3-60KK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 7, 2021 Friday 23:44 EST

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**Section:** ARTS; design

**Length:** 588 words

**Byline:** Alex Marshall

**Highlight:** The jurors were drawn to politically and socially engaged art, which was often about representing minority groups, the chair of the judges said.

**Body**

The jurors were drawn to politically and socially engaged art, which was often about representing minority groups, the chair of the judges said.

LONDON — A group that runs raves for gay, transgender and queer people of color, and an association of artists with neurological conditions, are among five art collectives shortlisted for this year’s Turner Prize.

It is the first time the shortlist for the British art prize has been made up entirely of group entries, without a single painter, photographer or filmmaker in the running. The nominees were announced on Friday.

Cooking Sections, a pair of activists whose [*work examines the role of food in people’s lives*](https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2021/apr/04/salmon-art-duo-cooking-sections-booming-1bn-tate), are perhaps the most prominent name on the shortlist. They have held an exhibition at Tate Britain, in London, and showed work at this year’s Shanghai Biennial and [*at the 2018 Manifesta biennial*](https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2021/apr/04/salmon-art-duo-cooking-sections-booming-1bn-tate), in Palermo, Italy.

The other nominees:

* [*Black Obsidian Sound System*](https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2021/apr/04/salmon-art-duo-cooking-sections-booming-1bn-tate), a group of 18 London artists that stages club nights and installations
* [*Array Collective*](https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2021/apr/04/salmon-art-duo-cooking-sections-booming-1bn-tate), a group of Northern Irish artists who design costumes, props and banners and take part in protests, such as recent rallies over the decriminalization of abortion in the territory
* [*Gentle/Radical*](https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2021/apr/04/salmon-art-duo-cooking-sections-booming-1bn-tate), a group from Wales that aims to bring art to the doors of poor households in the city of Cardiff
* [*Project Art Works*](https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2021/apr/04/salmon-art-duo-cooking-sections-booming-1bn-tate), an art space in Hastings, in southern England, where [*“neurodiverse” people, such as those with autism, can make art*](https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2021/apr/04/salmon-art-duo-cooking-sections-booming-1bn-tate). Its associated collective will present work in the next edition of Documenta, a huge international art exhibition held in Kassel, Germany, every five years. [*Another collective, called ruangrupa, from Indonesia, is curating that show*](https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2021/apr/04/salmon-art-duo-cooking-sections-booming-1bn-tate), which is set to take place in 2022.

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The 2021 winner will not be the first agenda-driven collective to take the prize. In 2015, Assemble, an architecture and design group, [*triumphed with a project that refurbished derelict houses*](https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2021/apr/04/salmon-art-duo-cooking-sections-booming-1bn-tate) in a ***working-class*** neighborhood of Liverpool, England. In 2019, the four shortlisted artists — who included Oscar Murillo, the Colombian-born artist once hailed as “the new Basquiat” — refused to be judged against one another, and [*formed a temporary syndicate*](https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2021/apr/04/salmon-art-duo-cooking-sections-booming-1bn-tate) so they could share the prize between them.

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PHOTO: Cooking Sections, which focuses on the role of food, is on the shortlist. (PHOTOGRAPH BY RUTH CLARK)

**Load-Date:** May 7, 2021

**End of Document**



[***On Chicago’s West Side, Urgent Needs Collide With Washington Compromises***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:641P-R721-JBG3-64F6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 8, 2021 Monday 07:58 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1835 words

**Byline:** Astead W. Herndon

**Highlight:** Activists say the needs of struggling communities in Chicago and elsewhere vastly exceed the billions Congress is spending.

**Body**

CHICAGO — Democrats in Washington want to talk about what has made it into President Biden’s domestic legislation. Chris Brown on Chicago’s West Side wants to talk about what has been cut.

For many in the North Lawndale neighborhood, affordable housing has a direct link to curbing gun violence in the area, where [*five people were shot*](https://chicago.suntimes.com/crime/2021/7/21/22587924/damarion-benson-lawndale-shooting-homicide-gun-violence-crime) near an elementary school this year. One proposed solution — which includes building thousands of homes and rehabbing vacant lots — could hinge on how much federal investment makes it from the halls of the Capitol to the West Side.

“We needed this 20 years ago,” said Ms. Brown, a longtime homeowner in North Lawndale who works with an advocacy group called United Power for Action and Justice. “It’s gotten like this here because nobody has cared.”

After months of legislative wrangling, congressional Democrats passed a $1.2 trillion bipartisan [*infrastructure bill*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/10/briefing/infrastructure-bill-joe-biden.html) and are also closing in on a wide-ranging budget agreement that funds a range of liberal priorities, including universal prekindergarten and an expansion of the child tax credit.

But the protracted negotiations over both spending packages have forced Democrats to cut several initiatives partly or entirely: tuition-free community college, a clean energy standard to combat climate change, billions of dollars for affordable housing assistance and measures to lower the price of prescription drugs.

That long slog has resulted in a political challenge for Democrats going forward: how to persuade liberal activists and organizers to focus on what made it into the bills and not on what was axed, to unify and energize the party’s base heading into next year’s midterm elections.

Places like the West Side may still receive record amounts of federal assistance. But the tug of war leading up to Friday’s passage of the infrastructure bill — and still looming as Congress awaits a vote on the $1.85 trillion social-safety-net package — has delayed the party from what may be an even bigger challenge: selling the investments to voters.

And that task can be even harder among those who live and work in communities of greatest need, including impoverished areas on the West Side and South Side of Chicago.

While [*some moderate Democrats*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/03/us/politics/democrat-losses-2022.html) who represent heavily white suburban districts have recently criticized President Biden for his New Deal-style ambitions, arguing that the election results last week were a sign that most voters backed him for stability and calm, these community leaders are working against decades of disinvestment and political skepticism.

For them, building back better is a must — both to address glaring needs in their neighborhoods and to combat what they describe as a too-familiar political phenomenon: campaign promises to prioritize the poor and disenfranchised that are later sacrificed in Washington in the name of getting things done.

“The political conversation is always around the middle class,” said Richard Townsell, who works with United Power and leads several community groups focused on housing. “I don’t think the left or the right really care about poor people or about working folks.”

Democrats are seeking to rebuff that cynicism with a unified party message on the historic investments in the legislation, including on issues that uniquely affect Black and Latino communities.

The budget agreement, which is supported by Democratic groups like the Congressional Black Caucus, includes money for historically Black colleges and universities, community violence prevention efforts and aid to disadvantaged farmers.

Still, after years of disinvestment in areas like North Lawndale, the need “vastly exceeds even the $3.5 trillion figure that was the starting point for this bill,” said Nick Brunick, another affordable housing advocate in Chicago. The creation of new affordable housing, advocates say, leads homeowners to be more invested in their communities and helps eliminate vacant homes and lots where gangs often operate.

Yet housing investments including assistance to first-time home buyers and money for developing new units — crucial to efforts like those by United Power — were cut by half in Washington, to about $150 billion from more than $300 billion.

Another issue being closely watched by Chicago community groups, an initiative to replace lead service lines that can cause toxic drinking water, will receive $15 billion in the infrastructure bill and could get another $10 billion in the social-safety-net package, according to environmental groups that have negotiated with lawmakers. That is well short of the $60 billion sought by industry experts and the $45 billion Mr. Biden originally proposed.

And a proposal that would have invested $20 billion to reconnect Black and Latino communities [*that were split by the construction of highways*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/05/27/climate/us-cities-highway-removal.html) was cut to $1 billion in the infrastructure bill, though more money could be added in the larger spending package.

Representative Jesús García, a House Democrat who represents a ***working-class*** district in Chicago, said those cuts “will limit what we can do.”

Still, the bill represents a tremendous amount of government aid that will be disbursed over the span of a decade, and no one yet knows precisely how much money will be pumped into programs that will affect communities like the West Side. Its fate and ultimate size remain unclear as the Congressional Budget Office appraises the bill’s true cost.

“It’s been really tough, because in particular, two actors in the Senate were constantly proposing reductions and coming out against the larger, more significant transformative investment that we’ve sought to make,” Mr. García said, referring to the two Democrats who pushed the White House to make most of the spending cuts, Senators Joe Manchin III of West Virginia and Kyrsten Sinema of Arizona. “Obviously, it’s been disheartening.”

The debate in Washington illustrates the widening gulf between what is politically possible for Democrats in a polarized Congress and the desires of many of the party’s most loyal constituencies, who are asking them to do more.

This year, Mr. Biden and other party leaders [*spoke of breaking from the political strategy of Democratic predecessors*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/16/us/politics/obama-stimulus-democrats.html), including former President Barack Obama, who was criticized for not doing enough to rally the party toward more ambitious legislation.

Now, Mr. Biden finds himself in a similar position, pitching his budget agreement as the best of what’s feasible rather than the broad fulfillment of his Build Back Better plan.

In Pilsen, a predominantly Latino neighborhood that is also on the city’s West Side, an activist who works with a local environmental group that focuses on clean drinking water said the drawn-out negotiations over Mr. Biden’s budget could prompt people to feel that the party takes them for granted.

Several of the measures nixed by Democrats poll well among voters, like raising the minimum wage and lowering drug prices. Such issues are tangible to even casual political observers.

“Next time a politician comes here and has a taco and thinks they’re going to win over all the blue voters, remember this,” said the activist, Troy Hernandez, an environmental scientist from Pilsen Environmental Rights and Reform Organization. He is now a member of the local Green Party and is running for office.

Other local leaders, including progressives and organizers who are similarly skeptical of mainstream Democrats, said such pessimism was unwarranted. Most voters have not followed the negotiations on Capitol Hill, they said, and Democrats still have time to pass additional legislation that fills the gaps in Mr. Biden’s budget or other areas, including voting rights or policing measures.

Jeremy Orr, an environmental lawyer with the Natural Resources Defense Council who focuses on Chicago and the Midwest, said Mr. Biden’s administration should be commended for its efforts on lead pipe removal, even if the funding was not as robust as initially intended. Chicago is estimated to have more than 350,000 lead pipes bringing water into homes, schools and businesses — more than any other city in the country.

“This is the first time we’ve had the administration actually step up and say, ‘We want to tackle this problem head on,’” Mr. Orr said. “But we need more than federal dollars. They need to prioritize communities that are hit the hardest, and we know where those communities are.”

Mr. García, the Democratic congressman, said it was now the job of Democrats to make the case to voters that Mr. Biden’s agenda still represents a transformative investment in their communities.

“On the housing front, significant investments will be made on vouchers and down-payment assistance for first-time home buyers, and that’s really key,” Mr. García said. “So Latinos and African Americans stand to benefit greatly from that aspect of the housing assessments that we are making.”

But while politicians measure themselves against previous administrations, voters measure politicians against their immediate needs.

Marcelina Pedraza, 46, an electrician, said she had learned last year that her Chicago home had significant lead levels. She cannot afford to replace the line herself, and since she does not qualify for the city’s program, she and her 10-year-old daughter have resorted to an ad hoc system of water filters and crossed fingers.

“It’s just the same to me — Democrats versus Republicans,” Ms. Pedraza said. “People are definitely tired of hearing the same old, same old.”

In North Lawndale, those at United Power are hoping their focus on addressing housing inequities will receive a boost from newly promised federal funds. Already, their “Reclaim Chicago” campaign has helped reduce shootings in one target area by 60 percent after vacant properties and blighted homes were rehabilitated, organizers said.

Their work comes 55 years after the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. moved to the neighborhood to highlight the slumlike conditions of the Northern Black ***working class***. Mr. Townsell, a lifelong Chicagoan who builds homes in North Lawndale to help raise Black homeownership rates, recently walked through two model homes the group built, radiating with unbridled pride.

“We got to keep our foot on their neck,” he said, just blocks from where Dr. King lived. “Because I’m sick and tired of being sick and tired.”

PHOTOS: Chris Brown “We needed this 20 years ago,” said Ms. Brown, a longtime homeowner. “It’s gotten like this here because nobody has cared.”; Troy Hernandez A local candidate, Mr. Hernandez said drawn-out talks over the Biden budget could make people feel taken for granted.; Richard Townsell “I don’t think the left or the right really care about poor people,” said Mr. Townsell, who works on Black homeownership.; Marcelina Pedraza “It’s just the same to me — Democrats versus Republicans,” said Ms. Pedraza, an electrician with home lead problems.; Housing investments that would help neighborhoods like North Lawndale, above, were cut in half. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY AKILAH TOWNSEND FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A18)

**Load-Date:** November 10, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Bowing to Voters' Message, Leader Plans Reinvention***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:659N-J0F1-JBG3-60Y3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 26, 2022 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 12; NEWS ANALYSIS

**Length:** 1210 words

**Byline:** By Roger Cohen

**Body**

France seems in search of a kinder, gentler, greener President Macron. He says he will listen.

PARIS -- There have been many Emmanuel Macrons: the free-market reformer, the man who nationalized salaries in response to the pandemic, the provocateur who pronounced NATO brain-dead, the maneuverer ever adjusting his position, the diplomat and the disrupter.

Now, having persuaded the French to re-elect him, something no president had achieved for two decades, which Mr. Macron will show up? To judge by his sober acceptance speech after his 17-percentage-point victory over Marine Le Pen, a chastened one.

There was nothing triumphalist about his tone after vanquishing the extremist anti-immigrant far right and, for the second time, rebuffing the wave of nationalist jingoism that produced Brexit and the victory of President Donald J. Trump.

Rather, Mr. Macron expressed a quiet determination to break with past habits, confront the ''anger and disagreements'' in the land, and to reach out to the many people who had only voted for him to keep out Ms. Le Pen.

''He will want to democratize his authority and soften it,'' said Alain Duhamel, the author of a book about Mr. Macron. ''No metamorphosis in his personality, but there will be an adjustment in his methods.''

Mr. Macron said his second term would not be ''the continuation of the five years now ending''; it would involve a ''reinvented method'' to ''better serve our country and our youth.'' The years ahead, he said, ''will not be tranquil, but they will be historic, and we will write them together for the generations to come.''

Ambitious words, and Mr. Macron, a centrist, is never at a loss for a fine phrase, but what they will mean is uncertain. It is clear, however, that the 13.3 million people who voted for Ms. Le Pen constitute far too large a group to be ignored.

For now, the president's priority is to display compassion. He wants to bury once and for all the image of himself as ''president of the rich,'' and show he cares for the ***working class*** and for all the angry or alienated people drawn not just to Ms. Le Pen's nationalist message but also to her promise to give them economic help

The numbers were clear. About 70 percent of affluent voters supported Mr. Macron; about 65 percent of the poor voted for Ms. Le Pen. The college educated voted for Mr. Macron; those who did not complete high school tended toward Ms. Le Pen.

Among the measures that Mr. Macron may introduce early in his second term are a rebate on gasoline for people who have to drive long distances every day, substantial raises for hospital workers and teachers, and an automatic adjustment of pensions in line with rising inflation.

''We have to listen better,'' Bruno Le Maire, the economy minister, said in an interview with Franceinfo radio. That is, listen to those left behind in an economy with a growth rate of 7 percent.

Among those Mr. Macron will need to listen to are the young. While some 70 percent of people aged 18 to 24 voted for Jean-Luc Mélenchon, a leftist candidate with a bold green agenda, in the first round of the election, about 61 percent transferred their allegiance to Mr. Macron in the second round, after Mr. Mélenchon was eliminated.

If Mr. Macron is serious about engaging with those whose support of him was reluctant -- a second choice, a vote against something rather than for something -- he will need to demonstrate a serious commitment to a post-carbon economy, having spent his first term on what often seemed like hesitant half measures.

In his victory speech he promised to make France ''a great ecological nation.'' That will require major investment, a timeline and help for those transitioning to relatively expensive electric cars.

The road ahead is full of potential obstacles. Legislative elections in June could deliver a National Assembly no longer fully controlled by his party, which would complicate any second-term agenda. In an unlikely worst case, Mr. Macron may have to endure a ''cohabitation'' -- work with a prime minister from a rival party -- and that is by no means a guarantee of happiness.

Whether Mr. Macron can lastingly adopt a less abrasive manner is uncertain. Mr. Duhamel described the president as a self-invented man ''in perpetual motion'' and always on the offensive, someone who can ''never be confined to a box,'' a leader given to ever-changing balancing acts -- not least between left and right.

His opponents have often found this agility confounding; others have seen in it a malleability so extreme that it poses the question of what Mr. Macron really believes in.

Macronism, as it is called here, remains something of a mystery. What cannot be disputed after this second victory is its political effectiveness.

If the restless energy of Mr. Macron seems certain to persist, the French electorate made clear that it needs to be redirected. They have had enough of an insouciant leader with bold plans to transform Europe into a real ''power''; they want a president attentive to their needs as prices rise and salaries stagnate.

Many of them also want a democratization of the top-down French presidential system that Mr. Macron had promised but did not deliver. He may propose introducing an element of proportional representation in voting for the National Assembly, or lower house of parliament, Mr. Duhamel said. This would happen after the June vote.

The current two-round system has favored alliances of mainstream parties against extremist parties like Ms. Le Pen's National Rally, formerly the National Front, resulting in a democratic disconnect: A party may have widespread support but scant representatives. This, too, has fed anger in the country, on the left and on the right.

When it comes to listening, Mr. Macron may be obliged to extend that practice to his European interlocutors. The war in Ukraine has comforted Mr. Macron's belief that a stronger Europe must be forged with its own military and technological capacities in order to count in the 21st-century world.

But his style -- announcing dramatic goals for European ''strategic autonomy'' rather than quietly building coalitions to achieve them -- has not pleased everyone in a European Union where a strong attachment to NATO and American power exists, especially in the countries closest to the Russian border.

President Biden, in a congratulatory message to Mr. Macron, said he looked forward to working together ''to defend democracy.'' By defeating Ms. Le Pen, with her strong attachment to President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia, the French president has just made a notable contribution to that cause.

Mr. Macron will remain a firm supporter of multilateralism, the rule of law, the European Union and the NATO that he hopes to reform to allow more room for Europe to develop its own defense capacities. These are fixed points in his flexible beliefs.

He will also continue to calibrate his message even as he redirects it toward the less fortunate. His goal, he said in victory, was a ''humanist'' France, but also an ''entrepreneurial'' one, a France of ''work and creativity'' but also ''a more just society.''

These code words to the right and left -- entrepreneurship and justice -- were Mr. Macron personified.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/25/world/europe/emmanuel-macron-france-reelection-reinvention.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/25/world/europe/emmanuel-macron-france-reelection-reinvention.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Emmanuel Macron on Sunday after winning re-election, the first French president to do so in two decades. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SERGEY PONOMAREV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 26, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Egypt Overturns Jail Sentences for 2 Women Who Gained Fame on TikTok***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61RW-XTR1-JBG3-62M2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 13, 2021 Wednesday 15:30 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; middleeast

**Length:** 486 words

**Byline:** Vivian Yee

**Highlight:** Convicted of inciting debauchery and violating family values, the women were caught up in a conservative backlash as the authorities tried to enforce strict social norms.

**Body**

Convicted of inciting debauchery and violating family values, the women were caught up in a conservative backlash as the authorities tried to enforce strict social norms.

CAIRO — An [*Egyptian court*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/07/05/world/middleeast/egypt-sexual-assault-police.html) has overturned the sentences of two young women who were convicted and [*imprisoned last year*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/07/05/world/middleeast/egypt-sexual-assault-police.html) on charges of “violating family values” and “inciting debauchery” after they gained fame on TikTok, according to state-run media.

The case drew widespread attention as Egyptian prosecutors waged a far-ranging legal battle last year against what they considered public immorality in social media.

The two women were among a handful of social media influencers, including a female pop star and a belly dancer, to come under scrutiny for their posts in recent years. As their social media followings and, in some cases, income earned through videos have grown, young female influencers have faced a conservative backlash in a country where activist lawyers and prosecutors take it upon themselves to enforce strict social norms for women.

The women, Haneen Hossam and Mawada el-Adham, were 20 and 22 when they were convicted and sentenced in July to two years in prison. They became stars on TikTok, Instagram and other social media platforms with playful videos they posted of themselves dancing, lip-syncing and singing.

Egyptians stuck at home during the coronavirus lockdown loved it, and the women accrued millions of followers. But compared with other social media posts in Egypt and the West, the videos seemed tame; Ms. Hossam usually appeared in a head scarf.

But prosecutors accused the women of “indecent” activity, homing in on one clip Ms. Hossam posted on Instagram in which she encouraged female followers to try getting into the social media influencer game by posting videos of themselves to the app Likee, which pays creators based on the number of views they rack up.

Prosecutors accused Ms. Hossam of instigating young women to sell sex on the app and of human trafficking. The women denied the charges against them.

The women’s defenders, including digital rights activists, have said their middle- and ***working-class*** backgrounds made them more vulnerable to charges of indecency than more affluent Egyptian women, who are subject to less moral scrutiny.

Under the new ruling, the women are supposed to be released from prison, but it was not immediately clear whether they had been freed yet.

Though the court overturned the prison sentences for both women, it upheld a fine of about $19,000 for Ms. el-Adham.

Three other defendants convicted on charges of helping the women evade arrest and conceal their alleged crimes also won their appeals on Tuesday, according to Al-Ahram, a state-owned news outlet.

PHOTO: A combination of images showing videos from Haneen Hossam, left, and Mowada el-Adham, who became stars on social media. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Khaled Desouki/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 6, 2021

**End of Document**



[***In Squad We Trust: When a Church Committee Yields Unexpected Discovery; Fiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:659N-WB41-JBG3-61JM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 26, 2022 Tuesday 22:58 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 1161 words

**Byline:** Mary Beth Keane

**Highlight:** One year, eight members, many meetings. The setup for Michelle Huneven’s new novel, “Search,” sounds like a reality show, and it’s equally entertaining.

**Body**

SEARCH

By Michelle Huneven

I’m not a good fit for any organized religion, but if there’s a church out there for me the progressive Arroyo Unitarian Universalist Community Church (referred to by its members as “Awk”) described in Michelle Huneven’s fifth novel, “Search,” might be it. There’s very little God here — just (mostly) respectful exchanges of ideas, potluck dinners and theme cocktails.

Written in the form of a memoir, “Search” is told from the point of view of Dana Potowski, a famous restaurant critic and memoirist, who is invited to join the search committee for the AUUCC’s new minister. Despite being a member of the church for 24 years, Dana is somewhat surprised to be offered a committee spot because she hasn’t attended services lately. Instead, she prefers leisurely Sunday mornings at home with her coffee, enjoying her newly renovated kitchen. Joining the search committee would mean a commitment of several hundred hours over the course of a year. When she does reluctantly sign on, it’s not because she’s moved to be of service to her church, but because she’s just come home from a successful book tour and happens to be casting around for a new idea. The search, she realizes, might fit the bill.

The committee, made up of eight members, is a perfectly diverse group in areas of race, age and gender. Dana, a witty and gimlet-eyed observer, is white, straight and in her mid-50s. She went to seminary school in her 30s and almost became a minister before she became a full-time food writer, so she’s fluent in the language of liturgical life. The main conflict in the book is between the old guard and the younger generation within the committee. The older group wants the new minister to have experience above all and the younger generation lobbies for a fresh perspective.

The search is meant to be about the lifting of souls, but Jennie, the youngest and most annoying of the committee members, objects to all of Dana’s favorite candidates and campaigns to get her fellow young people on her side. She describes one of Dana’s favorites as a “wussy bread baker with an all-face beard who wears black dress socks with his Birkenstocks.” I could picture this man exactly, and it feels like a wicked pleasure that after all the lofty claims about wanting to enrich their spiritual lives, a man’s style of facial hair will get him eliminated.

The only criterion the committee eventually agrees upon: The new minister must have “two X chromosomes.” Because Dana is closer to the older generation, and it’s her memoir we’re reading, we’re signaled to root for the older group. But because Huneven is a wise storyteller, and Dana is not the reliable narrator she seems to be at first, we eventually come to understand that everyone on this committee is an equally stubborn ego-driven pain in a body part one wouldn’t mention in church.

I enjoyed this book and found myself wanting to return to it so I could find out who “won.” However, I did have trouble nailing down the “so what?” of it all. At some point around halfway through, I noticed that I wasn’t feeling quite worried enough about the outcome. I was following the action, but holding it at arm’s length.

When we meet her, Dana shows no signs of regret about moving away from the church, so from the moment she decides to join the committee, I felt a little lost about what the stakes are here. Finding her next book’s subject is a motivator, but it’s not as if she’d cycled through many ideas for a new book and was feeling desperate. Perhaps there’s something she’s hiding from herself — after all, what a character says, thinks and feels are often three very different emotional landscapes. But Dana as narrator looks outward, not inward. She reports, she doesn’t reflect. The other people in her orbit who might give us hints about what she’s really like are also only really concerned about themselves, getting a say and getting a (free) review lunch sometime.

At one point, the committee is asked to list what they like about the church and what they’d like to see change. They like the feeling of community. They dislike the ugly sanctuary. Curtis, a gay man who recently converted from a conservative Christian church, makes his suggestion: “And don’t you think there could be, I don’t know, more religion?” The rest of the committee simply stares at him. Later in the conversation, when someone else mentions God, Curtis asks, confused, “So you do believe in God?” But they don’t, and what’s more, based on that scene and some others, it’s clear that believing in God would be embarrassing. I considered at this point whether the novel was in fact satirizing the state of modern faith (and faithlessness), but it’s too earnest in too many places to be satire.

It’s probably the old ***working-class*** Catholic foundation in me that asks what a church actually is if anything goes, including believing in God in the first place. This whole organization feels not unlike a highbrow book club, or a group exercise class where the participants are hugely devoted to their instructor and how much she inspires and motivates them. I love book clubs. I’m all for exercise. But if the book club disbands and the cycle studio closes, there’s no great absence in anyone’s life. You can still go on being a decent, morally upright person.

These eight very different types are searching for something and trying to find it in potlucks, under the banner of religion. There can be no one person who fits all the various criteria they put forth for their future leader — a smart reader knows that from the outset — so the search must really be about searching for meaning in their own individual lives. So then, once again, where does that leave the stakes in this novel? We know from the start that if the search fails for any reason, Dana will just go back to her beloved Sunday mornings at home. Her marriage (her husband is Jewish and attends synagogue), her career, her happiness will remain intact.

That aside, this novel has plot, character, structure and a delicious, deeply human pettiness that I think most honest readers will relate to. And speaking of delicious, Huneven’s descriptions of food are the best I’ve ever read, by far the most vivid prose in the book. I perked up whenever I anticipated a meal. For instance: “Our pan-fried dumplings arrived, some trailing a dark lace where their juices had leaked onto the grill.” I could taste that savory lace. Dana brings her fellow committee members to review lunches, partly because she wants to know where everyone stands outside of the official meetings, and partly because it’s her job. I would gladly take on a year of “engineered intimacy,” as Dana describes it at one point, to go on just one of those lunches.

Mary Beth Keane’s latest novel is “Ask Again, Yes.” SEARCH By Michelle Huneven 390 pp. Penguin Press. $26.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Eleni Kalorkoti FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Related Articles**

* [*Writer’s Retreat*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/25/books/review/off-course-by-michelle-huneven.html)

1. [*Transference? I’ll Take It*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/25/fashion/modern-love-transference-ill-take-it.html)

**Load-Date:** June 3, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction: Sunday, January 10th 2021***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61VN-GWX1-DXY4-X362-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 10, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 500 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the January 10, 2021 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending December 26, 2020. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  |  |  |
|  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction |
| This | On |  |
| Week | List |  |
| 1 | 23 | MY OWN WORDS, by Ruth Bader Ginsburg with Mary Hartnett and Wendy W. Williams. (Simon & Schuster) A collection of articles and speeches by the Supreme Court justice. |
| 2 | 60 | HILLBILLY ELEGY, by J.D. Vance. (Harper) A Yale Law School graduate looks at the struggles of the white ***working class*** through the story of his own childhood. |
| 3 | 14 | THE TRUTHS WE HOLD, by Kamala Harris. (Penguin) A memoir by the daughter of immigrants who is now the vice president-elect. |
| 4 | 114 | THE BODY KEEPS THE SCORE, by Bessel van der Kolk. (Penguin) How trauma affects the body and mind, and innovative treatments for recovery. |
| 5 | 124 | SAPIENS, by Yuval Noah Harari. (Harper Perennial) How Homo sapiens became Earth?s dominant species. |
| 6 | 98 | BORN A CRIME, by Trevor Noah. (One World) A memoir about growing up biracial in apartheid South Africa by the host of ?The Daily Show.? |
| 7 | 121 | WHITE FRAGILITY, by Robin DiAngelo. (Beacon) Historical and cultural analyses on what causes defensive moves by white people and how this inhibits cross-racial dialogue. |
| 8 | 52 | THE WARMTH OF OTHER SUNS, by Isabel Wilkerson. (Vintage) An account of the Great Migration of 1915-70, in which six million African-Americans abandoned the South. |
| 9 | 234 | JUST MERCY, by Bryan Stevenson. (One World) A civil rights lawyer and MacArthur grant recipient?s memoir of his decades of work to free innocent people condemned to death. |
| 10 | 11 | WHAT UNITES US, by Dan Rather and Elliot Kirschner. (Algonquin) A collection of essays that define the historical changes and essential institutions of America to suggest ways to overcome divisions within the country. |
| 11 | 14 | A WOMAN OF NO IMPORTANCE, by Sonia Purnell. (Penguin) The true story of a Baltimore socialite who joined a spy organization during World War II and became essential to the French Resistance. |
| 12 | 258 | THINKING, FAST AND SLOW, by Daniel Kahneman. (Farrar, Straus & Giroux) When we can and cannot trust our intuitions in making business and personal decisions. |
| 13 | 3 | EDISON, by Edmund Morris. (Random House) The Pulitzer Prize-winning author chronicles the personal life, inventions and obsessions of Thomas Alva Edison. |
| 14 | 37 | BRAIDING SWEETGRASS, by Robin Wall Kimmerer. (Milkweed Editions) A botanist and member of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation espouses having an understanding and appreciation of plants and animals. |
| 15 | 214 | THE NEW JIM CROW, by Michelle Alexander. (New Press) A law professor on the ?war on drugs? and its role in the disproportionate incarceration of Black men. |

**Load-Date:** January 26, 2021

**End of Document**



[***The Renters' Utopia***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68BB-W4C1-JBG3-6008-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 28, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section MM; Column 0; Magazine Desk; Pg. 28

**Length:** 6974 words

**Byline:** By Francesca Mari and Luca Locatelli

**Body**

When Eva Schachinger married at 22, she applied for public housing. Luckily, she lived in Vienna, which has some of the best public housing in the world. It was 1968. Eva was a teacher, and her husband, Klaus-Peter, was an accountant for the city's public-transportation system. She grew up in a public-housing complex in the center of the city, where her grandmother, who cared for her from 6 in the morning until 6 at night, lived in one of five buildings arranged around a courtyard. Eva played all day with friends from the complex.

Her mother, who was renting on the private market after a divorce, had recently applied for public housing, too, and she was offered a unit first, in 1971. By then, Eva had a young daughter, and her mother decided Eva needed the spot more and offered it to her. The available unit was in the 21st District, on the northeastern edge of the city. Eva's father-in-law warned her -- not entirely jokingly -- that out there, they would be the first to be occupied by the Russians. But she and Klaus-Peter liked the floor plan: Although the apartment was an economical 732 square feet, it had two bedrooms, a living room, a dining room, a toilet and washroom and a balcony. The rent was 700 schillings. (That's about 55 euros, though the currency wasn't introduced until 2002.) Eva transferred her teaching job to the 21st District, to a school a 15-minute walk from her new apartment.

When I met Eva late last year, she looked smart in a jean jacket with a neatly tied silk scarf around her neck, small dangly earrings and cropped curly hair. Over the course of the last 44 years, as she continued to teach English to fifth through eighth grades, Eva's rent increased almost fivefold, to 270 euros from 55, but her wages increased more than 20-fold, to 3,375 euros a month from 150. Viennese law dictates that rents in public housing can increase only with inflation, and only when the year's inflation exceeds 5 percent. By the time she retired in 2007, Eva's rent was only 8 percent of her income. Because her husband was earning 4,000 euros a month, their rent amounted to 3.6 percent of their incomes combined.

That's about what Vienna was aiming for back in 1919, when the city began planning its world-famous municipal housing, known as the Gemeindebauten. Before World War I, Vienna had some of the worst housing conditions in Europe, Eve Blau notes in her book, ''The Architecture of Red Vienna.'' Many ***working-class*** families had to take on subtenants or bed tenants (day and night workers who slept in the same bed at different times) in order to pay their rent. But from 1923 to 1934, in a period known as Red Vienna, the ruling Social Democratic Party built 64,000 new units in 400 housing blocks, increasing the city's housing supply by about 10 percent. Some 200,000 people, one-tenth of the population, were rehoused in these buildings, with rents set at 3.5 percent of the average semiskilled worker's income, enough to cover the cost of maintenance and operation.

Experts refer to Vienna's Gemeindebauten as ''social housing,'' a phrase that captures how the city's public housing and other limited-profit housing are a widely shared social benefit: The Gemeindebauten welcome the middle class, not just the poor. In Vienna, a whopping 80 percent of residents qualify for public housing, and once you have a contract, it never expires, even if you get richer. Housing experts believe that this approach leads to greater economic diversity within public housing -- and better outcomes for the people living in it.

In 2015, before they bought an apartment on the private market, the Schachingers were making about 80,000 euros ($87,000) a year, roughly the income of the average U.S. household in 2021. Eva and Klaus-Peter paid 26 percent and 29 percent in income tax, respectively, but just 4 percent of their pretax income was going toward rent, which is about what the average American household spends on meals eaten out and half a percentage point less than what the average American spends on ''entertainment.'' Even if the Schachingers got a new contract today on their unit, their monthly payments would be an estimated 542 euros, or only 8 percent of their income. Vienna's generous supply of social housing helps keep costs down for everyone: In 2021, Viennese living in private housing spent 26 percent of their post-tax income on rent and energy costs, on average, which is only slightly more than the figure for social-housing residents overall (22 percent). Meanwhile, 49 percent of American renters -- 21.6 million people -- are cost-burdened, paying landlords more than 30 percent of their pretax income, and the percentage can be even higher in expensive cities. In New York City, the median renter household spends a staggering 36 percent of its pretax income on rent.

To American eyes, the whole Viennese setup can appear fancifully socialistic. But set that aside, and what's mind-boggling is how social housing gives the economic lives of Viennese an entirely different shape. Imagine if your housing expenses were more like the Schachingers'. Imagine having to think about them to the same degree that you think about your restaurant choices or streaming-service subscriptions. Imagine, too, where the rest of your income might go, if you spent much less of it on housing. Vienna invites us to envision a world in which homeownership isn't the only way to secure a certain future -- and what our lives might look like as a result.

Writing about housing in the United States, I've become depressed. I'm the scold at the dinner party, revolted by big investors speculating in the housing market, yes, but also by the thousands of small-time investors -- including some of my own friends -- who are pooling money to buy homes in states they've never seen or buying rental properties in gentrifying neighborhoods. But the math is hard to argue with. Buying a home near work is more lucrative than working. The growth of asset values has outstripped returns on labor for four decades, and a McKinsey report found that a majority of those assets -- 68 percent -- is real estate. Last year, one in four home sales was to someone who had no intention of living in it. These investors are particularly incentivized to buy the sorts of homes most needed by first-time buyers: Inexpensive properties generate the highest rental-income cash flows.

Real estate is a place where money literally grows on tree beams. In the last decade, the typical owner of a single-family home acquired nearly $200,000 in appreciation. ''Another word for asset appreciation is inflation,'' the academics Lisa Adkins, Melinda Cooper and Martijn Konings write in ''The Asset Economy,'' ''an increase in monetary value without any corresponding change in the nature of the good itself or the conditions of its production that would make it scarcer or justify an increased demand for it.'' That inflation is creating a treacherous gulch between the housing haves and have-nots. Harvard's Joint Center for Housing Studies found that, in 2019, the median net worth of U.S. renters was just 2.5 percent of the median net worth of homeowners: $6,270 versus $254,900. Last year, as higher interest rates slowed home sales and caused prices to plateau (and even soften in some overheated cities), the asking price of the median U.S. rental reached $2,000 a month, a record high, according to Redfin. Inflated rent prices line the pockets of landlords while preventing renters from saving for a down payment and ever getting off the treadmill.

The astronomical pace of appreciation is the culmination of decades of policy aimed at encouraging home buying. The fixed-rate, 30-year mortgage is a particularly American invention, possible only because the federal government insures the debt -- if a borrower defaults, the government is on the hook. (Only one other country, Denmark, offers the same instrument.) Then there's our tax code, which allows those affluent enough to buy homes and itemize their deductions to write off the interest they pay on their mortgages: the bigger the mortgage, the bigger the deduction. Homeowners can deduct up to $10,000 of their property taxes from their federal taxes too, and if they sell their primary residence, they may be able to avoid paying capital gains on profits of up to $250,000 per person ($500,000 for couples). As housing activists like to point out, everyone who has a mortgage is living in subsidized housing.

Last year, troubled by the seeming intractability of these problems, I began looking for solutions outside the United States. Could the answer be rent control, as in Berlin? It might have seemed that way a decade or so ago, before investors and new residents began pouring into the city, causing land values to quintuple; now, despite rent-stabilization laws, even the apartments that no one else wanted to buy 15 years ago are huge moneymakers. Many residents with affordable rental contracts are locked into them because it would be too expensive or competitive to move. Frustrated by the housing squeeze, tenant organizers recently put forth an ''expropriation'' measure, which called for landlords with more than 3,000 units to sell their holdings back to the government at below-market prices. In a 2021 referendum, 59 percent of Berliners voted in favor of it, but it's not clear whether it will ever be implemented.

Could the answer be loosening zoning restrictions, as Tokyo did in 2002? That has certainly helped. In 2014, there was more home construction in the city than in all of England. Since then, home prices have stabilized. Tokyo is largely celebrated as a model by YIMBYs (members of the ''yes, in my backyard'' movement) because they like its market-driven approach to housing abundance. They often point out that the city builds five times as much housing per capita as California. But Japan is a very different market because of its earthquake risk: Because regulatory codes and mitigation technologies are ever improving, structures often fully depreciate within 35 years. Older homes are often undermaintained because there's little expectation that any investment might be recaptured upon resale; they're thought of like used clothing or cars -- you resell at a loss.

Auckland, New Zealand, might seem like a more applicable example. In 2016, the city, which has one of the most expensive housing markets in the world, ''upzoned'' 75 percent of its residential land, increasing its legal capacity for housing by about 300 percent in an effort to encourage multifamily-housing construction and tamp down prices. In areas that were upzoned, the total number of building permits granted (a way of estimating new construction) more than quadrupled from 2016 to 2021. As intended, the relative value of underdeveloped land increased, because it could suddenly host more housing, and the relative value of units in densely developed areas decreased, tempering sky-high prices. But there are limits to what upzoning can do. Often the benefits of allowing greater density are captured by developers, who price the new units far above cost. It doesn't offer renters security or directly create the type of housing most needed: affordable housing.

That's what differentiates Vienna. Perhaps no other developed city has done more to protect residents from the commodification of housing. In Vienna, 43 percent of all housing is insulated from the market, meaning the rental prices reflect costs or rates set by law -- not ''what the market will bear'' or what a person with no other options will pay. The government subsidizes affordable units for a wide range of incomes. The mean gross household income in Vienna is 57,700 euros a year, but any person who makes under 70,000 euros qualifies for a Gemeindebau unit. Once in, you never have to leave. It doesn't matter if you start earning more. The government never checks your salary again. Two-thirds of the city's rental housing is covered by rent control, and all tenants have just-cause eviction protections. Such regulations, when coupled with adequate supply, give renters a level of stability comparable to American owners with fixed mortgages. As a result, 80 percent of all households in Vienna choose to rent.

The key difference is that Vienna prioritizes subsidizing construction, while the United States prioritizes subsidizing people, with things like housing vouchers. One model focuses on supply, the other on demand. Vienna's choice illustrates a fundamental economic reality, which is that a large-enough supply of social housing offers a market alternative that improves housing for all.

One afternoon last fall, I walked through central Vienna, past ornate buildings with lacy balconies, balustrades and porticos -- private apartments from the 19th century. They were interspersed with social-housing blocks from the 1920s and 1930s -- the Gemeindebauten, which stood out not only for their modernist architecture but also for the triumphant red block lettering on their facades, announcing: Erbaut von der Gemeinde Wien in den Jahren 1925-1926 aus den Mitteln der Wohnbausteuer. (''Built by the municipality of Vienna in the years 1925-1926 from funds from the housing tax.'') A stroke of political genius, I thought, as I waited for the tram: explanation and advertising. Half an hour later, I was in the 21st District, the ''Russian territory'' where Eva Schachinger used to live. Wohnpartner, the city agency that tries to foster community within the Gemeindebauten and helps resolve tenant conflicts, was having an open house at her old building, a flat, minimalist complex with orange elevator shafts.

Following Wohnpartner signs, I found the glass-walled community center and entered. Most of the attendees were mothers with small children or retired people. There was a painting station, table tennis and a plant exchange. People had brought their secondhand goods to give away, and a millennial Wohnpartner staff member offered tech help, which, surprisingly, no one seemed to need. Among the permanent fixtures was a library filled with free books and a play area with an array of wooden toys.

I took a seat with Eva in the communal kitchen, where someone had made a large pot of butternut-squash soup. (Some of Red Vienna's planners had hoped to centralize cooking in communal facilities with industrial-strength machines, but the fascists came first, and then, under capitalism, Austrian families quickly became accustomed to shelling out for their own KitchenAids, Vitamixes and Nespresso machines.) Since retiring, Eva has been collaborating with Malyuun Badeed, the building's caretaker, on a twice-yearly magazine for the complex that includes a recipe and a crossword, along with the latest community news. Badeed, who joined us in the kitchen, wore a black hijab with pearls and waved her hands as she spoke of leaving Somalia as a single mother in the 1990s. When she first arrived in Vienna, she hawked newspapers on the street; now she helped produce one.

Eva told me she often came back to the Gemeindebau to tutor students from the complex with a woman named Edith, an elderly neighbor who lived in a nearby Gemeindebau. Edith's next-door neighbors help buy and deliver her groceries, which she has difficulty carrying. In exchange, she watches over their three children. When Eva called to wish her a merry Christmas, Edith was busy wrapping 40 presents for the three kids; she hid them around her apartment so they wouldn't be found before Santa came to visit. ''The Gemeindebau is where socialization happens,'' Eva was fond of telling me, and this is what socialization looks like across the generations.

I learned that the average waiting time to get a Gemeindebau is about two years (at any given moment there are 12,000 or so people on the waiting list, and each year about 10,000 or more people are housed). Vienna residents -- anyone who has had a fixed address for two years, whether they are a citizen or not -- may apply, and applications are evaluated based on need. Florian Kogler, a 21-year-old university student, was considered an urgent case because he lived in an overcrowded two-bedroom apartment with his mother, stepfather and two siblings. He shared a room with his brother, while his parents slept in the living room. He also got priority because he was moving into his own apartment for the first time. Kogler was offered an apartment in about a month. ''That's unusually fast,'' he told me.

Applicants may decline up to two units; if they decline a third, they have to apply again. Kogler took the first flat offered to him, a 355-square-foot studio drenched in light overlooking a playground in the central 12th District. It cost 350 euros a month; his monthly income from working part time at a museum is about 1,000 euros. Those who need extra assistance to pay their rent receive individual subsidies. Students under 25, like Kogler, can qualify for 200 euros a month.

Every few years, there is a debate about whether the affluent should be forced to give up their Gemeindebau leases -- that is, whether the units should be means-tested. The face of this debate, for some, is Peter Pilz, a former member of Austria's Green Party in Parliament. Pilz lives in Goethehof, one of the largest Gemeindebauten by the Danube River. He moved into a unit as a university student to live with his grandmother, who had been there since the building opened in 1932. Before she died, he took over her contract. (He was, one might say, grandmothered in.) Pilz was elected to Parliament in 1986 and eventually started making more than 8,000 euros a month.

Even in Vienna, Pilz's tenancy raised eyebrows, making headlines in Austria's conservative paper, Österreich, which claimed in 2012 that he was paying only 66.18 euros a month in rent. (Pilz says he was paying, including building costs, closer to 250 euros a month.) ''Given that Pilz's income is well over the usual tariff for social housing, it does look like we're talking about social fraud here,'' said the general secretary of the conservative Freedom Party of Austria.

Pilz did nothing illegal. Once in a Gemeindebau, you never have to leave. But is it unethical for the wealthy to stay? City housing officials point out that having wealthier tenants in the Gemeindebauten helps thwart the problems that accompany concentrated poverty, creating a more stable, healthier environment for everyone. Unlike in the United States, where public housing is only for the poorest -- the average resident's annual household income was $15,219 in 2019, well below the federal poverty line of $16,910 for a family of two -- the relative integration of the Gemeindebauten means that they are not stigmatized.

That's not to say they are problem-free. Noomi Anyanwu, the 23-year-old founder of Black Voices Austria, told me that she grew up in a Gemeindebau with an Austrian mother and a Nigerian father. When she wasn't more than 5, a white boy in the complex who was a bit older called her brother a racial slur while everyone was playing in the courtyard. Overhearing the spat, the fathers descended into the courtyard. But the white father didn't apologize; he doubled down, repeating what his son said. Just a few years later, Anyanwu said, her father left the country because of employment discrimination and racist treatment by the police.

So I was surprised when Anyanwu told me that, on the whole, her experience with social housing was positive. The Gemeindebau was its own village within the city, she said. She estimated that 50 percent of her Gemeindebau neighbors were immigrants -- ''it reflected society,'' she told me. (Vienna actually has a slightly higher percentage of foreign-born residents than New York City.) A girl her age named Safiya lived in an apartment across the hall from hers and would become her best friend. Safiya's father was also from Africa -- from Somalia -- and he, too, left because of racism. But the affordability of the Gemeindebau allowed the girls' mothers to maintain stability.

Esra Ozmen, the daughter of Turkish immigrants, grew up in Sandleitenhof, one of the largest Geimendebauten, which has villa-like courtyards and stonework. As an adult, she moved into her own Gemeindebau studio. Ozmen says affordable housing gave her the stability to study for a Ph.D. in fine art while also pursuing a rap career. She makes 1,000 to 2,000 euros a month from her shows and from organizing cultural events. ''I have a car,'' she told me. ''A Mercedes A-Class from the '90s. I eat out. I drink one coffee out every day. I don't have a lot of money. But I live rich.''

Social housing like Vienna's might seem inconceivable in America. But American politicians seriously considered it in the 1930s. After the stock-market crash of 1929, the U.S. housing market also collapsed; half of mortgage debt was in default by 1933. Both the right and the left agreed that the government needed to intervene. The question was how. According to the historian Kenneth T. Jackson in his book ''Crabgrass Frontier,'' at the time, the typical mortgage ranged from five to 10 years, and borrowers paid interest only until the end of the term, when full payment was due or a borrower refinanced. When President Franklin D. Roosevelt took office in 1933, Congress created the Home Owners' Loan Corporation to buy underwater mortgages and stabilize the housing market. Within two years, the H.O.L.C. restructured more than a million mortgages, covering 10 percent of all owner-occupied homes. Principal and interest were bundled together so that over about 20 years of manageable payments, borrowers became outright homeowners.

But that wasn't enough to salvage the real estate market or the economy. During the Great Depression, one-quarter of all Americans were unemployed, and the construction industry was hit particularly hard. The United States needed the same things as Vienna at the time: employment and better housing conditions for workers. Housing is ''the wheel within the wheel to move the whole economic engine,'' said Marriner Eccles, Roosevelt's Federal Reserve chairman. The Federal Public Works Administration, an emergency jobs program, funded construction of about 50 new public-housing complexes, including the Harlem River Houses in New York City, a project seemingly straight out of Vienna, with Beaux-Arts-inspired buildings along a central courtyard with a nursery school, health clinics and a public library.

Although this housing was admired, it was costly and mired in controversy, writes the historian Gail Radford, who chronicles the New Deal-era debate over social housing in her book, ''Modern Housing for America.'' Roosevelt sought a housing plan that didn't require the government to keep footing the bill. At a time when Communism was gaining traction, he preferred to wed Americans to capitalism. The best way to do that? Broaden the base of homeowners -- increase the number of Americans with a personal investment in property.

Congress's National Housing Act of 1934 would rescue the housing market and establish the housing policy that defines America today. It made permanent the fixed-rate, long-term mortgage that the H.O.L.C. had helped introduce. Banks were reluctant to assume risk over decades, so the act created the Federal Housing Administration (F.H.A.) to insure mortgage debt with the full backing of the U.S. Treasury as long as loans conformed to standards it set -- for instance, homes had to appraise for the purchase price and had to be in a stable-enough neighborhood, which meant a white-enough neighborhood, to make sure the government wouldn't lose money if a borrower defaulted. On its maps, the F.H.A. colored the neighborhoods deemed too risky for mortgage insurance in red -- a form of ''redlining,'' a policy that did a great deal to create the grave racial disparities in wealth that persist today. ''No agency of the United States government has had a more pervasive and powerful impact on the American people over the past half-century,'' Jackson writes.

But the Federal Housing Administration had no plan to address low-income housing needs. So Senator Robert Wagner, a New York Democrat, introduced a second bill, inspired by what the housing scholar Catherine Bauer had seen in Vienna and other European cities. As proposed, the Housing Act of 1937, which Bauer helped write, would have included financing for the construction of both limited-profit housing and public housing. Faced with fierce opposition from the real estate industry, Wagner and Bauer accepted five fatal compromises in order to pass the bill. First, support for nonprofit and limited-profit cooperatives was eliminated. Second, location decisions were left to local governments, many of whose constituents greeted public housing like the bubonic plague, as one commenter put it. Third, a provision was added for an ''equivalent elimination'' of slum property, meaning that for each new unit built, a slum dwelling had to be cleared. (That way, public housing wouldn't dampen landlords' profits by increasing the overall supply of units.) Fourth, public housing would be eligible only to those so poor that they could never secure decent housing in the private market.

Fifth and finally, construction costs were severely limited. The problem with America's public housing today isn't just that it's underfunded and poorly maintained. It's that it wasn't built well to begin with. Doors were left off closets; interior walls were thin and cheap. At a public-housing complex in Red Hook, Brooklyn, the elevator only stopped on every other floor. As Radford writes, ''Those who hated public housing remained hostile, while the minimal buildings produced by the [United States Housing Authority] attracted no new allies and discouraged some of the old ones.'' Indeed, America's public housing was designed to fail: to be unappealing to anyone who could afford to rent.

As Bauer predicted early on, housing programs targeting only the poor would lack the political support necessary to thrive. Only an integrated program, one that welcomed the majority like the Gemeindebau of Vienna, would be sustainable. But the U.S. government prioritized support for banking rather than construction. The 30-year mortgage was a huge economic boon for the millions of Americans who took one out, benefiting from the federal subsidies and the nation's long upward trajectory in home prices; the instrument leveraged many a renter and public-housing resident into homeownership and ''turned many a former dependent of the public sector into a small-time fiscal conservative,'' as Adkins, Cooper and Konings write in ''The Asset Economy.''

This constituency of middle-class homeowners is what the Dartmouth emeritus economist William A. Fischel calls ''homevoters'': a coalition of Americans who -- consciously or not -- vote to protect the value of their property. They tend to oppose local development and favor exclusionary zoning -- which ensures maximum appreciation and prevents their tax dollars from extending to poorer neighborhoods. This tendency, alongside stagnant wages, has transformed the nation's housing stock into an ever-scarcer and ever-more-expensive class of speculative asset. It's almost impossible to ''cater to the expectations of an existing constituency of middle-class homeowners without raising the barriers of entry for the rest of society,'' Adkins and her colleagues write. ''A middle-class politics of asset democratization has ended up undermining the conditions of its own viability.''

I wasn't the only American looking to Vienna for possible answers to America's housing crisis. I was there following a delegation from New York that had come to study the city's housing system -- 50 policymakers, researchers and activists invited by Housing Justice for All, an alliance of housing organizers across the state, and the Action Lab, a social-movement hub. One afternoon, I joined them on a tour of Karl-Marx-Hof, one of the largest housing complexes in the world.

Ever since Karl-Marx-Hof opened in 1930, it has been a sort of Rorschach test -- a domineering socialist monstrosity or a pioneering communitarian stronghold, depending on your political perspective. Exiting the subway station, the building shot up before me, seven stories tall and three-quarters of a mile long, a perimeter block that looks like a citadel. The core of the building is cream-colored, but its sandstone red elements draw the eye -- red balconies and red towers topped by staffs that can fly enormous banners that are visible miles away. Its six huge arched passageways, also red, give the complex the civic stature of an aqueduct.

Julia Anna Schranz, a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Vienna and our guide, wore Converse, jeans and a long red wool coat. She pointed out four grim ceramic figures mounted on top of the archways, explaining that they were personifications of enlightenment, freedom, welfare and physical culture. These embellishments -- commissions to increase employment during the period between the world wars, were also seen as an investment in the aesthetics of the Gemeindebauten and a tribute to its tenants.

Schranz opened the thick, thorny iron gates spanning one archway, and we passed into a grassy courtyard -- nearly two football fields in size. Painted an off-white that glowed in the morning sun, the interior was a striking contrast with the more formidable exterior.

''These are the projects,'' India Walton, a community organizer from Buffalo, said wryly. There was a rose garden. Children -- Black, brown, white -- were running and shrieking in a playground attached to an on-site kindergarten. Walton, now in her 40s, had twins when she was just 19 and raised them while working as a nurse. Decades later, she became politically active, and in 2021 she won the Democratic nomination for mayor of Buffalo, only to be defeated by a write-in campaign by the Democratic incumbent. Where would she be now if she had the option of living in a place like this? She would have left her marriage sooner, Walton told me. ''I might not have been a nurse, but a doctor.'' A child in the kindergarten waved at her, and she waved back.

When Karl-Marx-Hof opened, it housed 5,000 people in 1,400 apartments. These apartments were coveted. ''It had two central laundries, two communal bathing facilities with tubs and showers, a dental clinic, maternity clinic, a health-insurance office, library, youth hostel, post office, and a pharmacy and 25 other commercial premises, including a restaurant and the offices and showroom of the BEST, the city-run furnishing and interior-design advice center,'' Blau writes.

Now fewer than 3,000 tenants live in Karl-Marx-Hof -- not because it's undesirable but because living standards have improved and, in response, Vienna has allotted tenants more space. Vienna's housing authority believes that a family of four needs around 1,100 square feet, so it combined some of the units to create larger ones.

A bobblehead nodded from a balcony with potted plants and cairns. An older Austrian man waved. State Assemblywoman Emily Gallagher, a Democrat who had recently unseated the incumbent Democrat in the 50th Assembly District, which includes parts of Greenpoint, Williamsburg and Fort Greene, live-tweeted the tour on her phone. State Senator Julia Salazar, a Democrat representing the 18th State Senate District, which covers Bushwick, took notes with a gold pen on a notebook with black paper. Renette Bradley, a tenant organizer, wore a Nickelodeon shirt, overalls, a black New York beanie and lavishly long fake lashes. ''Can you be paroled here?'' she asked, her voice husky and direct. This affected many of Bradley's friends and relatives who, upon release from prison, were left homeless because they weren't allowed to join family living in public housing.

Schranz looked at her blankly.

''Can you come out of prison and live here?'' Bradley repeated.

''Of course,'' Schranz said. ''Why not? If you're out, you're out.''

The New Yorkers murmured. Schranz continued to look at us questioningly.

''There's like four or five problems baked into that question that they just don't understand,'' Joseph Loonam, a housing campaign coordinator with VOCAL-NY, said as we walked toward the laundry facilities. He told me that a member of his organization had been arrested more than 40 times because whenever he visits his family in the Gowanus projects, he violates the terms of his plea deal.

At the museum store, I bought a red potholder crocheted by a local women's co-op: a Red Vienna-era schema of the ''three evils'' seizing Europe (Nazism, Communism, monarchism), each represented by white arrows. Several organizers and state legislators bought one, too. When the college student working at the museum shop said he was all out, a lawmaker suggested that he could sell the potholders in the display case. ''We aren't used to this,'' the college student said, unlocking the case, by which he seemed to mean American patterns of consumption. The American need to own.

Vienna has succeeded in curbing the craving to own. It has done it by driving down the price of land through rezoning and rent control. In general, the beneficiaries of these land-use policies are less the Gemeindebauten (they stopped building from 2004 to 2015 and now only produce some 500 units a year) and more the limited-profit housing associations, the origins of which preceded Red Vienna and have built 3,000 to 5,000 units a year for the last four decades.

Today limited-profit housing accounts for half the city's social housing. Limited-profit housing associations are restricted to charging rents that reflect costs. Investors -- banks, insurance funds -- may buy shares of the limited-profit housing associations, generally to help fund initial construction. They are paid a low rate of annual interest on their shares. Any profits beyond that must be reinvested in the construction of new social housing. ''It creates a revolving flow of financing for social housing,'' said Justin Kadi, a professor in planning and housing at the University of Cambridge. Vienna's main outlay toward housing is now providing low-cost financing for construction -- and the government gets that money back.

On a gray Friday, Wilhelm Andel, a tall 84-year-old wearing jeans and a leather jacket, greeted me at the Alt-Erlaa tram stop to show me the limited-profit complex where he had lived for 40 years. Alt-Erlaa is one of the largest limited-profit complexes in Vienna, with 3,181 units in 18 futuristic towers, 23 to 27 stories tall, built between 1973 and 1986. As we approached, I saw that the towers had aged surprisingly well, maybe because greenery is timeless, and vegetation seemed to cascade off the tiered balconies. Willie had chosen a unit on the sixth floor. His rent for a nearly-1,200-square-foot apartment was 824 euros -- an amount that would be reasonable for Amarillo, Texas, or Shreveport, La., but out of the question in any of the 50 largest American metro areas.

Living in Alt-Erlaa, Willie enjoyed access to seven rooftop swimming pools, seven indoor swimming pools, tennis courts, gyms and acclaimed art. When the rest of the delegation joined us, he led us toward one of his favorite aspects of the buildings: two murals in the lobby of the second building meditating on the role of the news media and labor in society. They were by the Austrian artist Alfred Hrdlicka. ''They remind me of Orozco,'' said Dorca Reynoso, an employee at Verizon, referring to the political murals of the Mexican painter José Clemente Orozco. Reynoso's rent in Manhattan doubled in 2014 to $1,250. When her landlord proposed a 50 percent increase again in 2022, she was unable to pay and ratcheted up her organizing campaign against her landlord. ''They're so beautiful,'' she said, gazing at the paintings.

For this very reason, Vienna's limited-profit and nonprofit units were many of the delegates' favorites. Art and aesthetics matter. We visited a small nonprofit building, a co-op, that was successfully designed and developed by strangers who responded to a newspaper ad. The top floor had an expansive roof deck, a communal kitchen, a playroom and a sauna. ''You mean I could be in the sauna when my kids are in the playroom?'' said Julie Colon, a Bronx organizer who told me she gave birth alone while in the shelter system. ''This is crazy.'' Shanti Singh, a tenant-rights activist from the Bay Area with short, asymmetrically cropped hair, lingered in the sunny library with its tall windows and honey wood walls. ''I never want to leave,'' she said.

The spiral of overvaluation in housing, which makes the housing-haves rich and the have-nots desperately poor, has brought us to a point where only something radical can solve it. The problem with housing in the United States is that it has been locked in as a means of building wealth, and building wealth is irreconcilable with affordability. The housing crisis in the United States is proof. Even in 2017, before the pandemic, around 113 million Americans -- some 35 percent of the nation's population -- were living with a serious housing problem, such as physically deficient housing, burdensome costs or no housing at all, notes Alex F. Schwartz, an urban-studies professor at the New School.

Calls for a federal social-housing plan in America might sound far-fetched, but make no mistake: The United States government intervenes heavily in the housing market. It's just a two-tiered system, as Gail Radford, the historian, argues. There's generous support for affluent homeowners and deliberately insufficient support for the lowest-income households. In 2017, the United States spent $155 billion on tax breaks to homeowners and investors in rental housing and mortgage-revenue bonds, more than three times the $50 billion spent on affordable housing.

That $50 billion isn't nothing. In fact, in many U.S. cities, public spending per capita on housing and community-development subsidies is higher than in Vienna. But it seems clear that much of this money is misspent, whether through inefficient private-public partnerships like the low-income-housing tax credit; or through distortionary vouchers; or, most dubiously of all, through subsidizing homeowners, the people who need it least. ''If you give everyone demand-side subsidies, like vouchers, and there's a supply shortage, it's going to drive up prices,'' Chris Herbert, the managing director of Harvard's Joint Center for Housing Studies, told me. It costs the state more, and landlords often wind up pocketing the profits.

Though the Gemeindebauten represented a large initial government outlay, Vienna's social housing is now self-sustaining. Guess how much of the residents' salary goes toward the program. One percent. Social housing drives down rents in the private market by as much as 5 percent. Vouchers may appear cheaper in the short term, but directly financing well-regulated public and limited-profit construction is the only way to mitigate speculation and hedge against ever-increasing housing costs. In 2020, New York and California spent $377 and $248 per capita, respectively, in housing development, while Vienna spent just $124 -- and approximately half of Vienna's spending is on low-interest financing that will be repaid and then re-lent.

Social-housing programs have existed in America before, and they exist in America to this day. Local social-housing programs, many of them inspired by Vienna, are underway in Montgomery County, Md.; Seattle; and California. And they have a long legacy in New York, which built 66,000 affordable apartments and 69,000 limited-profit co-op apartment units from 1955 to 1981 under the Limited-Profit Housing Companies Law, also known as Mitchell-Lama, after the two legislators who introduced it. In combination with public housing, Mitchell-Lama units are a main reason economic diversity remains in the Lower East Side, Williamsburg and Chinatown.

Housing expense has been a staggering burden for so many of us, for so long, that it's hard to even contemplate what it would mean to have it recede in our minds. When I spoke to Peter Pilz, the politician who took over his grandmother's unit in Goethehof, I asked him, as I asked every Viennese tenant of social housing, what he did with all the money he saved thanks to his cheap rent. ''I haven't invested a single penny in the stock market,'' he told me. ''I would consider it an enormous waste of time to sit in front of my computer and study what the stock market is doing. I prefer to use my time writing, editing an online newspaper supporting interesting initiatives and having fun.''

Pilz was staying in Tuscany when we spoke, and he had spent the day bicycling. He stopped in Pienza to admire the small purple cathedral and sample the famous pecorino. Then he cycled on to Montalcino, where he sipped some Brunello, before returning to Bagno Vignoni to go swimming. ''That's my hard life,'' he told me. ''If people don't have to struggle all day long to survive -- if your life is made safe, at least in social conditions -- you can use your energy for much more important things.''

Video at the top from Luca Locatelli

Francesca Mari is a contributing writer for the magazine and an assistant professor of the practice in the literary-arts department at Brown University. She writes about all aspects of housing. Luca Locatelli is a photographer whose work focuses on environmental images and solutions to the climate crisis. He has been working on ''The Circular Economy,'' an immersive project premiering in September at the Gallerie d'Italia museum of Turin, Italy.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/23/magazine/vienna-social-housing.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/23/magazine/vienna-social-housing.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: The Alt-Erlaa limitedprofit housing complex. (MM29-MM30)

Peter Pilz's new unit in Goethehof, where he moved when he left his grandmother's apartment in 2018. (MM31)

The Amalienbad, an Art Deco pool and sauna at the Reumannplatz 23 housing complex. (MM32-MM33)

The Sandleitenhof complex, in Vienna's 16th District. (MM35)

Construction of the Bildungscampus Berresgasse complex. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY LUCA LOCATELLI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (MM36-MM37) This article appeared in print on page MM28, MM29, MM30, MM31, MM32, MM33, MM34, MM47, MM49.

**Load-Date:** May 28, 2023

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[***Biden sells his infrastructure plan in Louisiana, a state with a resonant history on the topic.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62M1-MH41-JBG3-64KX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 562 words

**Byline:** Glenn Thrush and Annie Karni

**Highlight:** Mr. Biden is visiting New Orleans and Lake Charles to pitch his $2.3 trillion bill in a state led a century ago by the dictatorial governor Huey P. Long, who left a legacy of government-backed infrastructure.

**Body**

Mr. Biden is visiting New Orleans and Lake Charles to pitch his $2.3 trillion bill in a state led a century ago by the dictatorial governor Huey P. Long, who left a legacy of government-backed infrastructure.

President Biden traveled to Louisiana on Thursday to pitch his $2.3 trillion infrastructure proposal and lash out at his predecessor, former President Donald J. Trump, in a state whose physical and political landscape has been defined by road, bridge and school projects.

“I’m not ready to do nothing,” Mr. Biden said while standing in the shadow of the I-10 bridge in Lake Charles, a sagging structure that was built to last for 50 years — in 1952.

“I’m not ready to have another period where America has another infrastructure month and doesn’t change a damn thing,” he added.

Venting frustration at Mr. Trump, he noted, “Last four years, how many times do you say this is going to be ‘Infrastructure Week?’ Well, I got so tired of hearing Infrastructure Week, nothing happened. Nothing has happened.”

Mr. Biden began his one-day trip by visiting conservative, industrial Lake Charles, which was inundated by Hurricanes Laura and Delta last year, to survey the rebuilding and to promote his plan to pump about $50 billion into projects that would fortify existing infrastructure against natural disaster.

He went on to New Orleans to tour the aging Carrollton Water Plant, which is responsible for water purification and flood management, to make the case for funding “storm-hardening” upgrades that will prevent the kind of environmental cataclysm that resulted from Hurricane Katrina in 2005.

“You are the first president who highlighted and elevated the water infrastructure as an issue for the whole country,” Ghassan Korban, the executive director of the Sewerage and Water Board of New Orleans, told Mr. Biden as they began touring the water treatment facility.

At Lake Charles, Mr. Biden was joined by a Republican mayor and the Democratic governor of Louisiana, in an effort to demonstrate that his proposals have bipartisan support at the local level, if not in Congress.

In visiting Louisiana, Mr. Biden chose a state whose infrastructural legacy was defined by a very different leader — Huey P. Long, the state’s dictatorial governor in the 1920s and 1930s — who was equally intent on pushing it into prosperity through a massive government effort to build bridges, roads and schools.

Mr. Long, known as “The Kingfish,” died young with a tarnished legacy. But he left a record of accomplishment in infrastructure with few parallels in U.S. history, overseeing the paving of 2,301 miles of highway (only 331 miles were paved before he took office), while building 111 bridges, dozens of schools and a soaring State Capitol building in Baton Rouge.

In Mr. Long’s day, the ***working-class*** voters he wanted to attract were almost invariably Democrats. In contrast, in 2020, former President Donald J. Trump defeated Mr. Biden by nearly 20 points in the state.

But Mr. Biden is hoping to reclaim some of that lost political ground with those voters, while emphasizing his commitment to combating climate change for his party’s base. His trip to the Gulf Coast reflects a hybrid of the two political approaches.

PHOTO: President Biden in Lake Charles, La., before speaking on the American Jobs Plan. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Alex Brandon/Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 6, 2021

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[***Emmanuel Macron, Victorious, Searches for Reinvention; News Analysis***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:659J-44H1-JBG3-60RR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

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**Byline:** Roger Cohen

**Highlight:** France seems in search of a kinder, gentler, greener President Macron. He says he will listen.

**Body**

France seems in search of a kinder, gentler, greener President Macron. He says he will listen.

PARIS — There have been many Emmanuel Macrons: the free-market reformer, the man who nationalized salaries in response to the pandemic, the provocateur who [*pronounced NATO brain-dead*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/07/world/europe/macron-nato-brain-death.html), the maneuverer ever adjusting his position, the diplomat and the disrupter.

Now, having persuaded the French to re-elect him, something no president had achieved for two decades, which [*Mr. Macron*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/emmanuel-macron) will show up? To judge by his sober acceptance speech after his 17-percentage-point victory over [*Marine Le Pen*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/marine-le-pen), a chastened one.

There was nothing triumphalist about his tone after vanquishing the extremist anti-immigrant far right and, for the second time, rebuffing the wave of nationalist jingoism that produced Brexit and the victory of [*President Donald J. Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/donald-trump).

Rather, Mr. Macron expressed a quiet determination to break with past habits, confront the “anger and disagreements” in the land, and to reach out to the many people who had only voted for him to keep out Ms. Le Pen.

“He will want to democratize his authority and soften it,” said Alain Duhamel, the author of a book about Mr. Macron. “No metamorphosis in his personality, but there will be an adjustment in his methods.”

Mr. Macron said his second term would not be “the continuation of the five years now ending”; it would involve a “reinvented method” to “better serve our country and our youth.” The years ahead, he said, “will not be tranquil, but they will be historic, and we will write them together for the generations to come.”

Ambitious words, and Mr. Macron, a centrist, is never at a loss for a fine phrase, but what they will mean is uncertain. It is clear, however, that the 13.3 million people who voted for Ms. Le Pen constitute far too large a group to be ignored.

For now, the president’s priority is to display compassion. He wants to bury once and for all the image of himself as “president of the rich,” and show he cares for the ***working class*** and for all the angry or alienated people drawn not just to Ms. Le Pen’s nationalist message but also to her promise to give them economic help

The numbers were clear. About [*70 percent of affluent voters supported Mr. Macron*](https://www.ipsos.com/fr-fr/presidentielle-2022/second-tour-profil-des-abstentionnistes-et-sociologie-des-electorats); about 65 percent of the poor voted for Ms. Le Pen. The college educated voted for Mr. Macron; those who did not complete high school tended toward Ms. Le Pen.

Among the measures that Mr. Macron may introduce early in his second term are a rebate on gasoline for people who have to drive long distances every day, substantial raises for hospital workers and teachers, and an automatic adjustment of pensions in line with rising inflation.

“We have to listen better,” Bruno Le Maire, the economy minister, said in an interview with Franceinfo radio. That is, listen to those left behind in an economy with a growth rate of 7 percent.

Among those Mr. Macron will need to listen to are the young. While some 70 percent of people aged 18 to 24 voted for Jean-Luc Mélenchon, a leftist candidate with a bold green agenda, in the first round of the election, about 61 percent transferred their allegiance to Mr. Macron in the second round, after Mr. Mélenchon was eliminated.

If Mr. Macron is serious about engaging with those whose support of him was reluctant — a second choice, a vote against something rather than for something — he will need to demonstrate a serious commitment to a post-carbon economy, having spent his first term on what often seemed like hesitant half measures.

In his victory speech he promised to make France “a great ecological nation.” That will require major investment, a timeline and help for those transitioning to relatively expensive electric cars.

The road ahead is full of potential obstacles. Legislative elections in June could deliver a National Assembly no longer fully controlled by his party, which would complicate any second-term agenda. In an unlikely worst case, Mr. Macron may have to endure a “cohabitation” — work with a prime minister from a rival party — and that is by no means a guarantee of happiness.

Whether Mr. Macron can lastingly adopt a less abrasive manner is uncertain. Mr. Duhamel described the president as a self-invented man “in perpetual motion” and always on the offensive, someone who can “never be confined to a box,” a leader given to ever-changing balancing acts — not least between left and right.

His opponents have often found this agility confounding; others have seen in it a malleability so extreme that it poses the question of what Mr. Macron really believes in.

Macronism, as it is called here, remains something of a mystery. What cannot be disputed after this second victory is its political effectiveness.

If the restless energy of Mr. Macron seems certain to persist, the French electorate made clear that it needs to be redirected. They have had enough of an insouciant leader with bold plans to transform Europe into a real “power”; they want a president attentive to their needs as prices rise and salaries stagnate.

Many of them also want a democratization of the top-down French presidential system that Mr. Macron had promised but did not deliver. He may propose introducing an element of proportional representation in voting for the National Assembly, or lower house of parliament, Mr. Duhamel said. This would happen after the June vote.

The current two-round system has favored alliances of mainstream parties against extremist parties like Ms. Le Pen’s National Rally, formerly the National Front, resulting in a democratic disconnect: A party may have widespread support but scant representatives. This, too, has fed anger in the country, on the left and on the right.

When it comes to listening, Mr. Macron may be obliged to extend that practice to his European interlocutors. The war in Ukraine has comforted Mr. Macron’s belief that a stronger Europe must be forged with its own military and technological capacities in order to count in the 21st-century world.

But his style — announcing dramatic goals for European “strategic autonomy” rather than quietly building coalitions to achieve them — has not pleased everyone in a European Union where a strong attachment to NATO and American power exists, especially in the countries closest to the Russian border.

President Biden, in a congratulatory message to Mr. Macron, said he looked forward to working together “to defend democracy.” By defeating Ms. Le Pen, with her strong attachment to President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia, the French president has just made a notable contribution to that cause.

Mr. Macron will remain a firm supporter of multilateralism, the rule of law, the European Union and the NATO that he hopes to reform to allow more room for Europe to develop its own defense capacities. These are fixed points in his flexible beliefs.

He will also continue to calibrate his message even as he redirects it toward the less fortunate. His goal, he said in victory, was a “humanist” France, but also an “entrepreneurial” one, a France of “work and creativity” but also “a more just society.”

These code words to the right and left — entrepreneurship and justice — were Mr. Macron personified.

PHOTO: Emmanuel Macron on Sunday after winning re-election, the first French president to do so in two decades. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SERGEY PONOMAREV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 26, 2022

**End of Document**



[***In House Fight for Long Island, Abortion May Turn Tide for Democrats***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66GY-5101-JBG3-6426-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 29, 2022 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 1764 words

**Byline:** By Luis Ferré-Sadurní

**Body**

Several competitive House races on Long Island have become fertile ground for candidates to test out common Republican and Democratic campaign themes.

ROCKVILLE CENTRE, N.Y. -- A year ago, Republicans staged an uprising in the Long Island suburbs, winning a slew of races by zeroing in on public safety and suggesting that Democrats had allowed violent crime to fester.

Now, with the midterms approaching, Democratic leaders are hoping that their own singular message, focused on abortion, might have a similar effect.

''Young ladies, your rights are on the line,'' Laura Gillen, a Democrat running for Congress in Nassau County, said to two young women commuting toward the city on a recent weekday morning. ''Please vote!''

Long Island has emerged as an unlikely battleground in the bitter fight for control of the House of Representatives, with both Democrats and Republicans gearing up to pour large sums of money into the contests here.

Nassau and Suffolk Counties, where nearly three million New Yorkers live, have become a powerful testing ground for the main campaign themes of each party, with Democrats hoping that their renewed focus on abortion rights -- following the recent Supreme Court decision that overturned Roe v. Wade -- will help them retain control of the House.

The New York City suburbs are at a rare political crossroads: Three of the four House seats that encompass most of Long Island are open this year after their incumbents retired or stepped aside to seek higher political office, offering both parties a unique, regionally concentrated opportunity to send new faces to Congress.

The two districts that are mostly situated in Nassau County, just east of Queens, are held by Democrats, while the two districts concentrated on the eastern stretch of the island in Suffolk County are held by Republicans. Both parties are vying to gain one, if not, two seats.

That prospect has injected a sense of urgency and uncertainty into the races on Long Island, once a Republican stronghold that has turned more Democratic and diverse in recent decades, becoming the type of suburban swing area that could determine control of the House in November.

Republicans have almost exclusively focused on blaming Democrats for rising prices as well as on public safety: They have amplified concerns about the state's contentious bail laws and crime in nearby New York City, where many Long Islanders commute for work.

''Many Democrats feel like that they don't have a party anymore because it's gone so far to the left,'' said Anthony D'Esposito, a former New York City police detective and local councilman running against Ms. Gillen, the former Town of Hempstead supervisor who lost her seat in 2019. He suggested that police officers, firefighters and emergency medical workers who live in Nassau County but work in the five boroughs are alarmed by crime in the city.

Mr. D'Esposito and Ms. Gillen are running in a tight race to replace Representative Kathleen Rice, a Democrat who announced in February that she would not run for re-election in the Fourth District in central and southern Nassau, which she has represented since 2015.

''The Dobbs decision was a wake-up call that elections have consequences,'' Ms. Rice said in an interview. ''But for people on Long Island, they don't want to just hear about that. They want to hear about how we're going to get inflation under control and public safety,'' she said, adding both were politically thorny issues for Democrats in New York.

Republicans are looking to replicate their success from 2021, when the party used visceral ads of assaults and break-ins to help capture a slew of races across Long Island. They ousted Laura Curran, the Democratic Nassau County executive, in November, and won control of the Nassau district attorney's office despite running a first-time candidate against a well-known Democratic state senator.

Democratic operatives are quick to caution that 2021 was an off-year election, when Republicans typically are more successful in getting voters to the polls. Indeed, there are more Democrats than Republicans registered to vote in the district, and political analysts have forecast it as more favorable for Democrats.

Still, almost a quarter of voters are unaffiliated with either party. Some high-ranking Democrats have privately raised concerns that the contest is being overlooked by the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, which did not include it in its national ''Red to Blue'' slate of competitive races, a designation that provides field work and helps attract financial support from national donors.

Interviews this month with more than a dozen voters in Nassau County showed that public safety, inflation and immigration remained animating issues among Republicans and swing voters who typically play an outsize role in elections here.

Joe O'Connor, a 75-year-old Vietnam veteran from Freeport on Long Island's South Shore, is not registered with either party. He voted against Mr. Trump in 2020 but said he was still unsure how he would vote in November, noting that chief among his concerns were education, homelessness and safety in New York City.

''New York has come back great, and I'm really happy with that,'' said Mr. O'Connor, a former teacher who frequently visits museums and Broadway shows in the city. ''But it's got to be cleaned up, and it's got to be safe for people.''

Democrats, for their part, have homed in on abortion rights and the threat to democracy as central campaign themes, hopeful that the recent legal setbacks that have thrust former President Donald J. Trump back into the news will also boost their chances in a state where Mr. Trump remains deeply unpopular.

Delis Ortiz, 20, who said she would vote for her first time in November, said that while her top concern was keeping up with rising grocery prices, she would most likely vote Democratic in part because of the party's stance on abortion rights.

''I believe that every person has a right to their own body,'' said Ms. Ortiz, a barista at an upscale coffee shop in Garden City. ''Nobody should have that power over anyone else, ever.''

Those themes are playing out visibly in the competitive race to replace Representative Thomas R. Suozzi, a centrist Democrat who has represented the Third District, in northern parts of Nassau County and parts of eastern Queens, since 2017 but decided not to run for re-election to pursue an unsuccessful run for governor this year.

Robert Zimmerman, a small-business owner and well-known Democratic activist, has repeatedly sought to cast his Republican opponent, George Santos, as too extreme to represent the district, highlighting Mr. Santos's apparent support of abortion bans and his attendance at the pro-Trump rally in Washington on Jan. 6.

''Long Island can very well determine who has the majority in Congress,'' Mr. Zimmerman said over coffee at a diner in Great Neck this month. ''And frankly, George Santos represents the greatest threat to our democracy of any candidate running for Congress in New York State. I really can't underscore that enough.''

In a statement, Charley Lovett, Mr. Santos's campaign manager, accused Mr. Zimmerman of trying to ''distract voters from the disasters that Joe Biden and Nancy Pelosi's policies have caused with Robert Zimmerman's full support.''

Their matchup also has history-making potential: The race appears to be the first time that two openly gay candidates for Congress have faced off in a general election.

The governor's election could also play a role in some House races on Long Island, which has emerged as a key battleground in the race between Gov. Kathy Hochul, a Democrat, and her Republican opponent, Representative Lee Zeldin, who has represented most of Suffolk County in Congress since 2015.

Ms. Hochul has held a significant lead in most public polls, and she held a narrow five-point lead in the New York City suburbs in a Siena College poll released on Wednesday. Even so, Republicans are hoping Mr. Zeldin's support on Long Island could help drive its voters to the polls, buoying the party's House candidates, though Democrats are betting that their barrage of attack ads portraying Mr. Zeldin as a right-wing extremist will help the party animate Democrats and swing more moderate voters in their favor.

Mr. Zeldin's entry into the governor's race paved the way for Democrats to try and flip his now-open congressional seat in the First District on the eastern end of the island, one of the few Republican-held seats in the country that is open and considered competitive. But Democrats face an uphill battle: The seat is projected to slightly favor Republicans, who have held the district since Mr. Zeldin wrestled it from Democratic control in 2014.

The Democrat in the race, Bridget Fleming, a former assistant district attorney and current county legislator, has nonetheless outpaced her opponent in fund-raising and recently received the endorsement from the union that represents police officers in Suffolk County. She was also added to the Democrats' Red to Blue program in June.

A moderate, she has centered her campaign in the district, a mix of ***working-class*** and wealthy residents, on affordability and conserving the environment -- a top issue for fishermen and farmers, as well as the tourism industry, on the island's East End -- but also on protecting women's right to choose.

''There's no question that fundamental freedoms are under assault in our country,'' said Ms. Fleming. ''The exploitation of the extremes that we've seen recently is electrifying people who are standing up to fight for themselves.''

In an interview, her opponent, Nicholas LaLota, brushed off Democrats' almost singular focus on reproductive rights, saying that New York already had some of the strictest protections in the country.

''Here in New York, nobody's abortion rights are under attack or assault,'' said Mr. LaLota, a former Navy lieutenant who works in the Suffolk County Legislature. ''So those folks who want to campaign on abortion, they should run for state office, not federal office.''

He added that voters in the district ''who live paycheck to paycheck were more concerned about rising interests rates and prices.''

Democrats are facing an even steeper climb to unseat Representative Andrew Garbarino, a well-funded Republican who represents the Second District on the South Shore that is among the most affluent in the country. Opposing Mr. Garbarino is Jackie Gordon, an Army veteran, who lost to Mr. Garbarino in 2020.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/28/nyregion/democrats-abortion-long-island-congress.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/28/nyregion/democrats-abortion-long-island-congress.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Laura Gillen, above, a Democrat and former supervisor of the Town of Hempstead, will face off against Anthony D'Esposito, below, a Republican former New York City police detective and local councilman, to succeed the outgoing Democratic congresswoman, Kathleen Rice. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JOHNNY MILANO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 29, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Best Sellers: Paperback Trade Fiction: Sunday, January 10th 2021***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61VN-GWX1-DXY4-X36H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 10, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 492 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the January 10, 2021 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending December 26, 2020. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Paperback Trade Fiction |
| This | On |  |
| Week | List |  |
| 1 | 6 | HOME BODY, by Rupi Kaur. (Andrews McMeel) Poems and illustrations by the author of ?Milk and Honey? and ?The Sun and Her Flowers.? |
| 2 | 76 | THEN SHE WAS GONE, by Lisa Jewell. (Atria) Ten years after her daughter disappears, a woman tries to get her life in order but remains haunted by unanswered questions. |
| 3 | 171 | MILK AND HONEY, by Rupi Kaur. (Andrews McMeel) A collection of poetry about love, loss, trauma and healing. |
| 4 | 7 | THE QUEEN'S GAMBIT, by Walter Tevis. (Vintage) Sixteen-year-old Beth Harmon goes through changes as she plays chess in the U.S. Open championship. The basis of the Netflix series. |
| 5 | 11 | THE BLUEST EYE, by Toni Morrison. (Vintage) The Nobel laureate's first novel, published in 1970, is an examination of race, class and gender through the tribulations and yearnings of a young Black girl living in post-Depression Ohio. |
| 6 | 79 | THE SUN AND HER FLOWERS, by Rupi Kaur. (Andrews McMeel) A second collection of poetry from the author of "Milk and Honey." |
| 7 | 10 | THE SONG OF ACHILLES, by Madeline Miller. (Ecco) A reimagining of Homer?s ?Iliad? that is narrated by Achilles' companion Patroclus. |
| 8 | 72 | THE OVERSTORY, by Richard Powers. (Norton) Winner of the 2019 Pulitzer Prize for fiction. Nine people drawn to trees for different reasons fight for the last of the remaining acres of virgin forest. |
| 9 | 6 | SHUGGIE BAIN, by Douglas Stuart. (Grove) The winner of the 2020 Booker Prize. A boy?s ***working-class*** childhood in 1980s Glasgow is subsumed by his mother?s alcoholism. |
| 10 | 2 | THE STAND, by Stephen King. (Anchor) A struggle of good and evil takes place in a world transformed by a plague. |
| 11 | 30 | CIRCE, by Madeline Miller. (Back Bay) Zeus banishes Helios' daughter to an island, where she must choose between living with gods or mortals. |
| 12 | 16 | THE INSTITUTE, by Stephen King. (Gallery) Children with special talents are abducted and sequestered in an institution where the sinister staff seeks to extract their gifts through harsh methods. |
| 13 | 80 | LITTLE FIRES EVERYWHERE, by Celeste Ng. (Penguin) An artist with a mysterious past and a disregard for the status quo upends a quiet town outside Cleveland. |
| 14 | 45 | A GENTLEMAN IN MOSCOW, by Amor Towles. (Penguin) A Russian count undergoes 30 years of house arrest in the Metropol hotel, across from the Kremlin. |
| 15 | 25 | THE OUTSIDER, by Stephen King. (Gallery) A detective investigates a seemingly wholesome member of the community when an 11-year-old boy?s body is found. |

**Load-Date:** January 26, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Amazon Workers Are Taking Back Seattle***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6336-6WW1-DXY4-X0P3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 7, 2021 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 2311 words

**Byline:** By E. Tammy Kim

**Body**

SEATTLE -- Prime Day, Amazon's annual summer shopping bonanza, lasted not one but two days this June. The company advertised it incessantly on social media and especially to subscribers of Amazon Prime, a group that includes close to half of the U.S. population. In the many warehouses in and around the company's hometown, thousands of workers showed up to their packing and sorting stations for a mandatory, extra-long shift.

Among them was Andy, who began working at his fulfillment center last year. He had never expected to sign on with Amazon, least of all as a blue-collar worker. His first job out of college was as a support engineer for a company in downtown Seattle. He had hoped to challenge himself in a programming role, but the work was rote, and the office environment cold and dominated by ''talk about market shares,'' he said.

In the Trump years, Andy began to wonder why the city he lived in was so unequal and how the biggest, heaviest forces tended to squash everything small. He sought out the Tech Workers Coalition, a group of industry employees with a conscience, in search of answers.

One techie told him that she'd quit programming to work and organize in an Amazon warehouse. She was doing so with a group called Amazonians United, which believed that anyone who cared about poverty or workers' rights or curbing corporate power should focus their energies on Amazon and its founder, Jeff Bezos, who steps down from his role as C.E.O. this week. Would Andy want to apply for a job and try to organize inside?

Andy applied through the online portal, submitted to a saliva-based drug test and got his photo taken for an ID. Within 48 hours, he was approved; a week and a half later, he was being trained as a packer on the vast, noisy floor of a fulfillment center. His goal was to do his job fast and well (currently, the expected packing rate is at least 200 scanned items per hour at his station) while getting to know his fellow workers. In time, perhaps, they could form an organizing committee and agitate for safer conditions and an increase in starting hourly wages to the $25 to $30 that unionized warehouse workers can earn, from $15 to $17.

Andy has had some success. While he and his co-workers do not have a legally recognized union, hundreds of them signed petitions for a reinstatement of hazard pay and an increase in paid time off. On smoke breaks and after work, they talk about wrist pain, nasty managers and their reasons for staying in the job: to buy a house, provide for their families or pay for college. ''I can't really do anything else,'' one told him.

This year, workers at an Amazon warehouse in Bessemer, Ala., once a thriving steel town, voted against unionizing with the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union. The loss in Bessemer led some employees to feel powerless. ''The result of that, for some of my co-workers, was, 'You can't fight Amazon. It's impossible,''' an Amazonians United member in the New York area said.

The Bessemer defeat has led many major unions to grapple with the role of Amazon in the economy and their members' lives. In June, members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, which has organized the logistics industry since the early 20th century, voted to target Amazon's operations. And a growing segment of the general population now recognizes the threat of ''Amazon capitalism'': what scholars Jake Alimahomed-Wilson, Juliann Allison and Ellen Reese describe as reflecting ''the larger global trend of the increasing influence of finance capitalism, neoliberal politics and policies, and corporate power.''

The challenge of organizing Amazon is ''bigger than anything this country has ever faced,'' Peter Olney, a former organizing director of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union, told me. He compared Amazon's close to one million U.S. employees to the several hundred thousand organized by the United Auto Workers at Ford, Chrysler and General Motors in the 1930s and 1940s.

Part of the strategy will have to be shop-by-shop organizing, but no one knows how best to unionize a 5,000-person warehouse with extreme turnover and ''union avoidance'' consultants. Or how to prevent Amazon from simply closing a unionized fulfillment center or transferring its workers to another, nonunion facility.

What's important now, Mr. Olney said, is that everyone in the labor movement recognize the threat and pitch in.

In the coming years, Amazon will most likely become the largest private employer in the United States, maybe even the world. In addition to its U.S. workers, it indirectly commands many more thousands of contracted drivers. This isn't uncommon knowledge, but few Americans have confronted the stakes of Amazon's economic and political dominance -- except, perhaps, in the company's hometown.

Workers in the fulfillment and sorting centers dotting Interstate 5 have pushed for improved conditions, especially during the pandemic. This is true in other parts of the country as well, especially where Amazonians United is active, but the Seattle area is also the site of activism at headquarters, which employs more than 75,000 tech workers and other employees who possess significant bargaining power but are still vulnerable to retaliation and replacement.

In recent years, white-collar workers have condemned the company's environmental policies, alleged maltreatment of warehouse workers and business relationships with law enforcement agencies. In 2019, an estimated 3,000 Seattle tech workers staged a walkout in solidarity with the Global Climate Strike. Last year, Amazon fired two outspoken designers -- a move the National Labor Relations Board found to be unlawful. (Amazon said it terminated these employees for ''repeatedly violating internal policies.'')

Amazon's home turf has also been the site of precedent-setting policy fights. In 2013, the national movement for a $15 minimum hourly wage -- now the company's starting wage -- won its first citywide victory in SeaTac, Wash. Last year, Seattle passed a payroll tax that is expected to raise $214 million per year, though after the repeal of a more stringent measure. And this year, Washington State passed a 7 percent capital-gains tax on some profits earned from selling stocks and other investments. (Washington, home to two of the wealthiest men in the world, has no income tax and relies instead on a regressive sales tax.)

These organizing efforts, while spotty and provisional, offer two lessons. First, that small-scale efforts can have an effect; second, that it's important to pursue both regulatory and shop-floor campaigns.

Though Amazon is highly centralized, pay, hours and other conditions vary from warehouse to warehouse, and managers are known to respond to regional pressure. In 2019, activists angered by the lavish government incentives thrown at Amazon successfully campaigned against the construction of its secondary headquarters in New York City. And community and labor organizers in San Bernardino, Calif., an area choked by diesel truck emissions, continue to pressure local politicians to limit the expansion of warehouses and airports used by Amazon and other logistics companies.

The current alignment of late-pandemic, social-justice-oriented, early-Biden administration politics could help create the conditions for an empowered, well-organized work force capable of challenging Amazon. Democrats and some Republicans in Congress have backed the Protecting the Right to Organize Act, which would make it easier to form a union, and several pieces of ambitious antitrust legislation. President Biden has installed Lina Khan, an Amazon skeptic, to lead the Federal Trade Commission. The Department of Labor has promised to investigate employers that retaliate against workers for raising safety concerns and is expected to scrutinize the misclassification of independent contractors.

The new Teamsters campaign, which promises to establish a department to specifically ''aid Amazon workers and defend'' industry standards, will include a mix of workplace organizing and local, state and federal advocacy. ''I talked to thousands of Amazon workers in 2020. We haven't filed for a union election, have we? There's a reason for that,'' Randy Korgan, the Teamsters' national director for Amazon, told me. ''We have to break Amazon down into fulfillment center, supply chain, their [contracted drivers] and delivery model.'' (This fall, the Teamsters will hold an internal election, and both slates of candidates have promised to prioritize Amazon.) Staff members from the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, the Service Employees International Union and the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union (whose affiliated Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union led the Bessemer campaign) are also supporting various Amazon-related efforts.

''The labor movement still has 14 million workers. It's going to take a mass mobilization of union workers to engage Amazon workers,'' Todd Crosby, the U.F.C.W.'s organizing director, told me. ''What if at least 5 percent, 700,000 people, were mobilized to go out and be organizers to contact people in their community?''

In May, Dan, a former programmer at Amazon, took me on a long walk through Seattle's South Lake Union neighborhood, also known as Amazonia. Those of us with history in the region all say the same thing about the area -- still shocked to see its transformation from a low-rent, industrial scar to a manicured stretch of lakefront paths and high-rise buildings.

Dan grew up in a ***working-class***, immigrant household in the South and moved to Seattle to put his computer science degree to lucrative use. He worked at Amazon for several years but never quite took to the culture of competition and merciless evaluation or the oft-cited 14 Amazon leadership principles, which read like a party oath. During one round of what he described as ''leveling,'' in which each supervisor ranks his employees, he found himself marked down. He quit and joined a friendlier database start-up.

Like Andy, the coder-turned-warehouse worker, Dan is ambivalent about the role of tech in the region and the world. He explained that he arrived in a Seattle already fractured by widespread gentrification and displacement and saw the city continue to split along class lines. His politics slowly veered left -- he was roused by Black Lives Matter and was furious about Amazon's increased use of gig economy labor in logistics -- but it felt nearly impossible to talk about any of this with his co-workers, let alone sign a petition or attend a protest. ''I think a lot of tech workers have this aspirational, 'I want to be Elon Musk' kind of thing,'' he said. Others feared getting fired or blacklisted in what can be an insular industry.

The week we spoke, 640 tech workers employed by Amazon signed a petition calling on the company to ''commit to zero emissions by 2030'' and prioritize stopping polluting in the Black and brown communities near its warehouses. It was the latest action by Amazon Employees for Climate Justice to address the downstream effects of the tech-retail behemoth. As Andrea Vidaurre of the People's Collective for Environmental Justice told me, it seems nearly all working-age people in San Bernardino have ''cycled through the Amazon warehouse complex.'' Their families, meanwhile, have suffered high rates of asthma and cancer.

In more and more areas of the United States, Amazon structures the life of entire communities. The geographer and organizer Spencer Cox argues that Amazon's warehouse zones are now ''the major ***working-class*** space of suburban and exurban socialization. So even if you're building a tenant union or a political party, this is a major social space. It has a broader importance.'' Or, put more pointedly: ''If you look at the consciousness of Amazon workers, it's a guide to where the ***working class*** is as a whole,'' Kshama Sawant, a socialist member of the Seattle City Council, said.

On the second Prime Day in June, I met Andy and one of his co-workers at the end of an 11-hour shift outside their gargantuan warehouse. Workers of every race, gender, age and body shape streamed out of the main entrance. The hourly associates wore athletic clothes or fluorescent yellow vests and carried their belongings in see-through bags the texture of a clear shower curtain. The managers were distinguished by dark-blue vests and the privacy of opaque backpacks. (Amazon said there was no special bag policy for managers.)

Over Chinese food, Andy's friend later told me that she liked the work but that ''there are things that should be improved.'' She found the warehouse sweltering and the equipment dangerously worn out. The manager of their department was quick to penalize workers for packing or rebinning too slowly. They heard that another manager in the region had been flown out to Bessemer, just before the union vote, in an emergency effort to quell employee discontent.

The prospect of organizing workers in any significant number felt daunting to Andy's friend, but ''if we want to make a change as a group, in a warehouse, Washington would be very ideal,'' she said. ''If headquarters was like, 'Oh, God, if we can't even keep our warehouse workers in control, how do you think we'll look in front of the rest of the country?' ''

''We can make a strong impact to show that it is possible. Just because headquarters is here, that doesn't mean anything. That doesn't take power away from us.''

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**Graphic**

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JASON REDMOND/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES

DAVID RYDER/GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** July 7, 2021

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[***If Walsh Moves On, 3 Women of Color Could Change Face of Boston's Mayoralty***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61RF-D9W1-DXY4-X252-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 11, 2021 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 20

**Length:** 1115 words

**Byline:** By Ellen Barry

**Body**

The selection of Mayor Martin J. Walsh as labor secretary has shaken up the mayoral race in Boston, which has struggled with police reform and an extreme racial wealth gap.

[To read more stories on race from The New York Times, sign up here for our Race/Related newsletter.]

BOSTON -- Sometimes the guard changes slowly. Sometimes it changes overnight.

That is what is happening in the city of Boston, which has been led by white men since its incorporation in 1822. With the nomination of Mayor Martin J. Walsh as President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s labor secretary, the 2021 mayoral race is suddenly wide open, and the front-runners are all women of color.

If Mr. Walsh is confirmed and resigns from his mayoral post, his replacement as acting mayor will be Kim Janey, president of the City Council, a 56-year-old community activist with deep roots in Roxbury, one of Boston's historically Black neighborhoods. Ms. Janey has not said whether she plans to run.

The two declared challengers in the race are also, for Boston, nontraditional. Michelle Wu, 35, a Taiwanese-American woman, has as a city councilor proposed policies on climate, transportation and housing that have won her the support of progressives.

And Andrea Campbell, 38, a city councilor who grew up in public housing in Roxbury, has drawn on her own painful personal history -- her twin brother died of an untreated illness in pretrial custody -- to press for policing reforms and equity for Black residents.

Others are expected to jump into the race, but it has already deviated from the long-established pattern in this Democratic city, in which one figure from the white, ***working-class***, pro-union left would hand off power to a similar man of the next generation.

Paul Parara, a radio host who, as Notorious VOG, grills local politicians on his morning show, said Mr. Walsh's departure cleared a path for long-awaited change.

''I'm ecstatic that Marty is going to Washington,'' said Mr. Parara, who works at 87FM, a hip-hop and reggae station. ''It does represent an opportunity for Boston to turn the page, and elect someone who looks like what Boston looks like now.''

The percentage of Boston residents who identify as non-Hispanic whites has steadily dropped, to 44.5 percent in 2019 from 80 percent in 1970.

''Oh, we're about to Georgia Boston,'' he added, referring to voter mobilization that has reshaped the politics of that state.

He said he hoped the next mayor would impose greater pressure on police unions, which he said had negotiated advantageous contracts with the city and which, as the Boston Globe has reported, remained more white than the city's population as a whole.

''I think that's going to change,'' he said. Mr. Walsh, he added, ''is a labor guy, and that's what benefited the police -- they were negotiating a contract with a labor guy.''

A new mayor could also rethink development in Boston, where a technology boom and housing shortage have squeezed out poor and middle-income families, or grapple with the city's egregious wealth inequality: In 2015, the median net worth for white families was almost $250,000, while that figure was $8 for Black families, according to a study from the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston.

Mr. Walsh, who has been mayor since 2014, has responded to progressive activists, but he has also styled himself as a consensus-builder, trying to satisfy a range of stakeholders, including the police and developers.

His successor may, for the first time in the city's history, emerge from ''a left that derives from the civil rights movement, or the residents of color in the city or the left-wing intellectuals in the city,'' said David Hopkins, an associate professor of political science at Boston College.

''We don't have a model of what a different type of mayor would look like because we really haven't had one,'' Mr. Hopkins said. ''What's so interesting about this situation we're in now is that there isn't an obvious next Marty Walsh figure in line to take the baton.''

Despite weeks of hints that Mr. Walsh would be tapped as labor secretary, the news of his selection seemed to catch many off guard. The power of incumbency is extraordinary in Boston; the last time a sitting mayor was defeated was in 1949.

So many people were now floating possible runs that Segun Idowu, the executive director of the Black Economic Council of Massachusetts, renamed his Twitter account Not a Boston Mayoral Candidate.

On Saturday, Ms. Wu received a heavyweight endorsement from Senator Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts, her former professor at Harvard Law School and the person she credits with steering her into politics.

''Bostonians can count on Michelle's bold, progressive leadership to tackle our biggest challenges, such as recovering from the pandemic, dismantling systemic racism, prioritizing housing justice, revitalizing our transportation infrastructure and addressing the climate crisis,'' Ms. Warren said.

But after a year of national soul-searching about race, voters may be drawn to a candidate from the heart of Boston's Black community, like Ms. Campbell or Ms. Janey.

When she started her campaign in September. Ms. Campbell focused squarely on the city's history of inequality, noting that ''Boston has a reputation as a racist city.''

''I love this city,'' she said. ''I was born and raised here, as my father was before me. But it's important to realize that this isn't just a reputation nationally. It's a reality locally. Plain and simple, Boston does not work for everyone equitably.''

Progressives should not presume that young voters will turn out for a city election, warned David Paleologos, director of the Suffolk University Political Research Center.

In past years, participation has skewed older and whiter than the city as a whole, with a disproportionate number of votes cast in middle-class enclaves like West Roxbury and Hyde Park. Turnout in recent mayoral elections has consistently remained below 40 percent.

The city has changed so much and so rapidly, though, that past experiences may not be an accurate guide.

Mary Anne Marsh, a Democratic strategist, noted that Representative Ayanna Pressley pulled off the biggest political upset in the state's recent history, ousting a 10-term incumbent and fellow Democrat in 2018, despite being outspent two-to-one.

''Southie is not the old Southie,'' Ms. Marsh said, referring to South Boston. ''Southie is a lot of young professionals, it's not South Boston, Irish, Catholic labor families anymore. It is mostly young millennials. It's a very different place, and that's true in many pockets of the city. People will be very interested in the race.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/09/us/boston-mayor-election.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/09/us/boston-mayor-election.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Martin J. Walsh is the latest in a lone line of left-leaning, white, ***working-class***, pro-union Democratic men at the helm in Boston. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KRISTON JAE BETHEL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Kim Janey, the president of the Boston City Council, will become the acting mayor if Mr. Walsh is confirmed as labor secretary. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JESSICA RINALDI/THE BOSTON GLOBE VIA GETTY IMAGES)

Michelle Wu's proposals on climate, transportation and housing have won progressive supporters like Senator Elizabeth Warren. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KATHERINE TAYLOR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Andrea Campbell, a city councilor raised in public housing, has pressed for policing reforms and equity for Black residents. (PHOTOGRAPH BY PAT GREENHOUSE/THE BOSTON GLOBE VIA GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** January 11, 2021

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[***3 Presidents In Swing State For Final Push***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66T2-YGY1-JBG3-62K4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 6, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 2020 words

**Byline:** By Lisa Lerer and Michael C. Bender

**Body**

As the midterms come to a close, the establishment politics of the two most recent Democratic presidents met the disruptive force of the last Republican one, with control of Congress at stake.

PHILADELPHIA -- The two parties' strongest messengers -- a fraternity of recent presidents -- descended on the pivotal swing state of Pennsylvania on Saturday to open the last weekend of this year's midterms, rallying their voters in a proxy battle that could define both parties well beyond the election.

The moment represented both a clash from the past and a fight over the future. While the issues are distinctly 2022 -- crime, high inflation and the unraveling of federal abortion rights -- voters are again being asked to choose between the establishment politics of President Biden and former President Barack Obama, and the chaotic, disruptive force of former President Donald J. Trump.

To press their case, Mr. Biden and Mr. Obama reunited in a familiar city, sharing a stage in Philadelphia -- an event that brought back echoes of the enormous 2016 rally at Independence Mall, where the party's top leaders joined Bruce Springsteen and Madonna to try to push Hillary Clinton over the finish line. The stage at a Temple University gymnasium on Saturday evening was a lot smaller -- and the rally was a lot less well-attended than the 2016 event.

Mrs. Clinton, of course, fell short in Pennsylvania against Mr. Trump, who held three rallies in the state in the final four days of the 2016 race. This year, Mr. Trump closed the last weekend of midterm campaigning with an event in the Pittsburgh exurbs, where he drew thousands of Republicans to the Arnold Palmer Regional Airport tarmac in Latrobe.

In Philadelphia, Lt. Gov. John Fetterman, the Democratic nominee for Senate, said he was proud to share a stage with a former president and current president who are ''sedition-free'' -- a reference to the plans by his Republican opponent, Mehmet Oz, to appear with Mr. Trump at the evening rally.

In his remarks in Philadelphia and earlier in the morning in Pittsburgh, Mr. Obama cast his party as defending the bedrock values of the nation and Mr. Trump as the biggest threat to American democracy.

''Donald Trump says he needs Dr. Oz in the Senate in case there's a close election again,'' Mr. Obama said, in Pittsburgh on Saturday morning, a stop the president skipped. ''Think about that. He's basically saying, look, if I lose again, I need him to see if he can put his thumbs on the scale. That is not what this country is supposed to be about.''

Later in Philadelphia, Mr. Obama urged a stadium of supporters to head to the polls. ''Vote for leaders who are going to fight for that big, inclusive, hopeful, forward-looking America that we believe in,'' he said. ''It is in your hands.''

In perhaps a sign of awareness of Mr. Biden's political standing, the president opened the Philadelphia rally rather than taking the closing slot typically reserved for the president -- that spot belonged to Mr. Obama.

Mr. Biden touted his hometown roots, with a shot at Dr. Oz as a carpetbagger from New Jersey. ''I lived in Pennsylvania longer than Oz lived in Pennsylvania, and I moved away when I was 10 years old,'' he said.

Hours after Mr. Biden spoke, Mr. Trump told the crowd gathered in Latrobe that he welcomed a move by Democrats, including Mr. Biden, to rebrand his Make America Great Again movement as ''ultra-MAGA'' and ''mega-MAGA,'' as a way of signaling it has become too extreme for moderate voters.

''I'm the MAGA king,'' Mr. Trump said. ''It's a very good compliment.''

Mr. Trump opened his speech by citing a list of economic hardships and cultural issues as reasons for his supporters to vote in the midterm elections.

''The far left is indoctrinating our children with twisted race and gender insanity in our schools,'' Mr. Trump said. ''If you want to stop the destruction of our country and support the American dream, then this Tuesday you must vote Republican in a giant red wave.''

As Mr. Obama, Mr. Biden and Mr. Trump storm through the Keystone State, Republican candidates across the country are pressing their advantage in House races and trying to pick off the one Senate seat that would flip control of the chamber. Democrats, who have struggled to overcome history and a sluggish economy, are defending their records and arguing that their opponents would pursue an extreme agenda on issues like abortion, voting rights and benefits including Social Security and Medicare.

The ability of Democrats to stave off deep defeats in Congress and statehouses will depend on whether they can reanimate the coalition of college-educated suburbanites, Black voters, young voters and a small slice of moderates who propelled Mr. Biden to the White House. Together, those voters lifted Democrats into power throughout the Trump era, heading to the polls in record numbers to send a message that they rejected the divisive language and inflammatory style of his administration.

For Republicans, the question is whether Mr. Trump's army of devoted voters comes out to support candidates who have modeled themselves in his image -- even when he is not on the ticket.

So far, turnout has kept pace with the record levels of 2018, the first midterm election after Mr. Trump took over the nation's political consciousness. But strategists on both sides acknowledge that the extraordinary circumstances of this year's elections, the first since the pandemic began to wane, leave them unsure about who, exactly, will vote.

''We know that for better or worse, ever since Trump came into the scene in 2016, voters are supercharged,'' said Molly Murphy, a Democratic pollster and strategist and the president of Impact Research. ''But how much of the Trump core shows up is an open question.''

Pennsylvania has emerged as a central focus of both parties, with a narrow Senate race between Mr. Fetterman and Dr. Oz that could decide control of the chamber. In the House, where Republicans need to flip just five seats nationwide to gain power, the party could flip three from Democrats in Pennsylvania alone. And in 2024, Pennsylvania is likely to reprise its crucial role in determining presidential elections.

The state, where television viewers have been targeted with $115 million in political advertising over the past month, captures some of the country's main tensions, with college-educated liberals concentrated in urban and suburban areas squaring off against blue-collar workers with shifting party loyalties. With their events in the state's two biggest cities, Mr. Biden and Mr. Obama will potentially reach nearly a quarter of Pennsylvania's active Democratic voters.

''Inside the confines of the commonwealth, you can find every political tribe in America represented in a big way,'' said David Urban, a Republican strategist and a veteran of Pennsylvania politics.

The state has about 420,000 Republicans -- about as many as in Arizona, Georgia and Nevada combined -- who voted for the first time in 2016, did not cast a ballot in 2018, and then showed up to the polls again in 2020, according to Republican National Committee data. Only about 6 percent of those Pennsylvanians have cast ballots so far this year.

But the R.N.C. data shows that 98 percent of those voters preferred to vote on Election Day, underscoring the importance -- and the inherent risk -- of Republicans' increased reliance on the final day of voting.

The two parties have deployed the presidents carefully. Mr. Biden has largely kept his travel to safe races and bluer areas, avoiding some of the most competitive states, like Arizona, Georgia and Ohio. Both publicly and privately, Democratic candidates and strategists have questioned the wisdom of having him campaign in their states, given his low approval ratings.

While some party strategists worried that his appearance in Philadelphia could hurt Mr. Fetterman, Mr. Biden has always had a special relationship with the state of his birth. As a senator from Delaware, he was sometimes called the ''third senator from Pennsylvania,'' and he based his presidential headquarters in Philadelphia. In a recent New York Times/Siena College poll, Mr. Biden's approval in the state matched his national average -- 42 percent -- and was notably higher than his position in the other three battlegrounds surveyed.

And Democrats hope that the pairing with Mr. Obama -- one of the party's most effective communicators -- could overcome any drag on the ticket from Mr. Biden.

In his appearances, Mr. Biden has tried to rally audiences around his policies, highlighting accomplishments like his forgiveness of student loan debt and a reduction in the cost of hearing aids, and has warned that Republicans could endanger Social Security and Medicare. Yet at times, his delivery has been stumbling, and his remarks have included some misstatements and falsehoods.

He has tried to persuade a skeptical public that the economy is doing better than it may feel at the grocery store or the gas pump. Some Democrats say that message has made the party's political climb even harder.

Stanley B. Greenberg, a veteran Democratic pollster, said the party's candidates, unlike the White House, had largely focused on concerns over higher prices -- the primary worry for many voters.

''The biggest problem is, the White House has tried to make the case that this is a good economy,'' Mr. Greenberg said.

Mr. Obama is far more in demand, a role reversal from the midterm races in 2010 and 2014, when, as president, he was unpopular and struggling to sell the Affordable Care Act to a skeptical public. In those years, Mr. Biden was the Democratic crowd-pleaser, particularly in white, ***working-class*** districts where Mr. Obama had trouble winning support.

Mr. Trump, for his part, has invested a huge amount of political capital in Pennsylvania this year.

He personally pushed for Dr. Oz to run for Senate, which ignited a nasty, three-way primary. If Dr. Oz loses on Tuesday, it would raise further questions about Mr. Trump's ability to win the state in 2024 after he lost it in 2020.

The former president's closing message this year has focused on his portrayal of an America in decline, with Democrats as the leading cause.

''We have to basically, in a nutshell, save our country,'' Mr. Trump said Wednesday in Iowa.

In Pennsylvania, Mr. Trump's super PAC, MAGA Inc., has targeted voters in the final days of the race with short digital ads, sent via text and web-embedded digital ads, that feature clips of Dr. Oz and Mr. Trump together at rallies in the state, according to videos reviewed by The New York Times.

The super PAC has sent similar videos of Trump-endorsed candidates to voters in Arizona, Ohio, Michigan and Nevada.

For Mr. Trump and Mr. Biden, the stakes could extend well beyond this year's fight for control of Congress.

Mr. Trump has relentlessly teased supporters about a third White House campaign, and is expected to formally announce another bid soon after the midterms.

Mr. Biden has suggested that he would be more likely to run if Mr. Trump enters the race, with people close to the president saying they believe he is the Democrat best positioned to defeat his former opponent. Still, Mr. Biden, who will turn 80 this month, has shown signs of political weakness, even among his base.

But whether significant midterm losses for Democrats would weaken Mr. Biden's argument for a re-election bid remains an open question. Celinda Lake, a Democratic pollster and a longtime ally of the president, said the midterm outcome would not affect his decision.

''He is running,'' she said. ''Did Obama not run? Did George Bush Sr. not run? No. They all run. They all have bad first midterms, and they all run.''

Lisa Lerer reported from Philadelphia, and Michael C. Bender from Latrobe, Pa. Katie Glueck contributed reporting from Philadelphia, and Maya King from Atlanta.Lisa Lerer reported from Philadelphia, and Michael C. Bender from Latrobe, Pa. Katie Glueck contributed reporting from Philadelphia, and Maya King from Atlanta.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/us/politics/obama-trump-biden-pennsylvania-midterms.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/05/us/politics/obama-trump-biden-pennsylvania-midterms.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: President Biden and Barack Obama campaigned for Lt. Gov. John Fetterman on Saturday in Philadelphia, while Donald J. Trump rallied for Mehmet Oz in Latrobe, Pa., in the race for U.S. Senate. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HANNAH BEIER/REUTERS

JIM LO SCALZO/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK) (A1)

Lt. Gov. John Fetterman, the Democratic Senate nominee in Pennsylvania, with Barack Obama on Saturday in Pittsburgh. (PHOTOGRAPH BY RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A20) This article appeared in print on page A1, A20.

**Load-Date:** November 6, 2022

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[***Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction: Sunday, January 10th 2021***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61RF-8V41-JBG3-63FT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 10, 2021 Sunday

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 500 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the January 10, 2021 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending December 26, 2020. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction |
| This | On |  |
| Week | List |  |
| 1 | 23 | MY OWN WORDS, by Ruth Bader Ginsburg with Mary Hartnett and Wendy W. Williams. (Simon & Schuster) A collection of articles and speeches by the Supreme Court justice. |
| 2 | 60 | HILLBILLY ELEGY, by J.D. Vance. (Harper) A Yale Law School graduate looks at the struggles of the white ***working class*** through the story of his own childhood. |
| 3 | 14 | THE TRUTHS WE HOLD, by Kamala Harris. (Penguin) A memoir by the daughter of immigrants who is now the vice president-elect. |
| 4 | 114 | THE BODY KEEPS THE SCORE, by Bessel van der Kolk. (Penguin) How trauma affects the body and mind, and innovative treatments for recovery. |
| 5 | 124 | SAPIENS, by Yuval Noah Harari. (Harper Perennial) How Homo sapiens became Earth?s dominant species. |
| 6 | 98 | BORN A CRIME, by Trevor Noah. (One World) A memoir about growing up biracial in apartheid South Africa by the host of ?The Daily Show.? |
| 7 | 121 | WHITE FRAGILITY, by Robin DiAngelo. (Beacon) Historical and cultural analyses on what causes defensive moves by white people and how this inhibits cross-racial dialogue. |
| 8 | 52 | THE WARMTH OF OTHER SUNS, by Isabel Wilkerson. (Vintage) An account of the Great Migration of 1915-70, in which six million African-Americans abandoned the South. |
| 9 | 234 | JUST MERCY, by Bryan Stevenson. (One World) A civil rights lawyer and MacArthur grant recipient?s memoir of his decades of work to free innocent people condemned to death. |
| 10 | 11 | WHAT UNITES US, by Dan Rather and Elliot Kirschner. (Algonquin) A collection of essays that define the historical changes and essential institutions of America to suggest ways to overcome divisions within the country. |
| 11 | 14 | A WOMAN OF NO IMPORTANCE, by Sonia Purnell. (Penguin) The true story of a Baltimore socialite who joined a spy organization during World War II and became essential to the French Resistance. |
| 12 | 258 | THINKING, FAST AND SLOW, by Daniel Kahneman. (Farrar, Straus & Giroux) When we can and cannot trust our intuitions in making business and personal decisions. |
| 13 | 3 | EDISON, by Edmund Morris. (Random House) The Pulitzer Prize-winning author chronicles the personal life, inventions and obsessions of Thomas Alva Edison. |
| 14 | 37 | BRAIDING SWEETGRASS, by Robin Wall Kimmerer. (Milkweed Editions) A botanist and member of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation espouses having an understanding and appreciation of plants and animals. |
| 15 | 214 | THE NEW JIM CROW, by Michelle Alexander. (New Press) A law professor on the ?war on drugs? and its role in the disproportionate incarceration of Black men. |

**Load-Date:** January 11, 2021

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[***Best Sellers: Paperback Trade Fiction: Sunday, January 10th 2021***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61RF-8V41-JBG3-63F0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 10, 2021 Sunday

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**Length:** 492 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the January 10, 2021 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending December 26, 2020. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Paperback Trade Fiction |
| This | On |  |
| Week | List |  |
| 1 | 6 | HOME BODY, by Rupi Kaur. (Andrews McMeel) Poems and illustrations by the author of ?Milk and Honey? and ?The Sun and Her Flowers.? |
| 2 | 76 | THEN SHE WAS GONE, by Lisa Jewell. (Atria) Ten years after her daughter disappears, a woman tries to get her life in order but remains haunted by unanswered questions. |
| 3 | 171 | MILK AND HONEY, by Rupi Kaur. (Andrews McMeel) A collection of poetry about love, loss, trauma and healing. |
| 4 | 7 | THE QUEEN'S GAMBIT, by Walter Tevis. (Vintage) Sixteen-year-old Beth Harmon goes through changes as she plays chess in the U.S. Open championship. The basis of the Netflix series. |
| 5 | 11 | THE BLUEST EYE, by Toni Morrison. (Vintage) The Nobel laureate's first novel, published in 1970, is an examination of race, class and gender through the tribulations and yearnings of a young Black girl living in post-Depression Ohio. |
| 6 | 79 | THE SUN AND HER FLOWERS, by Rupi Kaur. (Andrews McMeel) A second collection of poetry from the author of "Milk and Honey." |
| 7 | 10 | THE SONG OF ACHILLES, by Madeline Miller. (Ecco) A reimagining of Homer?s ?Iliad? that is narrated by Achilles' companion Patroclus. |
| 8 | 72 | THE OVERSTORY, by Richard Powers. (Norton) Winner of the 2019 Pulitzer Prize for fiction. Nine people drawn to trees for different reasons fight for the last of the remaining acres of virgin forest. |
| 9 | 6 | SHUGGIE BAIN, by Douglas Stuart. (Grove) The winner of the 2020 Booker Prize. A boy?s ***working-class*** childhood in 1980s Glasgow is subsumed by his mother?s alcoholism. |
| 10 | 2 | THE STAND, by Stephen King. (Anchor) A struggle of good and evil takes place in a world transformed by a plague. |
| 11 | 30 | CIRCE, by Madeline Miller. (Back Bay) Zeus banishes Helios' daughter to an island, where she must choose between living with gods or mortals. |
| 12 | 16 | THE INSTITUTE, by Stephen King. (Gallery) Children with special talents are abducted and sequestered in an institution where the sinister staff seeks to extract their gifts through harsh methods. |
| 13 | 80 | LITTLE FIRES EVERYWHERE, by Celeste Ng. (Penguin) An artist with a mysterious past and a disregard for the status quo upends a quiet town outside Cleveland. |
| 14 | 45 | A GENTLEMAN IN MOSCOW, by Amor Towles. (Penguin) A Russian count undergoes 30 years of house arrest in the Metropol hotel, across from the Kremlin. |
| 15 | 25 | THE OUTSIDER, by Stephen King. (Gallery) A detective investigates a seemingly wholesome member of the community when an 11-year-old boy?s body is found. |

**Load-Date:** January 11, 2021

**End of Document**



[***In House Fight for N.Y. Suburbs, Will Abortion Turn Tide for Democrats?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66GR-G741-JBG3-627H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 28, 2022 Wednesday 07:14 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1800 words

**Byline:** Luis Ferré-Sadurní

**Highlight:** Several competitive House races on Long Island have become fertile ground for candidates to test out common Republican and Democratic campaign themes.

**Body**

Several competitive House races on Long Island have become fertile ground for candidates to test out common Republican and Democratic campaign themes.

ROCKVILLE CENTRE, N.Y. — A year ago, Republicans [*staged an uprising*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/08/nyregion/nassau-county-republicans-election.html) in the Long Island suburbs, winning a slew of races by zeroing in on public safety and suggesting that Democrats had allowed violent crime to fester.

Now, with the midterms approaching, Democratic leaders are hoping that their own singular message, focused on abortion, might have a similar effect.

“Young ladies, your rights are on the line,” Laura Gillen, a Democrat running for Congress in Nassau County, said to two young women commuting toward the city on a recent weekday morning. “Please vote!”

Long Island has emerged as an unlikely battleground in the bitter fight for control of the House of Representatives, with both Democrats and Republicans gearing up to pour large sums of money into the contests here.

Nassau and Suffolk Counties, where nearly three million New Yorkers live, have become a powerful testing ground for the main campaign themes of each party, with Democrats hoping that their renewed focus on abortion rights — following the recent Supreme Court decision that overturned Roe v. Wade — will help them retain control of the House.

The New York City suburbs are at a rare political crossroads: Three of the four House seats that encompass most of Long Island are open this year after their incumbents retired or stepped aside to seek higher political office, offering both parties a unique, regionally concentrated opportunity to send new faces to Congress.

The two districts that are mostly situated in Nassau County, just east of Queens, are held by Democrats, while the two districts concentrated on the eastern stretch of the island in Suffolk County are held by Republicans. Both parties are vying to gain one, if not, two seats.

That prospect has injected a sense of urgency and uncertainty into the races on Long Island, once a Republican stronghold that has turned [*more Democratic and diverse*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/13/nyregion/peter-king-long-island-republicans.html) in recent decades, becoming the type of suburban swing area that could determine control of the House in November.

Republicans have almost exclusively focused on blaming Democrats for rising prices as well as on public safety: They have amplified concerns about the state’s [*contentious bail laws*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/29/nyregion/bail-reform-hochul-ny.html) and crime in nearby New York City, where many Long Islanders commute for work.

“Many Democrats feel like that they don’t have a party anymore because it’s gone so far to the left,” said Anthony D’Esposito, a former New York City police detective and local councilman running against Ms. Gillen, the former Town of Hempstead supervisor who lost her seat in 2019. He suggested that police officers, firefighters and emergency medical workers who live in Nassau County but work in the five boroughs are alarmed by crime in the city.

Mr. D’Esposito and Ms. Gillen are running in a tight race to replace Representative Kathleen Rice, a Democrat who announced in February that she would [*not run for re-election*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/15/us/politics/kathleen-rice-retirement.html) in the Fourth District in central and southern Nassau, which she has represented since 2015.

“The [*Dobbs decision*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/06/24/us/politics/supreme-court-dobbs-jackson-analysis-roe-wade.html) was a wake-up call that elections have consequences,” Ms. Rice said in an interview. “But for people on Long Island, they don’t want to just hear about that. They want to hear about how we’re going to get inflation under control and public safety,” she said, adding both were politically thorny issues for Democrats in New York.

Republicans are looking to replicate their success from 2021, when the party used visceral ads of assaults and break-ins to [*help capture a slew of races*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/28/nyregion/nassau-da-kaminsky-donnelly.html) across Long Island. They ousted Laura Curran, the Democratic Nassau County executive, in November, and [*won control*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/02/nyregion/nassau-suffolk-da-race-long-island.html) of the Nassau district attorney’s office despite running a first-time candidate against a well-known Democratic state senator.

Democratic operatives are quick to caution that 2021 was an off-year election, when Republicans typically are more successful in getting voters to the polls. Indeed, there are more Democrats than Republicans registered to vote in the district, and political analysts have forecast it as more favorable for Democrats.

Still, almost a quarter of voters are unaffiliated with either party. Some high-ranking Democrats have privately raised concerns that the contest is being overlooked by the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, which did not include it in its national “Red to Blue” slate of competitive races, a designation that provides field work and helps attract financial support from national donors.

Interviews this month with more than a dozen voters in Nassau County showed that public safety, inflation and immigration remained animating issues among Republicans and swing voters who typically play an outsize role in elections here.

Joe O’Connor, a 75-year-old Vietnam veteran from Freeport on Long Island’s South Shore, is not registered with either party. He voted against Mr. Trump in 2020 but said he was still unsure how he would vote in November, noting that chief among his concerns were education, homelessness and safety in New York City.

“New York has come back great, and I’m really happy with that,” said Mr. O’Connor, a former teacher who frequently visits museums and Broadway shows in the city. “But it’s got to be cleaned up, and it’s got to be safe for people.”

Democrats, for their part, have [*homed in on abortion rights*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/24/us/politics/democrats-house-majority.html) and the threat to democracy as central campaign themes, hopeful that [*the recent legal setbacks*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/22/us/politics/trump-finances-lawsuits.html) that have thrust former President Donald J. Trump back into the news will also boost their chances in a state where Mr. Trump remains deeply unpopular.

Delis Ortiz, 20, who said she would vote for her first time in November, said that while her top concern was keeping up with rising grocery prices, she would most likely vote Democratic in part because of the party’s stance on abortion rights.

“I believe that every person has a right to their own body,” said Ms. Ortiz, a barista at an upscale coffee shop in Garden City. “Nobody should have that power over anyone else, ever.”

Those themes are playing out visibly in the competitive race to replace Representative Thomas R. Suozzi, a centrist Democrat who has represented the Third District, in northern parts of Nassau County and parts of eastern Queens, since 2017 but decided not to run for re-election to pursue [*an unsuccessful run for governor*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/11/nyregion/tom-suozzi-governor.html) this year.

Robert Zimmerman, a small-business owner and well-known Democratic activist, has repeatedly sought to cast his Republican opponent, George Santos, as too extreme to represent the district, highlighting Mr. Santos’s [*apparent support*](https://www.nydailynews.com/news/politics/new-york-elections-government/ny-santos-abortion-slavery-zimmerman-congress-long-island-20220911-go5myrat2janflu4c23icbw7wi-story.html) of abortion bans and his [*attendance at the pro-Trump rally*](https://www.nbcnews.com/nbc-out/out-politics-and-policy/political-first-two-gay-candidates-face-congressional-election-rcna48712) in Washington on Jan. 6.

“Long Island can very well determine who has the majority in Congress,” Mr. Zimmerman said over coffee at a diner in Great Neck this month. “And frankly, George Santos represents the greatest threat to our democracy of any candidate running for Congress in New York State. I really can’t underscore that enough.”

In a statement, Charley Lovett, Mr. Santos’s campaign manager, accused Mr. Zimmerman of trying to “distract voters from the disasters that Joe Biden and Nancy Pelosi’s policies have caused with Robert Zimmerman’s full support.”

Their matchup also has history-making potential: The race appears to be [*the first time*](https://www.nbcnews.com/nbc-out/out-politics-and-policy/political-first-two-gay-candidates-face-congressional-election-rcna48712) that two openly gay candidates for Congress have faced off in a general election.

The governor’s election could also play a role in some House races on Long Island, which has emerged as a key battleground in the race between Gov. Kathy Hochul, a Democrat, and her Republican opponent, Representative Lee Zeldin, who has represented most of Suffolk County in Congress since 2015.

Ms. Hochul has held a significant lead in most public polls, and she held a narrow five-point lead in the New York City suburbs in a Siena College poll released on Wednesday. Even so, Republicans are hoping Mr. Zeldin’s support on Long Island could help drive its voters to the polls, buoying the party’s House candidates, though Democrats are betting that their barrage of attack ads portraying Mr. Zeldin as a right-wing extremist will help the party animate Democrats and swing more moderate voters in their favor.

Mr. Zeldin’s entry into the governor’s race paved the way for Democrats to try and flip his now-open congressional seat in the First District on the eastern end of the island, [*one of the few Republican-held seats*](https://www.cookpolitical.com/analysis/house/house-charts/house-open-seat-tracker) in the country that is open and considered competitive. But Democrats face an uphill battle: The seat is projected to slightly favor Republicans, who have held the district since Mr. Zeldin wrestled it from Democratic control in 2014.

The Democrat in the race, Bridget Fleming, a former assistant district attorney and current county legislator, has nonetheless outpaced her opponent in fund-raising and recently received the endorsement from the union that represents police officers in Suffolk County. She was also added to the Democrats’ Red to Blue program in June.

A moderate, she has centered her campaign in the district, a mix of ***working-class*** and wealthy residents, on affordability and conserving the environment — a top issue for fishermen and farmers, as well as the tourism industry, on the island’s East End — but also on protecting women’s right to choose.

“There’s no question that fundamental freedoms are under assault in our country,” said Ms. Fleming. “The exploitation of the extremes that we’ve seen recently is electrifying people who are standing up to fight for themselves.”

In an interview, her opponent, Nicholas LaLota, brushed off Democrats’ almost singular focus on reproductive rights, saying that New York already had some of the strictest protections in the country.

“Here in New York, nobody’s abortion rights are under attack or assault,” said Mr. LaLota, a former Navy lieutenant who works in the Suffolk County Legislature. “So those folks who want to campaign on abortion, they should run for state office, not federal office.”

He added that voters in the district “who live paycheck to paycheck were more concerned about rising interests rates and prices.”

Democrats are facing an even steeper climb to unseat Representative Andrew Garbarino, a well-funded Republican who represents the Second District on the South Shore that is among the most affluent in the country. Opposing Mr. Garbarino is Jackie Gordon, an Army veteran, who lost to Mr. Garbarino in 2020.

PHOTOS: Laura Gillen, above, a Democrat and former supervisor of the Town of Hempstead, will face off against Anthony D’Esposito, below, a Republican former New York City police detective and local councilman, to succeed the outgoing Democratic congresswoman, Kathleen Rice. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JOHNNY MILANO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 29, 2022

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[***The Race to Lead Boston Is Suddenly Wide Open***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61R3-JJW1-DXY4-X0RS-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** The selection of Mayor Martin J. Walsh as labor secretary has shaken up the mayoral race in Boston, which has struggled with police reform and an extreme racial wealth gap.

**Body**

The selection of Mayor Martin J. Walsh as labor secretary has shaken up the mayoral race in Boston, which has struggled with police reform and an extreme racial wealth gap.

[To read more stories on race from The New York Times, [*sign up here for our Race/Related newsletter*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/race-related).]

BOSTON — Sometimes the guard changes slowly. Sometimes it changes overnight.

That is what is happening in the city of Boston, which has been led by white men since its incorporation in 1822. With the [*nomination of Mayor Martin J. Walsh*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/07/business/economy/biden-commerce-labor-secretary-sba.html) as President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr.’s labor secretary, the [*2021 mayoral race*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/11/02/us/elections/results-boston-mayor-city-council.html) is suddenly wide open, and the front-runners are all women of color.

If Mr. Walsh is confirmed and resigns from his mayoral post, his replacement as acting mayor will be [*Kim Janey*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/23/us/kim-janey-boston-mayor.html), president of the City Council, a 56-year-old community activist with deep roots in Roxbury, one of Boston’s historically Black neighborhoods. Ms. Janey has not said whether she plans to run.

The two declared challengers in the race are also, for Boston, nontraditional. [*Michelle Wu*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/15/us/boston-mayor-election-michelle-wu.html), 35, a Taiwanese-American woman, has as [*a city councilor proposed policies on climate, transportation and housing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/06/us/boston-city-council-change.html) that have won her the support of progressives.

And Andrea Campbell, 38, a city councilor who grew up in public housing in Roxbury, [*has drawn on her own painful personal history*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ac9anmuoxoA) — her twin brother died of an untreated illness in pretrial custody — to press for policing reforms and equity for Black residents.

Others are expected to jump into the race, but it has already deviated from the long-established pattern in this Democratic city, in which one figure from the white, ***working-class***, pro-union left would hand off power to a similar man of the next generation.

Paul Parara, a radio host who, as Notorious VOG, grills local politicians on his morning show, said Mr. Walsh’s departure cleared a path for long-awaited change.

“I’m ecstatic that Marty is going to Washington,” said Mr. Parara, who works at 87FM, a hip-hop and reggae station. “It does represent an opportunity for Boston to turn the page, and elect someone who looks like what Boston looks like now.”

The percentage of Boston residents who identify as non-Hispanic whites has steadily dropped, to[*44.5 percent in 2019*](https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/bostoncitymassachusetts) from [*80 percent in 1970*](http://www.bostonplans.org/getattachment/5b407528-bf69-4c01-83b9-d2b757178e47/).

“Oh, we’re about to Georgia Boston,” he added, referring to voter mobilization that has reshaped the politics of that state.

He said he hoped the next [*mayor*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/11/02/us/elections/results-boston-mayor-city-council.html) would impose greater pressure on police unions, which he said had negotiated advantageous contracts with the city and which, as the Boston Globe has reported, [*remained more white than the city’s population as a whole*](https://www.bostonglobe.com/2020/06/30/metro/boston-police-once-resembled-community-force-has-grown-whiter-city-becomes-more-diverse/).

“I think that’s going to change,” he said. Mr. Walsh, he added, “is a labor guy, and that’s what benefited the police — they were negotiating a contract with a labor guy.”

A new mayor could also rethink development in Boston, where a technology boom and housing shortage have squeezed out poor and middle-income families, or grapple with the city’s egregious wealth inequality: In 2015, the median net worth for white families was almost $250,000, while that figure was $8 for Black families, according to [*a study from the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston*](https://www.bostonfed.org/publications/one-time-pubs/color-of-wealth.aspx).

Mr. Walsh, who has been mayor since 2014, has responded to progressive activists, but he has also styled himself as a consensus-builder, trying to satisfy a range of stakeholders, including the police and developers.

His successor may, for the first time in the city’s history, emerge from “a left that derives from the civil rights movement, or the residents of color in the city or the left-wing intellectuals in the city,” said David Hopkins, an associate professor of political science at Boston College.

“We don’t have a model of what a different type of mayor would look like because we really haven’t had one,” Mr. Hopkins said. “What’s so interesting about this situation we’re in now is that there isn’t an obvious next Marty Walsh figure in line to take the baton.”

Despite weeks of hints that Mr. Walsh would be tapped as labor secretary, the news of his selection seemed to catch many off guard. The [*power of incumbency*](https://www.bostonglobe.com/2020/10/20/metro/boston-loves-its-incumbent-mayors-is-that-phenomenon-all-that-unique/) is extraordinary in Boston; the last time a sitting mayor was defeated was in 1949.

So many people were now floating possible runs that [*Segun Idowu*](https://www.bostonglobe.com/2020/07/04/business/segun-idowu-head-becma-is-man-moment/), the executive director of the Black Economic Council of Massachusetts, renamed his Twitter account [*Not a Boston Mayoral Candidate*](https://twitter.com/revrenddoctor?ref_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Eserp%7Ctwgr%5Eauthor).

On Saturday, Ms. Wu received a heavyweight endorsement from Senator Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts, her former professor at Harvard Law School and the person she credits with steering her into politics.

“Bostonians can count on Michelle’s bold, progressive leadership to tackle our biggest challenges, such as recovering from the pandemic, dismantling systemic racism, prioritizing housing justice, revitalizing our transportation infrastructure and addressing the climate crisis,” Ms. Warren said.

But after a year of national soul-searching about race, voters may be drawn to a candidate from the heart of Boston’s Black community, like Ms. Campbell or Ms. Janey.

When she started her campaign in September. Ms. Campbell focused squarely on the city’s history of inequality, noting that “Boston has a reputation as a racist city.”

“I love this city,” she said. “I was born and raised here, as my father was before me. But it’s important to realize that this isn’t just a reputation nationally. It’s a reality locally. Plain and simple, Boston does not work for everyone equitably.”

Progressives should not presume that young voters will turn out for a city election, warned [*David Paleologos*](https://www.suffolk.edu/academics/faculty/d/a/david-paleologos), director of the Suffolk University Political Research Center.

In past years, participation has skewed older and whiter than the city as a whole, with a disproportionate number of votes cast in middle-class enclaves like West Roxbury and Hyde Park. Turnout in recent mayoral elections has [*consistently remained below 40 percent.*](https://www.bostonindicators.org/article-pages/2017/october/a-decade-of-boston-elections)

The city has changed so much and so rapidly, though, that past experiences may not be an accurate guide.

Mary Anne Marsh, a Democratic strategist, noted that Representative Ayanna Pressley pulled off [*the biggest political upset*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/04/us/politics/ayanna-pressley-massachusetts.html) in the state’s recent history, [*ousting a 10-term incumbent and fellow Democrat in 2018,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/04/us/politics/ayanna-pressley-massachusetts.html?searchResultPosition=27) despite being outspent two-to-one.

“Southie is not the old Southie,” Ms. Marsh said, referring to South Boston. “Southie is a lot of young professionals, it’s not South Boston, Irish, Catholic labor families anymore. It is mostly young millennials. It’s a very different place, and that’s true in many pockets of the city. People will be very interested in the race.”

PHOTOS: Martin J. Walsh is the latest in a lone line of left-leaning, white, ***working-class***, pro-union Democratic men at the helm in Boston. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KRISTON JAE BETHEL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Kim Janey, the president of the Boston City Council, will become the acting mayor if Mr. Walsh is confirmed as labor secretary. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JESSICA RINALDI/THE BOSTON GLOBE VIA GETTY IMAGES); Michelle Wu’s proposals on climate, transportation and housing have won progressive supporters like Senator Elizabeth Warren. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KATHERINE TAYLOR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Andrea Campbell, a city councilor raised in public housing, has pressed for policing reforms and equity for Black residents. (PHOTOGRAPH BY PAT GREENHOUSE/THE BOSTON GLOBE VIA GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** November 3, 2021

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[***3 Presidents Swoop Into Pennsylvania, in a Clash That Transcends 2022***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66SV-9171-DXY4-X19W-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Lisa Lerer and Michael C. Bender

**Highlight:** As the midterms come to a close, the establishment politics of the two most recent Democratic presidents met the disruptive force of the last Republican one, with control of Congress at stake.

**Body**

As the midterms come to a close, the establishment politics of the two most recent Democratic presidents met the disruptive force of the last Republican one, with control of Congress at stake.

PHILADELPHIA — The two parties’ strongest messengers — a fraternity of recent presidents — descended on the pivotal swing state of Pennsylvania on Saturday to open the last weekend of this year’s midterms, rallying their voters in a proxy battle that could define both parties well beyond the election.

The moment represented both a clash from the past and a fight over the future. While the issues are distinctly 2022 — crime, high inflation and the unraveling of federal abortion rights — voters are again being asked to choose between the establishment politics of President Biden and former President Barack Obama, and the chaotic, disruptive force of former President Donald J. Trump.

To press their case, Mr. Biden and Mr. Obama reunited in a familiar city, sharing a stage in Philadelphia — an event that brought back echoes of [*the enormous 2016 rally*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/08/us/politics/clinton-rally.html) at Independence Mall, where the party’s top leaders joined Bruce Springsteen and Madonna to try to push Hillary Clinton over the finish line. The stage at a Temple University gymnasium on Saturday evening was a lot smaller — and the rally was a lot less well-attended than the 2016 event.

Mrs. Clinton, of course, fell short in Pennsylvania against Mr. Trump, who held three rallies in the state in the final four days of the 2016 race. This year, Mr. Trump closed the last weekend of midterm campaigning with an event in the Pittsburgh exurbs, where he drew thousands of Republicans to the Arnold Palmer Regional Airport tarmac in Latrobe.

In Philadelphia, Lt. Gov. John Fetterman, the Democratic nominee for Senate, said he was proud to share a stage with a former president and current president who are “sedition-free” — a reference to the plans by his Republican opponent, Mehmet Oz, to appear with Mr. Trump at the evening rally.

In his remarks in Philadelphia and earlier in the morning in Pittsburgh, Mr. Obama cast his party as defending the bedrock values of the nation and Mr. Trump as the biggest threat to American democracy.

“Donald Trump says he needs Dr. Oz in the Senate in case there’s a close election again,” Mr. Obama said, in Pittsburgh on Saturday morning, a stop the president skipped. “Think about that. He’s basically saying, look, if I lose again, I need him to see if he can put his thumbs on the scale. That is not what this country is supposed to be about.”

Later in Philadelphia, Mr. Obama urged a stadium of supporters to head to the polls. “Vote for leaders who are going to fight for that big, inclusive, hopeful, forward-looking America that we believe in,” he said. “It is in your hands.”

In perhaps a sign of awareness of Mr. Biden’s political standing, the president opened the Philadelphia rally rather than taking the closing slot typically reserved for the president — that spot belonged to Mr. Obama.

Mr. Biden touted his hometown roots, with a shot at Dr. Oz as a carpetbagger from New Jersey. “I lived in Pennsylvania longer than Oz lived in Pennsylvania, and I moved away when I was 10 years old,” he said.

Hours after Mr. Biden spoke, Mr. Trump told the crowd gathered in Latrobe that he welcomed a move by Democrats, including Mr. Biden, to rebrand his Make America Great Again movement as “ultra-MAGA” and “mega-MAGA,” as a way of signaling it has become too extreme for moderate voters.

“I’m the MAGA king,” Mr. Trump said. “It’s a very good compliment.”

Mr. Trump opened his speech by citing a list of economic hardships and cultural issues as reasons for his supporters to vote in the midterm elections.

“The far left is indoctrinating our children with twisted race and gender insanity in our schools,” Mr. Trump said. “If you want to stop the destruction of our country and support the American dream, then this Tuesday you must vote Republican in a giant red wave.”

As Mr. Obama, Mr. Biden and Mr. Trump storm through the Keystone State, Republican candidates across the country are [*pressing their advantage in House races*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/17/us/politics/republicans-economy-nyt-siena-poll.html) and [*trying to pick off the one Senate seat*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/31/us/politics/democrats-republicans-senate-election-polls.html) that would flip control of the chamber. Democrats, who have struggled to overcome history and a sluggish economy, are [*defending their records*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/24/us/politics/democrats-midterms-economy.html) and arguing that their opponents would pursue an extreme agenda on issues like abortion, voting rights and benefits including Social Security and Medicare.

The ability of Democrats to stave off deep defeats in Congress and statehouses will depend on whether they can reanimate the coalition of college-educated suburbanites, Black voters, young voters and a small slice of moderates who propelled Mr. Biden to the White House. Together, those voters lifted Democrats into power throughout the Trump era, heading to the polls in record numbers to send a message that they rejected the divisive language and inflammatory style of his administration.

For Republicans, the question is whether Mr. Trump’s army of devoted voters comes out to support candidates who have modeled themselves in his image — even when he is not on the ticket.

So far, turnout has [*kept pace with the record levels of 2018*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/03/us/politics/midterms-early-voting-battleground-states.html), the first midterm election after Mr. Trump took over the nation’s political consciousness. But strategists on both sides acknowledge that the extraordinary circumstances of this year’s elections, the first since the pandemic began to wane, leave them unsure about who, exactly, will vote.

“We know that for better or worse, ever since Trump came into the scene in 2016, voters are supercharged,” said Molly Murphy, a Democratic pollster and strategist and the president of Impact Research. “But how much of the Trump core shows up is an open question.”

Pennsylvania has emerged as a central focus of both parties, with a narrow Senate race between [*Mr. Fetterman*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/27/us/politics/fetterman-stroke-debate.html) and [*Dr. Oz*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/03/us/politics/dr-oz-pennsylvania-senate.html)that could decide control of the chamber. In the House, where Republicans [*need to flip just five seats nationwide*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/09/21/us/politics/gop-house.html) to gain power, the party could flip three from Democrats in Pennsylvania alone. And in 2024, Pennsylvania is likely to reprise its crucial role in determining presidential elections.

The state, where television viewers have been targeted with $115 million in political advertising over the past month, captures some of the country’s main tensions, with college-educated liberals concentrated in urban and suburban areas squaring off against blue-collar workers with shifting party loyalties. With their events in the state’s two biggest cities, Mr. Biden and Mr. Obama will potentially reach nearly a quarter of Pennsylvania’s active Democratic voters.

“Inside the confines of the commonwealth, you can find every political tribe in America represented in a big way,” said David Urban, a Republican strategist and a veteran of Pennsylvania politics.

The state has about 420,000 Republicans — about as many as in Arizona, Georgia and Nevada combined — who voted for the first time in 2016, did not cast a ballot in 2018, and then showed up to the polls again in 2020, according to Republican National Committee data. Only about 6 percent of those Pennsylvanians have cast ballots so far this year.

But the R.N.C. data shows that 98 percent of those voters preferred to vote on Election Day, underscoring the importance — and the inherent risk — of Republicans’ increased reliance on the final day of voting.

The two parties have deployed the presidents carefully. Mr. Biden has largely kept his travel to safe races and bluer areas, avoiding some of the most competitive states, like Arizona, Georgia and Ohio. Both publicly and privately, Democratic candidates and strategists have questioned the wisdom of having him campaign in their states, given his low approval ratings.

While some party strategists worried that his appearance in Philadelphia could hurt Mr. Fetterman, Mr. Biden has always had a special relationship with the state of his birth. As a senator from Delaware, he was sometimes called the “third senator from Pennsylvania,” and he based his presidential headquarters in Philadelphia. In [*a recent New York Times/Siena College poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/31/us/politics/democrats-republicans-senate-election-polls.html), Mr. Biden’s approval in the state matched his national average — 42 percent — and was notably higher than his position in the other three battlegrounds surveyed.

And Democrats hope that the pairing with Mr. Obama — one of the party’s most effective communicators — could overcome any drag on the ticket from Mr. Biden.

In his appearances, Mr. Biden has tried to rally audiences around his policies, highlighting accomplishments like his [*forgiveness of student loan debt*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/24/your-money/biden-student-loan-forgiveness.html) and a [*reduction in the cost of hearing aids*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/16/health/fda-hearing-aids.html), and has warned that Republicans could endanger Social Security and Medicare. Yet at times, [*his delivery has been stumbling*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/01/us/politics/biden-ukraine-iraq-beau.html), and [*his remarks have included some misstatements and falsehoods*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/10/us/politics/biden-exaggeration-falsehood.html).

He has tried to persuade a skeptical public that the economy is doing better than it may feel at the grocery store or the gas pump. Some Democrats say that message has made the party’s political climb even harder.

Stanley B. Greenberg, a veteran Democratic pollster, said the party’s candidates, unlike the White House, had largely focused on concerns over higher prices — the primary worry for many voters.

“The biggest problem is, the White House has tried to make the case that this is a good economy,” Mr. Greenberg said.

Mr. Obama is far more in demand, a role reversal from the midterm races in 2010 and 2014, when, as president, he was unpopular and struggling to sell the Affordable Care Act to a skeptical public. In those years, Mr. Biden was the Democratic crowd-pleaser, particularly in white, ***working-class*** districts where Mr. Obama had trouble winning support.

Mr. Trump, for his part, has invested a huge amount of political capital in Pennsylvania this year.

He personally pushed for Dr. Oz to run for Senate, which ignited [*a nasty, three-way primary*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/03/us/elections/pennsylvania-senate-oz-mccormick.html). If Dr. Oz loses on Tuesday, it would raise further questions about Mr. Trump’s ability to win the state in 2024 after he lost it in 2020.

The former president’s closing message this year has focused on his portrayal of an America in decline, with Democrats as the leading cause.

“We have to basically, in a nutshell, save our country,” Mr. Trump said Wednesday in Iowa.

In Pennsylvania, Mr. Trump’s super PAC, MAGA Inc., has targeted voters in the final days of the race with short digital ads, sent via text and web-embedded digital ads, that feature clips of Dr. Oz and Mr. Trump together at rallies in the state, according to videos reviewed by The New York Times.

The super PAC has sent similar videos of Trump-endorsed candidates to voters in Arizona, Ohio, Michigan and Nevada.

For Mr. Trump and Mr. Biden, the stakes could extend well beyond this year’s fight for control of Congress.

Mr. Trump has relentlessly teased supporters about a third White House campaign, and is [*expected to formally announce another bid*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/04/us/politics/trump-campaign-2024.html) soon after the midterms.

Mr. Biden has suggested that he would be more likely to run if Mr. Trump enters the race, with people close to the president saying they believe he is the Democrat best positioned to defeat his former opponent. Still, Mr. Biden, who will turn 80 this month, has shown signs of political weakness, [*even among his base*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/11/us/politics/biden-2024-election-democrats.html).

But whether significant midterm losses for Democrats would weaken Mr. Biden’s argument for a re-election bid remains an open question. Celinda Lake, a Democratic pollster and a longtime ally of the president, said the midterm outcome would not affect his decision.

“He is running,” she said. “Did Obama not run? Did George Bush Sr. not run? No. They all run. They all have bad first midterms, and they all run.”

Lisa Lerer reported from Philadelphia, and Michael C. Bender from Latrobe, Pa. Katie Glueck contributed reporting from Philadelphia, and Maya King from Atlanta.

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PHOTOS: President Biden and Barack Obama campaigned for Lt. Gov. John Fetterman on Saturday in Philadelphia, while Donald J. Trump rallied for Mehmet Oz in Latrobe, Pa., in the race for U.S. Senate. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HANNAH BEIER/REUTERS; JIM LO SCALZO/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK) (A1); Lt. Gov. John Fetterman, the Democratic Senate nominee in Pennsylvania, with Barack Obama on Saturday in Pittsburgh. (PHOTOGRAPH BY RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A20) This article appeared in print on page A1, A20.

**Load-Date:** November 6, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Can Trump Win? Yes. But the Path Is Narrow and Difficult.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6145-C1S1-JBG3-64V6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 22, 2020 Thursday 11:37 EST

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**Byline:** Adam Nagourney

**Highlight:** President Trump’s prospects depend on late and fundamental shifts in the dynamics of the race, including Joe Biden stumbling badly in Thursday’s debate and Mr. Trump exhibiting discipline on the virus.

**Body**

President Trump’s prospects depend on late and fundamental shifts in the dynamics of the race, including Joe Biden stumbling badly in Thursday’s debate and Mr. Trump exhibiting discipline on the virus.

President Trump’s victory in 2016 is remembered for defying polls and stunning [*Democrats*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/22/us/politics/trump-democrats.html). But in many ways, it was not a surprise.

He prevailed with a piercing outsider message on jobs, immigration, China and trade. He restrained himself on Twitter in the final weeks while portraying his opponent, Hillary Clinton, as hostile to the economically disenfranchised blue-collar voters flocking to his rallies. His campaign worked systematically to drive up margins of white voters in battleground states that Democrats had largely taken for granted.

Mr. Trump’s obstacles are considerably higher this time. He is an unpopular incumbent in the midst of a pandemic and an economic decline. He is facing a much different opponent, Joseph R. Biden Jr., who has carefully studied mistakes Mrs. Clinton made in 2016.

Yet with two weeks until Election Day, Mr. Trump retains a narrow path to victory, in the view of many analysts, one that would require him to draw on his most effective tactics from 2016 and make fundamental changes in his campaign style to expand his appeal beyond his political base. He also needs Mr. Biden to make a mistake.

The clearest road for Mr. Trump is to hold one of the three states he snatched from Democrats in 2016 — Pennsylvania, Michigan or Wisconsin — as well as the rest of his winning electoral map, including Arizona and Florida, where Mr. Biden is now competitive. Polls indicate that is a daunting task, but not an impossible one, particularly if he succeeds again in driving up support among ***working-class*** voters, including in more rural areas he dominated in 2016, while holding down Mr. Biden’s support among nonwhite voters.

Still, interviews with 21 Republican and Democratic strategists, many of whom have worked for other presidential campaigns over the past 30 years, suggest that Mr. Trump will need some 11th-hour disruptions in the race. That might include a bad stumble by Mr. Biden in the debate on Thursday or on the trail; court rulings or Republican tactics that suppress the Democratic vote; and a G.O.P. ground game that turns out voters who may not have been counted by pollsters.

And Mr. Trump will need to bring discipline to the campaign trail that has so far eluded him, the strategists say. That will mean presenting a forceful and uncluttered appeal that he is better able than Mr. Biden to rebuild the economy, while trying yet again to draw a contrast between himself and an opponent he has sought to portray as ideologically too far to the left to run the nation.

In the end, most strategists said the single best hope for Mr. Trump was for Mr. Biden to do something to worry or alienate swing voters who Mr. Trump has already driven into the Democratic camp. And counting on your opponent to make a fatal mistake in the final days is rarely a good strategy.

Expand the electorate

Republicans have shown success in registering new voters in states like Florida and Pennsylvania. That could be important in building on a [*key part of the president’s 2016 strategy:*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/22/us/politics/trump-democrats.html) turning out ***working-class*** white Americans who have not voted before.

“There are few days left to change the trajectory of the race,” said Sara Fagen, who was the White House political director for President George W. Bush. “Trump’s best chance at this point would be to dramatically boost turnout among non-college-educated white voters in the industrial Midwest.”

Even optimistic Democrats (and most Democrats are optimistic) say this is a cause for concern.

“The Republicans have been laser-focused on growing the electorate this time,” said Donna Brazile, who managed Al Gore’s 2000 campaign for president. “The Republicans have a better operation on the ground than anything we’ve seen since 2004.”

And it isn’t only white ***working-class*** voters. Polling suggests that Mr. Trump is doing as well or slightly better with Black and Latino voters in some states than he was in 2016 against Mrs. Clinton.

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Mr. Biden is competitive in several states that Mr. Trump won in 2016: Arizona, North Carolina, Georgia, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania and Michigan. Some polls also show Mr. Biden with a significant lead in Florida, which has long been the Lucy-and-the-football state for Democratic presidential candidates.

But any road to re-election for Mr. Trump leads through Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin. He is unlikely to win without holding on to at least one of those three 2016 upset states (and ideally two), though which ones offer him the best opportunity changes by the day.

Some analysts have suggested he pour resources into Wisconsin, which began [*in-person early voting on Tuesda*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/22/us/politics/trump-democrats.html)y. “It’s quite a challenge for him,” said Katherine J. Cramer, a political scientist at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. “It seems like Biden is really holding his own here.”

From there, he can turn to cobbling together the electoral votes he needs to reach 270 — by holding on to Arizona, North Carolina, Georgia and potentially grabbing Nevada, Minnesota or New Hampshire from the Democrats. More than anything, Mr. Trump cannot lose Florida.

Mr. Biden enjoys big leads in many national polls, but the race is tighter in many of these states. That may prove significant if some state polls are off, as they were in 2016, though pollsters say that is not likely. “Go back and look at October 2016,” said Newt Gingrich, the former Republican speaker of the House. “This was the time of the panic over the ‘Access Hollywood’ tape, when everyone knew that Trump was dead. I always said he was going to win.”

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One of the reasons Mr. Trump won in 2016 was that he began exhibiting more discipline in the final weeks of his campaign: less tweeting and trolling.

If he were to reprise that, perhaps he could get weary Americans to give him one last look.

“Trump must turn to the disciplined teleprompter demeanor he used during the last two weeks of 2016,” said Charlie Black, a veteran of many Republican presidential contests. “He must talk about two issues only: the economy and the Democrats’ plan to pack the Supreme Court.”

But in 2016, Mr. Trump was not dealing with a pandemic. He was out-hustling Mrs. Clinton on the campaign trail every day, and she was dealing with a daily influx of bad news.

And if there is anything the political world has learned over these past four years, it is that Mr. Trump does not pivot. If he is getting take-the-high-road advice from his strategists, there is no sign that he is following it, as despondent Republicans were reminded this week when Mr. Trump started [*attacking Dr. Fauci.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/22/us/politics/trump-democrats.html)

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Mr. Trump has always counted on Mr. Biden’s having a mental lapse that would underscore the president’s contention that the former vice president has lost something on his fastball. Mr. Biden has provided plenty of missteps over the years to encourage that kind of hope. But that did not happen at the first debate, and Mr. Trump has been frustrated in his attempts to exploit Mr. Biden’s stumbles on the campaign trail.

There is one more debate and two more weeks of campaigning that will give Mr. Trump an opportunity to maintain pressure on his opponent — with attacks on the business dealings of his son Hunter Biden, for instance — in hopes of forcing a mistake that could bring back some swing voters whom Mr. Trump has lost.

Voter suppression and court challenges

Republicans have been trying, with legislation and [*court battles,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/22/us/politics/trump-democrats.html) to restrict absentee balloting, which could make the difference in a close election.

“Surround the counters, find friendly governors and commissioners who won’t certify the vote,” said Susan Estrich, who managed the 1988 presidential campaign of Michael S. Dukakis. Stuart Stevens, a Republican consultant who is now a critic of the president, said that Mr. Trump’s “only realistic hope is voter suppression through every means possible.”

Mr. Trump has surprised the world before. But even accounting for his loyal base, and his tenacity as a campaigner, Republicans and Democrats say Mr. Trump’s political future may now be out of his hands.

“It’s been locked in for months, and is now moving away from him even further post-debate,” said Mark Salter, a senior adviser to Senator John McCain, the Republican presidential nominee in 2008. “I suppose some unforeseen catastrophe or huge Biden mistake might reverse the trend, but it seems pretty clear that a majority of voters want to get Trump the hell out of there before he screws up even more.”

PHOTO: President Trump in Arizona on Monday. Joseph R. Biden Jr. has made the state competitive, forcing the president to spend more time campaigning there. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A15)

**Load-Date:** October 22, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Rebuke of Disney Is Sign Of a Shift by Republicans Away From Big Business***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6591-MGT1-DXY4-X2NJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 23, 2022 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 15

**Length:** 1241 words

**Byline:** By Katie Glueck and Frances Robles

**Body**

Gov. Ron DeSantis's move to revoke the company's special tax status in Florida showed how combative his party has grown toward corporations that are increasingly taking a stand on political issues.

Gov. Ron DeSantis on Friday revoked Disney's special tax and self-governing privileges in Florida, culminating an extraordinary clash between one of the Republican Party's leading figures and a powerful company with deep historical ties to his state.

The move, which reverses a 55-year arrangement effectively allowing the company to self-govern its theme park complex, came after a weekslong battle with Disney that became a symbol of the country's broader cultural fights over education, sexuality and identity.

The Florida standoff largely centered on an education law recently signed by Mr. DeSantis. That law, called the ''Parental Rights in Education'' measure -- or, by its critics, the ''Don't Say Gay'' bill -- prohibits classroom instruction about sexual orientation and gender identity in some elementary school grades. After internal demands to speak out, Disney, Florida's largest private employer, had criticized the measure and paused political donations.

''I'm just not comfortable having that type of agenda get special treatment in my state,'' Mr. DeSantis said on Friday, denouncing how Disney had responded to the legislation, as well as leaked videos circulated in conservative media that showed officials at the company discussing matters of sexuality and identity as part of a broader conversation series.

A representative for Disney declined to comment.

Widely seen as retaliation, Mr. DeSantis's move illustrated just how drastically the G.O.P. has transformed from the days when its leaders often moved in lock step with the nation's largest businesses. The episode also showed how major companies have felt rising pressure to take a stand on heated political issues.

Over the last decade or so, and especially after former President Donald J. Trump's ascent, leading Republicans have increasingly seen political benefit in criticizing corporate America.

''Republicans who for a long time have had a close and warm relationship with U.S. corporations have started to be more selective about those relationships,'' said Carlos Curbelo, a Republican who is a former Florida congressman, adding that the party's lawmakers were not ''afraid to confront even some popular brands that before would have been unthinkable.

''Whereas before it would have been unimaginable that a politician, especially a Florida politician, would confront Mickey Mouse,'' he said, ''now there's actually significant political incentive to do so.''

Mr. DeSantis, a possible 2024 presidential contender who is also running for re-election this year, has been at the forefront of national battles over curriculums, classrooms and sports teams, issues that have galvanized many conservative voters.

Democrats and advocacy groups have been sharply critical of conservative efforts around those issues, and a handful of Republican lawmakers around the country have questioned whether the flurry of related legislative activity is aimed at real-world problems.

L.G.B.T.Q. leaders and some education officials have forcefully criticized the education law that set off the dispute in Florida, saying it is already having a chilling effect on teachers and may do the same for young students who have relied on schools as a safe place to talk about personal issues.

''Governor DeSantis is wielding the power of the state to punish businesses simply for not falling in line with his brutal and discriminatory attacks,'' said Joni Madison, the interim president of the Human Rights Campaign, an L.G.B.T.Q. advocacy group. ''Every step of this entire ordeal in Florida has been nothing more than a shameful attempt to out-Trump Trump through fear, hate and lies.''

But for Republican politicians, the decision to take on a major company over the issue is less likely to backfire with today's conservative base than in an earlier era when business-minded moderates had far more influence in the party.

''This is, in my view, a low-risk engagement here against a company that is perceived by many Republican base voters to be aggressively pursuing or promoting a policy agenda,'' Mr. Curbelo said.

That shift, evident with the rise of the Tea Party during the Obama administration, intensified amid the political realignment of the Trump era, as Republicans increasingly became the party of white ***working-class*** voters while some big-business and tech leaders -- and many of their employees -- moved left.

Although Florida Republicans say that the move against Disney was made to eliminate corporate perks, critics argue that the legislature only acted after the company announced it would no longer make political contributions. The company is a major contributor to Floridian candidates from both political parties.

''How is this not blackmail?'' said Scott Randolph, the Orange County tax collector. ''Why would a business want to invest in Florida when the entire rules can change in 72 hours? To me this sends a scary message about the business environment in Florida.''

Randy Fine, the Republican legislator who sponsored the bill to end Disney's special self-governing privileges, said that under the arrangement, the company had the right to seize private property, build a nuclear power plant and ignore zoning rules and safety codes. The real issue for Disney, he said, was about ''control -- this isn't really about money.''

As it became increasingly clear this week that the measure would be enacted, some Floridians expressed growing concerns around the tax implications, though it is not yet certain what those may ultimately be.

While the new law ostensibly takes away big perks for Disney, like issuing its own building permits, Democrats warn that it leaves Central Florida's Orange and Osceola counties holding the bag for some $163 million in annual taxes. Others, including Mr. Randolph, warned that local property owners could see significant property tax hikes.

Disney had been paying taxes to itself, using the money to pay for things like the police and fire services. Now, Orange County says it will have to take on the costs for municipal services to theme parks that Disney had paid for through Reedy Creek, the special taxing district the legislature eliminated.

''It's obvious that it is political retribution that is at play here,'' Jerry Demings, the mayor of Orange County, told reporters. ''We are trying to understand what the legislature is trying to do in this case, but I believe they have not adequately contemplated the ramifications of what they have proposed at this point.''

Mr. DeSantis, for his part, insisted that Disney would ''pay more taxes'' and declared that ''we have everything thought out.''

Also on Friday, Mr. DeSantis signed off on the state's new congressional map, which moves to give Republicans a significant advantage.

At the bill signing, where Mr. DeSantis approved several other measures including the so-called ''Stop W.O.K.E. Act,'' which restricts how race is discussed in schools and businesses, the governor blasted not only Disney but also Google and Coca-Cola for what he cast as diversity measures that were overly ideological.

At the mention of Disney, the Florida crowd booed.

Patricia Mazzei contributed reporting.Patricia Mazzei contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/22/us/politics/desantis-disney-florida.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/22/us/politics/desantis-disney-florida.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Gov. Ron DeSantis signed a bill on Friday that revoked Disney's corporate perks in Florida. The company had criticized a law that limited instruction on sexual orientation and gender identity. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SCOTT MCINTYRE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 23, 2022

**End of Document**



[***With 12 Days to Go, a Presidential Race With Room for Surprises***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6146-5YC1-JBG3-600W-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 22, 2020 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1652 words

**Byline:** By Adam Nagourney

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Mr. Trump's obstacles are considerably higher this time. He is an unpopular incumbent in the midst of a pandemic and an economic decline. He is facing a much different opponent, Joseph R. Biden Jr., who has carefully studied mistakes Mrs. Clinton made in 2016.

Yet with two weeks until Election Day, Mr. Trump retains a narrow path to victory, in the view of many analysts, one that would require him to draw on his most effective tactics from 2016 and make fundamental changes in his campaign style to expand his appeal beyond his political base. He also needs Mr. Biden to make a mistake.

The clearest road for Mr. Trump is to hold one of the three states he snatched from Democrats in 2016 -- Pennsylvania, Michigan or Wisconsin -- as well as the rest of his winning electoral map, including Arizona and Florida, where Mr. Biden is now competitive. Polls indicate that is a daunting task, but not an impossible one, particularly if he succeeds again in driving up support among ***working-class*** voters, including in more rural areas he dominated in 2016, while holding down Mr. Biden's support among nonwhite voters.

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**Graphic**

PHOTO: President Trump in Arizona on Monday. Joseph R. Biden Jr. has made the state competitive, forcing the president to spend more time campaigning there. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A15)

**Load-Date:** October 22, 2020

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[***Athens***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60J5-WFT1-JBG3-61CJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 8, 2020 Saturday

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 12

**Length:** 313 words

**Byline:** By Somini Sengupta

**Body**

Hasib Hotak, 21, has been sleeping on a rooftop in Athens. To be precise, he has been sleeping on a carpet, under the stars, on a rooftop in Athens. There's a small room on the roof, with a sheet of corrugated tin on top and a curtain for a door. The heat of the day turns it into an oven. It is suffocatingly hot to sleep inside. It belongs to a friend who, like Mr. Hotak, is a homeless Afghan refugee, and who sleeps on a bed on the roof, draped with a mosquito net.

In late July, peak summer in Athens, the sun burned the rooftop by midday. Mr. Hotak walked through the city to one of Athens's largest public parks, Pedion Areos. Some days, he volunteered with an aid group that gives out sandwiches to homeless refugees like him. Other days, he sat under a wide-armed tree and scrolled through his phone. There aren't a lot of places where a young Afghan man feels welcome in Athens, he said. Once, he and a friend went to a cafe, hoping to chat over a cup of coffee, only to be thrown out. The owner said Greeks wouldn't patronize his establishment if they saw refugees at a table.

Mr. Hotak was 16 when he left his home in the Sholgara district of Afghanistan, the only one among his 11 brothers and sisters to do so. After one failed attempt to enter Europe and two years in a refugee camp, he was granted asylum in Greece. That's when he arrived on the rooftop refuge with a friend, in the crowded warrens of Kolonos, a ***working class*** Athens neighborhood where many migrants have settled.

The city has grown hotter by the decade. According to temperature records kept by the National Observatory of Athens, there were fewer than 20 hot days (with temperatures over 99 degrees Fahrenheit, or 37 Celsius) per year in the first decade of the 1900s. By the mid-1980s, there were still fewer than 50 hot days. Between 2006 and 2017, though, the number had risen to 120 hot days.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/06/world/08cli-heat-greece.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/06/world/08cli-heat-greece.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: From left: Hasib Hotak, right, in the rooftop shack he shares with Rahmat Nazari

using a shower on the south coast of Athens

eating on the roof before the sun turns it into an oven. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MYRTO PAPADOPOULOS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A12-A13)

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**End of Document**



[***Amazon Transformed Seattle. Now, Its Workers Are Poised to Take It Back.; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:632S-G6J1-DXY4-X007-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 5, 2021 Monday 00:15 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 2309 words

**Byline:** E. Tammy Kim

**Highlight:** With the failure of the union campaign in Bessemer still fresh on their minds, labor organizers are looking to retool their strategy.

**Body**

SEATTLE — Prime Day, Amazon’s annual summer shopping bonanza, lasted not one but two days this June. The company advertised it incessantly on social media and especially to subscribers of Amazon Prime, a group that includes [*close to half*](https://www.marketwatch.com/story/amazon-prime-member-total-reaches-142-million-in-u-s-with-more-shoppers-opting-in-for-a-full-year-data-shows-11611073132) of the U.S. population. In the many warehouses in and around the company’s hometown, thousands of workers showed up to their packing and sorting stations for a mandatory, extra-long shift.

Among them was Andy, who began working at his fulfillment center last year. He had never expected to sign on with Amazon, least of all as a blue-collar worker. His first job out of college was as a support engineer for a company in downtown Seattle. He had hoped to challenge himself in a programming role, but the work was rote, and the office environment cold and dominated by “talk about market shares,” he said.

In the Trump years, Andy began to wonder why the city he lived in was so unequal and how the biggest, heaviest forces tended to squash everything small. He sought out the Tech Workers Coalition, a group of industry employees with a conscience, in search of answers.

One techie told him that she’d quit programming to work and organize in an Amazon warehouse. She was doing so with a group called Amazonians United, which believed that anyone who cared about poverty or workers’ rights or curbing corporate power should focus their energies on Amazon and its founder, Jeff Bezos, who steps down from his role as C.E.O. this week. Would Andy want to apply for a job and try to organize inside?

Andy applied through the online portal, submitted to a saliva-based drug test and got his photo taken for an ID. Within 48 hours, he was approved; a week and a half later, he was being trained as a packer on the vast, noisy floor of a fulfillment center. His goal was to do his job fast and well (currently, the expected packing rate is at least 200 scanned items per hour at his station) while getting to know his fellow workers. In time, perhaps, they could form an organizing committee and agitate for safer conditions and an increase in starting hourly wages to the $25 to $30 that unionized warehouse workers can earn, from $15 to $17.

Andy has had some success. While he and his co-workers do not have a legally recognized union, hundreds of them signed petitions for a reinstatement of hazard pay and an increase in paid time off. On smoke breaks and after work, they talk about wrist pain, nasty managers and their reasons for staying in the job: to buy a house, provide for their families or pay for college. “I can’t really do anything else,” one told him.

This year, workers at an Amazon warehouse in Bessemer, Ala., once a thriving steel town, voted against unionizing with the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union. The loss in Bessemer led some employees to feel powerless. “The result of that, for some of my co-workers, was, ‘You can’t fight Amazon. It’s impossible,’” an Amazonians United member in the New York area said.

The Bessemer defeat has led many major unions to grapple with the role of Amazon in the economy and their members’ lives. In June, members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, which has organized the logistics industry since the early 20th century, voted to target Amazon’s operations. And a growing segment of the general population now recognizes the threat of “Amazon capitalism”: what scholars Jake Alimahomed-Wilson, Juliann Allison and Ellen Reese describe as reflecting “the larger global trend of the increasing influence of finance capitalism, neoliberal politics and policies, and corporate power.”

The challenge of organizing Amazon is “bigger than anything this country has ever faced,” Peter Olney, a former organizing director of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union, told me. He compared Amazon’s close to one million U.S. employees to the several hundred thousand organized by the United Auto Workers at Ford, Chrysler and General Motors in the 1930s and 1940s.

Part of the strategy will have to be shop-by-shop organizing, but no one knows how best to unionize a 5,000-person warehouse with extreme turnover and “[*union avoidance*](https://www.marketwatch.com/story/amazon-prime-member-total-reaches-142-million-in-u-s-with-more-shoppers-opting-in-for-a-full-year-data-shows-11611073132)” consultants. Or how to prevent Amazon from simply closing a unionized fulfillment center or transferring its workers to another, nonunion facility.

What’s important now, Mr. Olney said, is that everyone in the labor movement recognize the threat and pitch in.

In the coming years, Amazon will most likely become the largest private employer in the United States, maybe even the world. In addition to its U.S. workers, it indirectly commands many more thousands of contracted drivers. This isn’t uncommon knowledge, but few Americans have confronted the stakes of Amazon’s economic and political dominance — except, perhaps, in the company’s hometown.

Workers in the fulfillment and sorting centers dotting Interstate 5 have pushed for improved conditions, especially during the pandemic. This is true in other parts of the country as well, especially where Amazonians United is active, but the Seattle area is also the site of activism at headquarters, which employs more than 75,000 tech workers and other employees who possess significant bargaining power but are still vulnerable to retaliation and replacement.

In recent years, white-collar workers have condemned the company’s environmental policies, alleged maltreatment of warehouse workers and business relationships with [*law enforcement agencies*](https://www.marketwatch.com/story/amazon-prime-member-total-reaches-142-million-in-u-s-with-more-shoppers-opting-in-for-a-full-year-data-shows-11611073132). In 2019, an estimated 3,000 Seattle tech workers staged a walkout in solidarity with the Global Climate Strike. Last year, Amazon fired two outspoken designers — a move the National Labor Relations Board found to be unlawful. (Amazon[*said*](https://www.marketwatch.com/story/amazon-prime-member-total-reaches-142-million-in-u-s-with-more-shoppers-opting-in-for-a-full-year-data-shows-11611073132) it terminated these employees for “repeatedly violating internal policies.”)

Amazon’s home turf has also been the site of precedent-setting policy fights. In 2013, the national movement for a $15 minimum hourly wage — now the company’s starting wage — won its first [*citywide victory*](https://www.marketwatch.com/story/amazon-prime-member-total-reaches-142-million-in-u-s-with-more-shoppers-opting-in-for-a-full-year-data-shows-11611073132) in SeaTac, Wash. Last year, Seattle passed a payroll tax that is expected to raise $214 million per year, though after the repeal of a more stringent measure. And this year, Washington State passed a 7 percent capital-gains tax on some profits earned from selling stocks and other investments. (Washington, home to two of the wealthiest men in the world, has no income tax and relies instead on a regressive sales tax.)

These organizing efforts, while spotty and provisional, offer two lessons. First, that small-scale efforts can have an effect; second, that it’s important to pursue both regulatory and shop-floor campaigns.

Though Amazon is highly centralized, pay, hours and other conditions vary from warehouse to warehouse, and managers are known to respond to regional pressure. In 2019, activists angered by the lavish government incentives thrown at Amazon successfully campaigned against the construction of its secondary headquarters in New York City. And community and labor organizers in San Bernardino, Calif., an area choked by diesel truck emissions, continue to pressure local politicians to limit the expansion of warehouses and airports used by Amazon and other logistics companies.

The current alignment of late-pandemic, social-justice-oriented, early-Biden administration politics could help create the conditions for an empowered, well-organized work force capable of challenging Amazon. Democrats and some Republicans in Congress have backed the Protecting the Right to Organize Act, which would make it easier to form a union, and several pieces of ambitious antitrust legislation. President Biden has installed Lina Khan, an Amazon skeptic, to lead the Federal Trade Commission. The Department of Labor has promised to investigate employers that retaliate against workers for raising safety concerns and is expected to scrutinize the misclassification of independent contractors.

The new Teamsters campaign, which promises to establish a department to specifically “aid Amazon workers and defend” industry standards, will include a mix of workplace organizing and local, state and federal advocacy. “I talked to thousands of Amazon workers in 2020. We haven’t filed for a union election, have we? There’s a reason for that,” Randy Korgan, the Teamsters’ national director for Amazon, told me. “We have to break Amazon down into fulfillment center, supply chain, their [contracted drivers] and delivery model.” (This fall, the Teamsters will hold an internal election, and both slates of candidates have promised to prioritize Amazon.) Staff members from the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, the Service Employees International Union and the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union (whose affiliated Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union led the Bessemer campaign) are also supporting various Amazon-related efforts.

“The labor movement still has 14 million workers. It’s going to take a mass mobilization of union workers to engage Amazon workers,” Todd Crosby, the U.F.C.W.’s organizing director, told me. “What if at least 5 percent, 700,000 people, were mobilized to go out and be organizers to contact people in their community?”

In May, Dan, a former programmer at Amazon, took me on a long walk through Seattle’s South Lake Union neighborhood, also known as Amazonia. Those of us with history in the region all say the same thing about the area — still shocked to see its transformation from a low-rent, industrial scar to a manicured stretch of lakefront paths and high-rise buildings.

Dan grew up in a ***working-class***, immigrant household in the South and moved to Seattle to put his computer science degree to lucrative use. He worked at Amazon for several years but never quite took to the culture of competition and merciless evaluation or the oft-cited [*14 Amazon leadership principles*](https://www.marketwatch.com/story/amazon-prime-member-total-reaches-142-million-in-u-s-with-more-shoppers-opting-in-for-a-full-year-data-shows-11611073132), which read like a party oath. During one round of what he described as “leveling,” in which each supervisor ranks his employees, he found himself marked down. He quit and joined a friendlier database start-up.

Like Andy, the coder-turned-warehouse worker, Dan is ambivalent about the role of tech in the region and the world. He explained that he arrived in a Seattle already fractured by widespread gentrification and displacement and saw the city continue to split along class lines. His politics slowly veered left — he was roused by Black Lives Matter and was furious about Amazon’s increased use of gig economy labor in logistics — but it felt nearly impossible to talk about any of this with his co-workers, let alone sign a petition or attend a protest. “I think a lot of tech workers have this aspirational, ‘I want to be Elon Musk’ kind of thing,” he said. Others feared getting fired or blacklisted in what can be an insular industry.

The week we spoke, [*640 tech workers*](https://www.marketwatch.com/story/amazon-prime-member-total-reaches-142-million-in-u-s-with-more-shoppers-opting-in-for-a-full-year-data-shows-11611073132) employed by Amazon signed a petition calling on the company to “commit to zero emissions by 2030” and prioritize stopping polluting in the Black and brown communities near its warehouses. It was the latest action by Amazon Employees for Climate Justice to address the downstream effects of the tech-retail behemoth. As Andrea Vidaurre of the People’s Collective for Environmental Justice told me, it seems nearly all working-age people in San Bernardino have “cycled through the Amazon warehouse complex.” Their families, meanwhile, have suffered high rates of asthma and cancer.

In more and more areas of the United States, Amazon structures the life of entire communities. The geographer and organizer Spencer Cox argues that Amazon’s warehouse zones are now “the major ***working-class*** space of suburban and exurban socialization. So even if you’re building a tenant union or a political party, this is a major social space. It has a broader importance.” Or, put more pointedly: “If you look at the consciousness of Amazon workers, it’s a guide to where the ***working class*** is as a whole,” Kshama Sawant, a socialist member of the Seattle City Council, said.

On the second Prime Day in June, I met Andy and one of his co-workers at the end of an 11-hour shift outside their gargantuan warehouse. Workers of every race, gender, age and body shape streamed out of the main entrance. The hourly associates wore athletic clothes or fluorescent yellow vests and carried their belongings in see-through bags the texture of a clear shower curtain. The managers were distinguished by dark-blue vests and the privacy of opaque backpacks. (Amazon said there was no special bag policy for managers.)

Over Chinese food, Andy’s friend later told me that she liked the work but that “there are things that should be improved.” She found the warehouse sweltering and the equipment dangerously worn out. The manager of their department was quick to penalize workers for packing or rebinning too slowly. They heard that another manager in the region had been flown out to Bessemer, just before the union vote, in an emergency effort to quell employee discontent.

The prospect of organizing workers in any significant number felt daunting to Andy’s friend, but “if we want to make a change as a group, in a warehouse, Washington would be very ideal,” she said. “If headquarters was like, ‘Oh, God, if we can’t even keep our warehouse workers in control, how do you think we’ll look in front of the rest of the country?’ ”

“We can make a strong impact to show that it is possible. Just because headquarters is here, that doesn’t mean anything. That doesn’t take power away from us.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.marketwatch.com/story/amazon-prime-member-total-reaches-142-million-in-u-s-with-more-shoppers-opting-in-for-a-full-year-data-shows-11611073132) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.marketwatch.com/story/amazon-prime-member-total-reaches-142-million-in-u-s-with-more-shoppers-opting-in-for-a-full-year-data-shows-11611073132). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.marketwatch.com/story/amazon-prime-member-total-reaches-142-million-in-u-s-with-more-shoppers-opting-in-for-a-full-year-data-shows-11611073132).

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PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JASON REDMOND/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES; DAVID RYDER/GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** July 7, 2021

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[***Punishing Disney, DeSantis Signals a Lasting G.O.P. Brawl With Business***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:658W-NRN1-JBG3-62HW-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Katie Glueck and Frances Robles

**Highlight:** Gov. Ron DeSantis’s move to revoke the company’s special tax status in Florida showed how combative his party has grown toward corporations that are increasingly taking a stand on political issues.

**Body**

Gov. Ron DeSantis’s move to revoke the company’s special tax status in Florida showed how combative his party has grown toward corporations that are increasingly taking a stand on political issues.

Gov. Ron DeSantis on Friday revoked Disney’s special tax and self-governing privileges in Florida, culminating an extraordinary clash between one of the Republican Party’s leading figures and a powerful company with deep historical ties to his state.

The move, which [*reverses a 55-year arrangement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/21/business/disney-florida-special-tax-status.html) effectively allowing the company to self-govern its theme park complex, came after a weekslong battle with [*Disney*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/17/business/disney-politics-florida.html) that became a symbol of the country’s broader cultural fights over education, sexuality and identity.

The Florida standoff largely centered on an education law recently signed by Mr. DeSantis. That law, called the “Parental Rights in Education” measure — or, by its critics, the “Don’t Say Gay” bill — [*prohibits classroom instruction*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/18/us/dont-say-gay-bill-florida.html) about sexual orientation and gender identity in some elementary school grades. After [*internal demands to speak out*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/22/business/media/disney-florida-employee-protests.html), Disney, Florida’s largest private employer, had criticized the measure and paused political donations.

“I’m just not comfortable having that type of agenda get special treatment in my state,” Mr. DeSantis said on Friday, denouncing how Disney had responded to the legislation, as well as leaked videos circulated in conservative media that showed officials at the company discussing matters of sexuality and identity as part of a broader [*conversation series*](https://impact.disney.com/app/uploads/2022/02/2021-CSR-Report.pdf).

A representative for Disney declined to comment.

Widely seen as retaliation, Mr. DeSantis’s move illustrated just how drastically the G.O.P. has transformed from the days when its leaders often moved in lock step with the nation’s largest businesses. The episode also showed how major companies [*have felt rising pressure*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/23/business/dealbook/companies-politics-partisan.html) to take a stand on heated political issues.

Over the last decade or so, and especially after former President Donald J. Trump’s ascent, leading Republicans have [*increasingly seen political benefit*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/14/business/economy/big-business-politics-economy.html) in criticizing corporate America.

“Republicans who for a long time have had a close and warm relationship with U.S. corporations have started to be more selective about those relationships,” said Carlos Curbelo, a Republican who is a former Florida congressman, adding that the party’s lawmakers were not “afraid to confront even some popular brands that before would have been unthinkable.

“Whereas before it would have been unimaginable that a politician, especially a Florida politician, would confront Mickey Mouse,” he said, “now there’s actually significant political incentive to do so.”

Mr. DeSantis, a possible 2024 presidential contender who is also running for re-election this year, has been at the forefront of national battles over curriculums, classrooms and [*sports teams*](https://www.politico.com/news/2021/06/01/desantis-transgender-sports-bill-491495), issues that have galvanized many conservative voters.

Democrats and advocacy groups have been sharply critical of conservative efforts around those issues, and a handful of Republican lawmakers around the country [*have questioned*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/12/us/politics/transgender-laws-us.html) whether the flurry of related legislative activity is aimed at real-world problems.

L.G.B.T.Q. leaders and some education officials have forcefully criticized the education law that set off the dispute in Florida, saying it is already having a chilling effect on teachers and may do the same for young students who have relied on schools as a safe place to talk about personal issues.

“Governor DeSantis is wielding the power of the state to punish businesses simply for not falling in line with his brutal and discriminatory attacks,” said Joni Madison, the interim president of the Human Rights Campaign, an L.G.B.T.Q. advocacy group. “Every step of this entire ordeal in Florida has been nothing more than a shameful attempt to out-Trump Trump through fear, hate and lies.”

But for Republican politicians, the decision to take on a major company over the issue is less likely to backfire with today’s conservative base than in an earlier era when business-minded moderates had far more influence in the party.

“This is, in my view, a low-risk engagement here against a company that is perceived by many Republican base voters to be aggressively pursuing or promoting a policy agenda,” Mr. Curbelo said.

That shift, evident with the rise of the Tea Party during the Obama administration, intensified amid the political realignment of the Trump era, as Republicans increasingly became [*the party of white* ***working-class*** *voters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/04/us/politics/republicans-workers-covid-bill.html) while some big-business and tech leaders — and many of their employees — moved left.

Although Florida Republicans say that the move against Disney was made to eliminate corporate perks, critics argue that the legislature only acted after the company announced it would no longer make political contributions. The company is a major contributor to Floridian candidates from both political parties.

“How is this not blackmail?” said Scott Randolph, the Orange County tax collector. “Why would a business want to invest in Florida when the entire rules can change in 72 hours? To me this sends a scary message about the business environment in Florida.”

Randy Fine, the Republican legislator who sponsored the bill to end Disney’s special self-governing privileges, said that under the arrangement, the company had the right to seize private property, build a nuclear power plant and ignore zoning rules and safety codes. The real issue for Disney, he said, was about “control — this isn’t really about money.”

As it became increasingly clear this week that the measure would be enacted, some Floridians expressed growing concerns around the tax implications, though it is not yet certain what those may ultimately be.

While the new law ostensibly takes away big perks for Disney, like issuing its own building permits, Democrats warn that it leaves Central Florida’s Orange and Osceola counties holding the bag for some $163 million in annual taxes. Others, including Mr. Randolph, warned that local property owners could see significant property tax hikes.

Disney had been paying taxes to itself, using the money to pay for things like the police and fire services. Now, Orange County says it will have to take on the costs for municipal services to theme parks that Disney had paid for through Reedy Creek, the special taxing district the legislature eliminated.

“It’s obvious that it is political retribution that is at play here,” Jerry Demings, the mayor of Orange County, told reporters. “We are trying to understand what the legislature is trying to do in this case, but I believe they have not adequately contemplated the ramifications of what they have proposed at this point.”

Mr. DeSantis, for his part, insisted that Disney would “pay more taxes” and declared that “we have everything thought out.”

Also on Friday, Mr. DeSantis signed off on the state’s [*new congressional map*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/20/us/politics/florida-redistricting-maps-desantis.html), which moves to give Republicans a significant advantage.

At the bill signing, where Mr. DeSantis approved several other measures including the so-called “Stop W.O.K.E. Act,” which restricts how race is discussed in schools and businesses, the governor blasted not only Disney but also Google and Coca-Cola for what he cast as diversity measures that were overly ideological.

At the mention of Disney, the Florida crowd booed.

Patricia Mazzei contributed reporting.

Patricia Mazzei contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Gov. Ron DeSantis signed a bill on Friday that revoked Disney’s corporate perks in Florida. The company had criticized a law that limited instruction on sexual orientation and gender identity. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SCOTT MCINTYRE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 23, 2022

**End of Document**



[***This Ukrainian Art Just Got More Timely***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64WY-9T11-JBG3-643X-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Length:** 1040 words

**Byline:** By Brett Sokol

**Body**

A Kyiv couple stage a socially charged exhibition in South Florida as their Voloshyn Gallery back home becomes a bomb shelter.

The wife-and-husband gallerists Julia and Max Voloshyn had planned to return to Kyiv last week to open a new show at their space there. But with commercial air traffic halted as Russian troops invaded Ukraine, their stay in Miami -- and the run of their pop-up exhibition there -- was extended.

The show, titled ''The Memory on Her Face,'' features socially charged work by five Ukrainian artists. After arriving in Miami in November to run booths at two of the satellite art fairs held concurrently with Art Basel Miami Beach -- NADA and Untitled Art -- the Voloshyns contracted Covid, postponing their return for a month. By mid-January, with several prominent Ukrainian art collectors coming to Miami in February, they mounted this impromptu show inside a small warehouse in the Allapattah neighborhood, with Untitled's Omar Lopez-Chahoud as the curator.

''It's a documentation of what has been happening in Ukraine for the last few years,'' explained Julia Voloshyn by phone from the Miami rental, where she, her husband and their small child are staying.

''We didn't plan it this way, but now with the war, this show is very timely,'' Voloshyn noted, describing its work by Nikita Kadan, Lesia Khomenko, Nikolay Karabinovych, Maria Sulymenko, and Oleksiy Sai.

One of Kadan's pieces features a silk-screened photo of a building in the eastern Donbas region of Ukraine, partially turned to rubble after Russian forces invaded the area in 2014 and continue to support separatists there. The silk-screen is loosely attached to a metal shield, so ''when the air moves it, it captures the fragility of our country, and of our lives,'' Voloshyn continued. ''Now we see the same thing in Kyiv.''

Khomenko's portraits depict ordinary ***working-class*** people buffeted by social forces, their bodies straining against the boundaries of the canvases.

A large painting by Sai, from his ''Bombed'' series, may at first appear to be merely a geographic abstraction. But it features a recent satellite image of battle-ravaged areas of the Donbas, overlaid on one of Sai's earlier paintings on aluminum, then attacked with a metal grinder to simulate the craters left behind.

Still, Voloshyn's mind remained focused on her gallery back in Kyiv. Used as a bomb shelter during World War II when the German army besieged the city, it sits beneath a seven-story apartment building. The Voloshyns had transformed it into a chic space, complete with wood flooring and tasteful lighting. Now it was once again a bomb shelter, and Voloshyn had urged her gallery's artists to take refuge there.

On Saturday evening Kadan was hunkered inside the Kyiv gallery with a small group, preparing for the city-ordered, weekend-long curfew. His initial response to the Russian invasion on Thursday had been stoicism. ''I stayed in my apartment and watched old films by Ingmar Bergman,'' he quipped over Zoom. By Friday evening nearby explosions had become too loud to ignore, and he'd moved to the gallery.

''I have so many historical images in my head that I keep thinking about: Sarajevo in the '90s, Leningrad during World War II,'' he said. ''Sure, now it will be different. War is always contemporary, always different. But it's also always bloody. Already, there is plenty of blood.'' He fixated on the small children holed up in adjoining subterranean bunkers. ''Every time we go out for a cigarette, we see this empty baby stroller,'' he added grimly.

For Kadan, the role of an artist in this situation was clear: ''To be witnesses.'' But he also knew, as Russian troops bore down on Kyiv, that many artists were swapping their pens and brushes for bottles to fashion Molotov cocktails. ''Emotionally, I'm ready. But technically, to be honest, I'm not,'' he explained. ''I've dealt with the reality of war in my art, but I've never held a real weapon in my hands. Maybe I'll throw an empty champagne bottle at the tanks. I don't know.''

Khomenko and her family had also initially taken shelter at the Voloshyn Gallery. An activist during Ukraine's 2014 Maidan revolution, she had been thrilled to see both the military and civilians rally together to resist the current invasion. But Kadan had implored Khomenko to think of her 11-year-old daughter and leave for safer terrain to the west.

There was an hour of tense discussion -- and a heated argument with Khomenko's grandmother, who had lived through Germany's 1941 assault on Kyiv, and absolutely refused to leave the city now. Finally on Friday, before the Ukrainian military began defensively blowing up the city's bridges, Khomenko, her daughter, husband, sister and mother, the mother's cat and Khomenko's dog, all crammed into her aging Czech-built Skoda and sped off to a friend's home in the small western city of Ivano-Frankivsk.

''I've been driving for more than 24 hours,'' a visibly exhausted Khomenko said via Zoom on Saturday night. To avoid any combat, ''we tried to stay off the main roads between villages, but those back roads are very bad, so it's stressful. It's completely dark, very rough.''

Left behind were the series of sprawling canvases she'd been working on for the past five years -- intended to be unveiled in June at a Kyiv history museum. She'd originally been inspired by her grandfather's sketches of the 1941 German invasion: ''I wanted to compare the real experience of war with the socialist-realist propaganda from the period.'' Except that the comparison had suddenly taken on an all-too-real update. Her mind was already racing as she mused aloud on Russia's recent digital propaganda and the war scenes she'd just seen -- and felt -- firsthand.

''Painting has its own language with a deep tradition. I want to work with that tradition, to mix socialist realism with internet images, to layer it together and construct a new image,'' she continued before catching herself. She paused and shook her head: ''It's so crazy. We were living so normally, and then we became meat just trying to escape.''

The Memory On Her Face

Through March 28 at 676 NW 23rd St. in Miami. To schedule a free visit, email: [*voloshyngallery.miami@gmail.com*](mailto:voloshyngallery.miami@gmail.com)

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/28/arts/design/miami-ukrainian-art-show.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/28/arts/design/miami-ukrainian-art-show.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Lesia Khomenko paintings and Nikita Kadan sculptures, top, at the Voloshyn Gallery in Miami. Above center, Julia and Maksim Voloshyn with a painting by Oleksiy Sai from the ''Bombed'' series, and a detail, above left. Above right, Kadan's work featuring a building damaged in 2014. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ALFONSO DURAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 2, 2022

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[***A Book So Far Ahead of Its Time, It Took 87 Years to Find a Publisher***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YV5-D401-JBG3-63MK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** BOOKS

**Length:** 1318 words

**Byline:** Talya Zax

**Highlight:** Claude McKay’s novel “Romance in Marseille” deals with queer love, postcolonialism and the legacy of slavery. It also complicates ideas about the Harlem Renaissance.

**Body**

Claude McKay’s novel “Romance in Marseille” deals with queer love, postcolonialism and the legacy of slavery. It also complicates ideas about the Harlem Renaissance.

Claude McKay’s novel “[*Romance in Marseille*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/11/books/review/romance-in-marseilles-claude-mckay.html)” could hardly sound more contemporary. A black man, Lafala, loses his legs as a result of his white captors’ cruelty, then, in a striking allegory for reparations, receives a compensatory windfall. He takes his new fortune from New York to Marseille, a hub of the African diaspora, and plans to return to West Africa in hopes of undoing his colonial education and reintegrating in the village of his birth. Meanwhile he lives in a sexually liberated ***working-class*** milieu, where queer love is accepted as a fact of life, no more subject to judgment than its heterosexual counterpart.

The book’s themes — queerness, the legacy of slavery, postcolonial African identity — are among those at the forefront of literature today. But McKay lived from 1889 to 1948, and was a central figure of the Harlem Renaissance. Now, a century after that movement began, “Romance in Marseille” will finally be published for the first time on Feb. 11. Its debut coincides with recent shifts in thinking about the Renaissance, which is increasingly seen as grappling not only with race but with class, gender, sexuality and nationality.

“Romance in Marseille,” published by Penguin Classics and edited by Gary Edward Holcomb and William J. Maxwell, is the second of McKay’s posthumous novels to appear in recent years, after the 2017 publication of “[*Amiable With Big Teeth*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/11/books/review/romance-in-marseilles-claude-mckay.html).” McKay began writing “Romance in Marseille” in 1929 and put it aside in 1933. It was a practical decision; McKay earned his living from writing, and his editor, Eugene Saxton, who had previously challenged sexually transgressive passages in his books, believed that “Romance in Marseille” was too shocking to sell.

“He’s writing about the underclass,” said Diana Lachatanere, who oversees McKay’s literary estate through the Faith Childs Literary Agency. That subject placed McKay in conflict with gatekeepers of literary Harlem, and specifically W.E.B. Du Bois. It’s no surprise that “Romance in Marseille,” perhaps McKay’s most complicated examination of marginalized economic and social classes, couldn’t find a publisher during his lifetime. (“Who’s running publishing houses?” Lachatanere asked. “Very staid middle-class people.”) While the novel is in some ways dated, it still, today, feels radical.

“In recent years, we have taken a much more expansive look at the Harlem Renaissance,” said Venetria K. Patton of Purdue University, who co-edited the 2001 anthology “Double-Take: A Revisionist Harlem Renaissance Anthology.” “The race narrative is still an important aspect of the Renaissance. But there were questions of sexuality, of gender, of how to position oneself in an environment that didn’t see you as equal,” that have historically received less attention.

[*[ Read our review of Claude McKay’s “Romance in Marseille.” ]*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/11/books/review/romance-in-marseilles-claude-mckay.html)

Why? During the Renaissance, mainstream narratives of the movement were shaped by its complicated relationship with white readers. The Renaissance was made economically possible partially through the patronage of wealthy white individuals like Charlotte Osgood Mason, and could therefore be constrained by their interests and their prejudices. Led by figures like Du Bois, many of the Renaissance’s participants saw the movement as a way to address white audiences, and encourage them “to re-evaluate black lives as being equal,” according to Jean-Christophe Cloutier, co-editor of “Amiable With Big Teeth.” Efforts to redirect the movement to black audiences, and to write about a wider array of concerns, were largely relegated to the Renaissance’s queer subculture.

McKay belonged both to that subculture and to the movement’s mainstream. His 1928 novel “Home to Harlem” was the first American best seller by a black writer. But despite being seen as one of the Renaissance’s guiding lights, McKay — Jamaican, bisexual, a Marxist who grew disenchanted with communism before the rest of his cohort — also brought an outsider’s critical gaze to the movement. He was concerned not only with whom their target audience should be but also with how they depicted class politics, particularly in a queer context. Maxwell, one of the editors of “Romance in Marseille,” notes that the novel’s most overt gay characters include a black female prostitute and “a dock worker socialist white male stud.” That was a remarkable departure from conventions of the Renaissance, in which most queer relationships were depicted in “a genteel context of gay male instruction,” as Maxwell put it. Holcomb, the book’s other editor, pointed out that “Romance in Marseille” depicts great freedom in ***working-class*** queer life. “The queer characters are not portrayed as being exotic or subcultural,” he said. “They’re just ordinary working people.”

McKay’s vision of a black cultural movement that transcended national, class and sexual barriers was not unique. Several of his contemporaries who similarly challenged the Renaissance’s norms have also experienced recent revivals. Two novels by Ann Petry (including “The Street,” her revolutionary novel of black, female ***working-class*** life) were [*reissued*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/11/books/review/romance-in-marseilles-claude-mckay.html) by the Library of America in 2019. Jeffrey C. Stewart’s 2018 biography “The New Negro: The Life of Alain Locke” brought renewed attention to the other most significant gatekeeper of the Renaissance, looking specifically at the influence of his queerness. “There Is Confusion,” by Jessie Redmon Fauset, the longtime editor of the official N.A.A.C.P. magazine The Crisis, whose work was often disregarded because of her gender, is being reissued on Feb. 11, the same day “Romance in Marseille” will be released. And two previously unpublished books by Zora Neale Hurston have come out in the last two years.

More may be coming. Cloutier stumbled on the forgotten manuscript of “Amiable With Big Teeth” while studying at Columbia in 2009. The two manuscripts of “Romance in Marseille,” held by Harlem’s Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture and Yale’s Beinecke Library — the Penguin Classics edition is based on the later Schomburg manuscript — have long been known to scholars, but copyright conflicts and a lack of market interest prevented the book’s publication. As archival research accelerates and 1920s-era writing is freed from copyright restrictions — this year, works from 1924 came into the public domain — it’s likely that more rediscovered works are on the way. Cloutier recently worked with the Beinecke to locate an uncataloged collection of manuscripts by Petry. And archived manuscripts aren’t the only available source of material. Marlon Ross, an English professor at the University of Virginia, has his eye on black newspapers of the era including The Chicago Defender and The New Amsterdam News. “A lot of these published poetry, short stories — all kinds of materials from people who we don’t remember,” Ross said.

Our sense of the Harlem Renaissance, Holcomb said, is growing to encompass “something much more complex and broader than the original idea” of “a cultural nationalist African-American movement.” “Romance in Marseille,” one of the Renaissance’s most radical texts, hidden for decades from public view, makes a natural avatar for that development. “What McKay wanted,” Holcomb said, “was something much more deeply revolutionary.”

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Talya Zax is the deputy culture editor of The Forward.

PHOTOS: The novelist Claude McKay browsing Parisian book stalls in the early 20th century. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HARRY RANSOM CENTER, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN; ALESSANDRA MONTALTO/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 6, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Why Is Ron Johnson Still a Competitive Candidate?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:663V-H771-DXY4-X11W-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 8, 2022 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 18; MICHELLE COTTLE

**Length:** 1584 words

**Byline:** By Michelle Cottle

**Body**

Of all the political quandaries and questions of the 2022 midterms, one burns especially bright: How is it that Senator Ron Johnson, the two-term Republican from Wisconsin, remains a remotely viable candidate for re-election?

The Trump era has given us so many ... let's say, colorful ... characters. But Mr. Johnson may be the senator who most fully embodies the detached-from-reality elements of MAGA-world -- the guy most likely to spend his spare time fashioning tinfoil hats while cruising QAnon message boards. His irrational and irresponsible conspiracy mongering about matters such as the Covid vaccine, the integrity of the 2020 election and who was really behind the Jan. 6 riots (''agents provocateurs''? antifa? The FBI? Nancy Pelosi?) unsettled even some of his Republican colleagues.

Mr. Johnson has gotten so out there that his brand is suffering with the voters back home. His favorability numbers have been largely underwater for the past couple of years. A June survey from the Marquette Law School Poll showed 46 percent of Wisconsin voters with an ''unfavorable'' view of him versus 37 percent with a ''favorable'' one. (Sixteen percent responded either ''Don't know'' or ''Haven't heard enough.'') He is considered perhaps the most vulnerable Republican incumbent on the midterm ballot, a tempting target for Democrats scrambling to keep control of the Senate.

But Mr. Johnson is not easy pickings, and the reasons are revealing about today's political climate -- especially, how voters in a battleground state with serious economic issues and other concerns (like a pre-Civil War abortion ban still on the books) may yet again wind up hitched to a guy who spends an awful lot of time on embarrassing distractions.

For all of Mr. Johnson's weird behavior, the June poll from Marquette showed him neck and neck with various Democratic candidates, including Lt. Gov. Mandela Barnes, who is expected to win his party's nomination in Tuesday's Senate primary.

The national political winds favor Republican candidates, and Wisconsin's closely divided electorate has moved slightly toward the G.O.P. over the past several years, driven by a rightward shift in white, noncollege-educated men. More specifically, while Mr. Johnson isn't known for his political savvy, he has a proven ability to claw his way back to victory after being left for dead by his party.

Winning Wisconsin is crucial in this cycle's cage match over which party will control the Senate. That reality is enough for many in the Republican Party to hold their noses and vote for him, despite his loonier ravings.

At the same time, plenty of Wisconsin Republicans share at least some of his MAGA beliefs. In the Marquette poll from June, 65 percent of the state's Republican voters said they were either ''not too confident'' or ''not at all confident'' in the 2020 results. For those who buy the line that Democrats are election-stealers on track to destroy America, Mr. Johnson's more antidemocratic notions -- like pushing the Republican-controlled state Legislature to assume oversight of federal elections -- may sound perfectly reasonable. He may go off the rails at times, but at least he is a fighter.

As for the state's independents, moderates and Republican ''leaners,'' it bears noting that, come campaign time, Mr. Johnson doesn't pitch himself as a wild-eyed extremist. If anything, he works to soften his rough edges, presenting himself as a Republican that even a moderate could love.

This happened in his 2016 race, which wound up being a rematch with former Senator Russ Feingold, whom Mr. Johnson unseated in 2010. For most of the campaign, Mr. Johnson trailed Mr. Feingold -- in money and polling -- and the national G.O.P. abandoned him to expected defeat. That fall, his campaign retooled and began running positive ads aimed at humanizing the senator, highlighting his work with orphans from Congo and his ties to the Joseph Project, a faith-based initiative connecting poor urban residents with manufacturing jobs. His favorability numbers began rising, along with the number of voters who said he cared about people like them.

Already in this cycle, Team Johnson has rolled out ads about the Joseph Project. And, for all of Mr. Johnson's inherent MAGAness, his paid media has been that of a more conventional Republican, hitting Democrats on inflation and public safety. Keeping the race focused on these policy areas -- while steering clear of more exotic issues -- is considered his key to victory.

Of course, Ron being Ron, he cannot help but mouth off in ways that seem tailored to give a campaign manager a nervous tic. This isn't new. In his 2010 run (the one where he suggested that climate change is caused by sunspots), his unpredictable verbal stylings were an enduring source of anxiety. His team basically put him on media lockdown for the closing two weeks of the race.

And it's not just the daffy conspiracy stuff. Witness his podcast appearance on Tuesday, in which he said that Social Security and Medicare should be subject to regular review by Congress. At times, it can feel as if the senator gets up in the morning, looks in the mirror and asks: What can I say today that will get me tossed out of office?

Mr. Johnson's defenders insist that these gaffes are, if not exactly part of the senator's charm, at least in line with his image as a truth-teller -- and that, in any event, the opposition is terrible at exploiting the blunders. Democrats always think they are going to sink the senator with one of his impolitic utterances, a person close to the Johnson campaign told me. But this Johnson ally points out that there have been so many statements and controversies over the years and very few of them really sink in or stick with people.

Translation: Plenty of Wisconsin voters came to terms with Mr. Johnson's brand of crazy years ago.

Of course, there are degrees of outrageousness, and it may be that Mr. Johnson has finally crossed a line with his Covid-themed rantings, including spreading anti-vaccine misinformation and hawking unsubstantiated treatments. (Listerine anyone?) One interesting change in Marquette's polling: In 2016, significantly more voters still said they didn't know enough about him or didn't have a clear opinion of him to give a ''favorable'' or an ''unfavorable'' rating. In the closing weeks of the race, his unfavorables stayed pretty steady, but he managed to move a fair number of voters from the ''don't know'' column to the ''favorable'' column, said Charles Franklin, the poll's director. But this time, Mr. Franklin noted, the senator's brand is more established -- and not in a good way. More people are familiar with him, ''and the people getting to know him seem to be forming overwhelmingly unfavorable opinions.''

Wisconsin Democrats are desperate for a win here. For them, what matters most in Tuesday's primary is electability -- who has the best shot at ousting Mr. Johnson. It is telling that the presumptive choice turned out to be the lieutenant governor, Mr. Barnes, who is the most flamboyant progressive of the bunch. (In recent weeks, Mr. Barnes's top competitors withdrew from the race, essentially clearing the field for him.) With him, Democrats have made a clear choice in the ongoing political debate over whether it is more productive to mobilize one's base or to court the political middle.

Mr. Barnes is seen as a rising star: young, Black, energetic, inspirational, with a ***working-class*** background and experience as a community organizer. His campaign site notes that he was ''born in Milwaukee in one of the most impoverished and incarcerated ZIP codes in the state.'' This stands in stark contrast with Mr. Johnson, a rich former plastics mogul who heavily funded his first Senate run by himself.

Of the Democratic pack, the lieutenant governor is seen as having the best potential to juice turnout in blue enclaves such as Milwaukee and Madison. He is also seen as the easiest for Republicans to define as a radical leftist. He has in the past expressed support for shifting funding out of ''overbloated'' police budgets, though he has since said he does not support defunding the police. He has praised the lefty Squad in the House.

There is a photo of him holding up an ''ABOLISH ICE'' T-shirt. There is video from an event in July at which he called America's founding ''awful.'' Last November, during a virtual forum for Senate candidates, he observed that America is the wealthiest, most powerful nation on earth ''because of forced labor on stolen land.''

Once the primaries are done, the Republicans' attack on Mr. Barnes is expected to be swift and brutal.

In strategic terms, the race may essentially boil down to the question of whether Mr. Johnson can moderate his MAGA-crazy brand more successfully than Mr. Barnes can moderate his ultra-woke one.

But the bigger, more existential question for Wisconsin voters remains: Do they want to spend another six years being repped by a conspiracy-peddling, vaccine-trashing, climate change-mocking, election-doubting, Social-Security-and-Medicare-threatening MAGA mad dog?

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/07/opinion/ron-johnson-wisconsin-senate.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/07/opinion/ron-johnson-wisconsin-senate.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY DREW ANGERER/GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** August 9, 2022

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[***In Miami, a Ukrainian Art Show Becomes Unintentionally Timely***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64WR-B8S1-DXY4-X2GB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 1, 2022 Tuesday

The New York Times on the Web

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**Section:** Section ; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk

**Length:** 1040 words

**Byline:** By Brett Sokol

**Body**

A Kyiv couple stage a socially charged exhibition in South Florida as their Voloshyn Gallery back home becomes a bomb shelter.

The wife-and-husband gallerists Julia and Max Voloshyn had planned to return to Kyiv last week to open a new show at their space there. But with commercial air traffic halted as Russian troops invaded Ukraine, their stay in Miami -- and the run of their pop-up exhibition there -- was extended.

The show, titled ''The Memory on Her Face,'' features socially charged work by five Ukrainian artists. After arriving in Miami in November to run booths at two of the satellite art fairs held concurrently with Art Basel Miami Beach -- NADA and Untitled Art -- the Voloshyns contracted Covid, postponing their return for a month. By mid-January, with several prominent Ukrainian art collectors coming to Miami in February, they mounted this impromptu show inside a small warehouse in the Allapattah neighborhood, with Untitled's Omar Lopez-Chahoud as the curator.

''It's a documentation of what has been happening in Ukraine for the last few years,'' explained Julia Voloshyn by phone from the Miami rental, where she, her husband and their small child are staying.

''We didn't plan it this way, but now with the war, this show is very timely,'' Voloshyn noted, describing its work by Nikita Kadan, Lesia Khomenko, Nikolay Karabinovych, Maria Sulymenko, and Oleksiy Sai.

One of Kadan's pieces features a silk-screened photo of a building in the eastern Donbas region of Ukraine, partially turned to rubble after Russian forces invaded the area in 2014 and continue to support separatists there. The silk-screen is loosely attached to a metal shield, so ''when the air moves it, it captures the fragility of our country, and of our lives,'' Voloshyn continued. ''Now we see the same thing in Kyiv.''

Khomenko's portraits depict ordinary ***working-class*** people buffeted by social forces, their bodies straining against the boundaries of the canvases.

A large painting by Sai, from his ''Bombed'' series, may at first appear to be merely a geographic abstraction. But it features a recent satellite image of battle-ravaged areas of the Donbas, overlaid on one of Sai's earlier paintings on aluminum, then attacked with a metal grinder to simulate the craters left behind.

Still, Voloshyn's mind remained focused on her gallery back in Kyiv. Used as a bomb shelter during World War II when the German army besieged the city, it sits beneath a seven-story apartment building. The Voloshyns had transformed it into a chic space, complete with wood flooring and tasteful lighting. Now it was once again a bomb shelter, and Voloshyn had urged her gallery's artists to take refuge there.

On Saturday evening Kadan was hunkered inside the Kyiv gallery with a small group, preparing for the city-ordered, weekend-long curfew. His initial response to the Russian invasion on Thursday had been stoicism. ''I stayed in my apartment and watched old films by Ingmar Bergman,'' he quipped over Zoom. By Friday evening nearby explosions had become too loud to ignore, and he'd moved to the gallery.

''I have so many historical images in my head that I keep thinking about: Sarajevo in the '90s, Leningrad during World War II,'' he said. ''Sure, now it will be different. War is always contemporary, always different. But it's also always bloody. Already, there is plenty of blood.'' He fixated on the small children holed up in adjoining subterranean bunkers. ''Every time we go out for a cigarette, we see this empty baby stroller,'' he added grimly.

For Kadan, the role of an artist in this situation was clear: ''To be witnesses.'' But he also knew, as Russian troops bore down on Kyiv, that many artists were swapping their pens and brushes for bottles to fashion Molotov cocktails. ''Emotionally, I'm ready. But technically, to be honest, I'm not,'' he explained. ''I've dealt with the reality of war in my art, but I've never held a real weapon in my hands. Maybe I'll throw an empty champagne bottle at the tanks. I don't know.''

Khomenko and her family had also initially taken shelter at the Voloshyn Gallery. An activist during Ukraine's 2014 Maidan revolution, she had been thrilled to see both the military and civilians rally together to resist the current invasion. But Kadan had implored Khomenko to think of her 11-year-old daughter and leave for safer terrain to the west.

There was an hour of tense discussion -- and a heated argument with Khomenko's grandmother, who had lived through Germany's 1941 assault on Kyiv, and absolutely refused to leave the city now. Finally on Friday, before the Ukrainian military began defensively blowing up the city's bridges, Khomenko, her daughter, husband, sister and mother, the mother's cat and Khomenko's dog, all crammed into her aging Czech-built Skoda and sped off to a friend's home in the small western city of Ivano-Frankivsk.

''I've been driving for more than 24 hours,'' a visibly exhausted Khomenko said via Zoom on Saturday night. To avoid any combat, ''we tried to stay off the main roads between villages, but those back roads are very bad, so it's stressful. It's completely dark, very rough.''

Left behind were the series of sprawling canvases she'd been working on for the past five years -- intended to be unveiled in June at a Kyiv history museum. She'd originally been inspired by her grandfather's sketches of the 1941 German invasion: ''I wanted to compare the real experience of war with the socialist-realist propaganda from the period.'' Except that the comparison had suddenly taken on an all-too-real update. Her mind was already racing as she mused aloud on Russia's recent digital propaganda and the war scenes she'd just seen -- and felt -- firsthand.

''Painting has its own language with a deep tradition. I want to work with that tradition, to mix socialist realism with internet images, to layer it together and construct a new image,'' she continued before catching herself. She paused and shook her head: ''It's so crazy. We were living so normally, and then we became meat just trying to escape.''

The Memory On Her Face

Through March 28 at 676 NW 23rd St. in Miami. To schedule a free visit, email: [*voloshyngallery.miami@gmail.com*](mailto:voloshyngallery.miami@gmail.com)

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/28/arts/design/miami-ukrainian-art-show.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/28/arts/design/miami-ukrainian-art-show.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: An installation view of Julia and Max Voloshyn's pop-up exhibition of Ukrainian artworks in a Miami warehouse. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Alfonso Duran for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 1, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Best Sellers: Paperback Trade Fiction: Sunday, January 03rd 2021***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61PD-4451-JBG3-64JV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 3, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 484 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the January 03, 2021 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending December 19, 2020. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Paperback Trade Fiction |
| This | On |  |
| Week | List |  |
| 1 | 5 | HOME BODY, by Rupi Kaur. (Andrews McMeel) Poems and illustrations by the author of ?Milk and Honey? and ?The Sun and Her Flowers.? |
| 2 | 75 | THEN SHE WAS GONE, by Lisa Jewell. (Atria) Ten years after her daughter disappears, a woman tries to get her life in order but remains haunted by unanswered questions. |
| 3 | 5 | SHUGGIE BAIN, by Douglas Stuart. (Grove) The winner of the 2020 Booker Prize. A boy?s ***working-class*** childhood in 1980s Glasgow is subsumed by his mother?s alcoholism. |
| 4 | 6 | THE QUEEN'S GAMBIT, by Walter Tevis. (Vintage) Sixteen-year-old Beth Harmon goes through changes as she plays chess in the U.S. Open championship. The basis of the Netflix series. |
| 5 | 170 | MILK AND HONEY, by Rupi Kaur. (Andrews McMeel) A collection of poetry about love, loss, trauma and healing. |
| 6 | 78 | THE SUN AND HER FLOWERS, by Rupi Kaur. (Andrews McMeel) A second collection of poetry from the author of "Milk and Honey." |
| 7 | 71 | THE OVERSTORY, by Richard Powers. (Norton) Winner of the 2019 Pulitzer Prize for fiction. Nine people drawn to trees for different reasons fight for the last of the remaining acres of virgin forest. |
| 8 | 9 | THE SONG OF ACHILLES, by Madeline Miller. (Ecco) A reimagining of Homer?s ?Iliad? that is narrated by Achilles' companion Patroclus. |
| 9 | 44 | A GENTLEMAN IN MOSCOW, by Amor Towles. (Penguin) A Russian count undergoes 30 years of house arrest in the Metropol hotel, across from the Kremlin. |
| 10 | 67 | READY PLAYER ONE, by Ernest Cline. (Broadway) It?s 2044, life on a resource-depleted Earth is grim, and the key to a vast fortune is hidden in a virtual-reality world. |
| 11 | 82 | ALL THE LIGHT WE CANNOT SEE, by Anthony Doerr. (Scribner) The lives of a blind French girl and a gadget-obsessed German boy before and during World War II. |
| 12 | 66 | THE NIGHTINGALE, by Kristin Hannah. (St. Martin's Griffin) Two sisters in World War II France: one struggling to survive in the countryside, the other joining the Resistance. |
| 13 | 1 | THE STAND, by Stephen King. (Anchor) A struggle of good and evil takes place in a world transformed by a plague. |
| 14 | 29 | CIRCE, by Madeline Miller. (Back Bay) Zeus banishes Helios' daughter to an island, where she must choose between living with gods or mortals. |
| 15 | 15 | THE INSTITUTE, by Stephen King. (Gallery) Children with special talents are abducted and sequestered in an institution where the sinister staff seeks to extract their gifts through harsh methods. |

**Load-Date:** January 6, 2021

**End of Document**



[***What to See in N.Y.C. Galleries in June***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68CB-R1Y1-JBG3-64NG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 1, 2023 Thursday 19:37 EST

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**Section:** ARTS; design

**Length:** 7617 words

**Byline:** Max Lakin, Travis Diehl, Martha Schwendener, Holland Cotter, Jason Farago, Roberta Smith and Will Heinrich

**Highlight:** Want to see new art in the city? Check out Nachume Miller’s last paintings at David Benrimon Fine Art; Jaime Muñoz’s rebelling robots at François Ghebaly; and Sylvia Palacios Whitman’s unforgettable performances at Americas Society.

**Body**

Want to see new art in the city? Check out Nachume Miller’s last paintings at David Benrimon Fine Art; Jaime Muñoz’s rebelling robots at François Ghebaly; and Sylvia Palacios Whitman’s unforgettable performances at Americas Society.

Newly Reviewed

Nachume Miller

Through July 10. David Benrimon Fine Art, 41 East 57th Street, second floor, Manhattan; 212-628-1600, [*davidbenrimon.com*](http://davidbenrimon.com/).

The churning color of Nachume Miller’s last paintings suggest phosphene, the impression of seeing light without any of it being there — a phenomenon familiar to anyone who has pressed on their eyeball with eyes closed. They also resemble something molecular: pulsating neurons or synapses firing under stress, a revolt of the body.

The retinal effects of “Suns &amp; Illusions,” completed from 1996 to 1998, while Miller was undergoing treatment for and until he succumbed to brain cancer, are a Transcendentalist’s embrace of the unknown, a transmutation of the natural world into the spiritual one. They are orgiastically physical. Blooms of fungal forms metastasize in fractal, hallucinatory patterns — somewhere between algae and apparition — bisected by shafts of light that appear as if clawed into the paint by bare hands. (The more probable technique is hinted at in a short film showing Miller attempting what looks like automatic drawing, including gripping multiple pencils at once.)

The darkness of Miller’s earlier preoccupations — etchings of cadaverous bodies and haunted visions that evince inherited trauma (his parents were the only members of their families to escape the Holocaust) — lifts here, lighter in palette though no less intense. The smeary, diffuse color fields, reminiscent of Gerhard Richter’s squeegeed abstracts, eventually crowd with the gesture Miller used nearly his entire career, a fluid, whorling mark, akin to da Vinci’s apocalyptic “deluge” drawings, that threatens to consume itself. They become more densely packed as Miller nears [*death*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/16/arts/design/nachume-miller-flood-exhibition-art.html), a radiant horror vacui — an artist filling in the empty space for as long as possible. MAX LAKIN

Jaime Muñoz

Through July 8. François Ghebaly, 391 Grand Street, Manhattan; 646-559-9400, [*ghebaly.com*](http://ghebaly.com/jaime-munoz-machina/).

Staring you down from the back wall is the passionless alloy skull of a Terminator, specifically the T-800 model portrayed (with skin) by Arnold Schwarzenegger. The California-based artist Jaime Muñoz combines motifs from Central American textiles, Catholic shrines and auto body shops in beatific, biting homages to the SoCal ***working class***. “Machina” turns to the dark side of mechanized labor. The three large paintings on view depict more or less benign metallic products — Hollywood’s killer cyborg, a mechanical knight and a can of Boing! soda — in minty, glittering pastels, embellished with printer’s marks and Love’s truck stop logos, in looping designs that seem indebted to [*Lari Pittman*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/30/arts/design/lari-pittman-art-basel-museo-jumex.html?timespastHighlight=lari,pittman).

The canvases look hands-free, technical and clean. Muñoz renders a richer line among machines, imitation and replacement in a pair of ink on paper drawings. In Mexico, Pato Pascual, a cartoon duck bearing an infringing similarity to Disney’s star fowl, Donald, advertises Boing! soda; “Diagram Drawing #8” has Pascual and a spidery prosthetic hand accompanying a picture of a worker on the bottling line.

In a similar composition, Muñoz inks the emblems for Love’s and Utility trailers above a diagram of an industrial robot arm and a portrait of A08, the eerie robot “dog” by Boston Dynamics, a war machine with a sinister resemblance to man’s best friend. Both drawings portray the alienating beauty of industry, which — if not quite the rise of the machines — speaks to the uncertain value of human life in an increasingly automated world. TRAVIS DIEHL

Sylvia Palacios Whitman

Through July 22. Americas Society, 680 Park Avenue, Manhattan; 212-249-8950, [*as-coa.org.*](https://www.as-coa.org/exhibitions/sylvia-palacios-whitman-draw-line-body)

Simple, literal and often quite funny, many of the drawings and performances in Sylvia Palacios Whitman’s exhibition “To Draw a Line With the Body” at Americas Society have been under the radar for decades. At a recent performance and discussion at Americas Society, Palacios admitted that she’d stopped making art for nearly 40 years. She is back now, though, in full force.

Palacios moved to New York from her native Chile in the early 1960s and danced with Trisha Brown. Her early performances — the first ones were staged in Brown’s downtown studio — included absurd, deadpan movements, like picking up a group of performers with a crane in “Green Bag” (1975), moving them across the space and lowering them into a huge green bag made of fabric. In others, she inserted herself into a giant “Slingshot” (1975) or donned big green sculptural hands. Upon her return to making art, Palacios has been drawing, often illustrating episodes from her childhood, and doing performances explaining the drawings, which are almost like comedy routines.

One thread running through her work is the everyday nature of art. Common materials like kraft paper and cardboard are shaped into sculptures and exhibited on the floor. Anyone, in her estimation, can make art. At the Americas Society event, Palacios even encouraged an audience member who said they weren’t an artist to go home and make some art. “You never know!” Palacios exhorted. MARTHA SCHWENDENER

Last Chance

‘Dear Louise: A Tribute to Louise Fishman’

Through June 30. Cheim &amp; Read, 547 West 25th Street, Manhattan; 212-242-7727, [*cheimread.com.*](https://www.cheimread.com/)

Louise Fishman, who died at 82 [*in 2021*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/03/arts/louise-fishman-who-gave-abstract-expressionism-a-new-tone-dies-at-82.html), is an interesting case of an artist who is widely respected among fellow artists, with an ever-growing influence among younger abstract painters, yet who remains underrepresented in major museums. Reasons for this seemingly contradictory reality can be deduced from a tough, gorgeous sampler of a nearly 40-year survey at Cheim &amp; Read.

As is evident at a glance, Fishman bucked conventional marketing logic by refusing to merely tweak a signature brand. She approached her paintings as individual, formally experimental, mood-responsive events, shaped by intellectual and emotional intensities she was immersed in: Buddhism, art history, Holocaust history, relationships and, as she spent increasing time in rural upstate New York, the natural world.

Conventional museums, which are in the branding business, don’t know what to do with so maverick a metabolism. But artists know, which accounts for Fishman’s influence. And it’s easy to see her allure in a show that comes across as a personal lexicon of painterly variety (troweling, dragging, dribbling, feathering) and a chamber-music ensemble of unpredictable — and unpredicted — tonal shifts, from the ash-black grid of “Up and Out” (1992), to the dreamy blue mists of “White Cloud, Blue Mountains” (1996); to the soft umber uprights of “To a Tree” (2004); to the seismic anxiety attack that is “Sharps and Flats” (2017): together, an array of singular happenings; an essay in permission-giving difference. HOLLAND COTTER

Greg Carideo

Through July 2. Foreign &amp; Domestic, 24 Rutgers Street, Manhattan; [*foreigndomestic.io*](http://foreigndomestic.io/)

Of all the minor tragedies that can befall the city dweller, having to walk around New York down one shoe heel is surely up there. The eight delicate, dollhouse-size sculptures by Greg Carideo on view here memorialize that drama with ennobling effect.

Set within varyingly intricate brazed steel armatures stretched over with sewn fabric, the forlorn heels, their eroded rubber treads caked with dirt and broken glass, are raised into holy objects. Like medieval reliquaries, which housed shards of bone or scraps of clothing of Christian martyrs, the work enshrines a nearly negligible piece of their owners’ lives. And yet Carideo’s relics are intimate, retaining the indentation of their wearer’s footstep, and so become a transmutation of the body. There’s a gentle, almost absurd eroticism: sheathed in worn T-shirts, sun-bleached and sweated-through, the forms are like a rib cage enveloping a grimy ground-down heart. The result is oddly affecting, evidence that the traces of our lives can be meaningful to others, even unknowingly.

Resembling commercial awnings, Carideo’s skeletal constructions do double duty as a bijou paean to the city’s street-level built environment, its endless steel pipe scaffolding and storefront advertising. The amusing taxonomy of awning styles rendered in miniature — bullnose, half-domed, quarter round — conjure memories of movements through the city.

Carideo’s efforts align with the great artistic tradition of exalting trash. Like the box constructions of Kurt Schwitters and Joseph Cornell, who found beauty in the castoff junk of daily life, Carideo’s curios evince an uncommon care in looking, proving nothing is ever lost. MAX LAKIN

More to See

Luc Tuymans

Through July 21. David Zwirner, 537 West 20th Street, Manhattan; [*davidzwirner.com*](https://www.davidzwirner.com/exhibitions/2023/luc-tuymans-the-barn).

How do you paint war: and, more to the point, why? In 1864, [*Édouard Manet painted an American Civil War*](https://philamuseum.org/collection/object/101707) battle off telegraphed news reports, and updated military painting for an age of mass media. Luc Tuymans has done something similarly important in “Bucha” (2023): a large, challenging, half-decipherable nighttime scene of what looks to be an open grave in the mortified Kyiv suburb of the title. Emergency lights illuminate a solitary worker, reduced to a white specter. Below is drab olive grass, above a heavy sky, but the floodlights have obscured the atrocity site, rendered in open smears of light gray and stifled blues and mauves. The horror fills maybe 95 percent of the canvas, but irregular pink edges suggest that this Bucha scene might be a photograph someone far from Ukraine is flicking past. To one side is a pale circle: a touchscreen’s back button, a digital signpost back to barbarism.

Tuymans has always painted not the violence of war but its related mundanities: a pine tree in a concentration camp, Condoleezza Rice biting her lip. What “Bucha” confirms is that his diverted gaze was never just about Hitchcockian shock. His pinks and blues now blend into unbounded topographies that recall heat-mapping software, while his iPhone motifs, which had felt like a gimmick before, have matured into critical compositional tools. At the bottom of “The Barn,” the diluted idyll that gives this show its name, he diminishes several other paintings on view to thumbnails in a Photos app carousel. Once Tuymans’s muted compositions felt fatalistic; now they appear as committed assaults on our digital fragmentation and the lies that thrive in its cracks. JASON FARAGO

Trevor Paglen

Through July 22. Pace Gallery, 540 West 25th Street, Manhattan; 212-421-3292; [*pacegallery.com*](https://www.pacegallery.com/exhibitions/trevor-paglen-new-york/).

Art — in military terms — is psyops: a kind of mental magic with material effects. This is the insight of the MacArthur fellow Trevor Paglen. For years, he’s turned the tools of surveillance back on the U.S. government’s covert operations, from tracking spy satellites with telescopes to photographing secret bases with very long lenses, with results blurry and abstract enough to evoke Rothko. His current [*show at Pace*](https://www.pacegallery.com/exhibitions/trevor-paglen-new-york/), “You’ve Just Been F\*cked by Psyops,” explores dissemblance and misdirection. A suite of grayscale photos with expansive titles like “UNKNOWN #89161 (Unclassified object near The Revenant of the Swan)” depict nebulae smattered on the black ground of deep space like painterly dust. Pay attention, and you’ll notice the white streaks skimming through the compositions: These are a few of the objects in orbit that the government can’t (or won’t) [*identify*](https://paglen.studio/2023/05/10/unids/). Debris, probably — maybe decoys.

Paglen likes to show you sublime images, with hidden but profound flaws — evidence of brutality that, once discovered, you can’t unsee. A lurid assemblage on the wall, a chrome and ruby mandala of bullets and numerals orbiting a cackling death’s head, is based on a cryptic military intelligence logo. Its title is a common psyops motto: “Because physical wounds heal …” In the hourlong video interview, “Doty,” projected on the opposite wall, a former Air Force agent admits to, among other things, planting falsehoods with U.F.O. truthers. He’s spilling the tea — yet, in art and war, who can you truly trust? Haven’t you been wounded by art? TRAVIS DIEHL

Julian Kent

Through July 14. Kerry Schuss Gallery, 73 Leonard Street, Manhattan, 212-219-9918, [*kerryschussgallery.com*](http://kerryschussgallery.com/).

With his “Everyday Life” paintings the 21-year-old artist Julian Kent is already past the “looks promising” stage of his career. As seen in New York at the Independent Art Fair and especially in his current gallery debut, his paintings exude a youthful perfection. They operate as both narratives and objects with utmost efficiency; nothing is wasted or left over.

Kent’s small, stylized canvases depict specific moments in the lives of one or two Black people, seen in close-up, often tightly cropped. The setting is usually domestic; the action is primarily psychological and emotional, conveyed in subtle glances and gestures. Kent outlines his shapes in black and uses a palette of inspired plainness; his robust textures are particularly engaging. His small repeating brush strokes can evoke Robert Ryman, Philip Guston and Robert Thompson, only neater; their changes in direction or rhythm, create a sense of sturdiness and care that is implicitly optimistic.

The paintings at the Independent were fraught with apprehension — the racial stress that are far too constant to Black American life. The paintings at Schuss replace tension with moments of quiet enjoyment and togetherness cherished by all people. In “Late Afternoon,” a young woman and man sit in their living room; he touches her arm. In the background, a television shows a hand reminiscent of the hand of God bringing Adam to life in Michelangelo’s Sistine Chapel ceiling. Did this cue the man’s light touch, or does it underscore the transformative power of touch, and love?

“Grey Gardens,” takes its title from the Maysles brothers’ 1975 documentary about the eccentric mother-daughter pair of high-society dropouts, Big Edie (Edith Bouvier Beale) and Little Edie, who lived in a squalid mansion in East Hampton with several dozen cats. But he substitutes a visibly less eccentric couple: a Black father and son with their cat. Their eyes convey different emotions: happiness, worry and watchfulness. WASP propriety is embraced and mocked by one of the painting’s largest shapes: the son’s tattersall shirt. ROBERTA SMITH

‘Beautiful, Vivid, Self-Contained’

Through July 21. Hill Art Foundation, 239 10th Avenue, Manhattan. 212-337-4455; [*hillartfoundation.org.*](https://hillartfoundation.org/)

In the catalog for “Beautiful, Vivid, Self-Contained,” a group show he curated at the Hill Art Foundation, the painter David Salle cites a remark the dealer Joe Helman used to make: “Ellsworth [Kelly] is our Matisse.” Salle goes on to unspool his ambivalence about Helman’s comparison, disparaging it, on the one hand, as glib and superficial, but conceding, on the other, that it’s also pretty compelling. Ambivalent or not, it’s exactly this kind of juxtaposition — brisk, intuitive and, for a person as steeped in critical minutiae as Salle, painfully reductive — that gives the show its energy.

One striking, insightful, precarious pairing follows another in this frankly incredible group of paintings that Salle has managed to call in. Red stippling in a recent Walter Price echoes the gray atmosphere of an Edgar Degas; abstraction by Amy Sillman looks like a color negative of Albert Oehlen’s, or vice versa; and Martha Diamond, Willem de Kooning and Brice Marden all use wavering, expressive lines — to very different effects, if you think of their individual contexts, but as mere variations on a theme when they’re side by side. (There are also works by Twombly, Picasso, Matisse, even Peter Paul Rubens.)

It’s true, as Salle fears, that this kind of thing risks being tendentious, and that it may come at the expense of subtlety or art-historical detail. But it’s also surprising and delightful, and after all, neither language nor curation can avoid being at least a little reductive. You might as well make it snappy. WILL HEINRICH

Giorgio de Chirico

Through July 29. Vito Schnabel Gallery, 455 West 19th Street, Manhattan; 646-216-3932; [*vitoschnabel.com*](http://vitoschnabel.com/).

Almost any of the 16 Giorgio de Chirico paintings in “Horses: The Death of a Rider” could sustain an exhibition by itself. A couple from the late 1920s are less polished, and you could reasonably call “Two Horses on a Seashore,” 1970, a little glib. But for the most part the lush, peculiar and consistently delightful paintings show the Greek-born Italian painter at the top of his game for the better part of five decades.

As the exhibition title suggests, every canvas also holds one or more horses, often backed by one of the mysterious landscapes he’s known for. Carnal but loaded with symbolism, the horse is a living link to antiquity, making it the perfect subject for a history-conscious artist like de Chirico (1888-1978). It’s also full of bulging joints and fleshy mounds, and de Chirico approaches it, visually as well as conceptually, as a kind of chimera, a grab-bag of separate moments and encounters.

The majestic white steed in the title piece, “Death of a Rider,” rears up on a twilit beach, letting its rider tumble off like Icarus behind it. In the distance stands a city on a hill; nearby, two voyagers or gods watch from a rowboat. But the horse’s posture is actually that of a statue, its foreleg bent, its head in a dramatic profile that doesn’t quite match the angle of its body. To one side it’s a crouching, unconscious power; to the other a self-possessed, even arrogant personality. Altogether it encapsulates the drama of the scene, at once active and eternal. WILL HEINRICH

Aliza Nisenbaum

Through Sept. 10. Queens Museum, New York City Building, Flushing Meadows Corona Park, Queens; 718-592-9700; [*queensmuseum.org*](http://queensmuseum.org/).

Aliza Nisenbaum grew up in Mexico and now lives in New York. So do many of the people in Corona, Queens, whom she’s spent years painting in their homes and workplaces, in her studio at the Queens Museum or while they were enrolled in a class she once taught called “English Through Feminist Art History.” The museum’s wonderful “Queens, Lindo y Querido” (Queens, Beautiful and Beloved), a wide-ranging show of her work, includes portraits of Delta Air Lines and Port Authority employees; of Hitomi Iwasaki, the show’s curator, in her plant-filled office; and of an art class that Nisenbaum offered to food pantry volunteers at the museum, displayed along with a selection of the volunteers’ own works (“El Taller, Queens Museum”).

It’s worth mentioning all of this because Nisenbaum’s interest in people, her need to connect with them, doesn’t just provide content for her paintings — it comes through in their form. Realistic but with heightened colors and flattened planes, they’re homey and glamorous at once, capable of absorbing any number of idiosyncratic details. “El Taller” (The Workshop) presents 10 budding artists, five working on self-portraits with the aid of small mirrors, against the unreal purple mists of Flushing Meadows Corona Park. And then there are the paintings-within-the-painting, each with its own distinctive style, not to mention 19 naïve, multicolored games of [*“exquisite corpse.”*](https://www.moma.org/collection/terms/exquisite-corpse) It’s a tribute to Nisenbaum’s generosity — and to her skills with composition — that it all inhabits a single room in harmony. WILL HEINRICH

Closed Shows

Bang Geul Han

Through June 24. The 8th Floor, 17 West 17th Street, Manhattan; 646-839-5908, [*the8thfloor.org*](https://www.the8thfloor.org/).

The artist [*Bang Geul Han*](https://whatbunny.org/), born in South Korea and based in the United States, is interested in technologies new and old. So the works in her exhibition “[*Land of Tenderness*](https://www.the8thfloor.org/bgh)” fall into two categories: those focused on digital elements like video and virtual reality, and those centered on weaving. Together they offer a striking overview of her practice.

The show is titled after Han’s “Terre de Tendre” (2023), a V.R. journey in which the viewer floats on a waterway through a mountainous landscape to the tune of a chiming lullaby. The hillsides are covered in video projections of hands doing maintenance and care work — tasks that migrants often do. At the same time, letters appear in the waters: the names of Supreme Court cases involving immigrants and matters of citizenship. The work has the viewer navigate the uncomfortable space between the supposed impartiality of the law and the messy realities of life. But its complexity dampens its emotional impact. (Notably, the piece is just Part 1 of a [*continuing project*](https://creative-capital.org/projects/terre-de-tendre/).)

Han’s “Warp and Weft” series (2021–ongoing) better drives home the point. For these, she weaves tapestries out of strips of printed U.S. government documents concerning subjects like abortion and drug enforcement. From afar they’re pleasantly patterned; up close they become a dizzying jumble of text, with phrases (“termination of the pregnancy”) popping out. In a series of evocative photographs, a naked Han wears the tapestries at home.

Like many of us, Han knows that official, austere words can and do have personal, intimate effects. Her work demonstrates how malleable and unstable language can be, without denying its all-too-real force. JILLIAN STEINHAUER

Michael E. Smith

Through June 24. Andrew Kreps Gallery, 394 Broadway, Manhattan; 212-741-8849, [*andrewkreps.com*](http://www.andrewkreps.com/exhibitions/michael-e-smith3?view=slider#7).

The sculptor Michael E. Smith deploys objects with disturbing precision. The found materials he consigns are banal unto obscurity, often trashed, used but not used up — and placed so assertively, so economically, alone or in elegant juxtapositions, that they resonate with the sadness of the whole mass-produced world. Take the wrinkled three-ring navy blue binder on a shelf by the door, which you might expect to find stuffed with copies of the artist’s reviews and CV. It’s empty — eerily empty. So is the overturned steel bowl, hovering in the hallway, perched on a hidden spring. An ominous plastic sack of eyeballs roughly sculpted from putty spills across the gallery desk. You can almost hear them clacking.

Smith’s dejected sculptures unite objects in ways that seem unnatural, and then inevitable. A particleboard box on the floor, a flickering Kabuki theater for a puppet fashioned from shed lizard skin, is unusually dramatic, although it mimics the drama of a TriBeCa storefront gallery. Downstairs in the viewing room, Smith has interlocked two cheap chairs atop a pair of filing cabinets, stacked on their sides, and draped the arrangement — flanked by an abstract painting and a tasteful couch — with a shimmering sheet of lenticular plastic. As you circle the pile, the murky forms of the chairs writhe and separate, propped up on spindly legs like a Modern art mirage in a steaming landfill. If the sculpture’s sense of space, time, and your body moving through them were less honed, it might feel ironic. TRAVIS DIEHL

Chris Burden

Through June 24. Gagosian, 821 Park Avenue, Manhattan; 212-796-1228, [*Gagosian.com*](http://gagosian.com/)

There can’t be many artists whose works are as textbook-famous and as rarely encountered as Chris Burden’s. We can’t expect to see repeats of the 1970s performances for which he was nailed to a Volkswagen Beetle or shot in the arm with a .22. He died in 2015, and even when he was living those were one-offs. But this rare Burden show presents other examples of the Angeleno’s radical works of the 1970s. They shifted the boundaries of art, which makes them now look safely “artistic” and gallery-worthy.

The show gathers several of the “relics” — Burden’s term — meant to stand for his performances: An empty display case represents “Disappearing,” a piece for which he made himself scarce for three days; a telephone and cassette recorder represent “Wiretap,” for which Burden taped calls with art dealers.

There’s also footage of Burden’s shooting and of [*“Bed Piece,”*](https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-1789187) a well-known performance that had him lying in a gallery for 22 days.

More surprising are the one-minute “TV Commercials” that let Burden infiltrate art into broadcast TV, after buying the ad space required. One of them, “Full Financial Disclosure,” sits in Andy Warhol’s Business Art genre, revealing the numbers for Burden’s 1976 income and expenses — and for his paltry profit. In “Chris Burden Promo,” names of world-famous artists fill the TV one after another: “Leonardo da Vinci,” “Michelangelo,” “Rembrandt,” “Vincent van Gogh,” “Pablo Picasso” and then … “Chris Burden.” That final name would once have seemed a joke or wildly wishful thinking, but now it lives cozily with the others. BLAKE GOPNIK

Takako Yamaguchi

Through June 17. Ortuzar Projects, 9 White Street, Manhattan; [*ortuzarprojects.com*](http://ortuzarprojects.com/).

In her latest paintings, Takako Yamaguchi, who was born in Japan in 1952 and has lived in Los Angeles since 1978, continues to pit art against craft, East against West, and one style against another, creating works in which abstraction, representation and decoration mingle to unexpected effect. Previously, the artist roiled her multiple references into turbulent, Baroque compositions of disparate elements, variously representational, abstract and decorative. Figures from Diego Rivera or Lucas Cranach would mingle with the brocade patterns usual to Japanese kimono silks or the gold-leaf clouds of Japanese folding screens.

Now Yamaguchi has achieved a dazzling simplicity, absorbing her usual oppositions into seamless wholes. In these 60-by-40-inch canvases a series of horizontal bands all incorporate the abstract, representational and decorative. The dominant feature in all are pure white tubular elements, delicately shaded, whose repeating patterns serve as skies or as single, more symbolic forms. They can evoke the extensive vocabulary of braided, knotted and sometimes tasseled cords used in traditional kimono dressing or samurai armor; but they also suggest beautiful if unlikely cloud formations similar to those in the work of Georgia O’Keeffe and Agnes Pelton, as well as the Chicago Imagist Roger Brown. In “Hinge,” the cloud formations seem braided. In “Clasp” strands of white encircle the red over blue seascape like a knotted belt, fancy frame or a porthole.

That Yamaguchi’s exquisite compositions flip between textile flat and landscape deep with wit and clarity not usually found in Western modernism adds to the thrill. ROBERTA SMITH

Eunnam Hong

Through June 18. Lubov, 5 East Broadway, Ste. 402, Manhattan; [*lubov.nyc*](https://lubov.nyc/).

In Krzysztof Kieslowski’s film “The Double Life of Veronique,” a Polish vocalist and her doppelgänger never meet, yet are linked by existential malaise and the nagging sensation of their lives being pulled in unseen directions.

Eunnam Hong’s paintings share that film’s eerie ennui and metaphysical intrigue, except Hong’s doubles are intimately familiar. They mill around her spare New York apartment, ripping cigarettes and playing dice, dressed to go out but never getting there, like prisoners commiserating inside a magazine spread they can’t escape.

Hong’s previous life in fashion advertising, in Seoul, undoubtedly informs her own second act: She costumes her ringers in Adidas tracksuits and gray New Balances, bouncing sunlight off the worn creases of a biker jacket or combat boots or Belgian loafers; if nothing else, her pictures memorialize our moment’s vogue for schizophrenic dressing. Also of the moment: No one seems to be having a good time. “Lunch Break” (2023), crowded with sumptuous folds of fabric, evokes Cecil Beaton’s image of partygoers in Charles James gowns but with the joie drained out. Hong’s women don’t enjoy themselves; they’re isolated, weighed down, in their own worlds.

The moodiness jibes with the recent yen for figurative painting luxuriating in indeterminate dread, but Hong’s pictures are interesting enough to sustain our attention, their desaturated palette and soft precision amplifying a magnetic bleakness. Hong casts herself as her own model, her lanky form hidden under a wig of bottle-blonde ringlets and oversized glasses, as if artificially aged, or Anglicized, making literal the psychic splintering of assimilation, domestic anomie and interior life — all the personas we perform for others, and ourselves. MAX LAKIN

Theodora Skipitares

Through June 18. 15 Orient, 12 Jefferson Street, Brooklyn; [*15orient.com.*](https://www.15orient.com/)

Puppets are not a premier medium in the art world, but the rise of performance art and exhibitions like Theodora Skipitares’s “View From the Miniature City” — as well as their inclusion in recent art histories — might change that. Skipitares’s show, drawn largely from her 1981 performance with puppets, “Micropolis: 6 Portraits and a Landscape,” argues for the power of the form.

The exhibition itself is a marvel. Installed in the landlord’s living quarters above the gallery, in dim rooms lined with vintage wallpaper, the show features mini-theaters holding Skipitares’s tableaus populated by puppets the size of dolls. Dark, raunchy and ironic narratives, told in audio recordings, are accompanied at times by “brainy but bloodthirsty” (as one music writer described it) compositions by [*Virgil Moorefield*](https://www.virgilmoorefield.com/). “Micropolis: Sylvia” (1981) stars a classic unreliable narrator: a “gifted” lady-puppet who meets with a surprising denouement. The dinosaur in “Micropolis: On the Road” (1981) nods simultaneously to the freedom envisioned by Jack Kerouac in his peripatetic 1957 novel “On the Road” and the impending “extinction” of bohemians in downtown New York.

The whole show is a reminder of the extraordinary density of talent — real, not merely mythical — in downtown New York in the ’70s and ’80s, which produced novel interdisciplinary forms. Much has changed, but the art dinosaurs of yore didn’t go extinct; many are hiding in plain sight. How did a young gallerist discover this work? Easy: Skipitares, who is well known in the avant puppet-theater world, was his professor at the Pratt Institute in Brooklyn. MARTHA SCHWENDENER

Uman

Through June 17. Nicola Vassell Gallery, 138 Tenth Avenue, Manhattan. 212-463-5160; [*nicolavassell.com*](http://nicolavassell.com/).

In her first solo show at Nicola Vassell Gallery, the self-taught painter Uman, who was born in Somalia and now lives near Albany, pretty much takes the place over. On gallery walls painted deep green, purple or gold, she has mounted 15 enormous, vibrant, unremitting square paintings, each framed in a dark shadow box produced in her studio, and even more small drawings. (Not for nothing is the show titled “I Want Everything Now.”) The paintings’ colors are bold and saturated, and their textures range from slick, wet brushwork to the halting skitter of oil stick. Their forms mostly comprise circles, scribbles and squares, but also a smattering of eyes, flowers, suns, pointy teeth and ambiguous suggestions of intestines, chairs or vertebrae. The references are both cross-cultural and art-historical, but the effect, in general, leans toward the textile; one yellow canvas, divided into a triangular lattice by green and red lines, is also sewn together from triangular scraps. On another, what looks like a transparent sea horse rears over a bottle clearly labeled “Eau de Parfum.”

In a way, though, Uman is a minimalist. Her gestures, like the schematic flowers that let her claim a toehold in figuration, are always distinctly efficient. Canvases may be covered edge to edge, but the paint application is thin, and the moment an explosive effect is achieved, she moves on to the next one. WILL HEINRICH

Natia Lemay

Through June 17. Yossi Milo, 245 10th Avenue, Manhattan; 212-414-0370; [*yossimilo.com*](http://yossimilo.com/)

Three tiny sculptures, each less than 10 inches tall, fill all the psychic room in Natia Lemay’s solo at Yossi Milo.

She stacks up miniature versions of banal furnishings — a chair, a sofa, a rocking horse — glued one on top of the other. Carved from soapstone, they copy the crude softwood miniatures that kids build from dollhouse kits.

Lemay was born into hardship in Toronto, with roots in African-Canadian culture and among the Mi’kmaq peoples of Canada’s East Coast. Her generic home goods seem to commemorate the rough years she spent moving between public housing, homeless shelters and low-end rentals. I think of her sculptures as “memory towers,” and their diminutive scale seems to concentrate their energies rather than diminish them. (Don’t memories always feel small — small enough to fit into a skull?)

Lemay links her towers to the Native art of the totem pole, which makes sense in terms of their form and mnemonic function.

The soapstone she uses, some of which came to her from her father, also recalls Indigenous crafts. Using that material to render the troubled urban world she has known, Lemay claims it as her continuing birthright. She reclaims it from the decades it has spent in the tourist trade.

There are also 20 oil paintings in Lemay’s show. To me, they accept the authority of the old master tradition rather than pushing back against it. But then, I feel that way about most recent painting. Lemay’s terrific little sculptures seem more like hand grenades, primed to blow a hole in our hierarchies. BLAKE GOPNIK

Aria Dean

Through June 17. Greene Naftali, 508 West 26th Street, 8th floor, Manhattan; 212-463-7770, [*greenenaftaligallery.com*](https://www.greenenaftaligallery.com/exhibitions/aria-dean-2023).

The young artist and theorist Aria Dean is known for essays connecting Blackness, objecthood and digital culture. (Her selected writings, “Bad Infinity,” debuts this summer.) This is good to remember, since from the moment you pass through the bubble-gum pink saloon doors at Greene Naftali — a deadpan work titled “Pink Saloon Doors” — the polished sculptures and digital prints on view seem sparse and cryptic, defiantly superficial. Something’s omitted. This show follows from Dean’s dynamic thinking (or, less generously, illustrates points she’s made on the page) regarding the ease with which lo-fi images circulate, although the uninitiated can also appreciate her chilly, cynical take on commercial art.

The sculpture “FIGURE A, Friesian Mare,” a glossy, crumpled gray lump on a shipping palette, evokes a kind of trashed Minimalist cube or compacted equestrian statue, unsubtly twisting the connection between stark formalism and the viewer’s body. The implications of treating living things as commodities are brutal.

The other four works on view are luxuriously tall dye sublimation prints on aluminum, three or four panels each, depicting … what? From a distance, blurs and blotches, a sky, shapes whipping by at high speed, but blown up and zoomed in to such a degree that they’re basically abstract, flecked with stray pixels. In fact, Dean’s project could be summarized as exploring the violence abstraction causes, or makes possible. The taciturn slickness of this show provokes an uncomfortable reaction: Is there no feeling here? No pain? No humanity? TRAVIS DIEHL

Joan Brown

Through June 17. Matthew Marks Gallery, 522 West 22nd Street, Manhattan; 212-243-0200, [*matthewmarks.com*](http://matthewmarks.com/).

You could call the mature style of the great American painter Joan Brown (1938-1990) extra-late Egyptian, with her figures often rendered fully frontal or fully in profile. This formality — along with expanses of startling solid colors — contributes to the hypnotic stillness of her mainly autobiographical works. (Besides painting, her interests included her family, Hinduism, ballroom dancing, serious amateur swimming and Egyptian art.) It’s not always clear what Brown, who appears in six of the paintings here, is thinking about, but the seriousness is undeniable.

So it’s not surprising that this show of a dozen paintings, mostly from the 1970s, includes “The Visitor” (1977). It depicts the artist seated with an Egyptian pharaoh at a restaurant. The pharaoh is deep turquoise — the color of Egyptian faience — as is the wall behind him, which is incised with hieroglyphs. If two worlds are colliding, it seems to be occurring in Brown’s imagination. After all, the show is titled “Facts &amp; Fantasies.”

In “Self-Portrait at Age 42” (1980) we encounter the artist with arms folded, staring ahead. She wears a blue pullover delicately smeared with paint and a clear plastic glove. Is she facing an unwelcome interruption in her studio? Then it dawns: Her hard stare seems like the kind artists reserve for paintings in progress. There are several other alluring works, but don’t miss “Donald” (1986), a copper on wood sculpture of an extra-large tabby cat. As with the Egyptians, cats were another of Brown’s favorite subjects. ROBERTA SMITH

‘From the Margins: The Making of Art-Rite’

Through June 21. Printed Matter; 231 11th Avenue, Manhattan; 212-925-0325, [*printedmatter.org*](http://www.printedmatter.org).

The title “[*From the Margins: The Making of Art-Rite” at Printed Matter*](https://www.printedmatter.org/art-rite)” feels a little inaccurate from today’s global-art standpoint. Founded in 1973 by [*Edit DeAk*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/22/arts/edit-deak-dead-downtown-art-critic.html), Walter Robinson and Joshua Cohn, Art-Rite magazine published 19 issues and featured some of the biggest talents of the ’70s, most of whom have gone on to become household names in the art world. This meticulous show tells its story via documentary photographs, letters, original paste-up materials and anecdotes filled with witticisms and insider gossip.

The young editors met in an art criticism seminar at Columbia University taught by the brilliant editor and artist [*Brian O’Doherty*](https://www.ucpress.edu/book/9780520220409/inside-the-white-cube). The magazine (its name consciously echoes ShopRite grocery stores and the advertising circulars handed out there) was printed on newsprint and avoided “terminological pollution,” that is, theory-jargon and artspeak. The first issue included contributions by the Pop Art scholar [*Lawrence Alloway*](https://shop.getty.edu/products/lawrence-alloway-critic-and-curator-978-1606064429?variant=1307083360), [*Hilton Kramer*](https://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/28/arts/design/hilton-kramer-critic-who-championed-modernism-dies-at-84.html) (at one point a New York Times critic), the feminist critic [*Lucy Lippard*](https://monoskop.org/Lucy_R._Lippard), and the art historians [*Irving Sandler*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/02/obituaries/irving-sandler-dead-art-critic.html) and [*Leo Steinberg*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/15/arts/design/leo-steinberg-art-historian-is-dead-at-90.html) — a jaw-dropping roster for an alternative “throwaway” publication.

Art-Rite arrived in an era when a “crisis in criticism,” sparked partly by a burgeoning art market, was constantly being sounded. Critics suddenly had less power than curators, collectors and artists, and venues for criticism were shrinking. Now, [*as glossy art magazines are being consolidated as “brands*](https://www.artforum.com/news/penske-media-acquires-artforum-89808#:~:text=Penske%20Media%20Acquires%20Artforum%20%2D%20Artforum%20International)” and criticism further homogenized, the need for a smart, scrappy publication like Art-Rite — and one that looks this good 50 years after its founding — is more urgent than ever. MARTHA SCHWENDENER

Rina Banerjee

Through June 10. Perrotin, 130 Orchard Street, Manhattan; 212-812-2902, [*perrotin.com*](https://www.perrotin.com/).

[*Rina Banerjee*](https://rinabanerjee.com/home.html)’s show at [*Perrotin*](https://leaflet.perrotin.com/view/509/black-noodles) is well timed: Her style of world-building with everyday materials is having a moment. Current museum exhibitions devoted to [*Wangechi Mutu*](https://www.newmuseum.org/exhibitions/view/wangechi-mutu-intertwined-1), [*Daniel Lind-Ramos*](https://www.momaps1.org/programs/178-daniel-lind-ramos) and [*Sarah Sze*](https://www.guggenheim.org/exhibition/sarah-sze-timelapse) create a fruitful context for Banerjee, who’s had a decades-long, successful career but no solo show here in eight years.

Like those other artists, Banerjee makes evocative creatures and grand yet intricate installations from unusual materials. But her work feels both more omnivorous and more precarious. Her arrangements — of, say, small wooden and porcelain figurines atop a tangle of netting and string, giving way to clusters of horns and glass — are as compelling as they are improbable. They coalesce at the same time that they don’t. Banerjee, who was born in Calcutta and raised mostly in New York, seems interested not just in the imaginative possibilities of hybridity, but also how easily things might shift or come apart.

The show’s centerpiece, “Black Noodles” (2023), commands the gallery, looking like an underwater ruin, and Banerjee’s loose paintings of mythical female figures are transporting. But I kept returning to “Contagious Migrations” (1999—2023), a work that features a two-headed creature of sorts, set against a dizzying sketch of plans for a ventilation system. The plan’s edges are cut into tentacle-like shapes, from which extend medical tubes, some covered in black netting. The piece evokes Covid-19 but is too abstract to be commentary. Instead it’s beautiful, ominous and mysterious. It captures what’s so mesmerizing about Banerjee’s art, and what’s so unsettling. JILLIAN STEINHAUER

Man Ray

Through June 2. Di Donna, 744 Madison Avenue, Manhattan; 212-259-0444, [*didonna.com*](https://didonna.com/).

Man Ray portrayed the artists and writers of Paris in the 1920s and ’30s as indelibly as Nadar did their 19th-century predecessors. Indeed, Man Ray’s deathbed photograph of Marcel Proust makes a fitting bookend to Nadar’s of Victor Hugo. But Nadar, when he memorialized France’s literary titan in 1885, was himself a venerable Paris institution, while Man Ray, who rushed to Proust’s apartment in 1922 at the bidding of Jean Cocteau, was an American who spoke terrible French and had been living in Paris for little over a year.

The marvel of “Man Ray’s Paris Portraits, 1921-1939” is his access as well as his artistry. Before relocating, Man Ray had been befriended by Marcel Duchamp and Tristan Tzara, two vanguard artists. They smoothed his Parisian entry, and are among the subjects in this exhibition of 72 vintage prints, mostly drawn from the collection of Timothy Baum, a private art dealer who knew Man Ray in the last years of his life and collaborated on this show.

Man Ray flattered his subjects. To soften wrinkles and other imperfections, he typically shot with a long lens from a distance, and he slightly overexposed the film. Yet his portraits were profoundly revealing: the knowing eyes of the poet Anna de Noailles, the glazed stare of the perennially pickled Sinclair Lewis, the burly forcefulness of a young Alexander Calder. And then there is his self-portrait, taken in his mid-30s — tie intentionally askew, eyes penetrating, and mouth set in a line of unstoppable determination. ARTHUR LUBOW

Sylvia Plimack Mangold

Through June 3. 125 Newbury, 395 Broadway, Manhattan, 212-371-5242, [*125newbury.com*](https://125newbury.com/).

“I discovered the secret of the sea in meditation upon a dewdrop,” wrote the Lebanese-born painter and poet Khalil Gibran. Sylvia Plimack Mangold approaches painting the same way. Fifteen works on view at [*125 Newbury*](https://www.125newbury.com/) all depict a single maple tree living outside her studio in Washingtonville, N.Y., that she has been painting for decades.

Many of the paintings here are titled “Leaves in the Wind” and capture a green-filled summer rendered, close-up, in lush but no-nonsense brushstrokes reminiscent of [*Fairfield Porter*](https://parrishart.org/exhibitions/every-picture-tells-a-story-2/) or [*Édouard Manet*](https://www.artnews.com/art-news/artists/why-is-edouard-manet-important-1202685425/) — as well as Claude Monet and his sharply framed compositions of waterlilies. Other works, titled “Winter Maple,” function like dusty-blue skyscapes forked by leafless brown-gray branches.

The “secret” of the tree, of course, is that it is ever-changing, and hence produces infinite variations. (If, in fact, it is the same tree. We have to trust Mangold on this — although Magritte’s famous 1929 painting “[*The Treachery of Images*](https://collections.lacma.org/node/239578),” commonly known as “Ceci n’est pas une pipe” or “This is not a pipe,” offered a blunt lesson on how truth operates in painting.)

In Mangold’s hands, parts become wholes and the exhibition a master class in synecdoche: the tree is the forest; the painter a human representative negotiating with the natural world. In an age of restless movement and too much information, the practice of painting a single tree also becomes a profound, even radical act of mindfulness, meditation and care. MARTHA SCHWENDENER

Beverly Fishman

Through June 3. Miles McEnery Gallery, 515 West 22nd Street, Manhattan; 212-445-0051; [*milesmcenery.com*](http://milesmcenery.com/).

The artist Beverly Fishman has been thinking about the cure for what ails us for the last 40 years. Her candy-colored constructions exist somewhere between painting, sculpture and bad trip: uppers and downers pulsating in happy, fluorescent hues — a medicine cabinet stocked with remedies for being human.

The new work here, continuing her series of faceted, urethane-shellacked wood forms that protrude from the wall (a funny play on the idea of “relief”), are a workaround to figuration — about the body but never depicting it, geometric abstraction as a feint to talk about contemporary culture, and what we ingest to cope with it. They merge Frank Stella’s hard-edge syncopation with Southern California’s Finish Fetish movement, resulting in lustrous surfaces with an electric hum and smooth cast, like Everlasting Gobstoppers dipped in car paint. Each pill is rendered in concentric bands so that they resemble restless, polychromatic irises, or Wayne Thiebaud’s glowing confections, if Thiebaud painted sherbert-ringed icons of existential pain.

Only their titles, doubling as diagnoses, reveal their nefariousness, as in “Untitled (Osteoporosis, Abortion, Depression, Anxiety, Birth Control),” 2023: healing as dictated by the medical-industrial complex, the promise of a quick fix and the drug dependency that promise has encouraged.

“Four help you through the night, help to minimize your plight,” Mick Jagger sings on “Mother’s Little Helper,” the Stones’ buoyant tune about a housewife developing a Valium habit. Since then, the pharmacological spectrum has only become more florid. That gives Fishman an inexhaustible pill box, her dosages calibrated to symptoms that never let up. MAX LAKIN

PHOTOS: Joan Brown’s “The Visitor” (1977) is in the show “Facts &amp; Fantasies,” at Matthew Marks. (PHOTOGRAPH VIA MATHEW MARKS GALLERY); Giorgio de Chirico’s “Death of a Rider” (1937-38), an oil on canvas. (PHOTOGRAPH BY GIORGIO DE CHIRICO/ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY (ARS), NEW YORK/SIAE, ROME; VIA VITO SCHNABEL GALLERY); Installation view of “From the Margins: The Making of Art-Rite.” On view are photographs of some of the gallery storefronts, artists and performances that appeared in Art-Rite, as well as original production materials. (PHOTOGRAPH VIA PRINTED MATTER); Rina Banerjee’s “Black Noodles” (2023), looking like an underwater ruin, is the centerpiece and titular installation of her show at Perrotin. (PHOTOGRAPH BY RINA BANERJEE; VIA PERROTIN; PHOTO BY GUILLAUME ZICCARELLI) This article appeared in print on page C11.

**Load-Date:** June 29, 2023

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[***Europe's Factories Are Forced to Cut Back***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66G9-3CN1-JBG3-6002-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** Section B; Column 0; Business/Financial Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1531 words

**Byline:** By Liz Alderman

**Body**

The furnace, heated to 1,500 degrees Celsius, was glowing red. Workers at the Arc International glass factory loaded it with sand that slowly pooled into a molten mass. Nearby on the factory floor, machines transformed the shapeless liquid with a blast of hot air into thousands of delicate wine glasses, destined for sale to restaurants and homes worldwide.

Nicholas Hodler, the chief executive, surveyed the assembly line, shimmering blue with natural gas flames. For years, Arc had been powered by cheap energy that helped turn the company into the world's largest producer of glass tableware -- and a vital employer in this ***working-class*** region of northern France.

But the impact of Russia's abrupt cutoff of gas to Europe has doused the business with new risks. Energy prices have climbed so fast that Mr. Hodler has had to rewrite business forecasts six times in two months. Recently, he put a third of Arc's 4,500 employees on partial furlough to save money. Four of the factory's nine furnaces will be idled; the others will be switched from natural gas to diesel, a cheaper but more polluting fuel.

''It's the most dramatic situation we have ever encountered,'' Mr. Hodler said, shouting to be heard over the din of clinking glasses. ''For energy-intensive businesses like ours, it's crippling.''

Arc is not alone. High energy prices are lashing European industry, forcing factories to cut production quickly and put tens of thousands of employees on furlough. The cutbacks, though expected to be temporary, are raising the risks of a painful recession in Europe. Industrial production in the euro area fell 2.3 percent in July from a year earlier, the biggest drop in more than two years.

Makers of metal, paper, fertilizer and other products that depend on gas and electricity to transform raw materials into products from car doors to cardboard boxes have announced belt-tightening. Half of Europe's aluminum and zinc production has been taken offline, according to Eurometaux, Europe's metals trade association.

Among them is Arcelor Mittal, Europe's largest steel maker, which is idling blast furnaces in Germany. Alcoa, a global aluminum products producer, is cutting a third of production at its smelter in Norway. In the Netherlands, Nyrstar, the world's biggest zinc producer, is pausing output until further notice.

Even toilet paper is not immune: In Germany, Hakle, one of the largest manufacturers, announced that it had tumbled into insolvency because of a ''historic energy crisis.''

The whirlwind has unnerved the inhabitants of Arques, a town whose fortunes have been tied to glassmaking for more than a century. The modern-day Arc was founded in 1825 as the Verrerie Cristallerie d'Arques, then a small local maker of fine crystal goblets.

Today, Arc's operations are enormous, spanning an area nearly half the size of New York's Central Park. Its mass is such that Arc indirectly generates another 15,000 or so jobs in the region, from cardboard factories that package its glass to transport companies ferrying its products. Arc's other factories are in China, Dubai and New Jersey.

''The shutdown of the furnaces is bad news,'' said one worker, a 28-year veteran of the factory, who spoke on the condition of anonymity for fear of compromising his job. ''Sure, high energy prices are having an impact,'' he added, ''but it's scary how fast it's happening.''

To some extent, the crisis is a blowback from European sanctions that were intended to punish Moscow for its invasion of Ukraine. The pain has undermined confidence at European companies and their ability to plan.

This past week, the European Commission president, Ursula von der Leyen, proposed offsetting the hit by capping revenue from low-cost electricity generators and forcing fossil fuel firms to share the profit they make from soaring energy prices.

But the solutions may not be fast enough. Costs have already soared beyond what many manufacturers can afford. Thousands of European companies are near the end of fixed energy contracts signed when prices were cheaper, and must renew them in October at current prices. Year-ahead electricity prices, which are tied to the cost of gas, are around 1,000 euros per megawatt-hour in Germany and France, while natural gas is at record highs of around ?230 per megawatt-hour.

Eschenbach Porcelain survived Germany's transition from communism to capitalism after 1989. But when its energy contracts run out at the end of this year, the company will face annual energy bills of ?5.5 million, or roughly six times what it is paying now, said Rolf Frowein, its director.

''That would mean we have to more than double our prices, and nobody will pay that for our cups and plates,'' he said. Eschenbach, a 130-year-old company in the eastern state of Thuringia, is in talks with local politicians about a potential solution. It is one of dozens of small and midsize firms in Germany fearing they will have to close for good.

An hour north of the Arc factory, Aluminium Dunkerque, France's biggest aluminum producer, will furlough part of its 620-person work force and cut production by more than 20 percent as it faces a potential fourfold jump in its energy costs.

''The time we spend dealing with energy issues been multiplied by 10,'' said Guillaume de Goÿs, the chief executive. ''We hope the crisis will be short-lived, but if it lasts, European industry will be in very big trouble.''

Mr. Hodler is laboring to steer Arc away from trouble, after years of financial difficulties linked to overexpansion and, more recently, pandemic lockdowns. In December, shortly after Mr. Hodler took over in a management shake-up, Arc received an emergency ?45 million loan backed by the French state and is now asking the government for additional relief from high energy bills.

The site, which consumes as much energy as 200,000 homes, makes ''arts de table,'' including Luminarc dinner plates and Cristal d'Arques-branded table and barware. All told, Arc produces four million glasses a day, as well as items like candle holders for Bath & Body Works and promotional glasses for Heineken and McDonald's.

Doing so requires intense heat to melt sand into glass in furnaces that must stay lit 24 hours a day. In summer, Europe's power crunch propelled Arc's energy bill to $75 million, from 19 million euros a year ago. On top of that, consumers suddenly stopped buying items like candleholders and washing machines, for which Arc makes glass windows, sending orders plunging.

''People are worried about their winter energy bills, and are saying, 'I'll wait to buy that nonessential item,''' Mr. Hodler said.

The double-whammy sent Arc's management team scrambling for solutions -- all of them less than desirable.

This month, 1,600 workers were asked to stay home two days a week to cut costs. And for the first time, Arc's furnaces will switch to diesel power instead of natural gas, which is fed directly to the factory through a pipeline. The diesel will raise Arc's carbon footprint by 30 percent, and must be delivered in huge quantities by tanker trucks.

Even more daunting was the prospect of idling Arcs furnaces. ''You can't just shut down a glass furnace -- it would destroy it,'' Mr. Hodler said. ''If they are powered down gently, they will survive, but then they take more than one month to be reheated.''

Two furnaces that were planned for scheduled maintenance may now remain offline for the foreseeable future, Mr. Hodler said. Another two will be temporarily mothballed to make up for the fall in demand.

''We don't want to stop operations completely,'' Mr. Hodler said. ''But we are not going to produce if we lose money.''

All of which has locals in Arques very worried. At Le Cristal, a cafe that is a hangout for Arc factory workers, the fate of the furnaces was all anybody talked about on a recent afternoon.

''Arc is the lifeblood of this region,'' said Valerie Harle, the owner of the cafe, which opened in 1939 and is named in honor of Georges Durand, who built the Cristallerie d'Arques from a small-time factory into an empire. ''If the furnaces don't work, neither do the employees.''

Veronique Cognoti, a longtime resident, said locals were bracing for a domino effect. ''A lot of other businesses depend on it,'' she said of the factory. ''Transport companies, cardboard box makers -- they will all feel the blow.''

At a nearby table, a man who spoke on the condition of anonymity said he was furloughed this month from his job at a nearby cardboard factory that makes boxes and packaging for Arc, after the glassmaker cut production.

''With the price of energy as it is, the factory isn't working as much as it used to, and it is already creating a chain reaction,'' he said.

He was being paid 80 percent of his salary to stay home while his factory was idled, but that had added up to ?130 in lost pay. At the same time, he said, the gasoline bill to fill his small car had jumped to nearly ?100, from about ?50 at the beginning of the year.

''This is going to become a much bigger problem,'' he said.

Melissa Eddy contributed reporting from Berlin.Melissa Eddy contributed reporting from Berlin.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/19/business/europe-energy-crisis-factories.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/19/business/europe-energy-crisis-factories.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Arc International, the world's largest maker of wine glasses and glass tableware, has four factories, with one in France, above. In summer, Europe's power crisis propelled Arc's energy bill to $75 million, from 19 million euros a year ago.

Glass stems on a conveyor belt at Arc. The plant, which consumes as much energy as 200,000 homes, had been powered by cheap natural gas for years. (B1)

Taking a break outside the Arc plant in Arques, a town in northern France whose fortunes have been tied to glassmaking for over a century. A third of Arc's 4,500 employees are on partial furlough.

The Arc plant produces four million pieces of glassware per day. Top right, plates in the production process. Above, a glassblowing machine. Below, sand is deposited and then moved to the furnace, where it is converted to molten glass at temperatures of up to 1,500 degrees Celsius in Arc's ovens. Left, some of the finished products.

Four of the plant's nine furnaces, which must stay lit 24 hours a day, will be idled to cut costs. ''You can't just shut down a glass furnace -- it would destroy it,'' said Nicholas Hodler, right, Arc's chief executive. ''If they are powered down gently, they will survive, but then they take more than one month to be reheated.'' (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDREA MANTOVANI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (B6)

**Load-Date:** September 26, 2022

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[***The Chinese Dream, Denied***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6712-3MR1-DXY4-X1J5-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** The world’s harshest Covid restrictions exemplify how Xi Jinping’s authoritarian excesses have rewritten Beijing’s longstanding social contract with its people.

**Body**

The world’s harshest Covid restrictions exemplify how Xi Jinping’s authoritarian excesses have rewritten Beijing’s longstanding social contract with its people.

The narrow alleyways of Haizhu district have long beckoned to China’s strivers, people like Xie Pan, a textile worker from a mountainous tea-growing area in central China.

Home to one of the country’s biggest fabric markets, Haizhu houses worker dormitories and textile factories in brightly colored buildings stacked so close that neighbors can shake hands out their windows. Once a smattering of rural villages, the area became a manufacturing hub as China opened its economy decades ago. The government had promised to step back and let people unleash their ambitions, and millions flocked to Haizhu to do just that.

Mr. Xie made the hopeful journey last year, joining others from Hubei Province who had also settled in this dense pocket of the southern metropolis of Guangzhou. They toiled in cacophonous factories, peddled cloth or sold sesame noodles, a hometown favorite. But when I met him a few months ago, his hope had dimmed. Because of a slowing economy, he had been homeless for two weeks before stringing together money to rent a 100-square-foot room for $120 a month.

“There isn’t enough work for everyone,” Mr. Xie, 31, a soft-spoken man with hunched shoulders from years bent over sewing machines, said then. “You can’t go to bed every night having to look for work in the morning. It’s too tiring.”

It would get much worse, after a strict Covid lockdown silenced the factories and shuttered the noodle shops. In October, Mr. Xie was quarantined for nearly a month.

Several weeks later, Haizhu exploded in discontent. After a weekend of protests against “zero Covid” restrictions across the country, hundreds of workers defied lockdown rules and swarmed Haizhu’s streets on Tuesday, demanding freedom. They tore down street barricades and threw glass bottles. “End the lockdown!” [*they shouted*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/30/world/asia/china-covid-protest.html) as police officers in hazmat suits marched through the alleys, banging clubs against their shields.

The eruption was a forceful illustration of how thoroughly the world’s toughest pandemic restrictions have upended life in China. Xi Jinping, the country’s strongman leader, is expanding the Chinese Communist Party’s grip over its people beyond what even Mao Zedong attained. Mr. Xi has tied the success of “zero Covid” to his own legitimacy as ruler, and enforcing it has taken precedence over nurturing the freewheeling spirit that made Haizhu, and China, so vibrant.

The shift strikes at the party’s longstanding social contract with its people. After violently crushing pro-democracy demonstrations at Tiananmen Square in 1989, Beijing struck an implicit bargain: In exchange for limitations on political freedoms, the people would get stability and comfort.

But now the stability and comfort have dwindled, even as the limitations have grown. Nearly 530 million people — almost 40 percent of the population — were under some form of lockdown in late November, according to one estimate. People have died because of delayed medical care, or gone hungry.

Already, China’s security apparatus is moving to suppress the demonstrations against “zero Covid,” the most widespread protests China has seen since Tiananmen. The police have detained and threatened participants across the country. The government, while not publicly acknowledging the protests, has also tried to blunt public outrage by easing restrictions, including lifting some lockdowns in Guangzhou.

Even if Mr. Xi drives discontent back underground, the disillusionment that the protests exposed may remain. “Zero Covid” made clear the ease, and apparent arbitrariness, with which the party could and would impose its will on people. For many Chinese, such dominance has shaken their expectation of constant progress, and chipped away at their ambition and willingness to take risks.

Perhaps nowhere will this shift play out more poignantly than in the biggest metropolises of southern China: Guangzhou and neighboring Shenzhen. It was here where China’s market reforms first took off. A colleague and I spent two weeks in the region earlier this year, to see how the changing social contract has fueled frustration, resignation and anxiety — feelings starkly at odds with the triumphalist vision of national rejuvenation that Mr. Xi has promoted.

Mr. Xie was released from quarantine last month, before the recent clashes. He fled Guangzhou, unsure whether he would return. “This place — if I can avoid it, I will.”

A Fading Promise

At the heart of the region’s appeal was its promise of something for everyone. There were factories for rural migrants, technology powerhouses for aspiring coders, storefronts for entrepreneurs. Anyone could trade grit and drive for a better life.

Mr. Xie moved to Guangzhou last year, chasing higher pay to support his two young children. But when he arrived, he found a different hustle than expected.

Many factories had cut back as the slowing economy and lockdowns choked demand for new clothing. Each morning, Mr. Xie elbowed through nearly standstill crowds of job seekers to haggle with factory bosses over ever-lower rates for piecework, like finishing the hems on a shirt, or the pleats on a skirt. In August, he earned $40 to $50 a day — he had heard that people earned double that before the pandemic — on the days he earned anything.

At work, he hastily swallowed lunches of white rice and tofu, surrounded by knee-high piles of fabric and the drone of sewing machines.

Then, in October, the coronavirus began spreading in Haizhu, as did lockdowns. Confined to his room, then to a quarantine center, Mr. Xie’s money dried up.

The morning he was released, he boarded a train back to Hubei. “I’ve been out of work for so long, I’m about to go hungry,” Mr. Xie said when reached at home.

It’s not just in factories that upward mobility seems increasingly out of reach. The same is true in the region’s skyscrapers, once the gleaming proofs of dreams achieved.

Before the pandemic, Ryan Liu embodied the promise of his hometown, Shenzhen. After growing up in a ***working-class*** family, Mr. Liu, 34, became a product manager at one of China’s internet giants. He collected whiskey and vacationed abroad, savoring the high-flying lifestyle that China’s modernization made possible.

But “zero Covid” bowed even China’s internet giants. The e-commerce titan Alibaba [*reported a net loss*](https://apnews.com/article/technology-business-china-hong-kong-economy-954f19a2b1a977ed6d6b1780cf7a6146#:~:text=The%20company%20reported%20net%20losses,equity%20investments%20in%20listed%20companies.) of nearly $3 billion last quarter, in part because of weak consumer demand. Tencent, China’s most valuable company, [*laid off thousands*](https://www.reuters.com/technology/chinas-tencent-starts-new-round-layoffs-sources-2022-11-15/) of employees this year, the first time in nearly a decade that its work force had shrunk.

The comfortable life that Mr. Liu had built for himself suddenly seemed precarious. He had started reading job postings to be safe, he said over a protein bowl near his office in Shenzhen’s Hi-Tech Industrial Park, where high-rises offer amenities like karaoke pods and indoor running tracks. He stopped buying whiskey and sold his stock investments.

Mr. Liu was now focused on paying off his mortgage and building his savings. “The next few years,” he said, “will also be pretty hard.”

‘The State Is Everywhere’

The sound of construction began immediately after officials detected a lone case of Covid in Xiasha, a dense Shenzhen neighborhood known for its cheap eats and affordable housing. That afternoon, workers hauled sheets of metal and red plastic to erect barriers preventing anyone from leaving — a physical manifestation of the party’s increasingly overt control over daily life.

“Even jail isn’t like that,” said Wu Qunlin, 56, who runs a massage parlor here, recalling the two-week barricade in July — his second lockdown this year.

Even after the walls came down, the intrusions remained. Covid tests were required every 24 hours. People entering the neighborhood had to show proof of residence. Officials monitored people’s movements via their cellphones.

The [*mobilization of so many hyperlocal officials*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/30/world/asia/covid-restrictions-china-lockdown.html) — one state media report estimated that one had been deployed for every 250 adults — represents “possibly the largest expansion of Chinese state capacity in the past 40 years,” said Taisu Zhang, a law professor at Yale who studies China. “It used to be, for most people you didn’t really feel the state in your daily life too much. Now, of course, the state is everywhere.”

Officials even entered apartments in Xiasha, checking closets and under beds for people with Covid who might have been trying to avoid detection.

Mr. Wu, who opened his business 20 years ago, said he had done his best to cooperate with the Covid measures. He took daily tests. He got vaccinated. Yet there he was, sitting in a mostly dark alley, reeling off the neighboring shops — a photography studio, another massage parlor — that had gone out of business. Only one customer had come by that evening, to ask about prices (about $21 for a standard massage), but ultimately walked away.

“You’ve managed us before, that’s the function of the state,” Mr. Wu said. But, “it’s like if your parents tried to control you too much — you’d feel uncomfortable. And if you didn’t do anything about it, you’d also feel uncomfortable, right?”

‘Unless Necessary’

The question facing “zero Covid” is this: Now that people are expressing their dissatisfaction, what comes next?

The protests that erupted over the past week were rooted in the stringent coronavirus policies, but some protesters expanded their demands to more directly confront the party’s reassertion of power. In Beijing, Shanghai and elsewhere, they chanted for democracy, freedom of speech, an end to the authoritarianism that had enabled “zero Covid” in the first place.

But the security apparatus has grown only stronger from the past three years of controls. It is also not clear how many of the protesters share the demands, or the aspiration, for more political freedom; the angry workers in Guangzhou were focused on the basic right to work and move freely. If China manages to limit the impact of future outbreaks as it loosens restrictions, the sense of shared grievance could sputter.

Still, even if “zero Covid” goes away, Mr. Xi’s broader fixation on control is unlikely to do the same. In that environment, it remains to be seen whether the ambition that fueled China’s rise can still thrive.

That ambition drove Li Hong, 36, to take over a clothing factory last year in Haizhu. Since arriving from Hubei 16 years ago, Ms. Li had worked her way from the factory floor to management, and she was hungry to keep advancing and betting on herself. She knew the economy was shaky, but with so many factories going under, she could get one at a good price.

“Opportunities come to those who are prepared, but even if there aren’t opportunities, we want to go find them,” she said this summer in her small back office, where she kept a couch for naps during long shifts.

But this spring’s lockdown in Shanghai cut off orders from a major client there. Then came the Guangzhou outbreak. Factories in Haizhu were ordered to close. Ms. Li tested positive and was sent to a makeshift hospital.

After being released two weeks later, she returned to Hubei because her home in Guangzhou was sealed off, she said by phone. Her factory lease expires in January; she did not know if she would renew.

She had always considered herself a go getter, especially in a world where female factory bosses are rare. But she knew that individual drive went only so far. Even after Guangzhou eased restrictions after the protests, she worried that local officials were merely trying to avoid more bad publicity, not listening to people’s demands.

“They won’t make decisions based on what you want,” Ms. Li said. Ultimately, she was resigned: “They set the policies the way they want, and I’ll do whatever other people do.”

The reining in of expectations is perhaps best encapsulated by a phrase ubiquitous in China’s Covid restrictions: “Unless necessary.” Officials have instructed citizens: Do not gather “unless necessary,” do not leave home “unless necessary.” Many Chinese who had learned to dream of progress — even luxury — suddenly have been told, again, to expect only the essentials.

Still, some hold on to hope that the retreat is a blip. For all the present difficulties, the years of extraordinary growth are still fresh in many minds.

Atop a hill in Shenzhen’s Lianhuashan Park stands a 20-foot bronze statue of Deng Xiaoping. Mr. Deng, the leader who pioneered China’s embrace of market forces after Mao’s death, watches over the city that is a living reminder of the country’s ability to change direction. Mr. Deng is shown in midstride, to honor his credo that opening should only accelerate.

Chen Chengzhi, 80, a retired government cadre who hikes to that statue every day for exercise, credits Mr. Deng with changing his life. Mr. Chen moved to Shenzhen in the 1980s, soon after Mr. Deng allowed economic experimentation here. The city then had just a few hundred thousand people, but Mr. Chen, who had endured famine and the Cultural Revolution, believed in Mr. Deng’s vision.

“At the end of the day, all good things in China are related to Shenzhen,” Mr. Chen said on one of his daily walks, adding that he cheered when China’s premier, Li Keqiang, visited the statue in August and pledged that China would continue opening to the world.

If it doesn’t do so, Mr. Chen said, “China will hit a dead end.”

But Mr. Li is retiring, even as the Xi Jinping era of rising state control stretches on.

For now, Mr. Chen continues climbing the hill — looking over the city that he helped build, that he believes in still.

Li You contributed research.

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PHOTOS: Wu Qunlin outside his massage shop in Xiasha Village in Shenzhen, China. To save on rent after lockdowns began affecting his business, he moved his shop from a street to a back alleyway. (PHOTOGRAPH BY QILAI SHEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); The textile factory in Haizhu district where Xie Pan was working in August, top. As factories cut back in response to falling demand, work grew harder to find. A woman sneaked into a Shenzhen exercise area last month, above. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY VIVIAN WANG/THE NEW YORK TIMES; QILAI SHEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A9) This article appeared in print on page A1, A9.

**Load-Date:** December 8, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Best Sellers: Paperback Trade Fiction: Sunday, January 03rd 2021***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61VN-GWX1-DXY4-X36F-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 3, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 484 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the January 03, 2021 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending December 19, 2020. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Paperback Trade Fiction |
| This | On |  |
| Week | List |  |
| 1 | 5 | HOME BODY, by Rupi Kaur. (Andrews McMeel) Poems and illustrations by the author of ?Milk and Honey? and ?The Sun and Her Flowers.? |
| 2 | 75 | THEN SHE WAS GONE, by Lisa Jewell. (Atria) Ten years after her daughter disappears, a woman tries to get her life in order but remains haunted by unanswered questions. |
| 3 | 5 | SHUGGIE BAIN, by Douglas Stuart. (Grove) The winner of the 2020 Booker Prize. A boy?s ***working-class*** childhood in 1980s Glasgow is subsumed by his mother?s alcoholism. |
| 4 | 6 | THE QUEEN'S GAMBIT, by Walter Tevis. (Vintage) Sixteen-year-old Beth Harmon goes through changes as she plays chess in the U.S. Open championship. The basis of the Netflix series. |
| 5 | 170 | MILK AND HONEY, by Rupi Kaur. (Andrews McMeel) A collection of poetry about love, loss, trauma and healing. |
| 6 | 78 | THE SUN AND HER FLOWERS, by Rupi Kaur. (Andrews McMeel) A second collection of poetry from the author of "Milk and Honey." |
| 7 | 71 | THE OVERSTORY, by Richard Powers. (Norton) Winner of the 2019 Pulitzer Prize for fiction. Nine people drawn to trees for different reasons fight for the last of the remaining acres of virgin forest. |
| 8 | 9 | THE SONG OF ACHILLES, by Madeline Miller. (Ecco) A reimagining of Homer?s ?Iliad? that is narrated by Achilles' companion Patroclus. |
| 9 | 44 | A GENTLEMAN IN MOSCOW, by Amor Towles. (Penguin) A Russian count undergoes 30 years of house arrest in the Metropol hotel, across from the Kremlin. |
| 10 | 67 | READY PLAYER ONE, by Ernest Cline. (Broadway) It?s 2044, life on a resource-depleted Earth is grim, and the key to a vast fortune is hidden in a virtual-reality world. |
| 11 | 82 | ALL THE LIGHT WE CANNOT SEE, by Anthony Doerr. (Scribner) The lives of a blind French girl and a gadget-obsessed German boy before and during World War II. |
| 12 | 66 | THE NIGHTINGALE, by Kristin Hannah. (St. Martin's Griffin) Two sisters in World War II France: one struggling to survive in the countryside, the other joining the Resistance. |
| 13 | 1 | THE STAND, by Stephen King. (Anchor) A struggle of good and evil takes place in a world transformed by a plague. |
| 14 | 29 | CIRCE, by Madeline Miller. (Back Bay) Zeus banishes Helios' daughter to an island, where she must choose between living with gods or mortals. |
| 15 | 15 | THE INSTITUTE, by Stephen King. (Gallery) Children with special talents are abducted and sequestered in an institution where the sinister staff seeks to extract their gifts through harsh methods. |

**Load-Date:** January 26, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction: Sunday, January 03rd 2021***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61PD-4451-JBG3-64JT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 3, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 501 words

**Body**

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These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the January 03, 2021 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending December 19, 2020. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction |
| This | On |  |
| Week | List |  |
| 1 | 22 | MY OWN WORDS, by Ruth Bader Ginsburg with Mary Hartnett and Wendy W. Williams. (Simon & Schuster) A collection of articles and speeches by the Supreme Court justice. |
| 2 | 59 | HILLBILLY ELEGY, by J.D. Vance. (Harper) A Yale Law School graduate looks at the struggles of the white ***working class*** through the story of his own childhood. |
| 3 | 113 | THE BODY KEEPS THE SCORE, by Bessel van der Kolk. (Penguin) How trauma affects the body and mind, and innovative treatments for recovery. |
| 4 | 123 | SAPIENS, by Yuval Noah Harari. (Harper Perennial) How Homo sapiens became Earth?s dominant species. |
| 5 | 13 | THE TRUTHS WE HOLD, by Kamala Harris. (Penguin) A memoir by the daughter of immigrants who is now the vice president-elect. |
| 6 | 51 | THE WARMTH OF OTHER SUNS, by Isabel Wilkerson. (Vintage) An account of the Great Migration of 1915-70, in which six million African-Americans abandoned the South. |
| 7 | 97 | BORN A CRIME, by Trevor Noah. (One World) A memoir about growing up biracial in apartheid South Africa by the host of ?The Daily Show.? |
| 8 | 36 | BRAIDING SWEETGRASS, by Robin Wall Kimmerer. (Milkweed Editions) A botanist and member of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation espouses having an understanding and appreciation of plants and animals. |
| 9 | 10 | WHAT UNITES US, by Dan Rather and Elliot Kirschner. (Algonquin) A collection of essays that define the historical changes and essential institutions of America to suggest ways to overcome divisions within the country. |
| 10 | 13 | A WOMAN OF NO IMPORTANCE, by Sonia Purnell. (Penguin) The true story of a Baltimore socialite who joined a spy organization during World War II and became essential to the French Resistance. |
| 11 | 257 | THINKING, FAST AND SLOW, by Daniel Kahneman. (Farrar, Straus & Giroux) When we can and cannot trust our intuitions in making business and personal decisions. |
| 12 | 120 | WHITE FRAGILITY, by Robin DiAngelo. (Beacon) Historical and cultural analyses on what causes defensive moves by white people and how this inhibits cross-racial dialogue. |
| 13 | 233 | JUST MERCY, by Bryan Stevenson. (One World) A civil rights lawyer and MacArthur grant recipient?s memoir of his decades of work to free innocent people condemned to death. |
| 14 | 34 | THE COLOR OF LAW, by Richard Rothstein. (Liveright) A case for how the American government abetted racial segregation in metropolitan areas across the country. |
| 15 | 2 | EDISON, by Edmund Morris. (Random House) The Pulitzer Prize-winning author chronicles the personal life, inventions and obsessions of Thomas Alva Edison. |

**Load-Date:** January 6, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Beijing's Bargain With Its People Is Shaken***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6712-4J51-DXY4-X1S6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 4, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 2304 words

**Byline:** By Vivian Wang

**Body**

The world's harshest Covid restrictions exemplify how Xi Jinping's authoritarian excesses have rewritten Beijing's longstanding social contract with its people.

The narrow alleyways of Haizhu district have long beckoned to China's strivers, people like Xie Pan, a textile worker from a mountainous tea-growing area in central China.

Home to one of the country's biggest fabric markets, Haizhu houses worker dormitories and textile factories in brightly colored buildings stacked so close that neighbors can shake hands out their windows. Once a smattering of rural villages, the area became a manufacturing hub as China opened its economy decades ago. The government had promised to step back and let people unleash their ambitions, and millions flocked to Haizhu to do just that.

Mr. Xie made the hopeful journey last year, joining others from Hubei Province who had also settled in this dense pocket of the southern metropolis of Guangzhou. They toiled in cacophonous factories, peddled cloth or sold sesame noodles, a hometown favorite. But when I met him a few months ago, his hope had dimmed. Because of a slowing economy, he had been homeless for two weeks before stringing together money to rent a 100-square-foot room for $120 a month.

''There isn't enough work for everyone,'' Mr. Xie, 31, a soft-spoken man with hunched shoulders from years bent over sewing machines, said then. ''You can't go to bed every night having to look for work in the morning. It's too tiring.''

It would get much worse, after a strict Covid lockdown silenced the factories and shuttered the noodle shops. In October, Mr. Xie was quarantined for nearly a month.

Several weeks later, Haizhu exploded in discontent. After a weekend of protests against ''zero Covid'' restrictions across the country, hundreds of workers defied lockdown rules and swarmed Haizhu's streets on Tuesday, demanding freedom. They tore down street barricades and threw glass bottles. ''End the lockdown!'' they shouted as police officers in hazmat suits marched through the alleys, banging clubs against their shields.

The eruption was a forceful illustration of how thoroughly the world's toughest pandemic restrictions have upended life in China. Xi Jinping, the country's strongman leader, is expanding the Chinese Communist Party's grip over its people beyond what even Mao Zedong attained. Mr. Xi has tied the success of ''zero Covid'' to his own legitimacy as ruler, and enforcing it has taken precedence over nurturing the freewheeling spirit that made Haizhu, and China, so vibrant.

The shift strikes at the party's longstanding social contract with its people. After violently crushing pro-democracy demonstrations at Tiananmen Square in 1989, Beijing struck an implicit bargain: In exchange for limitations on political freedoms, the people would get stability and comfort.

But now the stability and comfort have dwindled, even as the limitations have grown. Nearly 530 million people -- almost 40 percent of the population -- were under some form of lockdown in late November, according to one estimate. People have died because of delayed medical care, or gone hungry.

Already, China's security apparatus is moving to suppress the demonstrations against ''zero Covid,'' the most widespread protests China has seen since Tiananmen. The police have detained and threatened participants across the country. The government, while not publicly acknowledging the protests, has also tried to blunt public outrage by easing restrictions, including lifting some lockdowns in Guangzhou.

Even if Mr. Xi drives discontent back underground, the disillusionment that the protests exposed may remain. ''Zero Covid'' made clear the ease, and apparent arbitrariness, with which the party could and would impose its will on people. For many Chinese, such dominance has shaken their expectation of constant progress, and chipped away at their ambition and willingness to take risks.

Perhaps nowhere will this shift play out more poignantly than in the biggest metropolises of southern China: Guangzhou and neighboring Shenzhen. It was here where China's market reforms first took off. A colleague and I spent two weeks in the region earlier this year, to see how the changing social contract has fueled frustration, resignation and anxiety -- feelings starkly at odds with the triumphalist vision of national rejuvenation that Mr. Xi has promoted.

Mr. Xie was released from quarantine last month, before the recent clashes. He fled Guangzhou, unsure whether he would return. ''This place -- if I can avoid it, I will.''

A Fading Promise

At the heart of the region's appeal was its promise of something for everyone. There were factories for rural migrants, technology powerhouses for aspiring coders, storefronts for entrepreneurs. Anyone could trade grit and drive for a better life.

Mr. Xie moved to Guangzhou last year, chasing higher pay to support his two young children. But when he arrived, he found a different hustle than expected.

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It's not just in factories that upward mobility seems increasingly out of reach. The same is true in the region's skyscrapers, once the gleaming proofs of dreams achieved.

Before the pandemic, Ryan Liu embodied the promise of his hometown, Shenzhen. After growing up in a ***working-class*** family, Mr. Liu, 34, became a product manager at one of China's internet giants. He collected whiskey and vacationed abroad, savoring the high-flying lifestyle that China's modernization made possible.

But ''zero Covid'' bowed even China's internet giants. The e-commerce titan Alibaba reported a net loss of nearly $3 billion last quarter, in part because of weak consumer demand. Tencent, China's most valuable company, laid off thousands of employees this year, the first time in nearly a decade that its work force had shrunk.

The comfortable life that Mr. Liu had built for himself suddenly seemed precarious. He had started reading job postings to be safe, he said over a protein bowl near his office in Shenzhen's Hi-Tech Industrial Park where high-rises offer amenities like karaoke pods and indoor running tracks. He stopped buying whiskey and sold his stock investments.

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'The State Is Everywhere'

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''Even jail isn't like that,'' said Wu Qunlin, 56, who runs a massage parlor here, recalling the two-week barricade in July -- his second lockdown this year.

Even after the walls came down, the intrusions remained. Covid tests were required every 24 hours. People entering the neighborhood had to show proof of residence. Officials monitored people's movements via their cellphones.

The mobilization of so many hyperlocal officials -- one state media report estimated that one had been deployed for every 250 adults -- represents ''possibly the largest expansion of Chinese state capacity in the past 40 years,'' said Taisu Zhang, a law professor at Yale who studies China. ''It used to be, for most people you didn't really feel the state in your daily life too much. Now, of course, the state is everywhere.''

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Mr. Wu, who opened his business 20 years ago, said he had done his best to cooperate with the Covid measures. He took daily tests. He got vaccinated. Yet there he was, sitting in a mostly dark alley, reeling off the neighboring shops -- a photography studio, another massage parlor -- that had gone out of business. Only one customer had come by that evening, to ask about prices (about $21 for a standard massage), but ultimately walked away.

''You've managed us before, that's the function of the state,'' Mr. Wu said. But, ''it's like if your parents tried to control you too much -- you'd feel uncomfortable. And if you didn't do anything about it, you'd also feel uncomfortable, right?''

'Unless Necessary'

The question facing ''zero Covid'' is this: Now that people are expressing their dissatisfaction, what comes next?

The protests that erupted over the past week were rooted in the stringent coronavirus policies, but some protesters expanded their demands to more directly confront the party's reassertion of power. In Beijing, Shanghai and elsewhere, they chanted for democracy, freedom of speech, an end to the authoritarianism that had enabled ''zero Covid'' in the first place.

But the security apparatus has grown only stronger from the past three years of controls. It is also not clear how many of the protesters share the demands, or the aspiration, for more political freedom; the angry workers in Guangzhou were focused on the basic right to work and move freely. If China manages to limit the impact of future outbreaks as it loosens restrictions, the sense of shared grievance could sputter.

Still, even if ''zero Covid'' goes away, Mr. Xi's broader fixation on control is unlikely to do the same. In that environment, it remains to be seen whether the ambition that fueled China's rise can still thrive.

That ambition drove Li Hong, 36, to take over a clothing factory last year in Haizhu. Since arriving from Hubei 16 years ago, Ms. Li had worked her way from the factory floor to management, and she was hungry to keep advancing and betting on herself. She knew the economy was shaky, but with so many factories going under, she could get one at a good price.

''Opportunities come to those who are prepared, but even if there aren't opportunities, we want to go find them,'' she said this summer in her small back office, where she kept a couch for naps during long shifts.

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The reining in of expectations is perhaps best encapsulated by a phrase ubiquitous in China's Covid restrictions: ''Unless necessary.'' Officials have instructed citizens: Do not gather ''unless necessary,'' do not leave home ''unless necessary.'' Many Chinese who had learned to dream of progress -- even luxury -- suddenly have been told, again, to expect only the essentials.

Still, some hold onto hope that the retreat is a blip. For all the present difficulties, the years of extraordinary growth are still fresh in many minds.

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''At the end of the day, all good things in China are related to Shenzhen,'' Mr. Chen said on one of his daily walks, adding that he cheered when China's premier, Li Keqiang, visited the statue in August and pledged that China would continue opening to the world.

If it doesn't do so, Mr. Chen said, ''China will hit a dead end.''

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For now, Mr. Chen continues climbing the hill -- looking over the city that he helped build, that he believes in still.

Li You contributed research.Li You contributed research.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/03/world/asia/china-xi-jinping-covid-zero.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/03/world/asia/china-xi-jinping-covid-zero.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Wu Qunlin outside his massage shop in Xiasha Village in Shenzhen, China. To save on rent after lockdowns began affecting his business, he moved his shop from a street to a back alleyway. (PHOTOGRAPH BY QILAI SHEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

The textile factory in Haizhu district where Xie Pan was working in August, top. As factories cut back in response to falling demand, work grew harder to find. A woman sneaked into a Shenzhen exercise area last month, above. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY VIVIAN WANG/THE NEW YORK TIMES

QILAI SHEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A9) This article appeared in print on page A1, A9.

**Load-Date:** December 4, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Why Is Ron Johnson Still Competitive Despite, You Know, Everything?; michelle cottle***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:663N-D6D1-JBG3-62TX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 7, 2022 Sunday 14:27 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1566 words

**Byline:** Michelle Cottle

**Highlight:** He has a way of winning Wisconsin Senate races in spite of his weird behavior. Democrats see ousting him this fall as key to keeping the Senate.

**Body**

Of all the political quandaries and questions of the 2022 midterms, one burns especially bright: How is it that Senator Ron Johnson, the two-term Republican from Wisconsin, remains a remotely viable candidate for re-election?

The Trump era has given us so many … let’s say colorful … characters. But Mr. Johnson may be the senator who most fully embodies the detached-from-reality elements of MAGA world — the guy most likely to spend his spare time fashioning tinfoil hats while cruising QAnon message boards. His irrational and irresponsible [*conspiracymongering*](https://www.cnn.com/2021/02/24/opinions/ron-johnson-alarming-conspiracy-theories-ghitis/index.html) about matters such as [*Covid vaccines*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/07/us/politics/ron-johnson-coronavirus.html), the [*integrity*](https://www.wpr.org/ron-johnson-doubles-down-calls-investigation-2020-election-fiery-interview) of the [*2020 election*](https://www.ronjohnson.senate.gov/2021/1/johnson-election-irregularities-demand-investigation) and who was really behind the Jan. 6 riot (agents provocateurs? Antifa? The FBI? [*Nancy Pelosi*](https://www.businessinsider.com/gop-senator-johnson-claims-pelosi-blame-capitol-riot-2021-2)?) unsettled even some of his Republican colleagues.

Mr. Johnson has gotten so out there that his brand is suffering with the voters back home. His favorability numbers have been [*largely*](https://morningconsult.com/2022/01/25/ron-johnson-unpopular-in-wisconsin-can-he-win-anyway/) [*underwater*](https://law.marquette.edu/poll/2022/06/22/mlsp70-press-release/) for the past couple of years. A June survey from the [*Marquette Law School Poll*](https://law.marquette.edu/poll/2022/06/22/mlsp70-press-release/) showed 46 percent of Wisconsin voters with an “unfavorable” view of him versus 37 percent with a “favorable” one. (Sixteen percent responded either “Don’t know” or “Haven’t heard enough.”) He is considered perhaps the most vulnerable Republican incumbent on the midterm ballot, a tempting target for Democrats scrambling to keep control of the Senate.

But Mr. Johnson is not easy pickings, and the reasons are revealing about today’s political climate — especially how voters in a battleground state with serious economic issues and other concerns (like [*a pre-Civil War abortion ban still on the books*](https://www.wpr.org/anti-abortion-groups-call-tightening-wisconsins-19th-century-ban-abortions)) may yet again wind up hitched to a guy who spends an awful lot of time on embarrassing distractions.

For all of Mr. Johnson’s weird behavior, the June poll from Marquette [*showed him neck and neck*](https://law.marquette.edu/poll/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/MLSP70Toplines.html#Q36) with various Democratic candidates, including Lt. Gov. [*Mandela Barnes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/27/us/politics/alex-lasry-senate-wisconsin.html), who is expected to win his party’s nomination in Tuesday’s Senate primary.

The national political winds favor Republican candidates, and Wisconsin’s closely divided electorate has moved slightly toward the G.O.P. over the past several years, driven by a rightward shift in white, non-college-educated men. More specifically, while Mr. Johnson isn’t known for his political savvy, he has a proven ability to claw his way back to victory after being left for dead by his party.

Winning Wisconsin is crucial in this cycle’s cage match over which party will control the Senate. That reality is enough for many in the Republican Party to hold their noses and vote for him, despite his loonier ravings.

At the same time, plenty of Wisconsin Republicans share at least some of his MAGA beliefs. In the Marquette poll from June, [*65 percent*](https://www.marquette.edu/news-center/2022/new-marquette-law-poll-survey-finds-lose-races-in-senate-and-governor-primaries.php) of the state’s Republican voters said they were either “not too confident” or “not at all confident” in the 2020 results. For those who buy the line that Democrats are election stealers on track to destroy America, Mr. Johnson’s more antidemocratic notions — like pushing the Republican-controlled State Legislature to [*assume oversight of federal elections*](https://www.npr.org/2021/11/29/1059861701/wisconsin-gop-lawmakers-want-the-state-legislature-to-take-over-federal-election) — may sound perfectly reasonable. He may go off the rails at times, but at least he is a fighter.

As for the state’s independents, moderates and Republican leaners, it bears noting that come campaign time, Mr. Johnson doesn’t pitch himself as a wild-eyed extremist. If anything, he works to soften his rough edges, presenting himself as a Republican that even a moderate could love.

This happened in his 2016 race, which wound up being a rematch with the former senator Russ Feingold, whom Mr. Johnson unseated in 2010. For most of the campaign, Mr. Johnson trailed Mr. Feingold — in money and polling — and the national G.O.P. abandoned him to expected defeat. That fall, his campaign retooled and began running [*positive ads*](https://www.ronjohnsonforsenate.com/2016/10/17/ron-johnsons-comeback-in-wisconsin/) aimed at humanizing the senator, highlighting his work with [*orphans from*](https://www.ronjohnsonforsenate.com/2016/02/29/video-ron-rep-ribble-help-wisconsin-family-bring-daughter-home-war-torn-congo/) Congo and his ties to the [*Joseph Project*](https://www.josephprojectwi.org/), a faith-based initiative connecting poor urban residents with manufacturing jobs. His favorability numbers began rising, along with the number of voters who said he [*cared about people like them*](https://www.politico.com/story/2016/11/johnson-feingold-wisconsin-senate-race-2016-election-results-231027).

Already in this cycle, Team Johnson has [*rolled out ads*](https://www.ronjohnsonforsenate.com/2022/03/09/sen-ron-johnson-launches-new-ads-highlighting-faith-based-project-that-connects-people-to-job-opportunities/) about the Joseph Project. And for all of Mr. Johnson’s inherent MAGAness, his paid media has been that of a more conventional Republican, hitting Democrats on inflation and public safety. Keeping the race focused on these policy areas — while steering clear of more exotic issues — is considered his key to victory.

Of course, Ron being Ron, he cannot help but mouth off in ways that seem tailored to give a campaign manager a nervous tic. This isn’t new. In his 2010 run (the one in which he suggested that climate change is caused by [*sunspots*](https://archive.jsonline.com/news/statepolitics/100814454.html/)), his unpredictable verbal stylings were an [*enduring source of anxiety*](https://www.nationalreview.com/2010/11/candidates-education-christian-schneider/). His team basically put him on media lockdown for the closing two weeks of the race.

And it’s not just the daffy conspiracy stuff. Witness his podcast appearance on Tuesday, in which he said that [*Social Security and Medicare should be subject to regular review*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2022/08/03/ron-johnson-medicare-social-security/) by Congress. At times, it can feel as if the senator gets up in the morning, looks in the mirror and asks: What can I say today that will get me tossed out of office?

Mr. Johnson’s defenders insist that these gaffes are, if not exactly part of the senator’s charm, at least in line with his image as a truth teller — and that in any event, the opposition is terrible at exploiting the blunders. Democrats always think they are going to sink the senator with one of his impolitic utterances, a person close to the Johnson campaign told me. But this Johnson ally points out that there have been so many statements and controversies over the years and very few of them really sink in or stick with people.

Translation: Plenty of Wisconsin voters came to terms with Mr. Johnson’s brand of crazy years ago.

Of course, there are degrees of outrageousness, and it may be that Mr. Johnson has finally crossed a line with his Covid-themed [*rantings*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/05/03/ron-johnson-takes-his-anti-vaccine-rhetoric-weird-new-place/), including spreading anti-vaccine misinformation and hawking unsubstantiated treatments. ([*Listerine, anyone*](https://www.jsonline.com/story/news/politics/2021/12/10/wisconsin-senator-ron-johnson-says-mouthwash-kill-covid-get-vaccinated-experts-say/6466916001/)?) One interesting change in Marquette’s polling: In 2016 significantly more voters still said they didn’t know enough about him or didn’t have a clear opinion of him to give a “favorable” or an “unfavorable” rating. In the closing weeks of the race, his unfavorables stayed pretty steady, but he managed to move a fair number of voters from the “don’t know” column to the “favorable” column, said Charles Franklin, the poll’s director. But this time, Mr. Franklin noted, the senator’s brand is more established — and not in a good way. More people are familiar with him, “and the people getting to know him seem to be forming overwhelmingly unfavorable opinions.”

Wisconsin Democrats are desperate for a win here. For them, what matters most in Tuesday’s primary is electability — who has the best shot at ousting Mr. Johnson. It is telling that the presumptive choice turned out to be Mr. Barnes, who is the most flamboyant progressive of the bunch. (In recent weeks his top competitors withdrew from the race, essentially [*clearing the field for him*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/27/us/politics/alex-lasry-senate-wisconsin.html).) With him, Democrats have made a clear choice in the ongoing political debate over whether it is more productive to mobilize one’s base or to court the political middle.

Mr. Barnes is seen as a [*rising star*](https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/congress/true-believer-why-mandela-barnes-thinks-his-progressive-ideas-can-n1279273): young, Black, energetic, inspirational, with a ***working-class*** background and experience as a community organizer. His [*campaign site*](https://mandelabarnes.com/meet-mandela-barnes/) notes that he was “born in Milwaukee in one of the most impoverished and incarcerated ZIP codes in the state.” This stands in stark contrast with Mr. Johnson, a rich former plastics mogul who heavily [*funded*](https://www.opensecrets.org/news/2010/10/self-funded-candidates-experiencing/) his first Senate run by himself.

Of the Democratic pack, the lieutenant governor is seen as having the best potential to juice turnout in blue enclaves such as Milwaukee and Madison. He is also seen as the easiest for Republicans to define as a radical leftist. He has expressed support for shifting funding out of “[*overbloated*](https://pbswisconsin.org/news-item/noon-wednesday-communities-chart-course-to-address-racism/)” police budgets, though he has since said he does not support defunding the police. He has praised the lefty Squad in the House.

There is a [*photo*](https://www.jsonline.com/story/news/investigations/daniel-bice/2022/02/15/mandela-barnes-backs-away-two-unpopular-far-left-causes/6785895001/) of him holding up an “Abolish ICE” T-shirt. There is [*video*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jzS_y9YDkNE) from an event in July at which he called America’s founding “awful.” [*Last November*](https://www.jsonline.com/story/news/investigations/daniel-bice/2022/07/06/mandela-barnes-forced-labor-stolen-land-led-american-success/7812705001/), during a virtual [*forum*](https://www.facebook.com/watch/live/?ref=watch_permalink&amp;v=906797600227814) for Senate candidates, he observed that America is the wealthiest, most powerful nation on earth “because of forced labor on stolen land.”

Once the primaries are done, the Republicans’ attack on Mr. Barnes is expected to be swift and brutal.

In strategic terms, the race may essentially boil down to the question of whether Mr. Johnson can moderate his MAGA-crazy brand more successfully than Mr. Barnes can moderate his ultrawoke one.

But the bigger, more existential question for Wisconsin voters remains: Do they want to spend another six years being repped by a conspiracy-peddling, vaccine-trashing, [*climate-change-mocking*](https://www.cnn.com/2021/07/06/politics/kfile-ron-johnson-climate-change/index.html), election-doubting, Social Security-and-Medicare-threatening MAGA mad dog?

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY DREW ANGERER/GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** August 9, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction: Sunday, January 03rd 2021***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61VN-GWX1-DXY4-X36D-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 3, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 501 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the January 03, 2021 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending December 19, 2020. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction |
| This | On |  |
| Week | List |  |
| 1 | 22 | MY OWN WORDS, by Ruth Bader Ginsburg with Mary Hartnett and Wendy W. Williams. (Simon & Schuster) A collection of articles and speeches by the Supreme Court justice. |
| 2 | 59 | HILLBILLY ELEGY, by J.D. Vance. (Harper) A Yale Law School graduate looks at the struggles of the white ***working class*** through the story of his own childhood. |
| 3 | 113 | THE BODY KEEPS THE SCORE, by Bessel van der Kolk. (Penguin) How trauma affects the body and mind, and innovative treatments for recovery. |
| 4 | 123 | SAPIENS, by Yuval Noah Harari. (Harper Perennial) How Homo sapiens became Earth?s dominant species. |
| 5 | 13 | THE TRUTHS WE HOLD, by Kamala Harris. (Penguin) A memoir by the daughter of immigrants who is now the vice president-elect. |
| 6 | 51 | THE WARMTH OF OTHER SUNS, by Isabel Wilkerson. (Vintage) An account of the Great Migration of 1915-70, in which six million African-Americans abandoned the South. |
| 7 | 97 | BORN A CRIME, by Trevor Noah. (One World) A memoir about growing up biracial in apartheid South Africa by the host of ?The Daily Show.? |
| 8 | 36 | BRAIDING SWEETGRASS, by Robin Wall Kimmerer. (Milkweed Editions) A botanist and member of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation espouses having an understanding and appreciation of plants and animals. |
| 9 | 10 | WHAT UNITES US, by Dan Rather and Elliot Kirschner. (Algonquin) A collection of essays that define the historical changes and essential institutions of America to suggest ways to overcome divisions within the country. |
| 10 | 13 | A WOMAN OF NO IMPORTANCE, by Sonia Purnell. (Penguin) The true story of a Baltimore socialite who joined a spy organization during World War II and became essential to the French Resistance. |
| 11 | 257 | THINKING, FAST AND SLOW, by Daniel Kahneman. (Farrar, Straus & Giroux) When we can and cannot trust our intuitions in making business and personal decisions. |
| 12 | 120 | WHITE FRAGILITY, by Robin DiAngelo. (Beacon) Historical and cultural analyses on what causes defensive moves by white people and how this inhibits cross-racial dialogue. |
| 13 | 233 | JUST MERCY, by Bryan Stevenson. (One World) A civil rights lawyer and MacArthur grant recipient?s memoir of his decades of work to free innocent people condemned to death. |
| 14 | 34 | THE COLOR OF LAW, by Richard Rothstein. (Liveright) A case for how the American government abetted racial segregation in metropolitan areas across the country. |
| 15 | 2 | EDISON, by Edmund Morris. (Random House) The Pulitzer Prize-winning author chronicles the personal life, inventions and obsessions of Thomas Alva Edison. |

**Load-Date:** January 26, 2021

**End of Document**



[***In Miami, a Ukrainian Art Show Becomes Unintentionally Timely***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64WK-W8K1-DXY4-X1K8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 28, 2022 Monday 23:01 EST

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**Section:** ARTS; design

**Length:** 1084 words

**Byline:** Brett Sokol

**Highlight:** A Kyiv couple stage a socially charged exhibition in South Florida as their Voloshyn Gallery back home becomes a bomb shelter.

**Body**

A Kyiv couple stage a socially charged exhibition in South Florida as their Voloshyn Gallery back home becomes a bomb shelter.

The wife-and-husband gallerists Julia and Max Voloshyn had planned to return to Kyiv last week to open a new show at their space there. But with commercial air traffic halted as Russian troops invaded Ukraine, their stay in Miami — and the run of their pop-up exhibition there — was extended.

The show, titled “The Memory on Her Face,” features socially charged work by five Ukrainian artists. After arriving in Miami in November to run booths at two of the satellite art fairs held concurrently with [*Art Basel Miami Beach*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/24/arts/design/art-basel-miami-beach-betancourt.html) — [*NADA*](https://www.newartdealers.org/programs/nada-miami-2021/presentations/334) and [*Untitled Art*](https://untitledartfairs.com/about) — the Voloshyns contracted Covid, postponing their return for a month. By mid-January, with several prominent Ukrainian art collectors coming to Miami in February, they mounted this impromptu show inside a small warehouse in the Allapattah neighborhood, with Untitled’s Omar Lopez-Chahoud as the curator.

“It’s a documentation of what has been happening in Ukraine for the last few years,” explained Julia Voloshyn by phone from the Miami rental, where she, her husband and their small child are staying.

“We didn’t plan it this way, but now with the war, this show is very timely,” Voloshyn noted, describing its work by [*Nikita Kadan*](http://nikitakadan.com/), [*Lesia Khomenko*](https://www.lesiakhomenko.com/), [*Nikolay Karabinovych*](https://karabinovych.com/), [*Maria Sulymenko*](https://www.instagram.com/p/CZMy2V_DOfp/), and [*Oleksiy Sai*](http://www.oleksiysai.com/bombed).

One of Kadan’s pieces features a silk-screened photo of a building in the eastern Donbas region of Ukraine, partially turned to rubble after Russian forces invaded the area in 2014 and continue to support separatists there. The silk-screen is loosely attached to a metal shield, so “when the air moves it, it captures the fragility of our country, and of our lives,” Voloshyn continued. “Now we see the same thing in Kyiv.”

Khomenko’s portraits depict ordinary ***working-class*** people buffeted by social forces, their bodies straining against the boundaries of the canvases.

A large painting by Sai, from his “Bombed” series, may at first appear to be merely a geographic abstraction. But it features a recent satellite image of battle-ravaged areas of the Donbas, overlaid on one of Sai’s earlier paintings on aluminum, then attacked with a metal grinder to simulate the craters left behind.

Still, Voloshyn’s mind remained focused on her gallery back in Kyiv. Used as a bomb shelter during World War II when the German army besieged the city, it sits beneath a seven-story apartment building. The Voloshyns had transformed it into a chic space, complete with wood flooring and tasteful lighting. Now it was once again a bomb shelter, and Voloshyn had urged her gallery’s artists to take refuge there.

On Saturday evening [*Kadan*](https://www.instagram.com/nikita.kadan/) was hunkered inside the Kyiv gallery with a small group, preparing for the city-ordered, weekend-long curfew. His initial response to the Russian invasion on Thursday had been stoicism. “I stayed in my apartment and watched old films by Ingmar Bergman,” he quipped over Zoom. By Friday evening nearby explosions had become too loud to ignore, and he’d moved to the gallery.

“I have so many historical images in my head that I keep thinking about: Sarajevo in the ’90s, Leningrad during World War II,” he said. “Sure, now it will be different. War is always contemporary, always different. But it’s also always bloody. Already, there is plenty of blood.” He fixated on the small children holed up in adjoining subterranean bunkers. “Every time we go out for a cigarette, we see this empty baby stroller,” he added grimly.

For Kadan, the role of an artist in this situation was clear: “To be witnesses.” But he also knew, as Russian troops bore down on Kyiv, that many artists were swapping their pens and brushes for bottles to fashion Molotov cocktails. “Emotionally, I’m ready. But technically, to be honest, I’m not,” he explained. “I’ve dealt with the reality of war in my art, but I’ve never held a real weapon in my hands. Maybe I’ll throw an empty champagne bottle at the tanks. I don’t know.”

Khomenko and her family had also initially taken shelter at the Voloshyn Gallery. An [*activist*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/30/arts/design/ukrainians-turn-to-the-arts-in-a-time-of-upheaval.html) during Ukraine’s 2014 Maidan [*revolution*](https://euromaidanpress.com/2019/02/21/32-exclusive-photos-to-remember-the-euromaidan-revolution/), she had been thrilled to see both the military and civilians rally together to resist the current invasion. But Kadan had implored Khomenko to think of her 11-year-old daughter and leave for safer terrain to the west.

There was an hour of tense discussion — and a heated argument with Khomenko’s grandmother, who had lived through Germany’s 1941 assault on Kyiv, and absolutely refused to leave the city now. Finally on Friday, [*before the Ukrainian military began defensively blowing up the city’s bridges*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/25/world/europe/kyiv-attack-invasion.html), Khomenko, her daughter, husband, sister and mother, the mother’s cat and Khomenko’s dog, all crammed into her aging Czech-built Skoda and sped off to a friend’s home in the small western city of Ivano-Frankivsk.

“I’ve been driving for more than 24 hours,” a visibly exhausted Khomenko said via Zoom on Saturday night. To avoid any combat, “we tried to stay off the main roads between villages, but those back roads are very bad, so it’s stressful. It’s completely dark, very rough.”

Left behind were the series of sprawling canvases she’d been working on for the past five years — intended to be unveiled in June at a Kyiv history museum. She’d originally been [*inspired*](https://www.instagram.com/lesia_khomenko/) by her grandfather’s sketches of the 1941 German [*invasion*](https://newrepublic.com/article/102917/david-stahel-kiev-1941-hitlers-battle-supremacy-east): “I wanted to compare the real experience of war with the socialist-realist propaganda from the period.” Except that the comparison had suddenly taken on an all-too-real [*update*](https://www.businessinsider.com/ukraine-official-russia-attack-kyiv-like-nazi-germany-1941-2022-2). Her mind was already racing as she mused aloud on Russia’s recent digital propaganda and the war scenes she’d just seen — and felt — firsthand.

“Painting has its own language with a deep tradition. I want to work with that tradition, to mix socialist realism with internet images, to layer it together and construct a new image,” she continued before catching herself. She paused and shook her head: “It’s so crazy. We were living so normally, and then we became meat just trying to escape.”

The Memory On Her Face

Through March 28 at 676 NW 23rd St. in Miami. To schedule a free visit, email: [*voloshyngallery.miami@gmail.com*](mailto:voloshyngallery.miami@gmail.com)

PHOTOS: Lesia Khomenko paintings and Nikita Kadan sculptures, top, at the Voloshyn Gallery in Miami. Above center, Julia and Maksim Voloshyn with a painting by Oleksiy Sai from the “Bombed” series, and a detail, above left. Above right, Kadan’s work featuring a building damaged in 2014. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ALFONSO DURAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 1, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Golden State’s Playoff Reappearance Doesn’t Quite Feel Like Old Times; Sports of The Times***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:657Y-8X91-JBG3-62DP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 18, 2022 Monday 10:14 EST

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**Section:** SPORTS; basketball

**Length:** 1143 words

**Byline:** Kurt Streeter

**Highlight:** The heart of the roster — Stephen Curry, Klay Thompson and Draymond Green — is back in the N.B.A. playoffs, a world away from the team’s soul in Oakland.

**Body**

The heart of the roster — Stephen Curry, Klay Thompson and Draymond Green — is back in the N.B.A. playoffs, a world away from the team’s soul in Oakland.

SAN FRANCISCO — The scene felt both comfortingly familiar and oddly askew.

Warming up before [*Game 1 of the Golden State Warriors’ first-round playoff series against the Denver Nuggets*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/17/sports/basketball/stephen-curry-golden-state-playoffs.html), Klay Thompson launched orbital jump shots beside his longtime teammate Stephen Curry. The nets singed with swishes, same as they ever had.

This was a home game for Golden State, which in the not-too-distant past — let’s just say anytime during the five straight N.B.A. finals appearances and three championship titles that began in the 2014-15 season — would have meant Oakland, inside the madhouse bandbox known as “Roaracle,” the worn-at-the-heels arena long known as one of the loudest in sports.

But that was the past.

This was San Francisco. The present. Chase Center. The first Golden State playoff game since 2019. A crowd full of new fans who can afford the astronomical ticket prices. A crowd still learning how to love its favorite team.

At Oracle, fans rarely left their seats during the heart of the action.

At Chase, there are so many amenities — lounge-like lobbies, $25 lobster rolls — that plenty of seats were open as the first half wound to a close Saturday with Golden State on a scintillating run that propelled it to a 123-107 victory.

At Oracle, fans often broke out into a loud chants that seemed to spell doom for opponents.

At Chase, fans chanted, but the sound seemed comparatively diminished, the cadence, strength and timing not quite right.

What a difference nearly three years makes for two great American cities and one great global brand of an N.B.A. team.

On June 13, 2019, Golden State played its final game at Oracle Arena in the heart of Oakland. Presaging the dark days ahead, the Toronto Raptors won Game 6 of the N.B.A. finals, snatching the title from the defending champion, closing the building and ending Golden State’s run as this century’s most dominant N.B.A. team. Thompson tore up his left knee in that game. Kevin Durant, felled by an Achilles’ tear in that series, signed with the Nets within weeks.

Golden State now plays in a three-year-old crown jewel of a waterfront stadium nestled across the bay, tucked within a high-priced neighborhood of gleaming shops, offices and condominiums.

But the longtime, nearly spiritual bond between Oakland and its famed basketball team remains. Emblazoned on Curry’s shoes Saturday was the word “Oakland” in a gold font. The players still speak of the city as if it is sacred. “The soul of our team comes from Oakland,” Draymond Green said this year.

To get a sense of the city and gauge how residents feel about losing a team that bonded with its home community as few franchises do, I spent a few days in Oakland last week. I walked the downtown streets and the ***working class*** neighborhoods near the old Oracle, now known as Oakland Arena. I visited a mosque and an old church, several tiendas, a shopping mall, a soul food joint and several homes.

I trudged around the old arena, which looks sad and forlorn. It is primarily a concert venue now. Maxwell, the silky-voiced R&amp;B singer, had been set to play on Saturday night, but his concert was postponed.

That seemed symbolic. Nothing seems certain in Oakland these days. As the city struggles to recover from the worst of the pandemic, its connection with professional sports — a history that includes 10 league championships won in Oakland among its N.B.A. franchise, the A’s of M.L.B. and the Raiders of the N.F.L. — hangs by a thread.

The Raiders followed the Golden State blueprint and left for Las Vegas in 2020.

The A’s remain, but for how long? On Monday, when they play their 2022 home opener against the Baltimore Orioles, they will take the field at a decrepit old stadium that looked marvelous when it was built in the 1960s but now has the charm of a concrete coffin.

With the team’s plan to build a waterfront stadium along the busy Oakland port at a standstill, the city again in financial distress and the A’s team owner flirting with Las Vegas, nobody can say that professional baseball will stay put.

“Very soon, we might have no teams here,” said Paul Brekke-Miesner, a historian of the Oakland sports scene who has lived in the city’s hardscrabble eastern flats for decades. Brekke-Miesner grimaced, thinking of Oakland and its long heritage of professional sports greatness now fading.

Seeing Golden State play a postseason series at the Chase Center, “it’s more than a gut punch,” he said, echoing a sentiment I heard often. The wound remains raw. “And it’s so ironic because we have the legacy here as far as basketball, but that doesn’t matter to the owners anymore. They don’t understand.”

Perhaps this should not surprise. The relocation of teams tears at the fabric of a community, but it is nothing new.

The Raiders started in Oakland, moved to Los Angeles, came back to Oakland and now have a Las Vegas address.

Both the A’s and the Warriors were born in Philadelphia.

When the basketball franchise came west in 1962, it played in San Francisco. Oakland didn’t become home until 1971. What’s old is new again.

More than once last week, I heard Oakland residents describe going to Golden State games at the arena in their city as akin to a spiritual undertaking. When the team was in Oakland, through lean years and world titles it oozed with the town’s vibe — soulful, tough, while also willing to break old norms and throw jabs at the status quo.

Oakland birthed the Black Panthers and became one of the most diverse and progressive cities in the nation. It produced a slew of trailblazing athletes, iconic and unafraid. Bill Russell, Frank Robinson and Curt Flood to name three. That Curry changed how basketball is played while suiting up in Oakland felt perfect.

“Oracle was like my cathedral,” one longtime fan told me, thinking back to all the games he watched from the rafter seats while Curry strung together mind-bending 3-pointers as if touched by grace. “Chase Center? Hmm. Definitely not.”

It’s not anyone’s cathedral just yet.

“Oracle, especially during the playoffs over the years, was just an incredible atmosphere,” Steve Kerr, Golden State&#39;s coach, said before Game 1. “Those are amazing memories that will last a lifetime. Now it’s time to start some new ones.”

Getting out to a 1-0 series lead was a good beginning. Even if the home crowd, still learning how to rise with raucous chants, made three years seem like eons and Oakland feel far, far away.

PHOTOS: The Oracle Arena in June 2019, just before the Warriors played their last game at the famously loud venue, losing to Toronto.; A Golden State fan after one of those final games in Oakland, before the team relocated to the Chase Center in San Francisco. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JIM WILSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 18, 2022

**End of Document**



[***In ‘The White Lotus,’ Michael Imperioli Takes a Vacation***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66M5-RWR1-JBG3-62S7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** ARTS; television

**Length:** 1858 words

**Byline:** Alexis Soloski

**Highlight:** After years in procedurals and gritty indies, the “Sopranos” star is enjoying a professional renaissance.

**Body**

After years in procedurals and gritty indies, the “Sopranos” star is enjoying a professional renaissance.

On a recent Sunday evening, the Emmy-winning actor Michael Imperioli stood in the dark, in a booth, in a recording studio tucked into a residential corner of Northeast New Jersey, and swallowed the shards of a throat lozenge. Imperioli, 56, who last year returned to New York City after many years in the not-quite-wilderness of Santa Barbara, had reunited with his band, Zopa, a jangly trio with accents of ’70s art punk and ’90s indie rock. He was here to record the band’s second album.

Zopa is a Tibetan word that means patience, and Imperioli, a Tibetan Buddhist, had made a corner of the booth into a kind of shrine — prayer beads, statuary, devotional texts.

“All right,” he said, approaching the mic for another take. “Let’s see what happens.”

If you know Imperioli — and you probably do; he attracted many surreptitious glances later that night at Chez Josephine, the theater district restaurant where he used to wait tables — you likely know him from “The Sopranos,” the HBO mob drama that recently topped [*a Rolling Stone poll*](https://www.rollingstone.com/tv-movies/tv-movie-lists/best-tv-shows-of-all-time-1234598313/) as the best series in history. Imperioli played Christopher Moltisanti, a heroin-addicted hothead who was a creature of impulsivity and id. Impatient, you could say.

“The Sopranos” wrapped in 2007 (Christopher had exited a few weeks before the infamous finale). But Imperioli, with his aquiline nose, his big, busy dark eyes, his spilling waves of hair, now gray, remains recognizable from the series.

“Your gray hair does not disguise you,” a man in a sequin shirt at the next table teased him.

“It’s not a disguise,” Imperioli told him.

These days, onscreen, Imperioli looks a little different. After years in police procedurals and gritty indies, he is currently appearing in two comedies: “[*This Fool*](https://www.hulu.com/series/this-fool-18ea1265-5978-41d7-b619-2ad23e075a71),” a freshman series now available on Hulu, and the second season of “The White Lotus,” which begins on HBO on Oct. 30. “The Sopranos” had its funny moments. (See: “Pine Barrens,” a Christopher classic.) But Imperioli has rarely done comedy.

“I don’t really know how to be funny,” he said.

Yet he is funny. And in both “This Fool,” in which he plays Minister Payne, a scruffy activist, and “The White Lotus,” in which he stars as Dom Di Grasso, a Hollywood smoothie, the comedy comes from straddling the distance between who these men would like to be and who they really are. As in “The Sopranos,” the laughs originate in a place of pain. Imperioli specified that if these shows are comedies, they are dark ones.

“I like dark comedy,” he said. “Because that’s like life, right? Because life is really funny. Then it’s really tragic.”

Imperioli grew up in Mount Vernon, N.Y., a ***working class*** suburb about a dozen miles north of Times Square. At 17, he skipped out on college in favor of classes at the Actors Studio. At 19, he went to a class led by the acting guru Stella Adler, whom he knew as Marlon Brando’s teacher. He remembers how Adler looked around the room and told the young people assembled that they were all so boring.

“I just couldn’t buy that I was boring,” he said. He remembers thinking to himself: “No, I’m not boring. What’s going to be interesting is whoever I am and if I can bring that and express that through something completely imaginary.” He never took another class with her.

It took him five years to land his first role, in a play that didn’t pay and barely ran. He was in his mid-20s when Spike Lee began to cast him in small roles in films like “Jungle Fever,” “Malcolm X” and “Clockers.” I asked Lee, over the phone, what he had seen in Imperioli back then.

“He’s a New York Italian American, simple as that,” Lee said. “That’s one of my guys. Imperioli! Love him!” Lee later directed [*“Summer of Sam”*](https://www.nytimes.com/1999/07/02/movies/film-review-red-hot-buttons-in-lee-s-steaming-sam.html) (1999), a spiky New York drama set in 1977, from a screenplay that Imperioli had co-written.

Imperoli’s most crucial early role came in Martin Scorsese’s “Goodfellas” (1990), in which he plays Spider, a gofer shot point-blank by Joe Pesci’s Tommy. It was a small part, but it was memorable enough to convince the casting directors of “The Sopranos” to bring him in for Christopher, a nephew and protégé of James Gandolfini’s Tony Soprano. [*David Chase*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/07/arts/television/david-chase-sopranos-interview.html), the series’s creator, remembers how immediately Imperioli elevated the character.

“There’s a lot of wild emotion within; he’ll go anywhere,” Chase said. “Christopher was so special, and he wouldn’t have been that special if it hadn’t been Michael. He would just have been a punk.”

What makes Imperioli’s performances fascinating, in “The Sopranos” and beyond, is a careful calibration of volatility and technique. His characters shift wildly from scene to scene, but that instability emerges from an actor in absolute command of his instrument.

Or maybe not so absolute, not always. Back when he was working on “The Sopranos,” Christopher’s impulsivity began to bleed into his own behavior. There are stories from that time — some funny, some not — of drunken shenanigans. Christopher was an addict and Imperioli was wrestling with addiction, too, though he doesn’t love to discuss it.

“I can’t stand hearing famous people talk about their things, their struggles,” he said. “It’s important, and it probably does help and inspire people, but I bristle at it.”

Addiction, he said, is often “a low-level search for God or spirituality or wholeness.” As “The Sopranos” ended, he found Tibetan Buddhism instead, which he and his wife, Victoria Imperioli, continue to practice.

He has worked steadily in the years since, often in boilerplate detective shows — “I had kids, and I wanted to put them through school” — or in indies that nobody saw. (The man at the next table, listening assiduously, sympathized: “It is so hard to be typecast.”)

But his youngest child is out of the house now, and Imperioli seems to have begun a new chapter in his career. In the early days of the pandemic, he and his former “Sopranos” co-star Steve Schirripa premiered a rewatch podcast, [*“Talking Sopranos,”*](https://talkingsopranos.simplecast.com) that eventually worked through all seven seasons. The podcast wasn’t really about laying ghosts to rest — the ghosts are resting fine — but it gave Imperioli a new appreciation for the series and its influence. (It gave Chase, a guest on the final episode, appreciation, too: He is writing a new project for Imperioli and Schirripa.) He marveled at how teenagers and 20-somethings, toddlers at most in the ’00s, had become some of the show’s biggest fans.

The podcast and his social media presence — [*his Instagram feed*](https://www.instagram.com/realmichaelimperioli/?hl=en) is a joyful and often egoless celebration of the art and artists that he loves — lent him a new prominence among relative youngsters, such as Chris Estrada, 39, a star and creator of “This Fool.” Asked to find a name actor for Minister Payne, a Unitarian cleric with a messianic streak and a debilitatingly large penis, Estrada thought of Imperioli. The character had to feel just as flawed and human as everyone else, without veering into white savior mode. He knew that Imperioli could deliver that. And more, as it happened.

“He brought not only a conviction but also a sense of lightness to the character,” Estrada said. “And he made it so funny.”

Around this time, Imperioli was invited to audition for “The White Lotus.” He hadn’t seen the first season, but at his manager’s urging, he watched it. “The depth of it and the humanity and the compassion that Mike has for the human condition really got through to me,” he said, referring to the show’s creator, [*Mike White*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/09/arts/television/white-lotus-mike-white.html).

Dom’s questionable choices required an actor who wouldn’t repulse viewers, who would continue to fascinate even in ethically suspect waters. (Just wait for the hot tub scene.) Which is why White wanted Imperioli.

“There’s something very accessible and likable about him,” White said. “He never repels you — he brings you in, and he’s so real.”

Dom, on vacation with his father (F. Murray Abraham) and son (Adam DiMarco), is estranged from his wife and in the throes of sexual compulsion, a condition that Imperioli spoke about with precision, displaying a thorough knowledge of neurochemistry.

He has been studying addiction his whole career, he said. Ethics, too. “I think I have a little bit of understanding and compassion for people who fall short of their moral aspirations,” he said.

Dom has poor impulse control, but Imperioli’s control is perfect. There’s a scene in the first episode in which Dom’s wife yells at him over the phone. Imperioli’s face barely moves as he listens, and yet he conveys as much, silently, mouth tight, as another actor might with a whole monologue.

“What Michael does, he trusts the audience, he relies on them,” Abraham told me.

The shoot — on location, mostly in Sicily — was long and often intense, with six-day work weeks and frustrating Covid-19 delays. According to everyone I spoke to, Imperioli remained calm throughout — warm, welcoming, serving as a kind of on-set sage (though he would never describe himself this way), leading the occasional meditation session with his wife.

“He puts the ‘wise’ in ‘wiseguy,’” DiMarco, his co-star, said.

White echoed this. “He’s very, very mellow,” he said. “I know it sounds cliché since he’s a Buddhist, but he has this sort of Zen vibe.” (For what it’s worth, Imperioli does not practice Zen Buddhism.)

At one point, over dinner, I asked Imperioli if he thought that his adoption of Buddhism had improved his craft. He resisted this, gracefully. “What that’s about is so much more precious,” he said. Buddhism may have made him a better person, he acknowledged, which might have made him a better actor. But that wasn’t the point. The point was learning to accept impermanence, unpredictability, interdependence.

Imperioli appreciates this professional renaissance, this break, finally, from the kinds of roles he played before, even as there are obvious continuities. He also appreciates that Rolling Stone named Zopa’s debut one of the best albums of 2021. But if the break hadn’t come, if the album had tanked, he would have been OK with that, too.

In his 20s, he said, work was all he cared about. “Now I still love it, and of course I care about it,” he said. “But before you know it, I’m going to be on to the next life.”

Back in the booth, in the dark, I sat on a stool and listened to Imperioli record the last line of a song, an 11-minute mini-opera with gestures toward “Hamlet,” “Romeo and Juliet,” the Who and seemingly, in some oh-oh-ohs, “Uptown Girl.” “Somehow I am going to fight my way,” he sang. He sang it over and over.

It was only later, looking at a lyrics sheet, that I saw he hadn’t been singing “fight” at all. The word was “find.” Imperioli was going to find his way, walking the path to the next life, one show, one song at a time.

PHOTOS: From top: Michael Imperioli, best known for his role in “The Sopranos”; in “The White Lotus” on HBO; and bottom left with Chris Estrada in “This Fool,” streaming on Hulu. His two latest roles allow him to show a lighter side, though he confessed, “I don’t really know how to be funny.” (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DANIEL ARNOLD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; FABIO LOVINO/HBO; GILLES MINGASSON/HULU) This article appeared in print on page AR11.

**Load-Date:** November 15, 2022

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[***For Oakland, Golden State's Move Is Still a 'Gut Punch'***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:657Y-SBW1-DXY4-X3TY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 18, 2022 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section D; Column 0; Sports Desk; Pg. 2; SPORTS OF THE TIMES

**Length:** 1106 words

**Byline:** By Kurt Streeter

**Body**

The heart of the roster -- Stephen Curry, Klay Thompson and Draymond Green -- is back in the N.B.A. playoffs, a world away from Oakland, the team's soul.

SAN FRANCISCO -- The scene felt both comfortingly familiar and oddly askew.

Warming up before Game 1 of the Golden State Warriors' first-round playoff series against the Denver Nuggets, Klay Thompson launched orbital jump shots beside his longtime teammate Stephen Curry. The nets singed with swishes, same as they ever had.

This was a home game for Golden State, which in the not-too-distant past -- let's just say anytime during the five straight N.B.A. finals appearances and three championship titles that began in the 2014-15 season -- would have meant Oakland, inside the madhouse bandbox known as ''Roaracle,'' the worn-at-the-heels arena long known as one of the loudest in sports.

But that was the past.

This was San Francisco. The present. Chase Center. The first Golden State playoff game since 2019. A crowd full of new fans who can afford the astronomical ticket prices. A crowd still learning how to love its favorite team.

At Oracle, fans rarely left their seats during the heart of the action.

At Chase, there are so many amenities -- lounge-like lobbies, $25 lobster rolls -- that plenty of seats were open as the first half wound to a close Saturday with Golden State on a scintillating run that propelled it to a 123-107 victory.

At Oracle, fans often broke out into a loud chants that seemed to spell doom for opponents.

At Chase, fans chanted, but the sound seemed comparatively diminished, the cadence, strength and timing not quite right.

What a difference nearly three years makes for two great American cities and one great global brand of an N.B.A. team.

On June 13, 2019, Golden State played its final game at Oracle Arena in the heart of Oakland. Presaging the dark days ahead, the Toronto Raptors won Game 6 of the N.B.A. finals, snatching the title from the defending champion, closing the building and ending Golden State's run as this century's most dominant N.B.A. team. Thompson tore up his left knee in that game. Kevin Durant, felled by an Achilles' tear in that series, signed with the Nets within weeks.

Golden State now plays in a three-year-old crown jewel of a waterfront stadium nestled across the bay, tucked within a high-priced neighborhood of gleaming shops, offices and condominiums.

But the longtime, nearly spiritual bond between Oakland and its famed basketball team remains. Emblazoned on Curry's shoes Saturday was the word ''Oakland'' in a gold font. The players still speak of the city as if it is sacred. ''The soul of our team comes from Oakland,'' Draymond Green said this year.

To get a sense of the city and gauge how residents feel about losing a team that bonded with its home community as few franchises do, I spent a few days in Oakland last week. I walked the downtown streets and the ***working class*** neighborhoods near the old Oracle, now known as Oakland Arena. I visited a mosque and an old church, several tiendas, a shopping mall, a soul food joint and several homes.

I trudged around the old arena, which looks sad and forlorn. It is primarily a concert venue now. Maxwell, the silky-voiced R&B singer, had been set to play on Saturday night, but his concert was postponed.

That seemed symbolic. Nothing seems certain in Oakland these days. As the city struggles to recover from the worst of the pandemic, its connection with professional sports -- a history that includes 10 league championships won in Oakland among its N.B.A. franchise, the A's of M.L.B. and the Raiders of the N.F.L. -- hangs by a thread.

The Raiders followed the Golden State blueprint and left for Las Vegas in 2020.

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It's not anyone's cathedral just yet.

''Oracle, especially during the playoffs over the years, was just an incredible atmosphere,'' Steve Kerr, Golden State's coach, said before Game 1. ''Those are amazing memories that will last a lifetime. Now it's time to start some new ones.''

Getting out to a 1-0 series lead was a good beginning. Even if the home crowd, still learning how to rise with raucous chants, made three years seem like eons and Oakland feel far, far away.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/18/sports/basketball/golden-state-nba-playoffs-oakland.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/18/sports/basketball/golden-state-nba-playoffs-oakland.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: The Oracle Arena in June 2019, just before the Warriors played their last game at the famously loud venue, losing to Toronto.

A Golden State fan after one of those final games in Oakland, before the team relocated to the Chase Center in San Francisco. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JIM WILSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 18, 2022

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[***Lessons From a Renters’ Utopia***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6898-C2R1-DXY4-X4RC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 23, 2023 Tuesday 00:20 EST

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**Section:** MAGAZINE

**Length:** 7019 words

**Byline:** Francesca Mari and Luca Locatelli

**Highlight:** Worldwide, housing has become a nightmare of expense and speculation. What did Vienna do right?

**Body**

When Eva Schachinger married at 22, she applied for public housing. Luckily, she lived in Vienna, which has some of the best public housing in the world. It was 1968. Eva was a teacher, and her husband, Klaus-Peter, was an accountant for the city’s public-transportation system. She grew up in a public-housing complex in the center of the city, where her grandmother, who cared for her from 6 in the morning until 6 at night, lived in one of five buildings arranged around a courtyard. Eva played all day with friends from the complex.

Her mother, who was renting on the private market after a divorce, had recently applied for public housing, too, and she was offered a unit first, in 1971. By then, Eva had a young daughter, and her mother decided Eva needed the spot more and offered it to her. The available unit was in the 21st District, on the northeastern edge of the city. Eva’s father-in-law warned her — not entirely jokingly — that out there, they would be the first to be occupied by the Russians. But she and Klaus-Peter liked the floor plan: Although the apartment was an economical 732 square feet, it had two bedrooms, a living room, a dining room, a toilet and washroom and a balcony. The rent was 700 schillings. (That’s about 55 euros, though the currency wasn’t introduced until 2002.) Eva transferred her teaching job to the 21st District, to a school a 15-minute walk from her new apartment.

When I met Eva late last year, she looked smart in a jean jacket with a neatly tied silk scarf around her neck, small dangly earrings and cropped curly hair. Over the course of the last 44 years, as she continued to teach English to fifth through eighth grades, Eva’s rent increased almost fivefold, to 270 euros from 55, but her wages increased more than 20-fold, to 3,375 euros a month from 150. Viennese law dictates that rents in public housing can increase only with inflation, and only when the year’s inflation exceeds 5 percent. By the time she retired in 2007, Eva’s rent was only 8 percent of her income. Because her husband was earning 4,000 euros a month, their rent amounted to 3.6 percent of their incomes combined.

That’s about what Vienna was aiming for back in 1919, when the city began planning its world-famous municipal housing, known as the Gemeindebauten. Before World War I, Vienna had some of the worst housing conditions in Europe, Eve Blau notes in her book, “The Architecture of Red Vienna.” Many ***working-class*** families had to take on subtenants or bed tenants (day and night workers who slept in the same bed at different times) in order to pay their rent. But from 1923 to 1934, in a period known as Red Vienna, the ruling Social Democratic Party built 64,000 new units in 400 housing blocks, increasing the city’s housing supply by about 10 percent. Some 200,000 people, one-tenth of the population, were rehoused in these buildings, with rents set at 3.5 percent of the average semiskilled worker’s income, enough to cover the cost of maintenance and operation.

Experts refer to Vienna’s Gemeindebauten as “social housing,” a phrase that captures how the city’s public housing and other limited-profit housing are a widely shared social benefit: The Gemeindebauten welcome the middle class, not just the poor. In Vienna, a whopping 80 percent of residents qualify for public housing, and once you have a contract, it never expires, even if you get richer. Housing experts believe that this approach leads to greater economic diversity within public housing — and better outcomes for the people living in it.

In 2015, before they bought an apartment on the private market, the Schachingers were making about 80,000 euros ($87,000) a year, roughly the income of the average U.S. household in 2021. Eva and Klaus-Peter paid 26 percent and 29 percent in income tax, respectively, but just 4 percent of their pretax income was going toward rent, which is about what the average American household spends on meals eaten out and half a percentage point less than what the average American spends on “entertainment.” Even if the Schachingers got a new contract today on their unit, their monthly payments would be an estimated 542 euros, or only 8 percent of their income. Vienna’s generous supply of social housing helps keep costs down for everyone: In 2021, Viennese living in private housing spent 26 percent of their post-tax income on rent and energy costs, on average, which is only slightly more than the figure for social-housing residents overall (22 percent). Meanwhile, 49 percent of American renters — 21.6 million people — are cost-burdened, paying landlords more than 30 percent of their pretax income, and the percentage can be even higher in expensive cities. In New York City, the median renter household spends a staggering 36 percent of its pretax income on rent.

To American eyes, the whole Viennese setup can appear fancifully socialistic. But set that aside, and what’s mind-boggling is how social housing gives the economic lives of Viennese an entirely different shape. Imagine if your housing expenses were more like the Schachingers’. Imagine having to think about them to the same degree that you think about your restaurant choices or streaming-service subscriptions. Imagine, too, where the rest of your income might go, if you spent much less of it on housing. Vienna invites us to envision a world in which homeownership isn’t the only way to secure a certain future — and what our lives might look like as a result.

Writing about housing in the United States, I’ve become depressed. I’m the scold at the dinner party, revolted by big investors speculating in the housing market, yes, but also by the thousands of small-time investors — including some of my own friends — who are pooling money to buy homes in states they’ve never seen or buying rental properties in gentrifying neighborhoods. But the math is hard to argue with. Buying a home near work is more lucrative than working. The growth of asset values has outstripped returns on labor for four decades, and a McKinsey report found that a majority of those assets — 68 percent — is real estate. Last year, one in four home sales was to someone who had no intention of living in it. These investors are particularly incentivized to buy the sorts of homes most needed by first-time buyers: Inexpensive properties generate the highest rental-income cash flows.

Real estate is a place where money literally grows on tree beams. In the last decade, the typical owner of a single-family home acquired nearly $200,000 in appreciation. “Another word for asset appreciation is inflation,” the academics Lisa Adkins, Melinda Cooper and Martijn Konings write in “The Asset Economy,” “an increase in monetary value without any corresponding change in the nature of the good itself or the conditions of its production that would make it scarcer or justify an increased demand for it.” That inflation is creating a treacherous gulch between the housing haves and have-nots. Harvard’s Joint Center for Housing Studies found that, in 2019, the median net worth of U.S. renters was just 2.5 percent of the median net worth of homeowners: $6,270 versus $254,900. Last year, as higher interest rates slowed home sales and caused prices to plateau (and even soften in some overheated cities), the asking price of the median U.S. rental reached $2,000 a month, a record high, according to Redfin. Inflated rent prices line the pockets of landlords while preventing renters from saving for a down payment and ever getting off the treadmill.

The astronomical pace of appreciation is the culmination of decades of policy aimed at encouraging home buying. The fixed-rate, 30-year mortgage is a particularly American invention, possible only because the federal government insures the debt — if a borrower defaults, the government is on the hook. (Only one other country, Denmark, offers the same instrument.) Then there’s our tax code, which allows those affluent enough to buy homes and itemize their deductions to write off the interest they pay on their mortgages: the bigger the mortgage, the bigger the deduction. Homeowners can deduct up to $10,000 of their property taxes from their federal taxes too, and if they sell their primary residence, they may be able to avoid paying capital gains on profits of up to $250,000 per person ($500,000 for couples). As housing activists like to point out, everyone who has a mortgage is living in subsidized housing.

Last year, troubled by the seeming intractability of these problems, I began looking for solutions outside the United States. Could the answer be rent control, as in Berlin? It might have seemed that way a decade or so ago, before investors and new residents began pouring into the city, causing land values to quintuple; now, despite rent-stabilization laws, even the apartments that no one else wanted to buy 15 years ago are huge moneymakers. Many residents with affordable rental contracts are locked into them because it would be too expensive or competitive to move. Frustrated by the housing squeeze, tenant organizers recently put forth an “expropriation” measure, which called for landlords with more than 3,000 units to sell their holdings back to the government at below-market prices. In a 2021 referendum, 59 percent of Berliners voted in favor of it, but it’s not clear whether it will ever be implemented.

Could the answer be loosening zoning restrictions, as Tokyo did in 2002? That has certainly helped. In 2014, there was more home construction in the city than in all of England. Since then, home prices have stabilized. Tokyo is largely celebrated as a model by YIMBYs (members of the “yes, in my backyard” movement) because they like its market-driven approach to housing abundance. They often point out that the city builds five times as much housing per capita as California. But Japan is a very different market because of its earthquake risk: Because regulatory codes and mitigation technologies are ever improving, structures often fully depreciate within 35 years. Older homes are often undermaintained because there’s little expectation that any investment might be recaptured upon resale; they’re thought of like used clothing or cars — you resell at a loss.

Auckland, New Zealand, might seem like a more applicable example. In 2016, the city, which has one of the most expensive housing markets in the world, [*“upzoned” 75 percent of its residential land,*](https://www.brookings.edu/blog/the-avenue/2022/01/24/new-zealands-bipartisan-housing-reforms-offer-a-model-to-other-countries/) increasing its legal capacity for housing by about 300 percent in an effort to encourage multifamily-housing construction and tamp down prices. In areas that were upzoned, the total number of building permits granted (a way of estimating new construction) more than quadrupled from 2016 to 2021. As intended, the relative value of underdeveloped land increased, because it could suddenly host more housing, and the relative value of units in densely developed areas decreased, tempering sky-high prices. But there are limits to what upzoning can do. Often the benefits of allowing greater density are captured by developers, who price the new units far above cost. It doesn’t offer renters security or directly create the type of housing most needed: affordable housing.

That’s what differentiates Vienna. Perhaps no other developed city has done more to protect residents from the commodification of housing. In Vienna, 43 percent of all housing is insulated from the market, meaning the rental prices reflect costs or rates set by law — not “what the market will bear” or what a person with no other options will pay. The government subsidizes affordable units for a wide range of incomes. The mean gross household income in Vienna is 57,700 euros a year, but any person who makes under 70,000 euros qualifies for a Gemeindebau unit. Once in, you never have to leave. It doesn’t matter if you start earning more. The government never checks your salary again. Two-thirds of the city’s rental housing is covered by rent control, and all tenants have just-cause eviction protections. Such regulations, when coupled with adequate supply, give renters a level of stability comparable to American owners with fixed mortgages. As a result, 80 percent of all households in Vienna choose to rent.

The key difference is that Vienna prioritizes subsidizing construction, while the United States prioritizes subsidizing people, with things like housing vouchers. One model focuses on supply, the other on demand. Vienna’s choice illustrates a fundamental economic reality, which is that a large-enough supply of social housing offers a market alternative that improves housing for all.

One afternoon last fall, I walked through central Vienna, past ornate buildings with lacy balconies, balustrades and porticos — private apartments from the 19th century. They were interspersed with social-housing blocks from the 1920s and 1930s — the Gemeindebauten, which stood out not only for their modernist architecture but also for the triumphant red block lettering on their facades, announcing: Erbaut von der Gemeinde Wien in den Jahren 1925-1926 aus den Mitteln der Wohnbausteuer. (“Built by the municipality of Vienna in the years 1925-1926 from funds from the housing tax.”) A stroke of political genius, I thought, as I waited for the tram: explanation and advertising. Half an hour later, I was in the 21st District, the “Russian territory” where Eva Schachinger used to live. Wohnpartner, the city agency that tries to foster community within the Gemeindebauten and helps resolve tenant conflicts, was having an open house at her old building, a flat, minimalist complex with orange elevator shafts.

Following Wohnpartner signs, I found the glass-walled community center and entered. Most of the attendees were mothers with small children or retired people. There was a painting station, table tennis and a plant exchange. People had brought their secondhand goods to give away, and a millennial Wohnpartner staff member offered tech help, which, surprisingly, no one seemed to need. Among the permanent fixtures was a library filled with free books and a play area with an array of wooden toys.

I took a seat with Eva in the communal kitchen, where someone had made a large pot of butternut-squash soup. (Some of Red Vienna’s planners had hoped to centralize cooking in communal facilities with industrial-strength machines, but the fascists came first, and then, under capitalism, Austrian families quickly became accustomed to shelling out for their own KitchenAids, Vitamixes and Nespresso machines.) Since retiring, Eva has been collaborating with Malyuun Badeed, the building’s caretaker, on a twice-yearly magazine for the complex that includes a recipe and a crossword, along with the latest community news. Badeed, who joined us in the kitchen, wore a black hijab with pearls and waved her hands as she spoke of leaving Somalia as a single mother in the 1990s. When she first arrived in Vienna, she hawked newspapers on the street; now she helped produce one.

Eva told me she often came back to the Gemeindebau to tutor students from the complex with a woman named Edith, an elderly neighbor who lived in a nearby Gemeindebau. Edith’s next-door neighbors help buy and deliver her groceries, which she has difficulty carrying. In exchange, she watches over their three children. When Eva called to wish her a merry Christmas, Edith was busy wrapping 40 presents for the three kids; she hid them around her apartment so they wouldn’t be found before Santa came to visit. “The Gemeindebau is where socialization happens,” Eva was fond of telling me, and this is what socialization looks like across the generations.

I learned that the average waiting time to get a Gemeindebau is about two years (at any given moment there are 12,000 or so people on the waiting list, and each year about 10,000 or more people are housed). Vienna residents — anyone who has had a fixed address for two years, whether they are a citizen or not — may apply, and applications are evaluated based on need. Florian Kogler, a 21-year-old university student, was considered an urgent case because he lived in an overcrowded two-bedroom apartment with his mother, stepfather and two siblings. He shared a room with his brother, while his parents slept in the living room. He also got priority because he was moving into his own apartment for the first time. Kogler was offered an apartment in about a month. “That’s unusually fast,” he told me.

Applicants may decline up to two units; if they decline a third, they have to apply again. Kogler took the first flat offered to him, a 355-square-foot studio drenched in light overlooking a playground in the central 12th District. It cost 350 euros a month; his monthly income from working part time at a museum is about 1,000 euros. Those who need extra assistance to pay their rent receive individual subsidies. Students under 25, like Kogler, can qualify for 200 euros a month.

Every few years, there is a debate about whether the affluent should be forced to give up their Gemeindebau leases — that is, whether the units should be means-tested. The face of this debate, for some, is Peter Pilz, a former member of Austria’s Green Party in Parliament. Pilz lives in Goethehof, one of the largest Gemeindebauten by the Danube River. He moved into a unit as a university student to live with his grandmother, who had been there since the building opened in 1932. Before she died, he took over her contract. (He was, one might say, grandmothered in.) Pilz was elected to Parliament in 1986 and eventually started making more than 8,000 euros a month.

Even in Vienna, Pilz’s tenancy raised eyebrows, making headlines in Austria’s conservative paper, Österreich, which claimed in 2012 that he was paying only 66.18 euros a month in rent. (Pilz says he was paying, including building costs, closer to 250 euros a month.) “Given that Pilz’s income is well over the usual tariff for social housing, it does look like we’re talking about social fraud here,” said the general secretary of the conservative Freedom Party of Austria.

Pilz did nothing illegal. Once in a Gemeindebau, you never have to leave. But is it unethical for the wealthy to stay? City housing officials point out that having wealthier tenants in the Gemeindebauten helps thwart the problems that accompany concentrated poverty, creating a more stable, healthier environment for everyone. Unlike in the United States, where public housing is only for the poorest — the average resident’s annual household income was $15,219 in 2019, well below the federal poverty line of $16,910 for a family of two — the relative integration of the Gemeindebauten means that they are not stigmatized.

That’s not to say they are problem-free. Noomi Anyanwu, the 23-year-old founder of Black Voices Austria, told me that she grew up in a Gemeindebau with an Austrian mother and a Nigerian father. When she wasn’t more than 5, a white boy in the complex who was a bit older called her brother a racial slur while everyone was playing in the courtyard. Overhearing the spat, the fathers descended into the courtyard. But the white father didn’t apologize; he doubled down, repeating what his son said. Just a few years later, Anyanwu said, her father left the country because of employment discrimination and racist treatment by the police.

So I was surprised when Anyanwu told me that, on the whole, her experience with social housing was positive. The Gemeindebau was its own village within the city, she said. She estimated that 50 percent of her Gemeindebau neighbors were immigrants — “it reflected society,” she told me. (Vienna actually has a slightly higher percentage of foreign-born residents than New York City.) A girl her age named Safiya lived in an apartment across the hall from hers and would become her best friend. Safiya’s father was also from Africa — from Somalia — and he, too, left because of racism. But the affordability of the Gemeindebau allowed the girls’ mothers to maintain stability.

Esra Ozmen, the daughter of Turkish immigrants, grew up in Sandleitenhof, one of the largest Geimendebauten, which has villa-like courtyards and stonework. As an adult, she moved into her own Gemeindebau studio. Ozmen says affordable housing gave her the stability to study for a Ph.D. in fine art while also pursuing a rap career. She makes 1,000 to 2,000 euros a month from her shows and from organizing cultural events. “I have a car,” she told me. “A Mercedes A-Class from the ’90s. I eat out. I drink one coffee out every day. I don’t have a lot of money. But I live rich.”

Social housing like Vienna’s might seem inconceivable in America. But American politicians seriously considered it in the 1930s. After the stock-market crash of 1929, the U.S. housing market also collapsed; half of mortgage debt was in default by 1933. Both the right and the left agreed that the government needed to intervene. The question was how. According to the historian Kenneth T. Jackson in his book “Crabgrass Frontier,” at the time, the typical mortgage ranged from five to 10 years, and borrowers paid interest only until the end of the term, when full payment was due or a borrower refinanced. When President Franklin D. Roosevelt took office in 1933, Congress created the Home Owners’ Loan Corporation to buy underwater mortgages and stabilize the housing market. Within two years, the H.O.L.C. restructured more than a million mortgages, covering 10 percent of all owner-occupied homes. Principal and interest were bundled together so that over about 20 years of manageable payments, borrowers became outright homeowners.

But that wasn’t enough to salvage the real estate market or the economy. During the Great Depression, one-quarter of all Americans were unemployed, and the construction industry was hit particularly hard. The United States needed the same things as Vienna at the time: employment and better housing conditions for workers. Housing is “the wheel within the wheel to move the whole economic engine,” said Marriner Eccles, Roosevelt’s Federal Reserve chairman. The Federal Public Works Administration, an emergency jobs program, funded construction of about 50 new public-housing complexes, including the Harlem River Houses in New York City, a project seemingly straight out of Vienna, with Beaux-Arts-inspired buildings along a central courtyard with a nursery school, health clinics and a public library.

Although this housing was admired, it was costly and mired in controversy, writes the historian Gail Radford, who chronicles the New Deal-era debate over social housing in her book, “Modern Housing for America.” Roosevelt sought a housing plan that didn’t require the government to keep footing the bill. At a time when Communism was gaining traction, he preferred to wed Americans to capitalism. The best way to do that? Broaden the base of homeowners — increase the number of Americans with a personal investment in property.

Congress’s National Housing Act of 1934 would rescue the housing market and establish the housing policy that defines America today. It made permanent the fixed-rate, long-term mortgage that the H.O.L.C. had helped introduce. Banks were reluctant to assume risk over decades, so the act created the Federal Housing Administration (F.H.A.) to insure mortgage debt with the full backing of the U.S. Treasury as long as loans conformed to standards it set — for instance, homes had to appraise for the purchase price and had to be in a stable-enough neighborhood, which meant a white-enough neighborhood, to make sure the government wouldn’t lose money if a borrower defaulted. On its maps, the F.H.A. colored the neighborhoods deemed too risky for mortgage insurance in red — a form of “redlining,” a policy that did a great deal to create the grave racial disparities in wealth that persist today. “No agency of the United States government has had a more pervasive and powerful impact on the American people over the past half-century,” Jackson writes.

But the Federal Housing Administration had no plan to address low-income housing needs. So Senator Robert Wagner, a New York Democrat, introduced a second bill, inspired by what the housing scholar Catherine Bauer had seen in Vienna and other European cities. As proposed, the Housing Act of 1937, which Bauer helped write, would have included financing for the construction of both limited-profit housing and public housing. Faced with fierce opposition from the real estate industry, Wagner and Bauer accepted five fatal compromises in order to pass the bill. First, support for nonprofit and limited-profit cooperatives was eliminated. Second, location decisions were left to local governments, many of whose constituents greeted public housing like the bubonic plague, as one commenter put it. Third, a provision was added for an “equivalent elimination” of slum property, meaning that for each new unit built, a slum dwelling had to be cleared. (That way, public housing wouldn’t dampen landlords’ profits by increasing the overall supply of units.) Fourth, public housing would be eligible only to those so poor that they could never secure decent housing in the private market.

Fifth and finally, construction costs were severely limited. The problem with America’s public housing today isn’t just that it’s underfunded and poorly maintained. It’s that it wasn’t built well to begin with. Doors were left off closets; interior walls were thin and cheap. At a public-housing complex in Red Hook, Brooklyn, the elevator only stopped on every other floor. As Radford writes, “Those who hated public housing remained hostile, while the minimal buildings produced by the [United States Housing Authority] attracted no new allies and discouraged some of the old ones.” Indeed, America’s public housing was designed to fail: to be unappealing to anyone who could afford to rent.

As Bauer predicted early on, housing programs targeting only the poor would lack the political support necessary to thrive. Only an integrated program, one that welcomed the majority like the Gemeindebau of Vienna, would be sustainable. But the U.S. government prioritized support for banking rather than construction. The 30-year mortgage was a huge economic boon for the millions of Americans who took one out, benefiting from the federal subsidies and the nation’s long upward trajectory in home prices; the instrument leveraged many a renter and public-housing resident into homeownership and “turned many a former dependent of the public sector into a small-time fiscal conservative,” as Adkins, Cooper and Konings write in “The Asset Economy.”

This constituency of middle-class homeowners is what the Dartmouth emeritus economist William A. Fischel calls “homevoters”: a coalition of Americans who — consciously or not — vote to protect the value of their property. They tend to oppose local development and favor exclusionary zoning — which ensures maximum appreciation and prevents their tax dollars from extending to poorer neighborhoods. This tendency, alongside stagnant wages, has transformed the nation’s housing stock into an ever-scarcer and ever-more-expensive class of speculative asset. It’s almost impossible to “cater to the expectations of an existing constituency of middle-class homeowners without raising the barriers of entry for the rest of society,” Adkins and her colleagues write. “A middle-class politics of asset democratization has ended up undermining the conditions of its own viability.”

I wasn’t the only American looking to Vienna for possible answers to America’s housing crisis. I was there following a delegation from New York that had come to study the city’s housing system — 50 policymakers, researchers and activists invited by Housing Justice for All, an alliance of housing organizers across the state, and the Action Lab, a social-movement hub. One afternoon, I joined them on a tour of Karl-Marx-Hof, one of the largest housing complexes in the world.

Ever since Karl-Marx-Hof opened in 1930, it has been a sort of Rorschach test — a domineering socialist monstrosity or a pioneering communitarian stronghold, depending on your political perspective. Exiting the subway station, the building shot up before me, seven stories tall and three-quarters of a mile long, a perimeter block that looks like a citadel. The core of the building is cream-colored, but its sandstone red elements draw the eye — red balconies and red towers topped by staffs that can fly enormous banners that are visible miles away. Its six huge arched passageways, also red, give the complex the civic stature of an aqueduct.

Julia Anna Schranz, a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Vienna and our guide, wore Converse, jeans and a long red wool coat. She pointed out four grim ceramic figures mounted on top of the archways, explaining that they were personifications of enlightenment, freedom, welfare and physical culture. These embellishments — commissions to increase employment during the period between the world wars, were also seen as an investment in the aesthetics of the Gemeindebauten and a tribute to its tenants.

Schranz opened the thick, thorny iron gates spanning one archway, and we passed into a grassy courtyard — nearly two football fields in size. Painted an off-white that glowed in the morning sun, the interior was a striking contrast with the more formidable exterior.

“These are the projects,” India Walton, a community organizer from Buffalo, said wryly. There was a rose garden. Children — Black, brown, white — were running and shrieking in a playground attached to an on-site kindergarten. Walton, now in her 40s, had twins when she was just 19 and raised them while working as a nurse. Decades later, she became politically active, and in 2021 she won the Democratic nomination for mayor of Buffalo, only to be defeated by a write-in campaign by the Democratic incumbent. Where would she be now if she had the option of living in a place like this? She would have left her marriage sooner, Walton told me. “I might not have been a nurse, but a doctor.” A child in the kindergarten waved at her, and she waved back.

When Karl-Marx-Hof opened, it housed 5,000 people in 1,400 apartments. These apartments were coveted. “It had two central laundries, two communal bathing facilities with tubs and showers, a dental clinic, maternity clinic, a health-insurance office, library, youth hostel, post office, and a pharmacy and 25 other commercial premises, including a restaurant and the offices and showroom of the BEST, the city-run furnishing and interior-design advice center,” Blau writes.

Now fewer than 3,000 tenants live in Karl-Marx-Hof — not because it’s undesirable but because living standards have improved and, in response, Vienna has allotted tenants more space. Vienna’s housing authority believes that a family of four needs around 1,100 square feet, so it combined some of the units to create larger ones.

A bobblehead nodded from a balcony with potted plants and cairns. An older Austrian man waved. State Assemblywoman Emily Gallagher, a Democrat who had recently unseated the incumbent Democrat in the 50th Assembly District, which includes parts of Greenpoint, Williamsburg and Fort Greene, live-tweeted the tour on her phone. State Senator Julia Salazar, a Democrat representing the 18th State Senate District, which covers Bushwick, took notes with a gold pen on a notebook with black paper. Renette Bradley, a tenant organizer, wore a Nickelodeon shirt, overalls, a black New York beanie and lavishly long fake lashes. “Can you be paroled here?” she asked, her voice husky and direct. This affected many of Bradley’s friends and relatives who, upon release from prison, were left homeless because they weren’t allowed to join family living in public housing.

Schranz looked at her blankly.

“Can you come out of prison and live here?” Bradley repeated.

“Of course,” Schranz said. “Why not? If you’re out, you’re out.”

The New Yorkers murmured. Schranz continued to look at us questioningly.

“There’s like four or five problems baked into that question that they just don’t understand,” Joseph Loonam, a housing campaign coordinator with VOCAL-NY, said as we walked toward the laundry facilities. He told me that a member of his organization had been arrested more than 40 times because whenever he visits his family in the Gowanus projects, he violates the terms of his plea deal.

At the museum store, I bought a red potholder crocheted by a local women’s co-op: a Red Vienna-era schema of the “three evils” seizing Europe (Nazism, Communism, monarchism), each represented by white arrows. Several organizers and state legislators bought one, too. When the college student working at the museum shop said he was all out, a lawmaker suggested that he could sell the potholders in the display case. “We aren’t used to this,” the college student said, unlocking the case, by which he seemed to mean American patterns of consumption. The American need to own.

Vienna has succeeded in curbing the craving to own. It has done it by driving down the price of land through rezoning and rent control. In general, the beneficiaries of these land-use policies are less the Gemeindebauten (they stopped building from 2004 to 2015 and now only produce some 500 units a year) and more the limited-profit housing associations, the origins of which preceded Red Vienna and have built 3,000 to 5,000 units a year for the last four decades.

Today limited-profit housing accounts for half the city’s social housing. Limited-profit housing associations are restricted to charging rents that reflect costs. Investors — banks, insurance funds — may buy shares of the limited-profit housing associations, generally to help fund initial construction. They are paid a low rate of annual interest on their shares. Any profits beyond that must be reinvested in the construction of new social housing. “It creates a revolving flow of financing for social housing,” said Justin Kadi, a professor in planning and housing at the University of Cambridge. Vienna’s main outlay toward housing is now providing low-cost financing for construction — and the government gets that money back.

On a gray Friday, Wilhelm Andel, a tall 84-year-old wearing jeans and a leather jacket, greeted me at the Alt-Erlaa tram stop to show me the limited-profit complex where he had lived for 40 years. Alt-Erlaa is one of the largest limited-profit complexes in Vienna, with 3,181 units in 18 futuristic towers, 23 to 27 stories tall, built between 1973 and 1986. As we approached, I saw that the towers had aged surprisingly well, maybe because greenery is timeless, and vegetation seemed to cascade off the tiered balconies. Willie had chosen a unit on the sixth floor. His rent for a nearly-1,200-square-foot apartment was 824 euros — an amount that would be reasonable for Amarillo, Texas, or Shreveport, La., but out of the question in any of the 50 largest American metro areas.

Living in Alt-Erlaa, Willie enjoyed access to seven rooftop swimming pools, seven indoor swimming pools, tennis courts, gyms and acclaimed art. When the rest of the delegation joined us, he led us toward one of his favorite aspects of the buildings: two murals in the lobby of the second building meditating on the role of the news media and labor in society. They were by the Austrian artist Alfred Hrdlicka. “They remind me of Orozco,” said Dorca Reynoso, an employee at Verizon, referring to the political murals of the Mexican painter José Clemente Orozco. Reynoso’s rent in Manhattan doubled in 2014 to $1,250. When her landlord proposed a 50 percent increase again in 2022, she was unable to pay and ratcheted up her organizing campaign against her landlord. “They’re so beautiful,” she said, gazing at the paintings.

For this very reason, Vienna’s limited-profit and nonprofit units were many of the delegates’ favorites. Art and aesthetics matter. We visited a small nonprofit building, a co-op, that was successfully designed and developed by strangers who responded to a newspaper ad. The top floor had an expansive roof deck, a communal kitchen, a playroom and a sauna. “You mean I could be in the sauna when my kids are in the playroom?” said Julie Colon, a Bronx organizer who told me she gave birth alone while in the shelter system. “This is crazy.” Shanti Singh, a tenant-rights activist from the Bay Area with short, asymmetrically cropped hair, lingered in the sunny library with its tall windows and honey wood walls. “I never want to leave,” she said.

The spiral of overvaluation in housing, which makes the housing-haves rich and the have-nots desperately poor, has brought us to a point where only something radical can solve it. The problem with housing in the United States is that it has been locked in as a means of building wealth, and building wealth is irreconcilable with affordability. The housing crisis in the United States is proof. Even in 2017, before the pandemic, around 113 million Americans — some 35 percent of the nation’s population — were living with a serious housing problem, such as physically deficient housing, burdensome costs or no housing at all, notes Alex F. Schwartz, an urban-studies professor at the New School.

Calls for a federal social-housing plan in America might sound far-fetched, but make no mistake: The United States government intervenes heavily in the housing market. It’s just a two-tiered system, as Gail Radford, the historian, argues. There’s generous support for affluent homeowners and deliberately insufficient support for the lowest-income households. In 2017, the United States spent $155 billion on tax breaks to homeowners and investors in rental housing and mortgage-revenue bonds, more than three times the $50 billion spent on affordable housing.

That $50 billion isn’t nothing. In fact, in many U.S. cities, public spending per capita on housing and community-development subsidies is higher than in Vienna. But it seems clear that much of this money is misspent, whether through inefficient private-public partnerships like the low-income-housing tax credit; or through distortionary vouchers; or, most dubiously of all, through subsidizing homeowners, the people who need it least. “If you give everyone demand-side subsidies, like vouchers, and there’s a supply shortage, it’s going to drive up prices,” Chris Herbert, the managing director of Harvard’s Joint Center for Housing Studies, told me. It costs the state more, and landlords often wind up pocketing the profits.

Though the Gemeindebauten represented a large initial government outlay, Vienna’s social housing is now self-sustaining. Guess how much of the residents’ salary goes toward the program. One percent. Social housing drives down rents in the private market by as much as 5 percent. Vouchers may appear cheaper in the short term, but directly financing well-regulated public and limited-profit construction is the only way to mitigate speculation and hedge against ever-increasing housing costs. In 2020, New York and California spent $377 and $248 per capita, respectively, in housing development, while Vienna spent just $124 — and approximately half of Vienna’s spending is on low-interest financing that will be repaid and then re-lent.

[*Social-housing programs*](https://www.cssny.org/publications/entry/pathways-social-housing-new-york-20-policies-private-profit-public-good) have existed in America before, and they exist in America to this day. Local social-housing programs, many of them inspired by Vienna, are underway in [*Montgomery County, Md.*](https://www2.montgomerycountymd.gov/mcgportalapps/Press_Detail.aspx?Item_ID=33968&amp;Dept=1); [*Seattle;*](https://www.seattle.gov/neighborhoods/public-participation/boards-and-commissions/seattle-social-housing-public-development-authority-board) and [*California.*](https://ternercenter.berkeley.edu/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/SPUR_The_ABCs_of_JPAs.pdf) And they have a long legacy in New York, which built 66,000 affordable apartments and 69,000 limited-profit co-op apartment units from 1955 to 1981 under the Limited-Profit Housing Companies Law, also known as Mitchell-Lama, after the two legislators who introduced it. In combination with [*public housing, Mitchell-Lama*](https://www.cssny.org/publications/entry/reinventing-the-mitchell-lama-housing-program) units are a main reason economic diversity remains in the Lower East Side, Williamsburg and Chinatown.

Housing expense has been a staggering burden for so many of us, for so long, that it’s hard to even contemplate what it would mean to have it recede in our minds. When I spoke to Peter Pilz, the politician who took over his grandmother’s unit in Goethehof, I asked him, as I asked every Viennese tenant of social housing, what he did with all the money he saved thanks to his cheap rent. “I haven’t invested a single penny in the stock market,” he told me. “I would consider it an enormous waste of time to sit in front of my computer and study what the stock market is doing. I prefer to use my time writing, editing an online newspaper supporting interesting initiatives and having fun.”

Pilz was staying in Tuscany when we spoke, and he had spent the day bicycling. He stopped in Pienza to admire the small purple cathedral and sample the famous pecorino. Then he cycled on to Montalcino, where he sipped some Brunello, before returning to Bagno Vignoni to go swimming. “That’s my hard life,” he told me. “If people don’t have to struggle all day long to survive — if your life is made safe, at least in social conditions — you can use your energy for much more important things.”

Video at the top from Luca Locatelli

Francesca Mari is a contributing writer for the magazine and an assistant professor of the practice in the literary-arts department at Brown University. She writes about all aspects of housing. Luca Locatelli is a photographer whose work focuses on environmental images and solutions to the climate crisis. He has been working on “The Circular Economy,” an immersive project premiering in September at the Gallerie d’Italia museum of Turin, Italy.

PHOTOS: The Alt-Erlaa limitedprofit housing complex. (MM29-MM30); Peter Pilz’s new unit in Goethehof, where he moved when he left his grandmother’s apartment in 2018. (MM31); The Amalienbad, an Art Deco pool and sauna at the Reumannplatz 23 housing complex. (MM32-MM33); The Sandleitenhof complex, in Vienna’s 16th District. (MM35); Construction of the Bildungscampus Berresgasse complex. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY LUCA LOCATELLI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (MM36-MM37) This article appeared in print on page MM28, MM29, MM30, MM31, MM32, MM33, MM34, MM47, MM49.

**Load-Date:** May 27, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Read Your Way Through Mexico City***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:668S-6VV1-DXY4-X2W6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** BOOKS

**Length:** 1651 words

**Byline:** Juan Villoro

**Highlight:** Juan Villoro, who spent over two decades perfecting one book about Mexico City, recommends reading on the city he loves. “Mexico is too complex,” a visitor said. “It needs to be read.”

**Body**

Juan Villoro, who spent over two decades perfecting one book about Mexico City, recommends reading on the city he loves. “Mexico is too complex,” a visitor said. “It needs to be read.”

[*Read Your Way Around the World*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/literary-guides) is a series exploring the globe through books.

Álvaro Pombo, a Spanish author, came to Mexico City in 2004. He’d written a novel that took place during the religious revolts of early 20th century Mexico, and wanted to know what the country he’d studied in books was like, he said.

So he installed himself in a hotel in the city center and went for a walk. He saw the murals of the Palacio Nacional, the Aztec dancers outside the cathedral, the ruins of the Templo Mayor and the skulls alluding to human sacrifice. Later, he toured a street market filled with a baroque assortment of fruit, animals and Chinese goods. He bought a nail clipper that immediately fell apart in his hands, breathed air charged with chiles and spice, saw people who looked like they’d walked out of a Frida Kahlo painting, heard a trumpet blare and finally decided to return to his hotel.

Overwhelmed, he picked up the phone and called me.

“Mexico is too complex to understand with the naked eye,” he said. “It needs to be read.”

What classics help explain Mexico City?

Let’s start with the 16th century. Already an old man, the former soldier Bernal Díaz del Castillo wrote “The True History of the Conquest of New Spain” in an attempt to reap with his pen the rewards that had eluded him with the sword. As a narrator, he lacks the necessary vocabulary to describe this unknown civilization, opting for a perspective of bewilderment. He shows that it’s possible to describe with passion even what we don’t fully understand.

In the 17th century, [*Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz*](https://www.nytimes.com/2005/01/02/arts/design/17thcentury-sisterhood-is-powerful.html) was the pre-eminent author of the Spanish language. Her “Selected Works” reveal a poet with interests in astronomy, theology, gastronomy, dreams, urban life and gender inequality: “Foolish men who accuse women without reason,” she writes in one poem. Sor Juana entered the convent of the Hieronymite nuns because it was the only way she could exercise her intellectual vocation. Even so, she was censored and forced into silence in her later years. Describing a flood in the capital, she wrote that the water covering Mexico City’s streets was, in reality, a baptism. Her poetry is a comparable deluge.

In the 20th century, our culture took up an extreme sport: defining what it means to be Mexican. A standout example is “The Labyrinth of Solitude,” by Octavio Paz. Published in 1950, Paz’s essay endures for its imaginative associations and musical prose, though it is [*contentious*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/31/opinion/the-wars-of-octavio-paz.html): Some anthropologists and historians consider his definition of Mexicanness to be Manichaean and contrived. The same can be said of “Where the Air Is Clear,” [*Carlos Fuentes’s*](https://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/16/books/carlos-fuentes-mexican-novelist-dies-at-83.html) 1958 novel that features Mexico City as its protagonist. When the book was written, the capital had around five million inhabitants and could still sit for a portrait as a whole. Today, you would need a conference of authors to fully capture the metropolitan area’s 20 to 23 million residents — our margin of error alone is the size of a European city. Although Fuentes’s chorus of colloquial voices has aged, the book remains a foundational work on the Mexican capital.

What did authors who came to visit have to say?

Jack Kerouac once wrote a letter to his friend William S. Burroughs asking if it was dangerous to travel to Mexico. Burroughs, who was living in the country at the time, answered roundly, “Don’t worry: Mexicans only kill their friends.”

Many foreigners have benefited from Mexico City’s peculiar hospitality, where hell is mixed with heaven. Close to the capital, in Cuernavaca, Malcolm Lowry encountered the delusions that allowed him to write his powerful saga of the mind, “[*Under the Volcano*](https://www.nytimes.com/1973/10/14/archives/the-hell-in-paradise-of-malcolm-lowry-burned-manuscript.html).” D.H. Lawrence bore witness to the moment that Aztec idols were disinterred like emissaries from a different time. Lawrence’s Mexican novel, “The Plumed Serpent,” can’t match his short stories or “Lady Chatterley’s Lover,” but it nonetheless offers an impressive record of the ways in which an ancient past still influences the present.

In “[*The Savage Detectives*](https://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/15/books/review/Wood.t.html),” the Chilean novelist [*Roberto Bolaño*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/16/books/review/roberto-bolano-cowboy-graves.html), who had deep roots in Mexico City, suggests that there is no more poetic act than that of life itself, but finding enlightenment requires you to live in a new way. Bolaño’s poets are secret investigators of experience: savage detectives, indeed.

Describing Mexico to the rhythm of a highway has always been a literary temptation. When former President Donald J. Trump declared that Mexicans were a threat to the United States, the American writer Paul Theroux — the [*dean of travel writing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/28/books/paul-theroux-under-the-wave-at-waimea.html) — decided to meet his alleged enemy. Having spent a lifetime boarding trains around the globe, Theroux crisscrossed Mexico by car until he reached the Zapatistas in Chiapas. The result, “[*On the Plain of Snakes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/23/travel/paul-theroux-mexico-road-trip.html),” is a brilliant travelogue.

What books capture current Mexico?

[*Fernanda Melchor*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/08/books/fernanda-melchor-paradais.html)’s “[*Hurricane Season*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/31/books/review/hurricane-season-fernanda-melchor.html)” deals with the violence that has devastated Mexico, leaving us with a death toll akin to that of a civil war. According to Reporters Without Borders, Mexico is one of the [*most dangerous countries*](https://rsf.org/en/already-deadliest-year-ever-mexico-s-media) in the world in which to be a journalist. Melchor shows that the most terrible news can only be delivered in a novel.

[*Valeria Luiselli*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/07/arts/valeria-luiselli-lost-children-archive.html) reconstructs the microcosm of a ***working-class*** neighborhood in “[*The Story of My Teeth*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/13/books/review/the-story-of-my-teeth-by-valeria-luiselli.html).” Originally written to accompany an exhibit in an urban art gallery, the novel traces the map of a deteriorated suburb and reinvents it through its imaginary inhabitants.

In the second half of the 20th century, [*Carlos Monsiváis*](https://www.nytimes.com/2010/06/22/world/europe/22monsivais.html) operated as a nonstop chronicler, a one-man press agency covering all the layers of reality. “Mexican Postcards” is a collection of his best work. One of his obsessions was trying to understand the irresistible magnetism of Mexico City; its pollution and danger do little to prevent people from being drawn to a place so full of energy. A Monsiváis aphorism sums up the passion of belonging to this urban labyrinth: “The worst nightmare is the one that excludes us.”

It was in that spirit that I wrote “[*Horizontal Vertigo: A City Called Mexico*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/06/books/review/horizontal-vertigo-mexsico-city-juan-villoro.html).” The product of 25 years of writing, the book attempts to recreate a city that, despite its apparent dehumanization, remains a cherished place in which to live. On the last page I write, “You belong to the place where you pick up the trash.” It’s easy to be proud of a city’s palaces and glories: The true test of belonging is being willing to deal with its waste.

It is no accident that the truest face of a chilango — an inhabitant of Mexico City — appears in the wake of disaster. After the earthquakes of 1985 and [*2017*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/19/world/americas/mexico-earthquake.html), Mexico City residents became a rescue team, proving that the [*rubble and ruins*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2017/09/23/world/americas/mexico-city-earthquake-surveying-destruction-damage.html) were ours. In “Nothing, Nobody,” Elena Poniatowska collects the testimonies of those who lived through the 1985 quake. She brings the same rigor to “Massacre in Mexico,” which features voices of survivors of the [*Oct. 2, 1968, tragedy*](https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/mexicos-tlatelolco-massacre-echoes-today/), when police officers and the military opened fire on unarmed students in Tlatelolco Plaza. In both books, Poniatowska reaffirms that heroism in Mexico is a fact of daily life.

This city can feel like an extension of the body for those who live here. Are there books that reflect that?

In 1977, Fernando del Paso wrote an encyclopedic novel that takes place in the center of the capital, called “Palinuro of Mexico,” which follows a medical student during the student movement of 1968. As he learns anatomy, he also discovers connections with the other body that surrounds him: Mexico City itself.

This organic appropriation of the urban landscape was more recently explored in “[*The Body Where I Was Born*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/05/books/review/the-body-where-i-was-born-by-guadalupe-nettel.html),” by Guadalupe Nettel. Her protagonist lives in the Olympic Village, a housing complex built for athletes to use during the 1968 Olympics that was later transformed into a compound for exiled Chileans and Argentines. The narrator feels alienated from her own body, and identifies an unsettling correlation between her unstable identity and the neighborhood of misfits.

In “[*The Mutations,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/21/books/review/the-mutations-jorge-comensal.html)” Jorge Comensal adds humor to this literary trend. His main character is a lawyer who loses the power to speak because of tongue cancer. A parrot becomes his confidante, leaving the man who once litigated in court silenced by his body and reliant on another species to express himself.

What bookstores should I visit?

In the south of the city, the immense Librería Gandhi, which just celebrated a half-century since its opening, has served as a substitute university for multiple generations. In the city center, Donceles Street is full of old bookstores where luck and curiosity can lead to miraculous discoveries.

Translated by Benjamin Russell.

Juan Villoro’s Mexico City Reading List

* “The True History of the Conquest of New Spain,” Bernal Díaz del Castillo

1. “Selected Works,” Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz
2. “The Labyrinth of Solitude,” Octavio Paz
3. “Where the Air Is Clear,” Carlos Fuentes
4. “Under the Volcano,” Malcolm Lowry
5. “The Plumed Serpent,” D.H. Lawrence
6. “The Savage Detectives,” Roberto Bolaño
7. “On the Plain of Snakes,” Paul Theroux
8. “Hurricane Season,” Fernanda Melchor
9. “The Story of My Teeth,” Valeria Luiselli
10. “Mexican Postcards,” Carlos Monsiváis
11. “Horizontal Vertigo: A City Called Mexico,” Juan Villoro
12. “Nothing, Nobody” and “Massacre in Mexico,” Elena Poniatowska
13. “Palinuro of Mexico,” Fernando del Paso
14. “The Body Where I Was Born,” Guadalupe Nettel
15. “The Mutations,” Jorge Comensal

[*Juan Villoro*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/10/26/world/americas/mexican-writer-mines-the-soccer-field-for-metaphors.html)’s award-winning writing crosses genres and includes “[*The Reef*](https://www.asymptotejournal.com/criticism/juan-villoros-arrecife/),” a dystopian novel about tourism that is being adapted for television, and “[*The Wild Book*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/childrens-books-the-wild-book-review-11622209186),” about a book that refuses to be read, which has been translated into more than 10 languages and is being adapted into a movie by the actor and director Gael García Bernal.

This article appeared in print on page BR17.

**Load-Date:** April 5, 2023

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[***Adams Shifts Emphasis From Policing in New Ad***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63SK-DXM1-JBG3-62KH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 6, 2021 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 18

**Length:** 739 words

**Byline:** By Emma G. Fitzsimmons

**Body**

The Democratic nominee for New York City mayor used the 30-second ad to tell his personal story, stressing his commitment to affordable housing.

With a month left until Election Day, Eric Adams is finally starting to use some of his sizable campaign war chest, releasing his first post-primary television ad on Tuesday in the general election for mayor of New York City.

The ad focuses on his ***working-class*** roots and his mother, Dorothy Adams, who died in March -- a departure from his ads during the Democratic primary, which focused on policing.

''My mom cleaned houses and worked three jobs to give us a better life in a city that too often fails families like ours,'' Mr. Adams says in the ad, as a Black woman is shown cleaning a home and embracing her children at the end of the day.

Mr. Adams then appears onscreen with a smile and says that the city must invest in early childhood education and affordable housing: ''That's how we really make a difference.''

The ad marks the beginning of the final stretch of the mayor's race, which pits Mr. Adams against Curtis Sliwa, the Republican candidate, on Nov. 2. Mr. Adams, 61, the Brooklyn borough president, is widely expected to win and has been promoting himself and his centrist platform as the future of the Democratic Party.

He won a contentious Democratic primary by focusing on public safety and his background as a police officer. Now he is trying to highlight other priorities like reducing the cost of child care for children under 3.

Mr. Adams wants to offer ''universal child care'' for families that cannot afford it by reducing the costs that centers pay for space with tax breaks and other incentives. He also wants to rezone wealthy neighborhoods to build more affordable housing and to convert empty hotels outside Manhattan to supportive housing.

Mr. Sliwa, 67, has focused his ads on the message that he is compassionate toward homeless people -- as well as his small army of rescue cats -- and that he would offer a departure from Mayor Bill de Blasio. He has also criticized Mr. Adams for spending his summer meeting with the city's elite and traveling outside the city to court donors.

''The choice is somebody up in the suites like an Eric Adams -- a professional politician -- or somebody down in the streets and subways -- that's Curtis Sliwa,'' he says in one ad. ''I've got the touch with the common man and common woman.''

Mr. Sliwa's ad shows Mr. Adams standing next to Mr. de Blasio, who has supported Mr. Adams during the race.

Mr. Sliwa on Tuesday released a Spanish-language ad, saying that he represents regular people, while pledging to prevent crime.

''You know me,'' Mr. Sliwa says in Spanish, as footage plays of him riding the subway over the years.

But Democrats outnumber Republicans by nearly seven to one in New York City, and Mr. Sliwa has struggled to gain attention, let alone momentum. Mr. Adams also has a major fund-raising advantage: He has more than $7.5 million on hand; Mr. Sliwa has about $1.2 million.

Mr. Adams's new ad was produced by Ralston Lapp Guinn, a media firm that worked with him during the primary. The team has made ads for other Democrats like President Barack Obama and Tim Walz, the governor of Minnesota.

The ad mentions Mr. Adams's signature issue -- public safety -- noting that ''we all have a right to a safe and secure future''

Mr. Adams also released a Spanish-language ad on Tuesday that focused on education, featuring a veteran teacher who said the last year had been difficult on her students, and that Mr. Adams would improve schools.

Mr. Adams, who would be New York City's second Black mayor, has often spoken about his mother on the campaign trail and of growing up poor with five siblings. Ms. Adams died earlier this year -- something Mr. Adams revealed in an emotional moment during the primary.

In recent interviews, Mr. Adams has said that it was two months into the Democratic primary when he decided to focus on his personal narrative.

He said in a recent podcast with Ezra Klein of The New York Times that he decided to share a ''series of vignettes'' about his life, including being beaten by the police, having a learning disability and working as a dishwasher, and he believed that his authenticity won over voters.

''Each time I stood in front of a group of people and gave them another peek into who I am, they said to themselves, 'He's one of us,''' he said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/05/nyregion/eric-adams-ad-general-election.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/05/nyregion/eric-adams-ad-general-election.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Eric Adams's ad was produced by a team that has made ads for Democrats like President Barack Obama and Tim Walz, the governor of Minnesota. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Eric Adams 2021 FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 6, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Brexit Has Arrived. But Boris Johnson’s Reign Is Just Beginning.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y3V-58X1-DXY4-X2G9-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 31, 2020 Friday 21:50 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1359 words

**Byline:** Richard Seymour

**Highlight:** With his signature campaign promise fulfilled, the prime minister can now reshape Britain for a generation.

**Body**

With his signature campaign promise fulfilled, the prime minister can now reshape Britain for a generation.

LONDON — The moment has arrived. Britain is out of the European Union. Prime Minister [*Boris Johnson*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/10/world/europe/brexit-boris-johnson-ireland.html) and his “[*People’s Government*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/10/world/europe/brexit-boris-johnson-ireland.html)” — it scarcely calls itself Conservative at this point — has fulfilled the promise on which it was elected in December and “got [*Brexit*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/10/world/europe/brexit-boris-johnson-ireland.html) done.”

There are difficulties ahead. Mr. Johnson has promised impossible and contradictory things on [*Brexit*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/10/world/europe/brexit-boris-johnson-ireland.html): Maximum regulatory freedom where it suits his government, maximum frictionless trade where it suits the British economy. The European Union is unlikely to give him what he wants in the months of negotiations to come.

But by fulfilling his pledge, Mr. Johnson has won enormous good will from nationalist voters across England and Wales. Outside the European Union, he will also have more scope to change the British government’s role in the economy. This gives him a unique opportunity to do what his predecessors could not: build a lasting popular base for the Conservative Party. Mr. Johnson can now take advantage of his big majority to overhaul British capitalism, incentivizing long-term Conservative voters while permanently annexing chunks of the [*Labour Party’s historic base*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/10/world/europe/brexit-boris-johnson-ireland.html).

Already, the dimensions of Mr. Johnson’s plans are becoming clear. He has no intention of running the country as any Conservative leader since Margaret Thatcher would have: He is not out to roll back the state. Instead, he is out to secure the support of ***working-class*** voters who handed over to the Tories dozens of seats formerly held by Labour. His premiership, set free by Brexit, could reshape Britain’s electoral map for decades.

During the election, Mr. Johnson campaigned as an almost single-issue nationalist, the phrase “get Brexit done” falling robotically from his lips between every other stammer. Beyond that, much of what he said was conventionally Tory: He promised harsher restrictions on immigration, meaning an end to free movement from the European Union and the expansion of the “[*hostile environment*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/10/world/europe/brexit-boris-johnson-ireland.html)” for migrants. Domestic repression, the manifesto promised, would also tighten, with a bigger penal system and a greater emphasis on “counter-extremism,” which, as Home Secretary Priti Patel has indicated, will [*target parts of the left*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/10/world/europe/brexit-boris-johnson-ireland.html). Mr. Johnson has also hinted at constitutional reforms, which would strengthen the executive and weaken judicial challenges. He promises an attack on liberal norms and legality in the name of national invigoration.

Tellingly, he distanced himself from the last government. He would end austerity, raise spending on the National Health Service, guarantee pensions, raise the minimum wage and borrow £100 billion to invest in infrastructure. Many of these promises were grossly exaggerated, but they served to underline the point that a Johnson administration would be different. And since the election, the government has acted to carry out its commitments, passing legislation to guarantee N.H.S. spending increases and proposing moderate improvements to workers’ and renters’ rights. It has also promised that most of the infrastructure spending will be invested in England’s deprived northern regions — and this week backed up the promise by nationalizing the north’s [*major rail service*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/10/world/europe/brexit-boris-johnson-ireland.html).

If this sounds like an incursion into Labour territory, it is. Many of the policies are directly taken from Labour’s plans. The push for a larger state resonates with a politically ambiguous popular memory of the postwar era — a certain nostalgia for the era of big, dynamic industries owned by the British government inflects both a version of the left-wing politics of the Labour Party leader, Jeremy Corbyn, and a version of Brexit sentiment. Mr. Johnson knows that many of the votes contributing to a Conservative majority were “lent” by voters who wanted Brexit done. A more interventionist state is a way to shore up a lasting, broad coalition.

This pragmatic raid on enemy turf was first conceived under Mr. Johnson’s predecessor, Theresa May. More thoughtful Tories knew they had to change. The British state and economy had become dysfunctional: gaping regional inequalities, a housing market inaccessible to younger workers, weak labor productivity, sluggish investment and very little to export. Mrs. May’s advisers understood that the Conservatives had to break with the formula of austerity and financialization somehow.

But while she used the rhetoric of ***working-class*** uplift, she was unable to back it up with policy. Her chancellor, Philip Hammond, a traditional ally of the banks, was determined to keep austerity going. If nothing else, he could see no other way to create a fiscal surplus big enough to soften the impact of Brexit. Mr. Johnson, by contrast, is just enough of an opportunist to see that delivering Brexit, in however self-injuring and punitive a form, gives him both the political power and the regulatory latitude to do things differently.

There is a risk, though, of succumbing to Mr. Johnson’s own mythmaking. As much as he needs ***working-class*** conservatives, they have always existed. And the core Tory voter remains the affluent middle class. What’s more, when it comes to public spending, he’s limited in what he can do by his commitment to freezing most taxes. In an economy that is already weak and likely to be weaker after Brexit, he has little room for serious investment.

And Mr. Johnson will face conflicting demands from within his own party. The chancellor, Sajid Javid, has [*demanded 5 percent cuts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/10/world/europe/brexit-boris-johnson-ireland.html) from most government departments, making plain that the spending spigots are not about to freely flow. And the prime minister is surrounded by allies who, far from wanting a more interventionist state, want to cut taxes and slash regulations in the interests of a more globally competitive economy.

During the election, Mr. Johnson was able to glide over the glaring contradictions in what he said with a bustling con man’s charm, but in office he has to navigate them. With a big majority, he can no longer play the outsider. However, the lesson of nationalist leaders globally is that, in this jittery era, they don’t have to deliver booming success to keep power. From Viktor Orban in Hungary to Narendra Modi in India, these leaders have expanded their base by delivering a personalized, charismatic form of rule in which they are militant defenders of the nation against all comers — be they foreigners, “traitors,” liberals, or leftists.

Mr. Johnson is not a nationalist by conviction. He is the epitome of the “[*reckless opportunists*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/10/world/europe/brexit-boris-johnson-ireland.html)” that, as the sociologist Aeron Davis says, run Britain. His voting record in Parliament shows him to be slightly more liberal than his party. But his performance over the last few months — during which he agitated against Parliament, accused opponents of “collaboration” with Europe, and saber-rattled against the courts and media — showed him to be adept at using the far right’s template. Whenever the contradictions in his government threaten to unravel, he is likely to return to these tactics.

Indeed, Brexit fits in with that method perfectly. After today, Mr. Johnson will be able to continually remind voters that he was able to overcome the hostility of the liberal elite and accomplish his goal. And as negotiations proceed, he can gin up hostility against his supposed enemies whenever he doesn’t get his way.

Whenever any politician claims to speak for “the people,” someone always pays the price. Migrants are first on the list for Mr. Johnson. But they will not be the last.

Richard Seymour ([*@leninology*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/10/world/europe/brexit-boris-johnson-ireland.html)) is an editor at Salvage magazine and the author, most recently, of “[*The Twittering Machine*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/10/world/europe/brexit-boris-johnson-ireland.html).”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/10/world/europe/brexit-boris-johnson-ireland.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/10/world/europe/brexit-boris-johnson-ireland.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/10/world/europe/brexit-boris-johnson-ireland.html).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/10/world/europe/brexit-boris-johnson-ireland.html), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/10/world/europe/brexit-boris-johnson-ireland.html) and [*Instagram*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/10/world/europe/brexit-boris-johnson-ireland.html).

PHOTO: Prime Minister Boris Johnson of Britain leaving 10 Downing Street in London last week. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Neil Hall/EPA, via Shutterstock FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 10, 2020

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[***Democrats, Expecting to Coast, Are Fighting for New York Seats***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66KP-M451-DXY4-X023-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 12, 2022 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1896 words

**Byline:** By Nicholas Fandos

**Body**

After a haywire redistricting process, New York has more congressional battlegrounds than nearly any other state. Even the Democratic campaign chairman is locked in a dead heat.

POUGHKEEPSIE, N.Y. -- Just a month before November's critical midterm elections, New York has emerged from a haywire redistricting cycle as perhaps the most consequential congressional battleground in the country, and Democrats are mired in an increasingly costly fight just to hold their ground.

All told, nine of New York's 26 seats -- from the tip of Long Island to the banks of the Hudson River here in Poughkeepsie -- are in play, more than any state but California.

For Democrats, the uncertainty is particularly jarring: Just 10 months ago, party leaders, who controlled the once-in-a-decade redistricting process in the state, optimistically predicted that new district lines could safeguard Democrats and imperil as many as five Republican seats, allowing them to add key blocks to their national firewall.

That, to put it gently, is not how things seem to be turning out.

Now, even Representative Sean Patrick Maloney, who once hoped New York would ease his burden as chairman of the House Democrats' campaign arm, is facing a viable challenge, with internal polls from both parties showing a dead heat in a suburban area President Biden won by 10 points.

''I watch this stuff closely, and I feel I need a neck brace,'' said Steve Israel, the former Long Island congressman who held Mr. Maloney's job during the 2012 and 2014 elections. ''Midterms this cycle are the most unpredictable and fluctuating I've ever seen, but no state has demonstrated that more than New York.''

The reversal of fortune in New York, where there are more than twice as many registered Democrats as Republicans, is all the more striking given the broader national backdrop. In a year when many states used redistricting to minimize the number of truly competitive districts, New York is virtually alone in moving toward more competition, after an attempted Democratic gerrymander backfired and state courts intervened at the 11th hour to draw more neutral lines.

It also underscores just how daunting a task Democrats face as they seek to hold on to the slimmest of majorities nationally in the face of Mr. Biden's middling approval numbers, high inflation and a restless electorate that believes the state and the nation are headed in the wrong direction.

Whereas the Democrats' initial plan positioned them to reasonably pick up three seats and protect existing ones, the party now finds itself trying to guard five of the most competitive districts in New York across parts of Nassau and Westchester Counties and in the small towns of the Hudson Valley. Republicans, by comparison, are defending only a single Syracuse-area seat that is considered at real risk of flipping, and three other seats that look increasingly safe, including a coveted New York City swing seat encompassing Staten Island and a portion of South Brooklyn.

Democrats still have reasons for optimism. An upset in an August special election in the Hudson Valley showed that outrage over the Supreme Court's decision to end a national right to an abortion is motivating the party's otherwise sluggish base and keeping most races here closer than once expected. Mr. Biden's numbers have stabilized. And the retirement of John Katko, a Republican moderate, has given Democrats the best shot in years at flipping the Syracuse-area seat that has been their white whale, election after election.

Yet, if the election were held today, public and private polling and interviews with strategists responsible for allocating budgets for races across the country suggest that Republicans, not Democrats, are now best positioned to flip seats in New York. The Republican Party needs to net just five seats nationally to win control.

''We could build the majority just in New York State alone,'' said Representative Elise Stefanik, the No. 3 House Republican whose North Country district is considered safe. That might have been different, she added, but when it came time to redistrict, Democrats ''got greedy and overreached.''

Almost all of the contests are playing out in diverse, affluent suburbs and ***working-class*** bedroom communities that encircle New York City, where the fault lines mirror those animating close contests from Virginia to Pennsylvania to Nevada -- only magnified to Gotham size.

No state, arguably, is more identified with protecting abortion rights, the heart of Democrats' campaign message about Republican extremism -- or with the soaring costs of living and elevated crime that Republicans believe will motivate their base and win back suburban swing voters who abandoned them during the Trump presidency.

The political landscape has led to something of a headache for political strategists trying to predict voting patterns and could still lead to surprises on election night.

''The top-of-mind issues in 2022 are scrambling the traditional assessment of districts,'' said Isaac Goldberg, a Democratic consultant working on several of the races. ''You have traditionally Republican voters saying they will never vote for a pro-life candidate, and you have traditional Democratic voters uninterested in the national Democratic brand.''

Nowhere is the fight more vivid than here in the politically volatile Hudson Valley, where Republicans are making serious runs at three seats held by Democrats.

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Just up the river in Newburgh, Colin Schmitt, another Republican assemblyman in his 30s, said that he was certain his race for an open seat in the 18th District would turn on the sentiment he regularly hears from voters: ''We're not in a good place.'' Marcus Molinaro, a Republican county executive running against Josh Riley, a first-time candidate who spent much of his career outside New York, has used similar points in the 19th District.

Democrats, meanwhile, are putting millions of dollars in television advertising behind a bet that abortion rights -- and fears about Republicans attacks on election integrity -- will be a powerful enough motivator to outweigh economic concerns and national discontent with the party brand.

''Here it is in a nutshell,'' Mr. Maloney said, summing up the approach unifying most of his party. ''The MAGA movement, which took away your reproductive freedom and is threatening your voting rights and your democracy, is too extreme for voters in the suburbs, and that is going to cost them seats.''

Democratic hopes were buoyed over the summer when Pat Ryan, the former Ulster County executive, defeated Mr. Molinaro in a special election for an expiring district. Mr. Ryan, a 40-year-old West Point graduate, said voters' furor over protecting abortion rights was just as strong six weeks after he was celebrated by Democrats as the face of their comeback.

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''I'm not saying the exact conditions are replicable,'' said Mr. Ryan, who is now running in the 18th District against Mr. Schmitt. But he asserted that the Democrats could hold the House ''if we bring that fight and energy and remind people we are pro-freedom, pro-safety and pro-democracy.''

For now, Mr. Ryan's race appears to be a rare bright spot for Democrats: Nearly every other contest trends toward Republicans.

A burst of media coverage and campaign cash (a staggering $2.25 million between July and last week) followed Mr. Ryan's special election victory. Now, some Democratic campaign officials involved in the races said he may even be better positioned than Mr. Maloney, who is used to running hard races but is largely campaigning this fall on turf he has not previously represented, or Mr. Riley, who faces a much less friendly electorate.

In Nassau County on Long Island, Democrats are working hard to hold back a Republican resurgence in a pair of districts where two of their seasoned incumbents, Thomas R. Suozzi and Kathleen Rice, are retiring. Both seats favor Democrats by a handful of points, but Republicans swept local elections there last year, campaigning on public safety and soaring living costs.

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While the neighboring Third District contains fewer Democrats, the party is more confident it will protect that seat after Republicans nominated a candidate, George Santos, who has compared abortion rights to legalized slavery and, in a video obtained last month by Newsday, claimed to have cut a check to help the legal defense of several Jan. 6 rioters.

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In New York City, Democrats are still ostensibly trying to knock off Representative Nicole Malliotakis, a Republican who voted to overturn the 2020 election results and opposes abortion rights. But privately, national Democratic strategists have concluded there is almost no viable path to victory for their candidate, the former congressman Max Rose, in the Trump-leaning Staten Island 11th District after Democrats' attempted gerrymander was tossed out by the courts.

That has left the party with only one prime pickup opportunity of its own, in the Syracuse area where Mr. Katko is retiring.

Democrats may have caught a break: Brandon Williams, a Trump-aligned first-time candidate who has never lived within the district, became the Republican nominee despite an effort by super PACs aligned with Republican leaders in Washington, who spent close to $1 million to push their preferred candidate.

The Democrat, Francis Conole, is now openly modeling himself as a Democratic version of Mr. Katko, and the actual Mr. Katko has vowed to stay neutral. ''Let the voters decide,'' he said in an interview. Mr. Williams's campaign did not agree to an interview.

Even so, a rare Siena College House poll focused on the district released last week showed Mr. Williams with a five-point lead, though neither candidate was well known to voters.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/11/nyregion/house-elections-new-york.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/11/nyregion/house-elections-new-york.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Representative Sean Patrick Maloney, the chairman of House Democrats' campaign arm, is facing a forceful Republican challenge in his re-election bid. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Assemblyman Mike Lawler has received financial support from Republicans who are eager to defeat his Democratic opponent, Representative Maloney. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MATT BURKHARTT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Representative Pat Ryan, right, who won a special election in part because of voter interest in protecting abortion rights, may be a rare bright spot for Democrats.

Assemblyman Colin Schmitt, left, Mr. Ryan's rival for a vacant seat in the 18th District in the Hudson Valley, said voters tell him, ''We're not in a good place.'' (PHOTOGRAPHS BY GREGG VIGLIOTTI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A18) This article appeared in print on page A1, A18.

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[***Evidence Is Mounting Against a Republican Wave***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6684-TX61-DXY4-X3C1-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 22

**Length:** 1667 words

**Byline:** By Nate Cohn

**Body**

Since the fall of Roe v. Wade, it has been increasingly hard to see the once-clear signs of a G.O.P. advantage.

At the beginning of this year's midterm campaign, analysts and political operatives had every reason to expect a strong Republican showing this November. President Biden's approval rating was in the low 40s, and the president's party has a long history of struggling in midterm elections.

But as the start of the general election campaign nears, it's becoming increasingly hard to find any concrete signs of Republican strength.

Tuesday's strong Democratic showing in a special congressional election in New York's 19th District is only the latest example. On paper, this classic battleground district in the Hudson Valley and Catskills is exactly where the Republicans would be expected to flip a seat in a so-called wave election. But the Democrat Pat Ryan prevailed over a strong Republican nominee, Marc Molinaro, by around two percentage points, outperforming Mr. Biden's narrow win in the district two years ago.

The result adds to a growing pile of evidence suggesting that Democrats have rebounded in the aftermath of the Supreme Court's decision in late June to overturn Roe v. Wade. No matter the indicator, it's hard to see the once-clear signs of a Republican advantage.

Special elections

One special election would be easy to dismiss. But it's not alone.

There have been five special congressional elections since the court's Dobbs ruling overturned Roe, and Democrats have outperformed Mr. Biden's 2020 showing in four of them. In the fifth district, Alaska's at-large House special, the ranked-choice voting count is not complete, but they appear poised to outperform him there as well.

On average, Republicans carried the four completed districts by 3.7 percentage points, compared with Donald J. Trump's 7.7-point edge in the same districts two years ago. The results aren't merely worse than expected for Republicans; they're straightforwardly poor. Republicans need to fare better than Mr. Trump, who lost the national vote by 4.5 points in 2020, to retake the House -- let alone contemplate winning the Senate.

Special congressional elections are idiosyncratic low-turnout affairs, and these races were no exception. They had a relatively higher share of white voters in mostly rural districts that were not representative of the country. The voters who turn out in primary or special elections aren't representative, either, with highly educated and well-informed voters usually making up an outsize share of the vote. Those two factors probably converged to the advantage of Democrats in all four completed districts. The results showed a superior turnout in highly educated liberal enclaves or college towns, like Ithaca in New York's 23rd District, while turnout elsewhere in the districts lagged behind.

But strength among high-turnout white voters can get a party pretty far in low-turnout midterm elections, which tend to have a relatively whiter electorate. Perhaps in part for that reason, there is a decent historical relationship between special election results and midterm outcomes. And before Dobbs, Republicans were outrunning Mr. Trump in special congressional elections. Since then, the pattern has reversed.

While there's plenty of room for debate about exactly what the special election results mean for November, there's no dispute that the results are plainly positive for Democrats.

Generic ballot

Democrats have made steady gains on the generic congressional ballot, a poll question asking voters whether they prefer Democrats or Republicans for Congress.

Overall, Democrats now have the slightest advantage on this measure, according to FiveThirtyEight's tracker. That represents about a three-point swing toward the Democrats since mid-June, when Republicans led before the Dobbs ruling.

A tight generic ballot represents a real improvement for Democrats. If the polls are right -- a big ''if'' after the last few cycles -- it suggests a fairly competitive district-by-district battle for control of the House, rather than the expected Republican rout.

Realistically, Republicans would remain clearly favored -- the House map is still modestly tilted in their favor, and Democrats would have to win an outsize share of the competitive races to hold the chamber. But the notion that Democrats can even dream about House control is a remarkable turn from earlier in the cycle, when the House was all but penciled into the Republican column.

Horse race polls

It's still a little early to look at polls pitting Democratic candidates against Republican ones in specific races. Many candidates remain unknown, and the general election campaign is just getting underway.

But the early state and district polls do look relatively promising for Democrats. That's especially true in the Senate, where a simple polling average might even show Democrats poised to make gains.

The House polls are consistent with the generic ballot results. On average, Democrats are running about 4.7 points behind Mr. Biden's performance across 40 nonpartisan House polls taken since the Dobbs decision. That would be consistent with a close national vote.

After the last few cycles of polling misfires, there's plenty of reason to be skeptical of state surveys -- especially in the relatively white ***working-class*** battleground states where the polls seem to have consistently underestimated Republicans.

But here again, the long-awaited ''red wave'' is nowhere to be found.

Washington primary

This is a bit of an odd one, but it's a surprisingly useful measure and it doesn't show much of a red wave either.

Washington State has a top-two primary in which all of the candidates from both parties appear on the same primary ballot; the top two candidates advance to the general election.

As a result, the Washington primary is a lot more like a general election than the typical primary -- not only is every voter eligible, but voters can also select the Democrat or Republican of their choosing in every race. For good measure, Washington has universal vote-by-mail, which tends to keep the turnout pretty high. It's more like the typical midterm electorate than some of the recent special elections.

The results of the Washington primary usually do a decent job of predicting the outcome of the fall election. In some years, Democrats do a bit better in November than in the primary; in other years, Republicans do. But it's not usually hugely different. In retrospect, the solid Republican showing in the 2020 Washington primary was one of the better reasons to doubt the polls heading into November 2020.

This cycle, the Democratic candidates for House ran two points behind Mr. Biden's performance in 2020 (excluding the two districts where pro-impeachment Republicans in safely Republican districts clearly benefited from considerable levels of strategic crossover support from Democrats).

Yet again, it's a result that's consistent with a fairly evenly divided national vote for the House.

Other primaries

Of all the indicators, primary elections are probably the single messiest measure of the national political environment. From state to state and cycle to cycle, voters may either have a very compelling reason to show up -- or no reason to vote whatsoever. A strong or weak Democratic or Republican primary turnout can mean absolutely nothing.

But if all the states are added together, the vagaries of individual state primary elections more or less cancel out. Over the last few decades, partisan primary turnout does correlate relatively well with the results of midterm elections.

In 15 primaries since the court's ruling, 52.5 percent of primary voters have cast Republican primary ballots compared with 48 percent in the same states in 2018, according to data compiled by the pollster John Couvillon. The last midterm is used as the point of comparison because of the one-party presidential primary in 2020.

Of course, 2018 was a good year for Democrats. In the end, they won 54 percent of the major party vote and carried the House easily. So they have room to fare quite a bit worse than they did in 2018 and still put up a respectable showing. Indeed, a 4.5-point shift from 2018 would yield a pretty close House national vote, with maybe a slight Republican edge depending on how one looks at uncontested races.

And that 4.5-point Republican overperformance is a little worse for Republicans than earlier in the year. Before Roe, Republicans were running 6.7 points better than in the 2018 primaries in the same states. It's hard to read a lot into this shift -- primaries, again, are very idiosyncratic, with the competitiveness of different races and eligibility rules making a big difference. But the shift, however unreliable, is nonetheless consistent with the broader national story.

Biden approval

There's still one measure that's positive for Republicans: President Biden's approval rating.

It's in the low 40s, according to FiveThirtyEight, though it seems to have risen along with Democratic fortunes over the last few months.

It's hard to think of any precedent for the president's party to fare even half decently with such an unpopular president. The closest recent analogue might be Jimmy Carter in 1978. He held control of Congress despite an approval rating around 50 percent. (His approval rating was similar to Mr. Biden's in August, but it increased after the Camp David Accords in September.)

Perhaps someone could construe the Democratic hold in the House in the 1950 midterms as somewhat analogous, though Democrats lost 28 seats and saw a net seven-point shift toward Republicans.

Ultimately, it's possible that Mr. Biden's approval rating will drag down the Democrats. It may even begin to drag them down by the other measures even before the fall election.

But for now, his approval rating stands apart as the only hard measurement that argues for a decisive Republican victory this fall.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/24/upshot/midterms-elections-republicans-analysis.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/24/upshot/midterms-elections-republicans-analysis.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Pat Ryan, right, with Gov. Kathy Hochul of New York, was the surprise winner of a special election. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MARY ALTAFFER/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

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[***In Fight for Congress, a Surprising Battleground Emerges: New York***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66KH-1B51-JBG3-63W7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Byline:** Nicholas FandosNicholas Fandos is a Times reporter covering New York politics and government.

**Highlight:** After a haywire redistricting process, New York has more congressional battlegrounds than nearly any other state. Even the Democratic campaign chairman is locked in a dead heat.

**Body**

After a haywire redistricting process, New York has more congressional battlegrounds than nearly any other state. Even the Democratic campaign chairman is locked in a dead heat.

POUGHKEEPSIE, N.Y. — Just a month before November’s critical midterm elections, New York has emerged from a haywire redistricting cycle as perhaps the most consequential congressional battleground in the country, and Democrats are mired in an increasingly costly fight just to hold their ground.

All told, nine of New York’s 26 seats — from the tip of Long Island to the banks of the Hudson River here in Poughkeepsie — are in play, more than any state but California.

For Democrats, the uncertainty is particularly jarring: Just 10 months ago, party leaders, who controlled the once-in-a-decade redistricting process in the state, [*optimistically predicted*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/14/nyregion/congress-redistricting-ny.html) that new district lines could safeguard Democrats and imperil as many as five Republican seats, allowing them to add key blocks to their national firewall.

That, to put it gently, is not how things seem to be turning out.

Now, even Representative [*Sean Patrick Maloney*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/14/nyregion/congress-redistricting-ny.html), who once hoped New York would ease his burden as chairman of the House Democrats’ campaign arm, is facing a viable challenge, with internal polls from both parties showing a dead heat in a suburban area President Biden won by 10 points.

“I watch this stuff closely, and I feel I need a neck brace,” said Steve Israel, the former Long Island congressman who held Mr. Maloney’s job during the 2012 and 2014 elections. “Midterms this cycle are the most unpredictable and fluctuating I’ve ever seen, but no state has demonstrated that more than New York.”

The reversal of fortune in New York, where there are more than twice as many registered Democrats as Republicans, is all the more striking given the broader national backdrop. In a year when many states used redistricting to [*minimize the number of truly competitive districts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/14/nyregion/congress-redistricting-ny.html), New York is virtually alone in moving toward more competition, after [*an attempted Democratic gerrymander backfired*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/14/nyregion/congress-redistricting-ny.html) and state courts intervened at the 11th hour [*to draw more neutral lines*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/14/nyregion/congress-redistricting-ny.html).

It also underscores just how daunting a task Democrats face as they seek to hold on to the slimmest of majorities nationally in the face of Mr. Biden’s middling approval numbers, high inflation and a restless electorate [*that believes the state and the nation are headed in the wrong direction*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/14/nyregion/congress-redistricting-ny.html).

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PHOTOS: Representative Sean Patrick Maloney, the chairman of House Democrats’ campaign arm, is facing a forceful Republican challenge in his re-election bid. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Assemblyman Mike Lawler has received financial support from Republicans who are eager to defeat his Democratic opponent, Representative Maloney. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MATT BURKHARTT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Representative Pat Ryan, right, who won a special election in part because of voter interest in protecting abortion rights, may be a rare bright spot for Democrats.; Assemblyman Colin Schmitt, left, Mr. Ryan’s rival for a vacant seat in the 18th District in the Hudson Valley, said voters tell him, “We’re not in a good place.” (PHOTOGRAPHS BY GREGG VIGLIOTTI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A18) This article appeared in print on page A1, A18.

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**End of Document**



[***Final Run***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64KW-9PK1-DXY4-X47C-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By TaraShea Nesbit

**Body**

SMALL WORLDBy Jonathan Evison

Over a prolific decade, Jonathan Evison has been assessing America through novels about ***working-class*** folks -- home health aides, lawn workers. His 2011 novel ''West of Here'' seems most in companionship with his latest, ''Small World'': Both are sprawling sagas with dual timelines that follow late-19th-century Westerners and their contemporary descendants. ''Small World'' opens with a train accident in 2019. The engineer, Walter Bergen, has had a perfect record until this, the final run of his career. The train, heading to Seattle, is ''hurtling toward the unavoidable'' -- both the inevitable crash and, for Walter, an increasing awareness of that final movement in our lives.

The chapters alternate among story lines about a handful of travelers on this train journey, as well as their 1850s ancestors. Brianna Flowers has taken out a payday loan to get her high-achieving son, Malik, to the basketball invitational in Seattle. Her ancestors, George and Cora Flowers, have a tragic love story to tell. Laila Tully, a waitress and descendant of Miwok and Washoe ancestors, is fleeing her abusive white boyfriend and her hometown. Like Brianna's, Laila's trip requires a significant amount of her resources.

The Chen family is economically comfortable, the parents just looking for a weekend getaway, while the preteens wish they were back home with their screens. But the mother, a reformed workaholic named Jenny Chen, is partly responsible for the early retirement that Walter is taking from Amtrak. Her ancestor, Wu Chen, has immigrated to San Francisco from Guangdong and found solidarity in two brothers from the same province. They struck gold, but Wu is haunted by what followed.

The dual timeline sounds more complicated than it is. Evison's characters are distinctive and the plot is well paced. Depictions of the sibling ache between the separated twins Nora and Finn Bergen (Walter's ancestors), the survivor's guilt of Wu and the longing Jenny has for a connection to her parents are deeply felt. Nora never loses hope to be reunited with her brother. Finn heads farther and farther west, building the rails, searching.

Hope is tempered by inequity and injustice. Brianna blames herself when she can't find enough money to get Malik to Seattle: ''She had invested in Malik over the past 16 years, how could she possibly come up $600 short?'' Readers observing the context of her life -- how she quit an appliance sales job when propositioned by the boss, for instance -- can see how the problem is much larger.

But the novel is easy to love in part because it deals in generosity and hope. Part of the reading experience will hinge on how much evidence one needs to believe in humanity's capacity for altruism. Tam, a server who works with Laila, gives her money that Tam must have been saving for months. Her reasoning is moving: ''The whole hope was to save Laila from Tam's life.'' The two brothers from Guangdong invite Wu to search for gold with them, even though their profits will be diluted. And in an early chapter, an Irish immigrant and his daughter, who are struggling in a New York tenement, give what they have to the Bergens, so that they can head west. Did I believe that money would be given, so quickly? Not really. But did I enjoy reading that it was possible? Yes.

The lives of Evison's characters require action, and this need -- to act now and fast -- along with the cast's size, poses the hazard of skimming from their interiority. There might not have been time to linger on Cora's decision to leave her established life in Chicago to go with George Flowers, who has fled enslavement; she shows him courtesy, but he deeply surprises her with his proposal. Jess Row aptly argues in ''White Flights'' that many white novelists place their stories in diverse cities, but conveniently omit people of color from their cast. Evison does not omit, and the novel is more expansive because of it, but at times I wished to know more about the characters' internal lives, the details and contexts outside of the immediate plot.

Does the railway bring us closer together, as promised? George's captor, Worthy Warnock, pontificates about the transcontinental railroad: ''Ah, but what a small world it shall be ... when we connect the East and the West.'' But is a small world a good thing? For characters in precarity, smallness keeps them trapped: ''What a cruel place the world was to be so small,'' George says. For Nora, we are connected, instead, by sorrow: ''What need of iron horses? It was already a small world when it came to suffering.''

Walter (cisgender, male, white) drives the diverse cast of characters toward impending danger. He ruminates about his daughter's upcoming marriage, about his own place in the world now that his career is closing: ''He was certain he still had something to offer the world. But according to his own daughter ... it was time for Walter and the rest of the old white guys to step aside.'' An early chapter from Walter's point of view, with his discomfort in his daughter's use of the word ''queer'' to describe herself, suggests a preoccupation far narrower than the novel's overall scope.

''Small World'' is ambitious, showing our interconnectedness across time, place and cultures. What happens on the day of potential tragedy is revealed slowly throughout the book. I wanted to know the conclusion to every character's story line so much that I wasn't too concerned with how Walter's train went awry. The final pages, earnest and direct, chance the sentimental, which might be the riskiest move of all.TaraShea Nesbit is the author of ''Beheld'' and ''The Wives of Los Alamos.'' She is an associate professor at Miami University.SMALL WORLDBy Jonathan Evison480 pp. Dutton. $28.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/11/books/review/jonathan-evison-small-world.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/11/books/review/jonathan-evison-small-world.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Nhung Le FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** January 23, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction: Sunday, December 20th 2020***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61PD-4451-JBG3-64K1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 20, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 506 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the December 20, 2020 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending December 5, 2020. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction |
| This | On |  |
| Week | List |  |
| 1 | 57 | HILLBILLY ELEGY, by J.D. Vance. (Harper) A Yale Law School graduate looks at the struggles of the white ***working class*** through the story of his own childhood. |
| 2 | 20 | MY OWN WORDS, by Ruth Bader Ginsburg with Mary Hartnett and Wendy W. Williams. (Simon & Schuster) A collection of articles and speeches by the Supreme Court justice. |
| 3 | 34 | BRAIDING SWEETGRASS, by Robin Wall Kimmerer. (Milkweed Editions) A botanist and member of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation espouses having an understanding and appreciation of plants and animals. |
| 4 | 111 | THE BODY KEEPS THE SCORE, by Bessel van der Kolk. (Penguin) How trauma affects the body and mind, and innovative treatments for recovery. |
| 5 | 49 | THE WARMTH OF OTHER SUNS, by Isabel Wilkerson. (Vintage) An account of the Great Migration of 1915-70, in which six million African-Americans abandoned the South. |
| 6 | 11 | THE TRUTHS WE HOLD, by Kamala Harris. (Penguin) A memoir by the daughter of immigrants who is now the vice president-elect. |
| 7 | 121 | SAPIENS, by Yuval Noah Harari. (Harper Perennial) How Homo sapiens became Earth?s dominant species. |
| 8 | 118 | WHITE FRAGILITY, by Robin DiAngelo. (Beacon) Historical and cultural analyses on what causes defensive moves by white people and how this inhibits cross-racial dialogue. |
| 9 | 95 | BORN A CRIME, by Trevor Noah. (One World) A memoir about growing up biracial in apartheid South Africa by the host of ?The Daily Show.? |
| 10 | 8 | WHAT UNITES US, by Dan Rather and Elliot Kirschner. (Algonquin) A collection of essays that define the historical changes and essential institutions of America to suggest ways to overcome divisions within the country. |
| 11 | 255 | THINKING, FAST AND SLOW, by Daniel Kahneman. (Farrar, Straus & Giroux) When we can and cannot trust our intuitions in making business and personal decisions. |
| 12 | 7 | THE SPY AND THE TRAITOR, by Ben Macintyre. (Broadway) The story of Oleg Gordievsky, a K.G.B. spy who secretly worked for the British intelligence service, and Aldrich Ames, a C.I.A. officer who was a K.G.B. double agent. |
| 13 | 32 | THE COLOR OF LAW, by Richard Rothstein. (Liveright) A case for how the American government abetted racial segregation in metropolitan areas across the country. |
| 14 | 1 | EDISON, by Edmund Morris. (Random House) The Pulitzer Prize-winning author chronicles the personal life, inventions and obsessions of Thomas Alva Edison. |
| 15 | 231 | JUST MERCY, by Bryan Stevenson. (One World) A civil rights lawyer and MacArthur grant recipient?s memoir of his decades of work to free innocent people condemned to death. |

**Load-Date:** January 6, 2021

**End of Document**



[***‘Crippling’ Energy Bills Force Europe’s Factories to Go Dark***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66DT-N841-JBG3-61SD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 19, 2022 Monday 22:36 EST

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**Section:** BUSINESS

**Length:** 1734 words

**Byline:** Liz Alderman

**Highlight:** Manufacturers are furloughing workers and shutting down lines because they can’t pay the gas and electric charges.

**Body**

The furnace, heated to 1,500 degrees Celsius, was glowing red. Workers at the [*Arc International*](https://www.arc-intl.com/en/)glass factory loaded it with sand that slowly pooled into a molten mass. Nearby on the factory floor, machines transformed the shapeless liquid with a blast of hot air into thousands of delicate wine glasses, destined for sale to restaurants and homes worldwide.

Nicholas Hodler, the chief executive, surveyed the assembly line, shimmering blue with natural gas flames. For years, Arc had been powered by cheap energy that helped turn the company into the world’s largest producer of glass tableware — and a vital employer in this ***working-class*** region of northern France.

But the impact of Russia’s abrupt cutoff of gas to Europe has doused the business with new risks. [*Energy prices*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/25/business/europe-electricity-prices.html) have climbed so fast that Mr. Hodler has had to rewrite business forecasts six times in two months. Recently, he put a third of Arc’s 4,500 employees on partial furlough to save money. Four of the factory’s nine furnaces will be idled; the others will be switched from natural gas to diesel, a cheaper but more polluting fuel.

“It’s the most dramatic situation we have ever encountered,” Mr. Hodler said, shouting to be heard over the din of clinking glasses. “For energy-intensive businesses like ours, it’s crippling.”

Arc is not alone. High energy prices are lashing European industry, forcing factories to cut production quickly and put tens of thousands of employees on furlough. The cutbacks, though expected to be temporary, are raising the risks of a [*painful recession*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/08/business/economy/russia-ukraine-global-economy.html?searchResultPosition=1) in Europe. Industrial production in the euro area fell 2.3 percent in July from a year earlier, the [*biggest drop*](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/2995521/14698159/4-14092022-AP-EN.pdf/653e3e30-294b-4af7-4db4-8bab2cadc782?t=1663065884252)in more than two years.

Makers of metal, paper, fertilizer and other products that depend on gas and electricity to transform raw materials into products from car doors to cardboard boxes have announced belt-tightening. Half of Europe’s aluminum and zinc production has been taken offline, according to [*Eurometaux*](https://eurometaux.eu/media/qnhn5k30/non-ferrous-metals-ceo-letter-on-energy-crisis-06-09-2022.pdf), Europe’s metals trade association.

Among them is Arcelor Mittal, Europe’s largest steel maker, which is idling blast furnaces in Germany. Alcoa, a global aluminum products producer, is cutting a third of production at its smelter in Norway. In the Netherlands, Nyrstar, the world’s biggest zinc producer, is pausing output until further notice.

Even toilet paper is not immune: In Germany, Hakle, one of the largest manufacturers, announced that it had tumbled into insolvency because of a “historic energy crisis.”

The whirlwind has unnerved the inhabitants of Arques, a town whose fortunes have been tied to glassmaking for more than a century. The modern-day Arc was founded in 1825 as the Verrerie Cristallerie d’Arques, then a small local maker of fine crystal goblets.

Today, Arc’s operations are enormous, spanning an area nearly half the size of New York’s Central Park. Its mass is such that Arc indirectly generates another 15,000 or so jobs in the region, from cardboard factories that package its glass to transport companies ferrying its products. Arc’s other factories are in China, Dubai and New Jersey.

“The shutdown of the furnaces is bad news,” said one worker, a 28-year veteran of the factory, who spoke on the condition of anonymity for fear of compromising his job. “Sure, high energy prices are having an impact,” he added, “but it’s scary how fast it&#39;s happening.”

To some extent, the crisis is a blowback from European [*sanctions*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/russia-us-ukraine-sanctions.html) that were intended to punish Moscow for its invasion of Ukraine. The pain has undermined confidence at European companies and their ability to plan.

This past week, the [*European Commission president, Ursula von der Leyen*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/14/world/europe/eu-energy-prices-taxes.html), proposed offsetting the hit by capping revenue from low-cost electricity generators and forcing fossil fuel firms to share the profit they make from soaring energy prices.

But the solutions may not be fast enough. Costs have already soared beyond what many manufacturers can afford. Thousands of European companies are near the end of fixed energy contracts signed when prices were cheaper, and must renew them in October at current prices. Year-ahead electricity prices, which are tied to the cost of gas, are around 1,000 euros per megawatt-hour in Germany and France, while natural gas is at record highs of around €230 per megawatt-hour.

[*Eschenbach Porcelain*](https://eschenbachporzellan.de/en/enterprise/brands/eschenbach-porcelain) survived Germany’s transition from communism to capitalism after 1989. But when its energy contracts run out at the end of this year, the company will face annual energy bills of €5.5 million, or roughly six times what it is paying now, said Rolf Frowein, its director.

“That would mean we have to more than double our prices, and nobody will pay that for our cups and plates,” he said. Eschenbach, a 130-year-old company in the eastern state of Thuringia, is in talks with local politicians about a potential solution. It is one of dozens of small and midsize firms in Germany fearing they will have to close for good.

An hour north of the Arc factory,[*Aluminium Dunkerque*](https://www.aluminiumdunkerque.fr/), France’s biggest aluminum producer, will furlough part of its 620-person work force and cut production by more than 20 percent as it faces a potential fourfold jump in its energy costs.

“The time we spend dealing with energy issues been multiplied by 10,” said Guillaume de Go\xC3s, the chief executive. “We hope the crisis will be short-lived, but if it lasts, European industry will be in very big trouble.”

Mr. Hodler is laboring to steer Arc away from trouble, after years of financial difficulties linked to overexpansion and, more recently, pandemic lockdowns. In December, shortly after Mr. Hodler took over in a management shake-up, Arc received an emergency €45 million loan backed by the French state and is now asking the government for additional relief from high energy bills.

The site, which consumes as much energy as 200,000 homes, makes “arts de table,” including Luminarc dinner plates and Cristal d’Arques-branded table and barware. All told, Arc produces four million glasses a day, as well as items like candle holders for Bath &amp; Body Works and promotional glasses for Heineken and McDonald’s.

Doing so requires intense heat to melt sand into glass in furnaces that must stay lit 24 hours a day. In summer, Europe’s power crunch propelled Arc’s energy bill to $75 million, from 19 million euros a year ago. On top of that, consumers suddenly stopped buying items like candleholders and washing machines, for which Arc makes glass windows, sending orders plunging.

“People are worried about their winter energy bills, and are saying, ‘I’ll wait to buy that nonessential item,’” Mr. Hodler said.

The double-whammy sent Arc’s management team scrambling for solutions — all of them less than desirable.

This month, 1,600 workers were asked to stay home two days a week to cut costs. And for the first time, Arc’s furnaces will switch to diesel power instead of natural gas, which is fed directly to the factory through a pipeline. The diesel will raise Arc’s carbon footprint by 30 percent, and must be delivered in huge quantities by tanker trucks.

Even more daunting was the prospect of idling Arcs furnaces. “You can’t just shut down a glass furnace — it would destroy it,” Mr. Hodler said. “If they are powered down gently, they will survive, but then they take more than one month to be reheated.”

Two furnaces that were planned for scheduled maintenance may now remain offline for the foreseeable future, Mr. Hodler said. Another two will be temporarily mothballed to make up for the fall in demand.

“We don’t want to stop operations completely,” Mr. Hodler said. “But we are not going to produce if we lose money.”

All of which has locals in Arques very worried. At Le Cristal, a cafe that is a hangout for Arc factory workers, the fate of the furnaces was all anybody talked about on a recent afternoon.

“Arc is the lifeblood of this region,” said Valerie Harle, the owner of the cafe, which opened in 1939 and is named in honor of Georges Durand, who built the Cristallerie d’Arques from a small-time factory into an empire. “If the furnaces don’t work, neither do the employees.”

Veronique Cognoti, a longtime resident, said locals were bracing for a domino effect. “A lot of other businesses depend on it,” she said of the factory. “Transport companies, cardboard box makers — they will all feel the blow.”

At a nearby table, a man who spoke on the condition of anonymity said he was furloughed this month from his job at a nearby cardboard factory that makes boxes and packaging for Arc, after the glassmaker cut production.

“With the price of energy as it is, the factory isn’t working as much as it used to, and it is already creating a chain reaction,” he said.

He was being paid 80 percent of his salary to stay home while his factory was idled, but that had added up to €130 in lost pay. At the same time, he said, the gasoline bill to fill his small car had jumped to nearly €100, from about €50 at the beginning of the year.

“This is going to become a much bigger problem,” he said.

Melissa Eddy contributed reporting from Berlin.

Melissa Eddy contributed reporting from Berlin.

PHOTOS: Arc International, the world’s largest maker of wine glasses and glass tableware, has four factories, with one in France, above. In summer, Europe’s power crisis propelled Arc’s energy bill to $75 million, from 19 million euros a year ago.; Glass stems on a conveyor belt at Arc. The plant, which consumes as much energy as 200,000 homes, had been powered by cheap natural gas for years. (B1); Taking a break outside the Arc plant in Arques, a town in northern France whose fortunes have been tied to glassmaking for over a century. A third of Arc’s 4,500 employees are on partial furlough.; The Arc plant produces four million pieces of glassware per day. Top right, plates in the production process. Above, a glassblowing machine. Below, sand is deposited and then moved to the furnace, where it is converted to molten glass at temperatures of up to 1,500 degrees Celsius in Arc’s ovens. Left, some of the finished products.; Four of the plant’s nine furnaces, which must stay lit 24 hours a day, will be idled to cut costs. “You can’t just shut down a glass furnace — it would destroy it,” said Nicholas Hodler, right, Arc’s chief executive. “If they are powered down gently, they will survive, but then they take more than one month to be reheated.” (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDREA MANTOVANI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (B6)

**Load-Date:** September 25, 2022

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[***Extreme Measures***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66K3-KV71-JBG3-6250-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 9, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 14; NONFICTION

**Length:** 2001 words

**Byline:** By Thomas Meaney

**Body**

Adam Hochschild's new book, ''American Midnight,'' offers a vivid account of the country during the years 1917-21, when extremism reached levels rarely rivaled in our history.

AMERICAN MIDNIGHT: The Great War, a Violent Peace, and Democracy's Forgotten Crisis, by Adam Hochschild

At a time when professional doom-mongering about democracy has become one of the more inflationary sectors of the American economy, it is tonic to be reminded by Adam Hochschild's masterly new book, ''American Midnight,'' that there are other contenders than the period beginning in 2016 for the distinction of Darkest Years of the Republic. By some measures -- and certainly in many quarters of the American left -- the years 1917-21 have a special place in infamy. The United States during that time saw a swell of patriotic frenzy and political repression rarely rivaled in its history. President Woodrow Wilson's terror campaign against American radicals, dissidents, immigrants and workers makes the McCarthyism of the 1950s look almost subtle by comparison.

As Hochschild vividly details, the Wilson administration and its allies pioneered the police raids, surveillance operations, internment camps, strikebreaking and legal chicanery that would become part of the repertoire of the American state for decades to come. It may be recalled how, when Donald Trump was a presidential candidate in 2016, his followers ignited a media storm when they threatened to lock up his challenger. But only Wilson went the distance: He jailed his charismatic Socialist opponent, the 63-year-old Eugene Debs, for opposing America's descent into the carnage of the First World War, with the liberal press in lock step. ''He is where he belongs,'' Hochschild quotes The New York Times declaring of the imprisoned Debs. ''He should stay there.''

When Wilson became president in 1913, he was hailed as a progressive visionary. He wanted to transform moth-eaten American institutions into a sleek administrative state. Despite prompt invasions of Mexico and Haiti during Wilson's first term, the country was hardly prepared for a major war. In 1917, as Hochschild recounts, the U.S. Army was smaller than Portugal's. An 18th-century legal corset -- the U.S. Constitution -- constrained the executive branch, requiring two-thirds of the Senate to ratify foreign treaties. The state's financial coffers were heavily reliant on excise and customs revenues. Despite the booming American economy and a thriving modern culture that would soon sweep the globe, Wilson found that he had taken control of the equivalent of a creaking galleon in an age of submarine warfare. He wanted to make America the decisive player in world politics, and for its influence to match its economic might.

Aided by the news of German war atrocities, the Wilson administration whipped up anti-German hysteria. Wilson produced a great deal of cant about making the world ''safe for democracy,'' though by ''democracy'' he had in mind something like an international clinic for political delinquents with America as supervisor. Internal enemies ultimately proved more reliable than high ideals in sustaining the country's war fever. German-speaking Americans and other immigrant groups made for obvious targets. ''I want to say -- I cannot say it too often,'' Wilson declared in 1919, ''any man who carries a hyphen about with him carries a dagger that he is ready to plunge into the vitals of this Republic.'' But the grander enemy was American socialists, who publicly opposed entering a war in which they would kill fellow workingmen at the behest of their ruling classes.

Standard histories of the first ''Red Scare'' tend to tell it as a largely domestic story. Hochschild insists on filling out the international dimension. The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 features in ''American Midnight'' like a flare against the dark sky that captures the imagination of the left wing of the American labor movement. ''Lenin and Trotsky were the men of the hour,'' Debs declared, as members of the Industrial Workers of the World -- known as the Wobblies -- organized actions across the country. In 1919, one in five American workers walked off their jobs. In Seattle, in what later became known as the ''Soviet of Washington,'' a motley group of labor unions succeeded in conducting the first general strike in U.S. history -- the only time American workers have taken over a city.

Yet neither the Wobblies nor any of the other American socialist outfits were a pincer party, unlike the Bolsheviks in Russia, who were led by a determined group of brilliant strategists and had a crumbling empire in their sights. Instead, the Wobblies, whose American membership never numbered more than 100,000, were a thinly organized movement fighting against business groups, which financed vast armories, many of which still squat at the center of American cities. These, in turn, were backed by a fledgling surveillance state that did not hesitate to outsource its violence to officially sanctioned vigilante groups. ''Force, force to the utmost, force without limit,'' Wilson said on Flag Day in 1918, the year his administration began overseeing the banning of small radical magazines like The Masses, and the hounding of any publication not on board with the war.

Hochschild also stresses how the Wilson administration drew on America's experience in the Philippines, importing torture and counterinsurgency techniques back to the mainland. In ''American Midnight,'' the years 1917-21 figure unmistakably as a two-front war. While Wilson dispatched the Philippine War veteran Gen. John Pershing to fight Germany in Europe, he permitted the more ruthless Gen. Leonard Wood -- who had, among other achievements, overseen a large massacre of Moro and Tausug people in his days as governor of Moro Province -- to put down revolts across the American Midwest.

Hochschild's best-known book, ''King Leopold's Ghost,'' initiated a generation of Americans into the horrors of European colonialism and became required reading in the human-rights-saturated 1990s. Something of a specialist in the annals of atrocity, Hochschild spares no detail in ''American Midnight.'' In 1914, the Colorado National Guard, which had fought in the Philippine War, killed 11 children while defending a Rockefeller coal mine from strikers. For German-speaking Americans, these were years of persecution and fear. There were public burnings of German songbooks, and German-language instruction was widely banned in schools. In a foretaste of the transformation of French fries into ''freedom fries'' during the Iraq war, frankfurters became ''hot dogs,'' while sauerkraut less successfully transitioned into ''liberty cabbage.''

Paranoia reached an absurdist pitch. ''You can't even collect your thoughts without getting arrested for unlawful assemblage,'' the editor of The Masses, Max Eastman, told an audience in 1917. ''They give you 90 days for quoting the Declaration of Independence, six months for quoting the Bible, and pretty soon somebody's going to get a life sentence for quoting Woodrow Wilson in the wrong connection.'' When a young Eugene O'Neill went to work one sunny day on the beach in Cape Cod, a vigilant citizen interpreted the flashing glares reflecting off the metal of his typewriter as -- what else? -- covert signals to German submarines. ''He was arrested at gunpoint,'' Hochschild writes.

As in ''King Leopold's Ghost,'' Hochschild in ''American Midnight'' stages a morality tale. There is an extensive cast of villains, from Leo Wendell, the intrepid federal agent who managed to pass himself off as one of the most radical Wobblies for years, to A. Mitchell Palmer, who with the help of a young J. Edgar Hoover conducted ''raids'' on radicals; Nicholas Murray Butler, the war-giddy president of Columbia University; and Ole Hanson, the reactionary mayor of Seattle, whom Hochschild nominates as America's first ''professional anti-Communist.'' As a Nebraskan who takes some pride in my local knowledge, I thought I was the only one who knew about the mafia boss Tom Dennison, who toppled the progressive mayor of Omaha by orchestrating a series of attacks on women by white thugs in blackface, but Hochschild includes every twist and turn of the episode.

If the proto-human-rights missionaries such as Roger Casement and Edmund Morel were the heroes of ''King Leopold's Ghost,'' Hochschild has a more colorful cast to work with in ''American Midnight.'' There is Emma Goldman, the Russian-born revolutionary; Marie Equi, the medical doctor and fighter for women's and workers' rights; and the fiery orator Kate Richard O'Hare -- all of whom the Wilson administration wasted no time imprisoning on charges authorized by the 1917 Espionage Act. W.E.B. Du Bois captures the deep dismay American Blacks felt about a party that had begun to attract more of their votes, but which all but acquiesced in the licensing of lynching by Dixie senators. Hovering throughout Hochschild's account is Debs himself, the keeper of the tablets of American socialism, who tried to unite the various factions of the nation's labor movement, but whose temperament and long term in prison made him more of a symbol than a strategist.

Hochschild's sharp portraits and vignettes make for poignant reading, but at times skirt fuller historical understanding. We hear about newspapers and magazines being shut down, but little about what was being argued in them. Powerful thinkers about the political moment, such as Randolph Bourne, are absent from ''American Midnight,'' while John Dos Passos features more as a backup bard than a literary chronicler with historical insight. Hochschild attributes much of the failure of American socialists to expand their ranks to the racism and xenophobia that bedeviled the white ***working class***. But there were also significant problems of organization in the American labor movement, which struggled to unite unskilled immigrant workers with workers in established unions. Trotsky had expected America to make as great a contribution to world socialism as it had to capitalism; he was appalled by the lack of party discipline, later damning Debs with faint praise, as a ''romantic and a preacher, and not at all a politician or a leader.'' The Catholic Church inoculated large segments of immigrant workers from radicalization, while canny capitalists like Henry Ford devised ways to divide workers into a caste system with different gradations of privilege. For all of the success of the strike waves of 1919, almost none of them left any permanent new union organization in place, nor did socialists make much headway in electoral politics.

In the closing portions of this tale, Hochschild shows that, by contrast, a generation of American liberals learned what not to do from Wilson. As his international crusade sputtered into catastrophe, with Wilson signing off on the Versailles Treaty, which laid the kindling for World War II, younger members of his staff were already preparing to become different kinds of liberals. Felix Frankfurter, who, as a young judge advocate general, gallantly tried to counteract some of Wilson's domestic terror, and Frankfurter's friend Walter Lippmann, who worked on Wilson's foreign policy team, were determined to cast off the administration's excesses. Both envisioned a state that would protect civil rights instead of violating them, and oversee a more efficient and fair economy. In the early 1930s, even as they drifted apart, Lippmann and Frankfurter would help impart a crucial lesson to the Roosevelt administration: If it wanted to snuff out American socialism, it was better to absorb some of its ideals than to banish them.

Thomas Meaney is a fellow at the Max Planck Society in Göttingen, Germany.

AMERICAN MIDNIGHT: The Great War, a Violent Peace, and Democracy's Forgotten Crisis | By Adam Hochschild | 421 pp. | Mariner Books | $29.99Thomas Meaney is a fellow at the Max Planck Society in Göttingen.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/03/books/review/american-midnight-adam-hochschild.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/03/books/review/american-midnight-adam-hochschild.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: A socialist rally against World War I in New York City in 1914. (PHOTOGRAPH FROM LIBRARY OF CONGRESS)

**Load-Date:** October 9, 2022

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[***Best Sellers: Paperback Trade Fiction: Sunday, January 31st 2021***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61WX-N6R1-DXY4-X31P-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 31, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 498 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the January 31, 2021 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending January 16, 2021. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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| --- | --- | --- |
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|  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Paperback Trade Fiction |
| This | On |  |
| Week | List |  |
| 1 | 9 | HOME BODY, by Rupi Kaur. (Andrews McMeel) Poems and illustrations by the author of ?Milk and Honey? and ?The Sun and Her Flowers.? |
| 2 | 2 | THE DUTCH HOUSE, by Ann Patchett. (Harper Perennial) A sibling relationship is impacted when the family goes from poverty to wealth and back again over the course of many decades. |
| 3 | 31 | FIREFLY LANE, by Kristin Hannah. (St. Martin?s Griffin) A friendship between two women in the Pacific Northwest endures for more than three decades. |
| 4 | 2 | NEWS OF THE WORLD, by Paulette Jiles. (Morrow) Following the Civil War, a man who reads newspapers to paying audiences agrees to deliver an orphan girl across difficult terrain to her relatives. |
| 5 | 13 | THE SONG OF ACHILLES, by Madeline Miller. (Ecco) A reimagining of Homer?s ?Iliad? that is narrated by Achilles' companion Patroclus. |
| 6 | 3 | THE DUKE AND I, by Julia Quinn. (Avon) The first book in the Bridgerton series. Daphne Bridgerton?s reputation soars when she colludes with the Duke of Hastings. |
| 7 | 10 | THE QUEEN'S GAMBIT, by Walter Tevis. (Vintage) Sixteen-year-old Beth Harmon goes through changes as she plays chess in the U.S. Open championship. The basis of the Netflix series. |
| 8 | 79 | THEN SHE WAS GONE, by Lisa Jewell. (Atria) Ten years after her daughter disappears, a woman tries to get her life in order but remains haunted by unanswered questions. |
| 9 | 174 | MILK AND HONEY, by Rupi Kaur. (Andrews McMeel) A collection of poetry about love, loss, trauma and healing. |
| 10 | 69 | THE NIGHTINGALE, by Kristin Hannah. (St. Martin's Griffin) Two sisters in World War II France: one struggling to survive in the countryside, the other joining the Resistance. |
| 11 | 3 | THE HOUSE IN THE CERULEAN SEA, by T.J. Klune. (Tor) Linus Baker is sent to the Marsyas Island Orphanage to assess whether six children in different forms might cause the end of days. |
| 12 | 1 | THE SEVEN HUSBANDS OF EVELYN HUGO, by Taylor Jenkins Reid. (Washington Square) A movie icon recounts stories of her loves and career to a struggling magazine writer. |
| 13 | 2 | THE AUTHENTICITY PROJECT, by Clare Pooley. (Penguin) A circulating notebook brings strangers together after they write true things about their lives in it. |
| 14 | 32 | CIRCE, by Madeline Miller. (Back Bay) Zeus banishes Helios' daughter to an island, where she must choose between living with gods or mortals. |
| 15 | 9 | SHUGGIE BAIN, by Douglas Stuart. (Grove) The winner of the 2020 Booker Prize. A boy?s ***working-class*** childhood in 1980s Glasgow is subsumed by his mother?s alcoholism. |

**Load-Date:** February 1, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Fighting Over Affordable Housing in Connecticut***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66DM-6X51-JBG3-60D5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 18, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section RE; Column 0; Real Estate Desk; Pg. 13

**Length:** 1843 words

**Byline:** By Lisa Prevost

**Body**

Local residents and elected officials are seeking to block large housing projects, warning that increased density could change the character of their towns.

In the town of Fairfield, Conn., nearly 2,400 residents have signed a petition opposing a project proposed for downtown that could bring 19 units of affordable housing.

In nearby New Canaan, homeowners have raised about $84,000 for a legal fund to fight a proposed apartment complex downtown on Weed Street that would include 31 rent-restricted units for households with moderate incomes.

And in Greenwich, a developer recently withdrew an application to build a project that would include 58 apartments priced below market rate, after residents living in nearby luxury condominiums objected and said the buildings that would be demolished were historically significant.

Throughout Fairfield County, Conn., local residents and elected officials are seeking to block large housing projects that include units affordable to low- and moderate-income households, warning that the increased density could change the character of their towns. The 32-year-old law that enables such projects has always generated some pushback, but the opposition has grown more fierce as the number of proposals has increased in recent years.

The fervent campaigns against housing applications reflect a battle that has engulfed the state, town by town. Last week, a group led by the Open Communities Alliance announced that it would file a civil rights lawsuit against the town of Woodbridge, saying that the town's zoning regulations, which sharply restrict multifamily housing, violated the state Fair Housing Act, state zoning laws and the state Constitution.

The restrictive zoning ''disparately harms Black and Latino households, and deepens economic and racial segregation in the area,'' said Erin Boggs, the alliance's executive director, in a statement.

The suit will be closely watched by towns around Connecticut, especially in Fairfield County, a hotbed of backlash to the law known as Section 8-30g, which was intended to help reverse decades of housing discrimination and segregation, much of it accomplished through restrictive zoning. The statute allows developers to exceed local restrictions on density if they include units priced below market rate.

''Right now, it is the political hot button in Fairfield County,'' said Arnold Karp, the president of Karp Associates, the developer of the proposed Weed Street complex in New Canaan.

Developers have a special right of appeal if a town rejects a proposal in which at least 30 percent of the units are made affordable to households earning 60 to 80 percent of state or area median income (whichever is less). For example, a two-person household earning roughly $54,000 to $72,000 annually would qualify in Fairfield.

A town must justify a rejection by proving that it is necessary to protect public health, safety, wetlands or certain other matters.

Many more developers are taking advantage of the law because soaring rents have made it more economically feasible for them to cover the cost of complexes, even with nearly a third of apartments below market rate.

For example, Greenwich has received 11 housing applications citing the law in the last few years, after having received only seven in the preceding 30 years, said Katie DeLuca, the director of planning and zoning.

''We can build both market-rate and affordable housing with no government funds or tax incentives required. The density allows the math to work,'' said Peter Cabrera, the vice president of acquisitions and development for Eagle Ventures, the developer that pulled its application in Greenwich.

Some local Republicans are calling for the law to be repealed.

Fred Camillo, a first selectman in Greenwich and a Republican, argues that towns, not the state, should decide whether and where they want more housing. ''These applications have the very real potential to change the look and feel of our town,'' he said. ''It's a one-size-fits-all mandate coming down from Hartford.''

That sort of suburban antipathy to density has contributed to a severe housing shortage in Connecticut, especially at the low- to moderate-income range, said Kiley Gosselin, the executive director of the Partnership for Strong Communities, an affordable housing advocacy organization.

''In Connecticut there's always been a sense that, we want to keep our towns looking a certain way and avoid most types of density,'' she said. ''That's resulted in large house lot sizes and less and less multifamily housing starts.''

In New Canaan, where residents have raised money for a legal fund to fight the apartment building proposal, signs reading ''Save Weed Street'' are displayed on the front lawns of multimillion-dollar homes. ''If they destroy Weed Street, they could come for your neighborhood next. Every Soviet-era housing project that they erect gives them the money and influence to build the next one, and the one after that and the one after that, until there is nothing left of the town you once knew,'' warned a flier circulated by Chris DeMuth Jr., a resident.

But many people who work in the towns cannot afford to live in them, said Mr. Karp, the developer.

''I already have a list of 20-plus people who work in town who would love to live here in a building that they could afford,'' he said. ''My view is, people who work in town deserve to be able to live in town.''

Mr. Karp has a second 8-30g application pending in New Canaan as well. That one is a smaller, adaptive reuse of a historic building. He is preparing a third.

His push for high-density, lower-cost development makes him unpopular in a town predominantly zoned for single-family homes on large lots.

''There is a vitriolic reaction when New Canaanites hear the term 'affordable housing,''' said Mr. Karp, who used to live in town and still maintains an office there. ''I have told other developers: 'You have to have the stomach for this. Because you will walk out of meetings where you will hear, you are ruining the town.'''

Communities in which at least 10 percent of residences meet the state's definition of affordable are exempt from the statute. Currently, 31 of the state's 169 municipalities meet that threshold. Towns may also obtain four-year moratoriums from the law, if they can show progress toward generating more affordable housing, as calculated by a point system.

Both Fairfield and New Canaan have gained enough affordable units in recent years that they are close to obtaining the temporary reprieve. That achievement is likely contributing to the increase in applications, as developers try to beat the cutoff, said Mark Barnhart, the director of the Office of Community and Economic Development in Fairfield.

In Greenwich, the 192-unit apartment building that Eagle Ventures proposed would include 58 below-market-rate units that would rent from around $1,100 for a one-bedroom to $2,200 for a three-bedroom, depending on income level, Mr. Cabrera said.

It was to be built on a downtown site cobbled together from 11 properties, including several late-19th-century homes that have been carved into apartments, four small single-family rentals, a couple of small commercial buildings and a restaurant.

But opponents pointed out that the crumbling structures were part of the historic Fourth Ward, an area that became home to Irish immigrants. The name ''Fourth Ward'' comes from the neighborhood in Lower Manhattan of the same name that drew ***working-class*** Irish immigrants in the late 1800s and early 1900s.

The Fourth Ward in Greenwich is listed on the National Register of Historic Places for having developed between 1836 and 1929 ''as the most visible moderate-income neighborhood in a town otherwise characterized by affluence of national renown.''

The area is not formally protected as a local historic district. The moderate-income aspect has long since faded away: Homes recently listed for sale online in the Fourth Ward ranged from $1 million to $2.2 million. Rents averaged around $4,000 over the last five years, according to multiple listing service data.

Residents of the luxury condo complex Town and Country started the process of challenging the development under the state's Environmental Protection Act, which, unusually, authorizes the state attorney general or anybody else to sue to prevent the ''unreasonable destruction'' of historic structures on the National Register.

''Multifamily housing can be developed elsewhere in town; historic structures and landmarks, however, cannot simply be rebuilt,'' Mario Coppola, a lawyer for the condo owners, said in a letter to the planning and zoning commission.

Mr. Cabrera described the objection -- a formal challenge that threatened to stretch into a lengthy legal battle -- as disingenuous. The buildings that had been slated for demolition are not of high quality and are on the outskirts of the Fourth Ward, he said. At least 18 other structures in the area have been demolished in the district to make way for luxury homes or condominiums without major public outcry, he added.

But faced with the prospect of litigation, Eagle Ventures withdrew its application last month. Mr. Cabrera said he was considering what to do next.

Matthew Skaarup, chief executive officer of the local YMCA, wrote a letter in support of the project, saying it ''has incredible potential to provide much needed housing for those who are standing fixtures in our community, but are precluded from living here due to a near absence of available market-rate rentals and a severe lack of affordable housing.''

The Reverend Felix-Gerard Delatour, pastor of the Little Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church, the town's first African American church, also wrote a letter, calling for ''a higher standard of compassion and understanding'' around the housing needs ''of those having average salaries.''

Nick Abbott, a Greenwich native and Harvard Law student who has worked with groups promoting more inclusive zoning policies, said he didn't buy the arguments for historic preservation in this case.

''The very reason that this neighborhood achieved a historic designation was meant to honor that this was historically home to a racially and economically mixed population,'' he said. ''The way to honor that history would be to build mixed-income housing, rather than preserving in amber housing that is no longer affordable to people.''

Affordability is a major deterrent to the many teachers in Greenwich who would like to live in town, said Aaron Hull, a longtime educator in town. Mr. Hull, who lives in Norwalk, said he and his wife had periodically contemplated moving their family to Greenwich, which he views as a ''phenomenal community,'' but couldn't find anything within their price range.

His daily commute on Interstate 95, while only 14 miles, ''can take anywhere from 45 to 90 minutes,'' he said. ''That seat time takes its toll.''

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/04/realestate/connecticut-affordable-housing-apartments.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/04/realestate/connecticut-affordable-housing-apartments.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: From top, homeowners are battling a proposed apartment complex on Weed Street in New Canaan, Conn.

in Greenwich, Conn., residents objected to plans to tear down some homes in a historic district

the developer Arnold Karp says New Canaan residents sometimes have a ''vitriolic reaction'' to hearing about proposals for ''affordable housing.'' Above left, Fred Camillo, a first selectman in Greenwich, says towns, not state officials, should decide whether and where they want more housing. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JANE BEILES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 18, 2022

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[***People Places Things***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68K5-3PG1-JBG3-63S2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 29, 2023 Thursday

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**Length:** 10791 words

**Byline:** By Kurt Soller, Liz Brown, Rose Courteau, Kate Guadagnino, Sara Holdren, Brian Keith Jackson, Evan Moffitt, Miguel Morales, Tomi Obaro, Coco Romack, Michael Snyder and June Thomas

**Body**

If there's no single definition of what it means to be queer --â€¯a word whose meaning seems to shape-shift constantly, just like the culture around it --â€¯then there's perhaps no consensus on what defines queer literature as a genre either. Still, one thing many queer people share is that we first discovered ourselves on the page. Often furtively, we read novels or recited poems or watched plays that seemed not only to speak exclusively to us, but also showed us a way of speaking about ourselves to others.

But among those works we sought out in school libraries or online, which have been the most influential in making and furthering queer culture? That was the question we posed to six writers --â€¯the essayist and novelist Roxane Gay, the playwright and educator James Ijames, the playwright and actor Lisa Kron, the journalist and TV writer Thomas Page McBee, the novelist Neel Mukherjee and the fiction and nonfiction writer Edmund White -- who gathered over Zoom in early May for the latest installment of our T 25 list. Ahead of time, I'd asked everyone to nominate 10 or so works that we could discuss when we met, and we also exchanged some messages about the assignment's parameters: We'd focus only on English-language literature (not in translation) that came out after the end of World War II, as queer life became less coded and began to flourish in the West, and we'd exclusively discuss novels, plays and poems (as opposed to, say, memoir or biography or other types of nonfiction -- though this rule incited a whole debate within the debate). The writers also agreed not to select works by one another.

There was little agreement beyond all that -- no surprise for a group of six spirited queers --â€¯and the shared desire to create a list that was less white, less male, less cis than those that've come before. Poetry, as it always does, spoke to different people in different ways, although everyone had concluded, by the end of the three-hour conversation, that they wanted to include a lot of it: Each panelist seemed to have a favorite collection, which they passionately persuaded the others to read or revisit. Trailblazers like James Baldwin and the butch icon Leslie Feinberg proved to be unignorable. So too was the underlying seriousness of this exercise (even if the disagreements themselves were lots of fun): In an era of new book bans and anti-L.G.B.T.Q. legislation, the works chosen below, which are presented more or less in the order they came up, and not ranked, are proof of queer folks' endurance. Like previous generations, younger people might escape to these books to find joy and sorrow, sex and death, fuller knowledge of themselves and the history they share. --â€¯Kurt Soller

This conversation has been edited and condensed.

Soller: Many of you sent me notes about how you framed your nomination lists, so I thought we could start by talking about what queer literature even is right now.

Lisa Kron: One thing that's striking is that there's so much to choose from. I don't know what it means to say ''most influential'' -- particularly in queer culture, where things come from the bottom up. I started with, ''Who were the people and what were the works that ignited my creative imagination and revolutionized my thinking?'' As I did that, I realized, ''Oh, these are all people working inside what I consider dyke culture.''

James Ijames: I was interested in literature that either showed me myself or that had values that felt particularly queer: care and tenderness, stuff like that. Also: Writers who've impacted my politics. [James] Baldwin and [Tony] Kushner immediately came to mind. Essex Hemphill. The literature of the AIDS era has been fortifying for me -- to read how people survived.

Thomas Page McBee: I might be unique to this group in that I've lived multiple queer identities. I was excited to see ''Stone Butch Blues'' on [others'] lists because that book spoke to me in two bodies across time.

1. ''Stone Butch Blues'' by Leslie Feinberg, 1993

A lifelong political activist, Leslie Feinberg (who used the pronoun hir) devoted most of hir writing to exploring the complexities of gender. Hir first novel, ''Stone Butch Blues,'' which Feinberg made free to download from hir website before hir death in 2014, drew from hir experiences growing up in a Jewish ***working-class*** family in Buffalo. The book's narrator, Jess Goldberg, who confounds her parents as a ''child who couldn't be cataloged by Sears,'' runs away from home as a teenager, then finds refuge in the gay bars of Buffalo. She learns from the butches and femmes who safeguard those establishments, endures multiple sexual assaults during police raids, acquires and loses jobs in factories, goes on and off hormones and struggles with the loss of history she feels when passing as a man. Eventually, Jess returns to the question that shapes much of her life: ''Woman or man?'' The distinction, she discovers, is not always so clear. -- Coco Romack

Roxane Gay: I read ''Stone Butch Blues'' when I was 17, and it was the first time I saw anything resembling butch identity. As a girl from Omaha --â€¯where I simply didn't see anything queer -- I just thought, ''Wow.''

McBee: I thought a lot about works that have both a timelessness and a queerness to them. Although I feel like ''queer" has come to mean something different today than what I once understood it to mean. To me, the old definition of ''queer'' was about resistance to assimilation. Today, it can still mean that, but it's also a catchall term for the entire community.

Neel Mukherjee: I feel a bit of regret and some grief that the words ''gay" and ''lesbian'' have fallen off the map, although ''queer'' is more expansive. I also feel nostalgic about the fact that an underworld used to exist and doesn't anymore. That's the trade-off between the growing acceptance of queer culture and queer culture being a subculture in the past (although it still remains sub- in a lot of places).

Gay: I was thinking about books that reflect the evolution of queerness and what has become possible. With someone like Audre Lorde, ''Sister Outsider'' was the book where I found out, ''Oh, there are other Black lesbians. It's not just me.'' To see, both in her poetry and in her prose, that she was comfortable talking about anger, that she was comfortable talking about holding white women in particular to account --â€¯that was incredibly risky in her day. Frankly, it still is. That she was willing to take those chances is emblematic of what a lot of the best queer literature does: You see a writer doing something that might not work out in their favor, but they do it anyway.

Soller: Thomas, you chose Lorde's ''Zami: A New Spelling of My Name'' (1982), which she calls her ''biomythography.''

McBee: I picked what struck me as the most fictional, just to fit the parameters of the project, but I defer to Roxane here.

Gay: You could pick her cancer journals [she died in 1992], or any of her poetry collections, or any of the compendiums of her work. But ''Sister Outsider'' presents her worldview in her own words without any external analysis.

2. ''Sister Outsider'' by Audre Lorde, 1984

''Sister Outsider'' is essentially Audre Lorde's thesis statement, an amalgam of essays, speeches and interview text. The central tenets by which the poet, writer and activist sought to live her life -- calling out the greed of a for-profit economy and the need for social justice -- are laid out here in her precise, metaphor-rich language. In ''Uses of the Erotic: The Erotic as Power,'' she compares that erotic knowledge to a ''tiny, intense pellet of yellow coloring perched like a topaz,'' a kernel that she ''would knead ... gently back and forth.'' As she notes in an interview with the poet Adrienne Rich, ''When someone said to me, 'How do you feel?' or 'What do you think?' ... I would recite a poem, and somewhere in that poem would be the feeling, the vital piece of information.'' Lorde repeatedly stresses the importance, and the beauty, of her disparate identities as a Black lesbian poet and how the feminist and civil rights movements must acknowledge such differences in order to succeed. To read this book is to be reminded that questions about privilege and intersectionality are not new and that almost every conversation about them owes something to Lorde, who wrote in her poem ''Who Said It Was Simple'' (1973), ''But I who am bound by my mirror / as well as my bed / see causes in colour / as well as sex / and sit here wondering / which me will survive / all these liberations.'' -- Tomi Obaro

Soller: We have to discuss these hybrid forms. Many of you emailed me various thoughts about memoir and autofiction. Roxane, I'm curious how you would characterize a book like ''Sister Outsider,'' because it's many different things, most of which we'd consider nonfiction. For this list, we're focusing on fiction, poetry, plays, performance. But how do you all feel about those constraints? What do you think queer literature specifically has to say with its hybrid forms?

Gay: I don't think you can overlook nonfiction in talking about queer literature. Nonfiction was where we were first allowed to articulate our realities. It's fundamental. Frankly, it's more important than fiction and poetry. Nonfiction, hybrid forms, memoirs --â€¯these are the ways we were able to write ourselves into public consciousness.

Edmund White: I thoroughly agree. You know, what they call autofiction ... Certainly, all the great gay French writers, like [Marcel] Proust and AndrÃ© Gide, they all were writing autobiographical fiction of some sort. Maybe they were disguising themselves, but still, they oftentimes used the word ''I.'' Once, on a debate stage, I was talking about [Ernest] Hemingway's [1927] story ''Hills Like White Elephants,'' and I was saying that a heterosexual writer could assume that the reader had the same values as he did, and so he could use indirectness -- it's about abortion, yet Hemingway never uses that word -- but that a gay writer like Proust had such unusual ideas that he had to spell them out for the general public.

Kron: This brings up the interesting idea of who writers are writing for. Are people writing to be apprehended by a mainstream audience, or are they writing within the subculture? To me, the greatest gift of being a lesbian is where it exists outside of things like patriarchy, capitalism, white supremacy: where it's not knocking on the door, asking for admission, but firmly standing somewhere else, articulating what it sees. So while I think the term ''queer'' is appealing in its capaciousness, I always feel slightly wary of it because it's so easily marketed and commodified.

McBee: With trans people, there's a desire for our stories that's often othering and salacious. I see a market demand for that [kind of] nonfiction because, so often, we're hard to even imagine. Queer and trans people have, amazingly, taken that demand and subverted it, and that's why those kinds of stories are so important.

Mukherjee: When did autobiographical become autofictional? Also, Roxane, the point you were making about how some of the greatest truths of queer culture and activism have been done in nonfiction ... Oddly enough, queer fiction writers have long hidden behind persona and character to write about queer culture and about themselves. Ed was talking about Proust and Gide --

White: Willa Cather is a good example, too.

Mukherjee: Same with Damon Galgut. Ed put ''In a Strange Room'' on his list. Its three narratives are united by a first-person narrator called Damon, who is the central character. I remember interviewing Galgut once and saying, ''Your character Damon'' --â€¯and he stopped me and said, ''No, that's not a character, that's me.'' I thought to myself, ''I'm trying to protect you here,'' which is a very quaint protectiveness on my part. But it's a very, very intense book -- a masterpiece, actually.

3. ''In a Strange Room'' by Damon Galgut, 2010

Three ill-fated trips fill Damon Galgut's short novel, the South African writer's seventh. Its protagonist, Damon, wanders around Greece, southeastern Africa and India at three different stages of adulthood, endlessly fleeing home. Like its gay narrator, who recounts his itinerant journeys in a blend of first and third person --â€¯almost as though he were a stranger to himself -- Galgut's book resists easy categorization but is defined, above all, by Damon's inability to connect with others. His first voyage, in which a chance meeting between strangers turns into a trek through Lesotho's countryside, runs off course when Damon storms away from his companion, a German who fascinates and then frustrates. Damon's second trip brings him close to Jerome, a Swiss beauty who's constantly, comically chaperoned by his traveling companions. Partly thanks to fate, but mostly owing to indecision, the two fail to consummate their attraction: ''I am writing about myself alone, it's all I know, and for this reason I have always failed in every love.'' (Fittingly for a novel about thwarted desire, there are no sex scenes.) The book closes with the protagonist looking after a suicidal friend in Goa: One moment, she is the charmer from their Cape Town days; the next, ''the dark stranger has waxed to the full ... the one who wants her dead.'' She has locked herself inside the strange room of her mind, where Damon cannot step foot, despite his best efforts at intimacy. -- Miguel Morales

Soller: Three of you nominated three different works by James Baldwin. Was that about, ''I need to make sure I have James Baldwin on my list,'' or were you thinking about the books themselves?

White: Well, ''Giovanni's Room'' is about two white men, whereas ''Just Above My Head'' [1979], which I picked, has some of the most tender and beautiful sex scenes between Black men I've ever read.

Mukherjee: And yet ''Giovanni's Room'' was a very daring book for a Black American exile to have written. It's the first of its kind in some ways, and it holds that historical value, which makes it important.

Ijames: I always like when people of color write about white people -- we know white people better than they know themselves.

White: Neel, you used the word ''historical,'' which is something we have to look at. There are entirely different periods: Before Stonewall [in 1969], queer writers were writing for a straight audience; after, we began to dare to write directly to gay readers. That's the Rubicon that divides everything.

Ijames: In terms of Baldwin, I picked ''Go Tell It on the Mountain'' [1952]. When I read that book, I wasn't yet aware of what my sexual identity was. But, my God, that scene where he talks about the piano player and how he could see the muscles of his legs through the fabric -- that was something I knew I wasn't supposed to have access to. It's always stayed with me.

Mukherjee: I think we've all had that moment at a particular time in life -- in adolescence -- when we read about same-sex desire on the page and couldn't get enough of it. Those scenes made us, I think. And the Baldwin book for me at that age was ''Giovanni's Room.'' I mean, there were trashier books as well.

4. ''Giovanni's Room'' by James Baldwin, 1956

In 1948, James Baldwin traded New York for Paris. When we meet David, the narrator of the author's second novel, he's done the same. Baldwin hoped that the move might offer him space to write and a reprieve from American racism; David, a closeted white man, is trying to escape himself. One night while his soon-to-be fiancÃ©e, Hella, is away, he meets a handsome Italian barman, Giovanni, and, after an evening of furtive flirting and a shared breakfast of white wine and oysters, goes home with him. ''Life in that room seemed to be occurring beneath the sea. Time flowed past indifferently above us; hours and days had no meaning,'' David tells us of the beginning of their affair. Eventually, though, reality catches up with the couple, and the room starts to feel like a prison, at least to David, whose shame clouds his thinking and propels the novel to its tragic close. Yet for the reader, the book is clearly a cautionary tale about the cost of self-deception and the senselessness of shrinking from love. As one character tells David when he sees him holding back, ''Love him ... love him and let him love you. Do you think anything else under heaven really matters?'' -- Kate Guadagnino

Soller: Was there any impulse not to choose books that you felt were, for lack of a better word, obvious? ''Giovanni's Room'' is a classic, no doubt.

McBee: Definitely. First, because I thought other people would pick them. But also because we've replicated all the structural dynamics that exist outside of L.G.B.T.Q. culture within it: In terms of the canon, we think about very white cis gay men primarily. That's not Baldwin, whose inclusion in the canon is rare as a Black man. I'm also especially mindful of trans people -- elevating the things we're doing and keeping us in this conversation feels incredibly urgent to me.

Mukherjee: The canon's necessarily backward-looking because some time must have passed for a book to have made it in. But it also should be forward-looking so it's never closed off, making space for books like, say, ''Nevada,'' which I read only recently. Why didn't people tell me about this book in 2013, when it first came out?

5. ''Nevada'' by Imogen Binnie, 2013

''Nevada'' is that rare thing --â€¯a book that was published by an indie press (the erstwhile Topside) and reissued by an imprint of a major house (MCD x FSG Originals) just under a decade later, in 2022. Its snarky, cerebral heroine, Maria Griffiths, who is as likely to opine on James Joyce as she is on the New Jersey punk band the Bouncing Souls, and feels freest while dodging New York City traffic on her bike, decides that she's ''really good at being trans'' but less adept at being emotionally present. After getting dumped by her girlfriend and fired from her job at a Manhattan bookstore that sounds a lot like the Strand, she heads west in search of self-knowledge. On her way through Star City, Nev., the almost-30-year-old Maria develops a fast if slightly uneasy friendship with James, a 20-year-old who reminds her of herself at that age. She's not automatically taken up as the mentor she hopes to be, but the novel itself was embraced by readers -- and writers -- for being among the first to center the experience of a trans woman. ''I felt invisible to the world at large and also invisible to the [queer] demimonde,'' Imogen Binnie writes in her 2022 afterword, ''so it was kind of a shout that I, and therefore we, exist.'' --â€¯K.G.

McBee: I think any trans writer working today has read that book and been affected by it.

Mukherjee: It's very smart, very funny. I wanted to ask those of you who've read it: What do you think is going on in that book?

McBee: She's writing about being trans, right? And there is a kind of looping quality: You start to take a leap and then you pull back. We meet two characters who are trying to figure out who they are. Sometimes we see each other and we don't feel reflected back. It captures such an ineffable, almost indescribable nuance of a certain kind of experience that's so hard, I think, for people to understand who haven't experienced it. That's what good fiction does.

Soller: One of the things you're also implying, Neel, is that it's entertaining. Roxane, you had mentioned something similar at the beginning ...

Gay: Often when we're talking about literature, people treat it with a capital ''L'': It has to be ponderous. But I think fiction has to be both enlightening and entertaining. It doesn't always have to be funny. But we have seen throughout history that, often, people expect queer narratives to be grounded in misery, and that's not always the case. We do know joy as much as we know suffering. I like narratives, like ''Manhunt,'' that reflect that.

6. ''Manhunt'' by Gretchen Felker-Martin, 2022

Men are monsters, infected by the T. rex virus, which turns anything with enough testosterone into a vicious, brain-dead killing machine. In what remains of New Hampshire and Massachusetts, Beth and Fran, two old friends and trans women, are forced to pick off the changed men in order to harvest their testicles, the best supply of estrogen around and their only means to keep from joining the plague of men. Gretchen Felker-Martin uses the horror genre to sharpen the life-or-death stakes for trans people, although, it turns out, the murderous men are the least of Beth and Fran's worries. After having taken over the state of Maryland, hundreds of TERFs (trans-exclusionary radical feminists) are marching north to solidify their hold on the Eastern Seaboard. With men indisposed, TERFs take up the mantle of policing women's bodies, forcing the protagonists to seek refuge in an elaborate bunker that doubles as a rich brat's pleasure palace. Capitalism, unsurprisingly, has survived the end of the world, and here some folks are sold into forced labor -- or thrown to the proverbial wolves. Early in the book, one character thinks of the new men, ''Maybe this world is the one they'd always wanted,'' but the same could apply to the cis women who now find themselves atop the postapocalyptic food chain, fatally mistaking comfort for safety. --â€¯M.M.

Gay: ''Manhunt'' is not cheerful. It's a gory book set in the near future where the world has basically collapsed and trans people have to find ways of getting the hormones they need, even though there's no longer a pharmaceutical industry. This is the kind of book that queer writers have been desperate to write forever and are rarely given the opportunity to because publishing is insistent upon narratives that fit its preconceived notions about what queer writing should look like. In that way, it's like ''Detransition, Baby.'' I loved seeing that on other people's lists because, you know, Torrey Peters, she went there. It was just irreverent, [referencing] so many things that queer people don't necessarily want to talk about. And she made a story out of it instead of sitting and making the discomfort the only story.

7. ''Detransition, Baby'' by Torrey Peters, 2021

In Torrey Peters's debut novel, the main character, Reese -- a white trans woman in her 30s with a ''genius'' for romantic drama -- has nearly lost hope of being a mother when her ex, a man named Ames, invites her to co-parent the child he's expecting with his new girlfriend, Katrina (who also happens to be his boss). The triangular will-they-or-won't-they story that follows excavates the lives of Reese and Ames -- who was once himself a trans woman, Amy -- and, to a lesser extent, Katrina, whose experience as an Asian American cis woman leads her to reflect on the various ways that ''women are made to feel that they don't deserve to be mothers.'' Together, these characters try to solve what Reese calls the ''Sex and the City Problem,'' a set of zero-sum life choices embodied by the television show's four female protagonists that, ''for every generation of trans women prior to Reese's ... was an aspirational problem.'' The resulting story addresses discrimination and the ways in which individuals choose to care for one another when biology -- and straight culture -- fails them. At one point, a young trans woman whom Reese has ''mothered'' tells her to stop feeling so morose. ''This, Reese reflects, is the other reason to be a mother -- in whatever fashion motherhood comes your way -- so when you're old and alone and feeling sorry for yourself, your daughter will roll her eyes at your theatrics and bring you in from the cold.'' -- Rose Courteau

Mukherjee: I love Lisa's inclusion of Alison Bechdel's ''Dykes to Watch Out For.'' It's funny and pokes fun at itself -- and at lesbians --â€¯and there's an element of play, whereas ''Fun Home'' [Bechdel's graphic memoir, adapted by Kron and Jeanine Tesori into a 2013 musical] is such a bleak book in some ways.

Kron: Alison wrote ''D.T.W.F.'' for [more than] 20 years. It's inarguably influential: She was one of the main drivers of creating a visible lesbian cultural presence. And she wrote it specifically for a lesbian audience.

8. ''Dykes to Watch Out For'' by Alison Bechdel, 1986

Alison Bechdel's long-running comic ''Dykes to Watch Out For'' amassed a cult following soon after it was published in the feminist newspaper WomaNews in 1983, then syndicated as a biweekly strip. In 1986, Firebrand Books released the first book edition, offering a home for Bechdel's cast of lesbian characters: friends who braid each other's armpit hair at music festivals, amorous nuns with little hope of salvation and gloriously mulleted butches, rings of keys jangling from their back pockets. The satirical scenes call to mind soap operas -- a strip titled ''The Roommates: Part One'' zeros in on the friendship between Flo and Jean, forged over a mutual passion for Audre Lorde and herbology, just as it begins to sour. ''Tune in next time for more spine-tingling confrontations,'' it teases. So nuanced are the depictions of lesbians, and women in general, that, in 1985, the comic gave rise to the Bechdel test, now a metric for measuring the representation of female characters onscreen. And though Bechdel put the series on hiatus in 2008, its influence has hardly diminished: This month, Audible began airing an audio adaptation that features the voices of Carrie Brownstein, Roberta Colindrez and Roxane Gay. -- C.R.

Soller: You're talking in a way about pioneers, Lisa. There's obviously lots of great contemporary work that's built on the backs of people who've been doing this for decades.

Mukherjee: Such as Ed. He was a game-changer and I just want to acknowledge that.

White: Thanks. I wrote the first review in the Times of London of Alan Hollinghurst's ''The Swimming-Pool Library,'' and I said, ''This is the greatest gay novel by an Englishman.'' But my favorite one by him is ''The Folding Star'' [1994]. We're all so used to reading stories about tutors who fall in love with their students, like Henry James's ''The Pupil'' [1891]. In this one, they actually have sex! And it's very, very hot sex. But to me, the greatest gay comic novel is written by a straight man: [Vladimir] Nabokov's ''Pale Fire'' [1962].

Mukherjee: It wouldn't be a queer panel at all if we didn't devote at least half our time to talking about hot sex. I give you that ''The Folding Star'' is the more beautiful book, especially the middle pastoral section. Hollinghurst's such a great prose stylist. Very few people put together an English sentence like he does. But when ''The Swimming-Pool Library'' came out, it was like a thunderclap. The sex scenes are extended, numerous, graphic and stunningly done, with literary prose that never crosses over into the purple. That's very difficult to do. He's also uncovering something darker about the history of homosexuality in England and its eventual liberalization.

9. ''The Swimming-Pool Library'' by Alan Hollinghurst, 1988

By the time Alan Hollinghurst's first novel was published, AIDS had devastated London, but the book is set just before the disease had taken hold in the city and therefore possesses, like one of the turn-of-the-20th-century Ronald Firbank novels favored by its narrator, the moneyed and myopic Will Beckwith, the ''faint smell of lost time.'' All of Will's haunts, from Kensington Gardens to the Corinthian Club, a gym where men take gleeful stock of one another between sets and laps, teem with the possibility of sex to be had freely and without fear. Will's attentions are diverted when Charles Nantwich, an older man who happens to have the remains of a Roman bath in his basement, asks him to be his biographer. Thus Will delves into an earlier period of gay life, one in which secrecy often acted as an aphrodisiac, via Charles's diaries detailing his priapic days as a student at Winchester College and then Oxford, as a government official in Sudan and beyond. The pair turn out to have much in common, including upper-class backgrounds that ultimately fail to offer them full protection from prejudice and, less sympathetically, a tendency to fetishize men of color. Still, the book remains a richly wrought celebration of male pleasure, even as it emphasizes the importance of familiarizing oneself with the pain of those who came before. --â€¯K.G.

Kron: The idea of lesbians is that we're sexless -- that we're just over here whispering to each other in French. [All laugh.] That's one of the reasons I put [Patricia Highsmith's] ''The Price of Salt'' [1952] and [Ann Bannon's 1950s] Beebo Brinker novels on my list. Those books could be published because they were pulp. Lesbian sex could appear for male consumption, even though they weren't actually for male consumption: That's how they could get in under the wire and get published.

Mukherjee: Lesbian sex was never freighted with the kind of sex-equals-death thinking that became a default for gay men because of AIDS, of course. Hollinghurst gets away from that; he writes about sex as pure desire. But --â€¯and this might be a question for you, Thomas --â€¯where's the hot trans sex?

McBee: Well, in the broadest sense of the trans umbrella, for those of us who picked ''Paul Takes the Form of a Mortal Girl,'' that's a great example. That's one of the queerest books, in both the classic and the modern sense. It's very erotic. And the protagonist, we don't really understand what their gender identity is (we might think of them as gender nonconforming). That's actually part of what's hot about the book.

10. ''Paul Takes the Form of a Mortal Girl,'' by Andrea Lawlor, 2017

Like a punk Ovid, Andrea Lawlor, in their debut novel, writes of bodies changed into other forms. Paul, an undergraduate layabout and scrappy bartender at the only gay club in Iowa City, changes his body and his gender at will as he pursues paramours of every imaginable type. ''He was an omnivore, an orange-hanky flagger, an aficionado of all-you-can-eat buffets,'' Lawlor writes of their shape-shifting protagonist. The book's movable feast follows Paul on his trail of peccadilloes, as he cruises the coffee shops, punk bars and libraries of his cozy college town, then on to a feminist music festival and finally on a trip across AIDS-era America in 1993. The book has many wry descriptions of the queer characters who seek one another out in small towns all over the country, but mostly it's an account of the kind of hooking up that's possible when desire gets unglued from fixed gender or sexual identities. Paul can become whoever he wants simply by thinking about it. Lawlor wants us to know that we can, too. -- Evan Moffitt

Gay: As our understanding of gender expands, so do the possibilities for our sexuality. People of my generation and earlier often worried about disrupting the status quo --â€¯the work could seem a bit neutered because a lot of us thought, ''They already think we're a bunch of sex addicts.'' It's so important to see the sex part of our sexuality acknowledged, to do away with certain respectability politics and to [write about] the range of things we find hot. That can take many different forms because our understanding of sexuality is increasingly expansive. Every day I'm learning about a new sort of sexual expression and I'm like, ''Oh, I'm so old.'' But literature that reflects that is useful.

Soller: Should we talk about H.I.V./AIDS? James, you were the only one who picked ''Angels in America.''

Ijames: I know! Maybe I'm gauche? [Laughs.] Being a playwright, you're always looking for folks who're doing what you want to do. Kushner --â€¯in addition to the politics and the queerness of his story --â€¯is just ambitious. It's inspiring how big the world is, how expansive, how many different kinds of people there are in the play. No, it's not very diverse in terms of race. There's just Belize. But there's this whole Mormon story that's wild and very American. And there's just something about the mysticism of the play and how it's written and its scale that feels important to me. I don't know if it's the most important play written by a queer writer.

Kron: But definitely influential.

Ijames: There's some genuinely beautiful writing and some slightly flawed politics in it. But I think that's true of a lot of queer literature.

11. ''Angels in America'' by Tony Kushner, 1991

Practically from the moment it first appeared onstage in 1991, Tony Kushner's two-part, 7.5-hour epic seemed destined to claim a prominent place in the American theatrical canon. Set primarily in 1985 and '86, as H.I.V. ravaged New York's gay community, Kushner's play follows its lead characters on their intertwined, often hallucinatory journeys through grim apartments, hospital wards, Antarctic dreamscapes, a Mormon Visitors' Center and a crumbling bureaucratic office in heaven, ''a City Much Like San Francisco.'' Unafraid of melodrama and camp, the play raged and philosophized with operatic wit and pathos. It was, as The New York Times theater critic Frank Rich wrote in 1993, ''the most thrilling American play in years.'' As ambitious in scale as in subject matter, ''Angels in America'' not only gave universal themes of hope, loss, progress and redemption an explicitly queer context, it put queerness itself at the center of the American story. -- Michael Snyder

Gay: A lot of the writing around H.I.V. doesn't age well. In the '90s, when we were all in ACT UP, I don't know that any of us thought the disease was going to be possible to overcome. Of course, the gay men in the conversation can speak more aptly to that. But all we did was go to funerals; it did feel like there was no hope and that the only way out was perhaps to engage in more respectability politics. It was so bad -- I think the next generation has no idea how bad it actually was --â€¯and the literature reflects that.

Kron: I just remembered that one of the first things I thought I was going to put on my list was ''The Normal Heart'' [1985]. It was almost like Larry Kramer was a better playwright than he even had control over, in the way that he was able to see himself and his own limitations. One thing he captures is urgency, the acute sense of trying to get a response to the fact that your community is dying and the powers that be will not respond. I thought about that a little earlier when we were talking about Baldwin and Lorde, and then there's the Zoe Leonard poem that I put on my list. These are writers who have resurfaced in the past several years because they're speaking to where we are right now, culturally and politically.

12. ''I Want a President'' by Zoe Leonard, 1992

The New York artist Zoe Leonard devoted much of her artwork to the H.I.V./AIDS crisis, often lamenting the government's seeming indifference to it. In the lead-up to the 1992 presidential election, after her friend, the poet Eileen Myles, announced a write-in campaign against the incumbent George H.W. Bush, Leonard composed the prose poem ''I Want a President,'' a wish list of character traits for the nation's next leader. ''I want a dyke for president,'' it begins, followed by dozens of other attributes: a president who has experienced prejudice, illness and violence; ''someone with bad teeth'' who has eaten hospital food; ''a president who has stood on line at the clinic, at the dmv, at the welfare office ...'' At first, the poem circulated among friends on loose-leaf photocopies; eventually, the art journal ''LTTR'' printed it on postcards. But it would gain even wider recognition years later thanks to another presidential election -- days before the 2016 presidential election, Leonard wheat-pasted a 30-foot-tall copy of the text at the foot of Manhattan's High Line. At an event hosted by the park, Leonard said she was both gratified and ''utterly horrified'' that two decades after she wrote the poem, it still had such relevance. ''It's a real call and a metaphoric one,'' she told the audience, for ''someone intelligent, experienced and compassionate.'' But beyond that, she added, it demands us to rethink how we govern ourselves. -- C.R.

McBee: I see Zoe's poem on Instagram all the time -- it's something that people still rally around.

Kron: Our progress --â€¯and I say this with such pain --â€¯was based largely on assimilation: on the fight for gay marriage, on being recognized by corporations. But now we're seeing all of that was built largely on sand. It's so painful, right? It's so painful. So who are the writers that are coming back up now? The ones who have an analysis and a worldview that we didn't listen to in the '80s, the '90s, the 2000s.

Mukherjee: Ed, you were at the front line [of the AIDS crisis].

White: Well, I was late to [write about] AIDS, but I did eventually. I think it handed gay writers a great subject because it was about death and love. To go from Stonewall to the outbreak is a very fast cycle for a whole culture -- being oppressed, then liberated, then exalted, then killed off is pretty dramatic.

Soller: Do you want to talk about the Thom Gunn collection you chose?

White: He was a great poet, but he seldom wrote about gay life until AIDS came along. He was quite a cool, analytic and distant writer, and then suddenly destiny gave him this tremendous subject matter. In the end, I think ''The Man With Night Sweats'' is his best book and one of the deepest feeling.

13. ''The Man With Night Sweats'' by Thom Gunn, 1992

The rhyming couplets and iambic pentameter within this volume might recall Ben Jonson or John Donne -- both major influences on Thom Gunn -- were it not for the verses' unbridled eroticism. Greek mythology enabled Gunn, an English poet who was closeted until midlife, to meditate on the joys and heartbreaks of queer intimacy, such as in ''Philemon and Baucis'': ''Truly each other's, they have embraced so long / Their barks have met and wedded in one flow / Blanketing both.'' Even poems about zoo animals seethe with sex, like ''The Life of the Otter,'' in which the title creature's genitals are described as ''neat / As a stone acorn with two oak leaves / Carved in a French cathedral porch,'' their ''Potency / set in fur / like an ornament.'' The book's title poem, among its most haunting, describes a man dying of AIDS, soaking his bedsheets as life seeps out of him. The speaker laments how his pursuit of physical closeness -- a fundamental aspect of his maturation -- became the thing that would kill him: ''I grew as I explored / The body I could trust / Even while I adored / The risk that made robust, / A world of wonders in / Each challenge to the skin.'' Gunn makes that irony even plainer with another poem, ''In Time of Plague,'' delivering some of his most potent lines: ''I am confused / confused to be attracted / by, in effect, my own annihilation.'' -- E.M.

Ijames: Hemphill's poems saved my life. And you can't find his book anywhere: It's not in print. I somehow got my hands on a copy and then someone stole it, and I've just been working off a PDF of it for years.

14. ''Ceremonies'' by Essex Hemphill, 1992

Raunchy, raw and direct, the poems in Essex Hemphill's ''Ceremonies'' represent an impatient call to action. As a Black gay man who had already lost several friends and comrades to AIDS, Hemphill knew he had no time to waste. ''My life seems to be / marked down / for quick removal / from the shelf,'' he wrote in ''Heavy Breathing.'' He dismissed polite petitioning for rights and desperate attempts to cling to respectability as distractions from the urgent work at hand. Eulogizing the Black writer and activist Joseph Beam in ''When My Brother Fell,'' he lashed out at the impractical sentimentality of feel-good projects like the AIDS quilt: ''sewing quilts / will not bring you back / nor save us.'' Hemphill's poetry was written to be performed, as memorialized in Marlon Riggs's film ''Tongues Untied'' (1989), but even on the page, the frequent pattern of hook, slow buildup, rapid intensification and climactic release is recognizably sexual. There are bodies in these poems, bodies the narrator appreciates, lusts after, enjoys and cherishes -- ''Ceremonies'' is a declaration of love and, in spite of everything, hope. In ''American Wedding,'' he writes, ''They don't know / We are becoming powerful. / Every time we kiss / we confirm the new world coming.'' The poem ends, ''Long may we live / to free this dream.'' Hemphill died of complications from AIDS at 38, three years after the book's publication. -- June Thomas

Mukherjee: I was surprised not to see W.H. Auden on anyone's list but overjoyed when I saw James Merrill there. I kept thinking there's something about Auden and Merrill -- they're both formalists, actually, and their formal range is dazzling. I agree with Ed that Gunn was the poet of the AIDS generation, but we forget that Merrill died of [complications from] AIDS, and the poems in his final volume, ''A Scattering of Salts,'' become very moving.

15. ''A Scattering of Salts'' by James Merrill, 1995

In 1995, one month after James Merrill's death, came the publication of his valedictory volume, a ''A Scattering of Salts,'' arguably the greatest accomplishment of the poet's five-decade career. Born into immense wealth (his father was a co-founder of Merrill Lynch), the writer infused his early poetry with a formal sophistication and then later, starting in the 1970s, an esoteric mysticism. In ''A Scattering of Salts,'' which is elegiac yet tactile, Merrill describes the thrill of meeting other men (''A stranger's idle glance could be the match / That sends us all to blazes''); the indignities of hospitalization as a gay man in the '90s (''Pills washed down with ouzo hadn't worked. / Now while the whole street buzzed and lurked / The paramedics left you there, / Returning costumed for a walk in Space.''); the sensuality of light bulbs (''Feel for what it shone from, / Ribbed clay each night anew / Hardened to its mission: / Light for the likes of you.''); and the fleshy beauty of alabaster (''flamboyant, vaguely lewd / Honey-pink volumes flounced with lard / Like Parma ham, like the blown-up / Varnished nipple of a Titian nude.''). These poems are neither radical nor experimental -- their queerness is subtextual as often as it is explicit -- but those quiet currents of loss and desire only deepen the sense of recognition, like a stranger's idle glance, sending every page to blazes. -- M.S.

White: He was a tremendous influence on my life in every way -- he gave me lots of money [through a foundation] that I survived on in the 1970s.

Ijames: Jericho Brown's ''The Tradition'' is another that stays with me. He's audacious in the sense that he's always trying to manage and invent form. I don't know a ton about poetry: I read it, but I don't know how to talk very deeply about it. I know when it moves me, and that book I find very moving.

16. ''The Tradition'' by Jericho Brown, 2019

Jericho Brown often refers to himself as a love poet, and indeed, his third poetry collection, ''The Tradition,'' includes verses about ecstasy and longing. In ''I Know What I Love,'' he writes, ''Some- / Times what I love just / Doesn't show up at all. / It can hurt me if it / Means to ... because / That's what in love / Means.'' But the book's sweeping scope also encompasses themes of racism, sexual violence, H.I.V. and police brutality. Throughout, the Louisiana-born poet draws on mythology and history to dissect a world that often devalues the voices of Black gay men. As if trying to find a fresh way to be heard, Brown reveals a new form for five poems in the collection -- his own invention, which he's called ''gutting a sonnet.'' Simply titled ''Duplex,'' each one contains 14 lines in seven couplets and several repeated lines. ''My last love drove a burgundy car. / My first love drove a burgundy car. / He was fast and awful, tall as my father. / Steadfast and awful, my tall father.'' The format, which simulates the call-and-response familiar fromâ€¯blues and other Southern Black music traditions, lets each poem offer up several points-of-view at once. ''I wanted a form that in my head was Black and queer and Southern,'' Brown wrote shortly after the book was published. ''Since I am carrying these truths in this body as one, how do I get a form that is many forms?'' -- Brian Keith Jackson

McBee: If anyone hasn't read ''Feeld,'' it's one of the most formally inventive and amazing books of poetry. It's by a trans woman, Jos Charles, who wrote it entirely in [a kind of] Chaucerian English. You have to read it out loud to understand it. The fact that she's trans and she's working with these medieval structures, it's obviously so subversive, this insistence within history to include us formally. There's something provocative and exciting about that.

Mukherjee: I wish my nodding could be neon.

17. ''Feeld'' by Jos Charles, 2018

Trans women, Jos Charles has said, are often viewed as ''technological, new, invented.'' They aren't, of course, but the language around them can be. The 60 poems in ''Feeld'' demonstrate this, reflecting onâ€¯the experience of a transgender woman by using metaphors largely taken from the garden and the field (or ''feeld''). Such naturalistic imagery is of a piece with the Middle English poetry this work invokes, as in the opening lines of its first poem, which finds the speaker browsing clothes at a shopping mall and navigating its women's bathroom: ''thees wite skirtes / & orang sweters / i wont / inn the feedynge marte / wile mye vegetable partes bloome / inn the commen waye / a grackel inn the guarden rooste / the tall wymon wasching handes.'' The anachronistic phrasing seems like Chaucer (the Wife of Bath in ''The Canterbury Tales'' [1387] provides an ''anteseedynt'' for ''feeld's'' speaker) but is largely of Charles's own design -- inflected with internet and text speak, often phonetic, full of dropped letters in some places and extra ones in others. In blending old (or ''aynchent'') traditions with newer ones, Charles revises a literary tradition that, indeed, has largely ignored the existence of that ''grackel inn the guarden rooste.'' --â€¯R.C.

Gay: Danez [Smith] is also just such an inventive poet. They have written so many outstanding poems that speak not only to queerness but to the Black condition, to what it means to be Black and alive and H.I.V. positive, to be all of those things in a world where Black life is increasingly endangered. There's also this amazing thing they do [in their latest collection] where there are two titles --â€¯one for Black people, one for non-Black people. I think it's reflective of what only queer poetry can accomplish.

18. ''Homie'' by Danez Smith, 2020

Chosen family -- for queer people, often more of an imperative than a choice -- is the central preoccupation of the poet Danez Smith's ''Homie,'' an intention made clear from its title, etched in bubble gum letters on a lime-green cover. But that title is also a feint. ''This book was titled homie because I don't want non-Black people to say my nig out loud,'' writes Smith in an introductory note. ''This book is really titled my nig.'' A diminutive form of that most potent of words, and a term of endearment among Black friends, it's an apt title for this paean to friendship, the ''first & cleanest love.'' In poems funny (''my man is more a concept than anything.''), mournful (''i miss them. all the dead. how young. how silly / to miss what you will become.'') and galvanizing, the speaker reflects on their loved ones and their losses, their romantic life, the realities of living with H.I.V., the shadow of depression, the temptation of suicide. With an ear for the subtleties of the language used to describe friendship -- one poem employs different meanings of the word ''dog'' to tragic effect -- Smith creates a powerful portrait of the Black queer community and the ways it saves itself again and again. The book was published in January 2020, just before the isolation of the pandemic would reinforce the need for such connection: ''at the end of the world, let there be you,'' writes Smith in ''acknowledgments,'' the collection's last poem. ''My world.'' -- T.O.

Soller: We could talk about poetry all afternoon, but I also feel like everyone keeps surfacing this idea of rediscovery. That seemed like a real animating spirit of your long lists.

White: There's a book I've kept bringing up [over the years], but no one's reprinted it [in recent decades] or seems to care about it. It's Terry Andrews's ''The Story of Harold.'' He was a children's book writer, and this was written under a pseudonym because it's such dangerous material. It's about a bisexual sadist who has a part-time affair with a kind of crazy man who wants to be burned alive. The sadist also writes children's books. It's a book written in the early 1970s that would be forbidden today: He tells the whole story of his transgressive life in attractive terms to this child. It's fascinating.

19. ''The Story of Harold'' by Terry Andrews, 1974

''We will have a lot of sex'': So the narrator promises in this orchestral saga of a bisexual children's book writer with a boundless carnal appetite. Autofiction before the term was coined, the novel is by a man named Terry Andrews, who's also its protagonist. Or is it pseudo-autofiction? Andrews was a pen name for George Selden, best known for the children's book ''The Cricket in Times Square'' (1960). This is not a children's book. It's a feverishly horny stepsibling to chimerical New York novels like Renata Adler's ''Speedboat'' (1976): Terry's adventures include flogging a married surgeon, seducing a Dubonnet-drinking widow and taking B.D.S.M. scenes with a suicidal welfare worker close to the point of no return. There is tenderness. It comes from the writer's effort to console a lonely little boy with stories of a tiny man named Harold who has a limited supply of magic to fix people's problems and from Terry's love for the sacred and profane New York City -- the baths, the Frick, the subway. Calling the novel ''exceptional,'' a New York Times reviewer also noted that it isn't interested in ''the crude irony of children's book writer as 'pervert.' Terry isn't a child molester'': ''Once we get used to Terry ... we see him as, if not 'just another human being,' a human being it would not be all that hard to be.'' But the paperback, with illustrations by Edward Gorey, promptly went out of print. Somewhere between ''The Phantom Tollbooth'' and the Marquis de Sade, this isn't a straight book, yet Terry, one of the ''limbo people,'' probably wouldn't call it gay either. -- Liz Brown

Gay: For my part, I think Robert Jones Jr.'s ''The Prophets'' is undersung. When I read it, I gasped many times. It's about two gay men who have a loving and generous relationship during the slavery era. It's one of the only books I've read about enslavement where the enslaved people not only hated their circumstances but were openly defiant -- poisoning their enslavers, vengeful in ways that I think all of us understand and would love to see more of. Nobody's just like, ''I'll get through it,'' the way you see in a lot of enslavement narratives.

20. ''The Prophets'' by Robert Jones Jr., 2021

Same-sex love assumes grave risk in Robert Jones Jr.'s first novel, set on a cotton plantation in Mississippi nicknamed Empty. There, two enslaved teenagers, Samuel and Isaiah, go about ''working, eating, sleeping, playing'' and making love ''on purpose.'' This last qualifier is remarkable within the sexual economy of Empty, where men and women are forced to propagate for the benefit of their master's work force and, frequently, for his personal pleasure. When a fellow enslaved person -- seeking to protect his wife from such brutality by currying favor with the owner -- begins sermonizing the Christian gospel, he draws attention to Samuel and Isaiah, who in the eyes of others blend ''into one blue-black mass, defined by the mistaken belief that it was a broken manhood coating their skin.''â€¯Taking many of its chapter names from books of the Bible (Deuteronomy, Judges, Psalms), the novel rotates among several perspectives, including that of a woman named Sarah, who remembers her birthplace ''deep in the bush'' of Africa, where gender was chosen and names assigned based on ''how your soul manifested.'' These overlapping narratives portray a system in which ''everything that was learned had to be transmitted by circling the thing rather than uncovering it'' and love becomes an act of resistance. -- R.C.

White: I reviewed that book -- it's great.

Gay: He works in the vein of Baldwin, but also in a vein that's all his own. I think it's important to emphasize that we shouldn't necessarily be looking for people to step into the shoes of other queer writers.

White: Bryan Washington, who wrote ''Memorial,'' is a good example of somebody who's writing in an entirely new way. In bringing Japanese and Black characters together and exploring that whole theme, the language is incomparable.

21. ''Memorial'' by Bryan Washington, 2020

Bryan Washington's debut novel is set up like a sitcom: Mike's Japanese mother comes to stay with him and his boyfriend, Benson, who is Black. But the next day Mike has to fly to Osaka to visit his estranged, ailing father, leaving Benson and Mitsuko to fend for (and feed) themselves. Their prickly silence gives way to a hesitant alliance once Mitsuko enlists Benson's help in the kitchen, preparing Japanese dishes like curry rice and katsu. Benson narrates the first and last sections of the novel while Mike takes the middle stretch; the baton-pass storytelling allows Washington to depict a relationship in its final throes, where neither party deserves blame for letting love run its course. ''You shouldn't make a home out of other people,'' Mike tells an acquaintance, a notion the book complicates by showing how the couple's romantic fallout allows their affection to flourish in other directions -- proving all the possibilities that can come after heartbreak. -- M.M.

Mukherjee: What do we even mean when we say something like ''In a Strange Room'' or ''Memorial'' is influential? They haven't had time to be influential.

White: I would definitely plump for Bryan Washington because I think he's an extraordinary writer, but Neel, as you say, maybe he's too new to be ''influential'' ...

Gay: New work can be just as influential as older work, especially when it comes to queer work, where so many voices were overlooked for so long. It's important to include contemporary voices.

Mukherjee: These are all very young writers writing. The question of being overlooked doesn't arise for them.

Gay: That's not necessarily true. Young writers get overlooked all the time.

Mukherjee: But perhaps not for reasons of queerness. Or I would maybe idealistically like to think that.

Soller: James, you chose more plays than other people, which I appreciated.

Ijames: Taylor Mac's ''Hir'' is just wonderful --â€¯he's one of the most important contemporary theater makers right now.

22. ''Hir'' by Taylor Mac, 2015

The theater artist Taylor Mac (who prefers the pronoun ''judy,'' and you should read about why) structures ''Hir'' around a Great American Premise: a house disintegrating, a family at a boiling point, a prodigal son returned to find that the home he remembers no longer exists. The ghosts of Eugene O'Neill and Sam Shepard lurk in the corners of the dilapidated California starter house that belongs to the Connor family, but Mac has given the patriarchy glitter wigs. ''Paradigm shift!'' Paige Connor sings ecstatically as her son, Isaac, just back from military duty, reels: Max, the sibling he'd known as his sister, has come out as transgender (pronouns: ze/hir -- pronounced, meaningfully, here), and his authoritarian father is now post-stroke, catatonic, and, courtesy of Paige, wearing lingerie and drinking estrogen milkshakes. Meanwhile, Paige herself -- with her gleeful, brutal, world-building-and-world-destroying energy -- is systematically deconstructing the house that's done her so much harm (a house that, like all houses-that-will-not-stand in the American theater, is the country itself). ''Don't you pity him,'' Paige snarls about the sad clown that was once her abusive husband. ''We will not rewrite his history with pity.'' But Paige's tragedy is that, for all her reforming zeal, she's too wrathful to write the future. That's where Max comes in. When, at the play's end, ze approaches hir helpless father with a gesture of care, ''Hir'' dares to hope that truly radical change may yet walk hand in hand with tenderness. Revolution is not revenge, but rather the everyday act of deciding who you want to be. -- Sara Holdren

Kron: Taylor is a dazzling performer, but it's been amazing to see the depth of his writing. (I use he, but Taylor uses a number of pronouns, including judy.) ''Hir'' is extraordinary because it's about the wages of patriarchy on families, but particularly on men. I mean, talk about the scope of its ambition: It's showing how inevitably the patriarchy is going to collapse, and it's acknowledging what the cost is going to be to these men.

Mukherjee: Can we talk about whether queer literature needs to be written by queer people? Because I nominated a work -- Anne Carson's ''Autobiography of Red'' [1998] -- that I feel is a very queer work written by a straight person. How does everyone feel about this? In a time of increasing debates about appropriation, I think the queer community has been remarkably liberal and expansive about welcoming nonqueer people who write about them.

Gay: I think that anybody can write about anything and oftentimes they can do so well.

Mukherjee: I'm so glad you said that.

Gay: The idea of appropriation only comes up when it's glaring: You are not of us and you are trying to write about us. That said, I think if we're going to make a list of the 25 most important queer works, straight people literally have everything else. They have enough. They're good. We don't need to die on this hill.

McBee: We don't gate-keep; we're queer people. But there is something important about naming the specific aesthetic that comes out of our communities.

Soller: Do queer works also need to be about queer people?

Ijames: That makes me think of Lorraine Hansberry, whose plays are not necessarily explicitly about queer people, but I feel there's a queer lens to them. Now, I didn't pick a Hansberry play for that reason.

Kron: I think that's right about her lens. She's vast, I couldn't pick one play over another.

McBee: Not to put aside Lorraine Hansberry, but similarly, I thought a lot about putting [Truman Capote's] ''In Cold Blood'' [1965] on my list, and I didn't.

Soller: Is there anyone else whom people feel they'll be thinking about all day if we don't talk about it now?

Kron: There's no Adrienne Rich on here either.

Mukherjee: What about Elizabeth Bishop?

White: She didn't want to be called a feminist writer, much less a lesbian. She was like Susan Sontag in that way: Sontag didn't want to be thought of as a lesbian writer because she thought that was second-class. She just wanted to be a writer.

Kron: Adrienne Rich and Susan Sontag started in the same circles. Rich claimed her lesbianism and Sontag didn't, and we know the effect that had on their careers. I'm team Rich.

23. ''Diving Into the Wreck'' by Adrienne Rich, 1973

''Diving Into the Wreck'' is a threshold book. During the years she worked on the collection, Adrienne Rich, then in her early 40s, was immersed in feminist politics and had started to think about living as a lesbian, but she hadn't yet slept with a woman. The book is full of doors, ladders and journeys, including the title poem's strange descent into the depths, where ''there is no one / to tell me when the ocean / will begin.'' Three years later, in ''Twenty-One Love Poems'' (1976), she would write explicitly about lesbian sex, but here she is still preparing for the new world to come. In ''Incipience,'' she describes ''imagining the existence / of something uncreated,'' and in ''From a Survivor'' experiences life as ''a succession of brief, amazing movements / each one making possible the next.'' Not that it's an entirely peaceful transformation. In ''Waking in the Dark'' she writes, ''The tragedy of sex / lies around us, a woodlot / the axes are sharpened for.'' Rich came to be revered by feminists, especially for her influential prose writing on topics such as motherhood and ''compulsory heterosexuality,'' without losing the support of the poetry establishment. -- J.T.

McBee: Can I go to the mat for someone else's pick? Roxane chose ''Written on the Body,'' by Jeanette Winterson, which I almost put on my list. The book is spellbinding, but Winterson herself has been an ongoing force.

24. ''Written on the Body'' by Jeanette Winterson, 1992

The narrator of Jeanette Winterson's ''Written on the Body,'' whose name and gender are never disclosed, sees the hollow clichÃ©s of romance everywhere. A serial seducer of married women who ''used to think of marriage as a plate-glass window just begging for a brick,'' they are addicted to the exhilarating early stages of a relationship, at which point they typically pull the plug. That is, until they fall for Louise, whose red hair is as wild and entrancing as a swarm of butterflies. Suddenly, the habitual window smasher is desperate to gather up all the bricks. A cancer diagnosis causes an abrupt tonal shift in the book's second half, when the narrator makes the ultimate romantic sacrifice, abandoning pleasure and comfort -- and London -- in a desperate attempt to save Louise. The fragmentary style of the novel is the literary equivalent of pointillism: examined close up, some of the dots seem random, misplaced, perhaps even ugly, but take a broader view and the effect is as mysterious as being in love. -- J.T.

Soller: And where did we end up on ''The Price of Salt''? It's the oldest book anyone nominated.

Kron: Back then, there wasn't [really] anything else out there. There was so little lesbian literature published for so long.

25. ''The Price of Salt'' by Patricia Highsmith, 1952

A year after it was first published -- under the pen name Claire Morgan -- ''The Price of Salt'' came out as a mass-market paperback with a deliciously pulpy cover: A glamorous woman rests her hand on the shoulder of a younger one who lounges, improbably, on a chartreuse sofa perched in front of a rocky outcropping as a menacing-looking man looms in the background. Therein lies the love triangle at the heart of the novel, between Carol, a New Jersey housewife; her conniving husband, Harge; and Therese, a dreamy 19-year-old who longs to upend her boring city life. Therese is working at the doll counter of Frankenberg's department store in Manhattan when she catches Carol's gray eyes -- ''dominant as light or fire'' -- and is instantly drawn to her. As in Todd Haynes's 2015 film adaptation, ''Carol,'' the two embark on a transformative affair, one that is complicated by Harge's getting wise. For Carol, whom Patricia Highsmith partly based on a former lover of hers, choosing to be true to herself means losing not just social ease but custody of her daughter. According to Highsmith, the fact that Carol chooses it anyway, relinquishing Harge for good, is what gives the book its power. -- K.G.

White: That's not a great book! I like Highsmith, but it's not her best.

Kron: But it's an influential book. Are we talking about books that we love or books that are important to the development of queer culture?

White: It should be both.

Gay: It's a great book for many, many lesbians.

At top: JEB (Joan E. Biren) ''Gloria and Charmaine'' (1979) from ''Eye to Eye: Portraits of Lesbians'' (Anthology Editions); Clifford Prince King's ''Safe Space'' (2020); Crawford Wayne Barton collection (1993-2011), Courtesy of the GLBT Historical Society; Â© Maika Elan; Lyle Ashton Harris's ''M. Lamar, Yerba Buena Center for the Arts, San Francisco, 1993'' (2015), courtesy of the artist and Salon 94; Reynaldo Rivera's ''Girls, El Conquistador'' (1997), courtesy of the artist and Reena Spaulings L.A./N.Y.; Melody Melamed's ''Gabe and Paul'' (2017).

Research Editors: Alexis Sottile and James K. Williamson

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/22/t-magazine/queer-postwar-books-plays-poems.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/22/t-magazine/queer-postwar-books-plays-poems.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY THE ESTATE OF ROBERT GIARD

ANTONIO CHICAIA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

PATRICK McMULLAN/PMC, VIA GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page D3.

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**End of Document**



[***Lizzie Borden’s ‘Working Girls’ Is About Capitalism, Not Sex; Rewind***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62XR-XXX1-JBG3-62PW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 16, 2021 Wednesday 15:48 EST

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**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 615 words

**Byline:** J. Hoberman

**Highlight:** While the 1987 drama takes place in a Manhattan brothel, its true concern is labor. (And it’s is definitely not to be confused with Mike Nichols’s rom-com.)

**Body**

While the 1987 drama takes place in a Manhattan brothel, its true concern is labor. (And it’s is definitely not to be confused with Mike Nichols’s rom-com.)

A fictional day in the life of a Manhattan boutique bordello, Lizzie Borden’s “Working Girls” is as witty, gimlet-eyed and discomfiting as when it won a special award at the 1987 Sundance Film Festival.

The movie, not to be confused with Mike Nichols’s 1988 rom-com “Working Girl,” has been digitally restored and, in advance of a Blu-ray release, is having a theatrical run [*at the IFC Center*](https://www.ifccenter.com/films/working-girls/) in Manhattan.

[*“Working Girls”*](https://www.ifccenter.com/films/working-girls/) opens with Molly (Louise Smith) waking at 7 a.m. in an East Village tenement, making breakfast for her partner’s young daughter and bicycling uptown to her place of employment. Her first order of business is inserting a diaphragm — the matter-of-factness provides the movie’s first jolt.

Borden’s previous film, “Born in Flames” (1983), is a vision of urban insurrection led by a largely Black and lesbian army now considered a classic of revolutionary cinema, militant feminism and Afro-futurism. “Working Girls” is no less political. Sex is almost incidental; the movie’s true concern is labor, much of which consists in massaging the egos of the brothel’s clients.

While offering a smorgasbord of mildly kinky tastes, “Working Girls” is far from prurient. When, midway through, Molly makes a drugstore run to replenish the supply closet, the movie suggests a Pop Art composition of brand-name packages: Listerine, Kleenex and Trojans. The New York Times reviewer Vincent Canby [*noted*](https://www.ifccenter.com/films/working-girls/) that, although fiction, “Working Girls” “sounds as authentic as might a documentary about coal miners.”

Coal miners with ambition, that is: Molly, who has two degrees from Yale, is an aspiring photographer. Dawn (Amanda Goodwin) is a volatile ***working-class*** kid putting herself through college. Gina (Marusia Zach) is saving to open her own business. The women, who have amusingly little difficulty handling their generally well-behaved johns, are in control but only up to point. Midway through, their boss Lucy (Ellen McElduff) sweeps in, and as a gushingly saccharine steel magnolia, she is far more exploitative, not to mention manipulative, than any of the customers.

Borden belongs to a group of filmmakers, including Kathryn Bigelow and Jim Jarmusch, who emerged from the downtown post-punk art-music scene of the late 1970s. Back then, “Born in Flames” and “Working Girls” seemed like professionalized versions of the incendiary work produced by scrappy Super-8 filmmakers like Vivienne Dick and the team of Scott B and Beth B. Revisited decades later, “Working Girls” appears closer to Chantal Akerman’s epochal “[*Jeanne Dielman, 23, Quai du Commerce, 1080 Bruxelles*](https://www.ifccenter.com/films/working-girls/).”

The similarity between the films is not so much subject (Akerman’s eponymous protagonist is a housewife prostitute) as attitude. “Working Girl” is notable for its measured structure, analytical camera placement and straightforward cool. Borden only tips her hand once, when she allows Molly — who has been sweet-talked into working a double shift — to ask Lucy if she’s ever heard of “surplus value.”

“Working Girls” is an anticapitalist critique that has scarcely dated, save for one bit of hip social realism I neglected to note when I reviewed it in 1987 for a downtown weekly. Asked how she heard about the job, a new recruit reveals that she answered a want ad for “hostesses” in The Village Voice.

Working Girls

Opening June 18 at the IFC Center in Manhattan; [*ifccenter.com*](https://www.ifccenter.com/films/working-girls/).

PHOTO: A scene from Lizzie Borden’s “Working Girls.” The film is notable for its measured structure, analytical camera placement and straightforward cool. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JANUS FILMS)

**Load-Date:** June 24, 2021

**End of Document**



[***‘Wagatha Christie’ Trial, a British Spectacle, Ends: Judge Finds No Libel***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:661R-J311-DXY4-X4KG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** STYLE

**Length:** 1491 words

**Byline:** Lou Stoppard and Katherine Rosman

**Highlight:** The High Court in London ruled against the plaintiff, Rebekah Vardy, putting an end to a social media feud that turned into a high-profile legal face-off.

**Body**

The High Court in London ruled against the plaintiff, Rebekah Vardy, putting an end to a social media feud that turned into a high-profile legal face-off.

LONDON — It began as an Instagram-related quarrel between the spouses of two British soccer stars and grew into a libel trial that provided a welcome distraction for a nation in turmoil.

The High Court on Friday brought an end to the long-running legal feud by ruling against the plaintiff, Rebekah Vardy, saying that she had not been defamed by her former friend Coleen Rooney.

In the verdict, Justice Karen Steyn said that the reputational damage suffered by Ms. Vardy did not have what she described as “the sting of libel.” For that reason and others, she stated in a written decision published on Friday, “the case is dismissed.” The judge also chastised Ms. Vardy, writing that “significant parts of her evidence were not credible.”

With its combination of low stakes and high melodrama, the dispute between Ms. Vardy and Ms. Rooney did not amount to the trial of the century. But the case attracted months of overheated tabloid coverage at a time when Britain was navigating a [*stubborn pandemic*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/world/united-kingdom-covid-cases.html) and a [*struggling economy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/12/business/uk-gdp-economy-inflation.html) while its [*prime minister*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/08/world/europe/boris-johnson-lies-britain-parliament.html) was on the ropes.

Ms. Vardy, the wife of the Leicester City striker Jamie Vardy, and Ms. Rooney, who is married to the former Manchester United star Wayne Rooney, belong to a group known as WAGs, a common, if sexist, tabloid acronym for the “wives and girlfriends” of professional athletes, particularly Premier League footballers.

In 2019, Ms. Rooney suspected that a follower of her private Instagram account was selling information about her, gleaned from her posts, to The Sun, a Rupert Murdoch-owned London tabloid known for its pungent celebrity coverage. To suss out the supposed leaker, Ms. Rooney set a trap: She made her Instagram Stories visible only to Ms. Vardy and used the account to plant false information about herself. Then she waited to see if her fictions ended up in the press.

At the end of her monthslong sting operation, Ms. Rooney claimed that Ms. Vardy was the culprit. She leveled that accusation in a social media statement in the fall of 2019 that was widely shared. Because of her sleuthing tactics, Ms. Rooney became known as “Wagatha Christie,” a mash-up of WAG and Agatha Christie, the 20th-century mystery writer.

Ms. Vardy issued a swift denial that she was the leaker. She then said that she had hired[*forensic computer experts*](https://www.theguardian.com/media/2019/oct/10/rebekah-vardy-hires-it-experts-over-coleen-rooney-leak-claims) to determine whether anyone else had access to her Instagram account. In 2020, after failed mediation, Ms. Vardy filed a defamation lawsuit against Ms. Rooney in High Court, which oversees high-profile civil cases in Britain.

This May, the participants entered the courtroom. The proceeding, formally called Vardy v. Rooney, became known as the Wagatha Christie Trial. The term was so common that it appeared in crawls on Sky News right next to “War in Ukraine.”

Tabloid photographers and cable news correspondents flocked to the steps outside London’s Royal Courts of Justice for the nine-day event, which proved to be a fashion spectacle as much as a whodunit.

Ms. Vardy, 40, arrived in an assortment of finery, including a buttery yellow tweed suit by Alessandra Rich and an Alexander McQueen blazer. On her left foot, Ms. Rooney, 36, wore a medical boot, an ungainly plastic device that she paired with a Chanel loafer, a Gucci loafer and a Gucci mule. She had sustained a fracture in a fall at her house.

“For people like me who are immersed in the culture of football and WAGs, it was not about the legal machinations, it was getting to see what was going on and who was wearing what,” said Simon Doonan, the author of the 2018 book “Soccer Style: The Magic and the Madness.”

Ms. Vardy testified for three days. “I didn’t give any information to a newspaper,” she said under questioning early in her testimony. “I’ve been called a leak, and it’s not nice.”

The trial had plenty of TV-worthy plot twists. It was revealed in court that laptops were lost. In addition, WhatsApp messages between Ms. Vardy and her agent, Caroline Watt — which apparently disparaged Ms. Rooney — had mysteriously disappeared. Ms. Vardy’s lawyer added that Ms. Watt had “regrettably” dropped an iPhone containing WhatsApp messages into the North Sea. Ms. Rooney’s lawyer, David Sherborne, said the mishap seemed to have resulted in the concealment of evidence.

“The story is fishy indeed, no pun intended,” he said.

Ms. Vardy told the court she could “neither confirm nor deny” what exactly had happened to her missing digital data. At another moment, she began a response with the phrase “if I’m honest,” causing Ms. Rooney’s barrister to snap: “I would hope you’re honest, because you’re sitting in a witness box.”

The bits of [*false information*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/09/world/europe/coleen-rooney-rebekah-vardy.html) that Ms. Rooney included on the Instagram account visible only to Ms. Vardy were not exactly earth-shattering. As part of her sting operation, Ms. Rooney claimed that she and her husband were going to Mexico for a “gender selection treatment,” because Mr. Rooney wanted their fifth child to be a girl. She also said that the basement of couple’s new house near Manchester had been flooded. Those inventions and others made it into The Sun.

Although Ms. Vardy repeatedly said she had nothing to do with the leaks, the judge in the case was not impressed. In her decision, Ms. Steyn noted “a degree of self-deception on her part regarding the extent to which she was involved.”

In a statement posted on social media on Friday, Ms. Rooney said she was “pleased” by the outcome, adding, “It was not a case I ever sought or wanted.”

The case drew so much media attention because WAGs — like the players on the “Real Housewives” franchise in the United States — loom large in the British cultural imagination. They star in reality shows and have their own fast-fashion lines and false-eyelash businesses.

Des Freedman, a professor of media and communications at Goldsmiths, University of London, said the blanket coverage resulted from the trial’s “powerful combination of soccer, celebrity and gossip.”

“It’s impossible not to follow this,” he added, “because it’s played out across platforms, and the business model of both old media and new depends on this sort of story.”

WAGs had a breakthrough media moment in 2006, when a group of them enlivened the staid resort town Baden-Baden during the World Cup, which took place in stadiums across Germany. The ringleader was Victoria Beckham, who had risen to fame as Posh Spice in the Spice Girls before marrying the soccer great David Beckham. Also on the trip: the 20-year-old Coleen McLoughlin, who was dating Mr. Beckham’s teammate, Mr. Rooney, and would later marry him.

Tabloid reports from Baden-Baden told of WAGs singing “We Are the Champions” from a hotel balcony, dancing on tabletops and chugging Champagne, vodka and Red Bull into the wee hours. In the daytime, the women went on epic shopping sprees and sunbathed as the paparazzi snapped away.

When England lost in the quarterfinals to Portugal, some [*sports pundits unfairly blamed*](https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2008/oct/16/celebrity-women) the WAGs for the defeat. Predictably, the tabloids that had made them into celebrities tried to tear them down. “The Empty World of the WAGs” was the headline of a [*finger-wagging piece*](https://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-393425/The-world-WAGs.html) in The Daily Mail.

Years later, Wayne Rooney and Jamie Vardy played together for England, which added to the delicious awkwardness of the recent court proceedings.

The trial touched on betrayal and lies, which became defining themes in Britain as [*Prime Minister Boris Johnson*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/07/world/europe/boris-johnson-resignation-britain.html) incurred fines for breaking lockdown rules, then announced that he would step down after his party pushed him out over other deceptions.

The trial also presented the complexities of the British class system. Online jokes from those following the case homed in on Oxford-educated lawyers reading aloud text messages filled with profane terms from women who are often dismissed as shallow or “chavvy,” to borrow a word Ms. Vardy used in reference to a cousin of Mr. Rooney’s.

“The class thing is relevant,” Mr. Doonan said. “That’s why people are fascinated: ‘She’s a ***working class*** girl and look at how she’s done.’ Young girls in England can see themselves in them; they’re aspirational. It’s a significant mirror in the culture of Britain.”

Unlike this year’s other high-profile celebrity court battle, [*Depp v. Heard*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/14/movies/amber-heard-today-show.html), these proceedings were not streamed live. Old-school courtroom sketches provided glimpses of the goings-on. “Those incredible courtroom sketches of Rebekah and Coleen, somebody should sell them at Art Basel,” Mr. Doonan said.

For those who missed the trial or could not get enough of it, not to worry: The U.K. television network Channel 4 announced this week that it had planned a two-part docudrama based on the contretemps.

PHOTO: Coleen Rooney and Wayne Rooney, the former Manchester United star, leaving the Royal Courts of Justice in London in May. (PHOTOGRAPH BY John Sibley/Reuters FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 29, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Where Are the Workers?; The Morning Newsletter***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63WK-KNF1-DXY4-X546-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 20, 2021 Wednesday 08:04 EST

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1794 words

**Byline:** David Leonhardt

**Highlight:** How can so many Americans afford not to work? And will it last?

**Body**

How can so many Americans afford not to work? And will it last?

A shortage of bus drivers has forced school districts to combine routes. A lack of servers has caused restaurants [*to reduce hours*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/08/dining/restaurant-worker-shortage.html). And you may have noticed that the checkout lines at supermarkets, drugstores and other retailers have grown.

The [*labor shortage*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/03/business/jobs-workers-economy.html) of 2021 is both conspicuous and perplexing. How is it, after all, that several million people who were working before the pandemic are now getting by without a paycheck?

There is no single answer, but a crucial part of the explanation is that Americans are flush with cash.

([*Monday’s newsletter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/18/briefing/us-economy-cash-glut.html) detailed how the cash glut is also causing rising inflation and supply-chain problems like backed-up ports.)

Thanks to pandemic stimulus programs during both the Trump and Biden administrations, many families have received multiple checks from the federal government over the past 18 months. Those stimulus programs also increased the size of unemployment benefits. Over the same period, home values and stock prices have risen, too.

As a result, many households have more of a financial cushion than they used to. If anything, the recent increases in savings have been larger at the bottom of the economic spectrum than at the top:

With this cushion, some workers — especially those in service industries disrupted by Covid-19 — have decided that they did not like their old jobs enough to return. Others have simply [*quit their jobs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/20/business/economy/workers-quit-jobs.html).

A low-wage economy

That should not be entirely surprising. The [*American economy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/03/business/jobs-workers-economy.html) of the past few decades has not been very kind to workers.

Since the 1980s, incomes for the poor, the ***working class*** and much of the middle class have grown slowly, [*failing to keep up*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/24/opinion/income-inequality-upper-middle-class.html) with either economic growth or the incomes of the affluent. Other quality-of-life measures are also flashing red. Life expectancy has grown more slowly in the U.S. than in dozens of other countries. Drug use, alcohol use, chronic pain and suicide have risen among the ***working class***, while marriage and self-reported satisfaction have declined ([*as these charts show*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/03/06/opinion/working-class-death-rate.html)).

“Many, many people are realizing that the way things were prepandemic were not sustainable and not benefiting them,” Rachel Eager, 25, who previously worked at an after-school program in New York, told my colleague Ben Casselman.

Eager is now looking for a new job, but she is not in a rush. “My financial situation is OK, and I think that is 99 percent of the reason that I can be choosy about my job prospects,” she said. So far, she has not been willing to take another job with low pay, no benefits and little flexibility.

Her attitude is telling. The U.S. does not have a pure labor shortage so much as it has a shortage of workers [*willing to accept the working conditions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/20/briefing/labor-shortages-covid-wages.html) that today’s economy often demands.

Paul Krugman, the Nobel Prize-winning economist and Times Opinion columnist, has described the trend as [*“the revolt of the American worker.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/14/opinion/workers-quitting-wages.html) Betsey Stevenson, a University of Michigan professor, calls it [*the “take this job and shove it” economy*](https://www.project-syndicate.org/podcasts/the-us-economy-s-great-adjustment).

There are also labor shortages in some [*other countries*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/13/business/britain-unfilled-jobs-crisis.html), probably related to their own large pandemic stimulus programs. But the situation seems to be most intense in the U.S.

A turning point?

The big uncertainty is what happens next.

One possibility is that we have entered a new era of tight labor markets. With more Americans choosing not to work — including aging baby boomers — companies would then need to increase pay and improve working conditions to attract employees. Some are already doing so, Ben Casselman [*notes*](https://twitter.com/bencasselman/status/1450493488722743299): Hourly wages in the leisure-and-hospitality sector, for example, have surged this year.

In this scenario, the pandemic would represent a turning point. Almost a half-century of a low-wage economy would end, and incomes would grow more rapidly, as they did from the 1940s until the early ’70s.

But I find it hard to believe this is the most likely scenario.

For one thing, the financial cushion of most households still is not large. The median cash savings of the bottom quarter of households (ranked by earnings) has risen by 70 percent over the past two years — but it’s still only about $1,000, Fiona Greig of the JPMorgan Chase Institute points out. And the pandemic stimulus programs have mostly ended.

Eventually, more Americans will feel the need to go back to work. When they do, they will find a job market where employers hold a decided power advantage, because of the decline of labor unions and an increase in corporate concentration. [*The college dropout crisis*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/05/23/opinion/sunday/college-graduation-rates-ranking.html), leaving many workers struggling to keep up with technological changes, plays a role, too.

President Biden and many other Democrats favor a set of policies intended to put workers on more even footing with their employers. The agenda includes paid family leave, expanded child tax credits, subsidized child care, [*a crackdown on anti-union activities*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/15/business/economy/biden-labor-economy.html) and [*a more aggressive approach to corporate consolidation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/16/technology/lina-khan-big-tech.html).

But it is unclear how many of those ideas will become law. Congressional Republicans have [*expressed concerns*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/27/opinion/republican-party.html) about some of these same trends but oppose most policy responses. Congressional Democrats have razor-thin margins in Congress and don’t yet agree about what laws to pass.

In the meantime, Ben says, the labor market is in a standoff: “Workers are holding out until their savings disappear. Businesses are holding out until their customers disappear.”

You can read [*his story about the job shortage*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/19/business/economy/economy-workers-labor-force.html). It also describes some of the causes of the shortage other than the cash glut, like Covid fears and a dearth of day-care options.

THE LATEST NEWS

Politics

* The committee investigating the Capitol attack recommended charging [*Steve Bannon*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/21/us/politics/bannon-contempt-jan-6-subpoena.html) with contempt for defying a subpoena.

1. Last year Mark Esper, Donald Trump’s defense secretary, quashed a plan pushed by a top Trump aide to have U.S. troops [*seal the southern border*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/19/us/politics/trumps-pentagon-chief-quashed-idea-to-send-250000-troops-to-the-border.html).
2. The Justice Department [*charged Representative Jeff Fortenberry*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/19/us/politics/jeff-fortenberry-indicted-campaign-finance.html), a Nebraska Republican, with lying to investigators about campaign donations.
3. The couple charged with trying to sell U.S. nuclear secrets to another country [*stewed over money and politics*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/19/us/politics/jonathan-toebbe-diana-submarine.html).

The Virus

* General Electric and Union Pacific [*joined the list*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/ge-union-pacific-mandate-covid-19-vaccine-for-u-s-workers-11634666353) of large companies with Covid vaccine mandates.

1. The Supreme Court declined to block Maine’s [*vaccine mandate for health care workers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/19/us/supreme-court-maine-vaccine-mandate.html).
2. A Brazilian congressional panel will recommend charging President Jair Bolsonaro with [*“crimes against humanity”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/19/world/americas/bolsonaro-covid-19-brazil.html) for his handling of the coronavirus crisis.
3. John King of CNN [*announced*](https://www.cnn.com/2021/10/19/media/john-king-multiple-sclerosis/index.html) he had multiple sclerosis and thanked his colleagues for getting vaccinated. Neil Cavuto, a Fox News anchor who is also immunocompromised, [*tested positive*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/19/world/fox-news-neil-cavuto-positive-covid.html).

Climate

* California’s Dixie fire was so intense that it created its own weather. [*This 3-D model*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/10/19/climate/dixie-fire-storm-clouds-weather.html) shows the firestorm up close.

1. Africa’s last three mountain glaciers [*could disappear within two decades*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/19/world/africa/mountain-glaciers-disappear.html).
2. Vladimir Putin says he is taking climate change seriously, but is he? The Times’s Anton Troianovski reports from a [*Russian island north of Japan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/19/world/europe/russia-climate-change.html), and The Washington Post reports on [*Russia’s methane leaks*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/climate-environment/interactive/2021/russia-greenhouse-gas-emissions/).

Other Big Stories

* Surgeons attached [*a kidney grown in a genetically altered pig*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/19/health/kidney-transplant-pig-human.html) to a human and found that the organ worked normally.

1. The gang that kidnapped 17 people associated with a U.S.-based missionary group in Haiti is demanding [*$17 million in ransom*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/19/world/europe/haiti-missionaries-ransom.html).
2. The attorney general for the District of Columbia will add Mark Zuckerberg to a Facebook privacy lawsuit to try to [*expose him personally to penalties*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/20/technology/mark-zuckerberg-facebook-lawsuit.html).

Opinions

As Covid becomes endemic, [*blue states must decide how far to go*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/20/opinion/covid-restrictions-democratic-states.html), Ross Douthat writes.

China’s bullying [*endangers the world*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/19/opinion/china-microchips.html) — and itself, says Thomas Friedman.

“Quitting is not the same as giving up”: Lindsay Crouse and Kirby Ferguson [*make the case for leaving a job*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/20/opinion/quitting-jobs-resignation-employment.html), relationship or hobby.

MORNING READS

Ripe and smooth: This village thinks it has the [*best olive oil in the world*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/19/dining/best-olive-oil-rameh-israel.html).

Tourists heart N.Y.C.: New York wants its international tourists back — [*and fast*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/20/nyregion/nyc-tourism.html).

Bones: [*Can skeletons have a racial identity?*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/19/science/anthropology-skeleton-race.html) Forensic researchers aren’t so sure.

Advice from Wirecutter: You probably [*don’t need antivirus software*](https://www.nytimes.com/wirecutter/blog/best-antivirus/).

Lives Lived: David Finn co-founded a powerhouse public-relations firm that jump-started the career of an up-and-coming crooner named Perry Como. Finn also pursued a parallel career as a photographer and sculptor. He [*died at 100*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/19/business/david-finn-dead.html).

ARTS AND IDEAS

The N.B.A. season begins

The N.B.A. [*returned last night*](https://theathletic.com/live-blogs/2021-22-nba-opening-night-live-updates-scores-game-schedule-as-bucks-nets-lakers-warriors-tip-off-season/s9sYJXg8aSrx/). Here are a few interesting story lines as the season gets underway.

Vaccines: The N.B.A. says 96 percent of players are vaccinated. But a few continue to refuse to get the vaccine, most notably the Brooklyn Nets’ Kyrie Irving. The Nets — [*considered the league’s best team*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/17/sports/basketball/nets-season-preview.html), as The Times’s Sopan Deb explains — will not let Irving play until he gets the jab.

Old guys: The Los Angeles Lakers, led by LeBron James (in his 19th season), have swapped much of their young talent for aging former stars like Carmelo Anthony (37), Dwight Howard (35) and Russell Westbrook (32). It may work — The Ringer found that old teams were [*often more successful*](https://www.theringer.com/2021/10/12/22713356/lebron-james-los-angeles-lakers-old) than young ones.

Fewer fouls: In recent years, some of the N.B.A.’s best shooters have made an art of flailing into defenders on three-point shots, drawing fouls but looking ridiculous. No longer: The league has outlawed these moves. [*FiveThirtyEight has an explanation*](https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/the-fouls-you-wont-see-on-3-point-shots-this-season-and-some-you-still-will/).

For more, The Times previews the [*Eastern*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/18/sports/basketball/nba-eastern-conference-preview.html) and [*Western*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/18/sports/nba-western-conference-preview.html) conferences. — Tom Wright-Piersanti, a Morning editor

PLAY, WATCH, EAT

What to Cook

Adding [*miso to your pasta*](https://cooking.nytimes.com/recipes/1022636-miso-butter-pasta-with-butternut-squash) creates a delicious savory flavor.

What to Watch

[*“Queens,” a musical drama*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/19/arts/television/queens-brandy-abc.html) starring Eve and Brandy, follows the members of a ’90s rap group who reunite.

What to Listen to

Some of the most striking music on TikTok comes from the British singer PinkPantheress. [*Read a review*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/19/arts/music/pinkpantheresss-to-hell-with-it-review.html) of her debut album, “To Hell With It.”

Late Night

Trevor Noah [*talked about “striketober.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/20/arts/television/trevor-noah-strikes-vaccine-boosters.html)

Now Time to Play

The pangrams from yesterday’s Spelling Bee were effectual and fluctuate. Here is today’s puzzle — or you can [*play online*](https://www.nytimes.com/puzzles/spelling-bee).

Here’s [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/crosswords/game/mini), and a clue: Untidy (five letters).

If you’re in the mood to play more, find [*all our games here*](https://www.nytimes.com/games).

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow. — David

Correction: Yesterday’s newsletter mistakenly included an article about Puerto Rico in the international news section.

P.S. President Richard Nixon’s “Saturday Night Massacre” happened [*48 years ago today*](applewebdata://A322E4E7-86DE-4512-8064-1855AC6F7A5D/v).

Here’s [*today’s print front page*](https://static01.nyt.com/images/2021/10/20/nytfrontpage/scan.pdf).

“[*The Daily*](https://www.nytimes.com/thedaily)” is about Biden’s climate plan. On “[*The Argument*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/20/opinion/20argument-legalizing-vs-decriminalizing-drugs.html),” a debate about legalizing drugs.

Claire Moses, Ian Prasad Philbrick, Tom Wright-Piersanti, Ashley Wu and Sanam Yar contributed to The Morning. You can reach the team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](mailto:themorning@nytimes.com).

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing).

PHOTO: A job fair in Santa Clara, Calif. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Justin Sullivan/Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 3, 2021

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[***Zoom With Mayoral Hopefuls***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:625C-SCV1-DXY4-X0X4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 1171 words

**Byline:** By Mara Gay

**Body**

Here's what you need to know.

Running for mayor of New York City once involved, well, some running -- from shaking hands on the Staten Island Ferry to schmoozing with donors at fund-raisers and awkwardly dancing in parades across the five boroughs. This year, the candidates have spent a lot of their time on Zoom. It's been weird.

But the internet -- in this case, Skype -- is how I last talked with Kathryn Garcia, a wry, thoughtful former sanitation commissioner and candidate for mayor who deserves more attention than she has so far received in the race.

''Is it OK if I record this?'' I asked. ''I've never met a reporter who didn't record me, so I'm fine with it,'' she shot back with a smile. (It's nice to see that at least some things remain unchanged.) What followed was a conversation that had me hoping more New Yorkers will come to know her name -- and fearing that the limits of campaigning during a pandemic may be leaving voters ill-informed about the people who are vying to run their city.

Ms. Garcia isn't the only candidate worthy of a closer look. With the pandemic still raging, public attention is focused on schools; masks; and, above all, the hope of a jab in the arm. For weary New Yorkers, the race for mayor can seem like an afterthought.

It isn't only the pandemic that makes this year's mayor's race different. This year's primaries are in June instead of September, as in years past. This will also be the first mayoral election in which New Yorkers use ranked choice voting to cast their ballots. Paying attention now is all the more important since Primary Day is just a few months away, on June 22. Because Democrats outnumber Republicans nearly seven to one in the city, the winner of the primary is almost certain to become the city's next mayor. Time is ticking.

The wide open field has been called lackluster. That's not quite right. What the field lacks in star power it makes up for in formidable résumés and deeply experienced public servants.

Some of the top candidates are women. That's exciting, since New York has never had a female mayor.

There's Maya Wiley, a civil rights lawyer who served as counsel under Mayor Bill de Blasio, then led the city's police oversight agency. Ms. Wiley, who until recently was a political analyst at MSNBC, is a deep policy thinker.

There's Dianne Morales, a former nonprofit leader and former teacher who is wary of development and speaks passionately about the experiences and needs of ***working-class*** New Yorkers.

And there's Ms. Garcia, who earned a reputation as a deft manager at the Sanitation Department and a bringer of accountability to the city's troubled public housing authority.

Another experienced public servant in the race is Scott Stringer, the city's comptroller, who has offered a series of clear, real plans for how to get New York back on its feet. In a city facing budget cuts and hard decisions, Mr. Stringer's seasoned understanding of how to use government to help New Yorkers is an asset. He has a plan for nearly every problem and wouldn't have to learn on the job.

Eric Adams, Brooklyn's sometimes quirky borough president, has also served as a state senator and a captain in the Police Department. Mr. Adams, who is Black and has spoken openly about having experienced abuse at the hands of the police, would undoubtedly bring a potent mix of life experiences to City Hall. ''The Police Department is not going to play games with me,'' Mr. Adams told me.

Shaun Donovan, the housing secretary and then a budget director in the Obama White House who had also served as a housing commissioner in the Bloomberg administration. He has a rich understanding of budgeting and how to build affordable housing, something this city desperately needs.

Also in the mix of New Yorkers is Ray McGuire, a former head of investment banking at Citigroup. He has impressive management experience and has promised to use his Wall Street acumen to expand the city's economy, create 500,000 jobs and build more housing. In candidate forums and interviews, Mr. McGuire displays a sober intensity, the kind it often takes to succeed at the highest levels if you are a Black man in America.

Then, of course, there is Andrew Yang, the enigmatic former presidential candidate and tech veteran who once served as chief executive of a test-prep company. Mr. Yang has sucked up an enormous amount of oxygen in the race so far. If he is elected, he would be the city's first Asian-American mayor.

The lack of attention on the race might be one reason early polls have Mr. Yang, who came into the race with high name recognition after his presidential bid, far ahead of his rivals.

It isn't always clear what this front-runner has in store for New York or how well he knows the city -- including where the A train begins and ends. But all the candidates have solid ideas that would make the city a better place to live.

Ms. Garcia wants to create ''green belts,'' expanding tree canopies, getting waste-spewing trucks off the road and making sidewalks safer, healthier, more relaxing places to spend time. Mr. Donovan wants to create a city of ''15-minute neighborhoods,'' in which every resident is within a 15-minute walk of public transit and parks, good schools, fresh food and health care.

Ms. Wiley has proposed a $10 billion capital plan she calls ''New Deal New York,'' with the goal of creating 100,000 new jobs. Mr. Adams wants to overhaul the food the city serves in schools, homeless shelters and jails.

Mr. Stringer wants to make child care free for the lowest-income New Yorkers and subsidize it for thousands of others. Mr. Yang's idea to give cash relief to low-income New Yorkers is attractive, though it isn't likely the city could afford to give enough to make a significant difference.

Ms. Morales's intense focus on the needs and aspirations of ***working-class*** and low-income New Yorkers makes her an important voice in the race. Mr. McGuire's steady confidence that he can bring hundreds of thousands of jobs back to New York sooner than any of the other candidates is reason enough for voters to give him a close look.

For all their good ideas, there are bad ideas, too. A suggestion to build a casino on Governors Island is silly, for instance. An even worse idea floating around is to ease up on enforcement of a group of ultra-Orthodox yeshivas suspected of failing to give students a basic education as required by state law.

Serious candidates in this race are laser-focused on how to create good jobs and improve schools, build affordable housing and better transportation, and give New Yorkers cleaner air and safer streets. There's a lot at stake and a lot to consider, if voters would only take a look.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/07/opinion/nyc-mayoral-candidates.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/07/opinion/nyc-mayoral-candidates.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Meet the candidates (clockwise from top left): Shaun Donovan, Eric Adams, Kathryn Garcia and Dianne Morales. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BRENDAN MCDERMID/REUTERS, MARK LENNIHAN/ASSOCIATED PRESS, BEBETO MATTHEWS/ASSOCIATED PRESS AND DOLLY FAIBYSHEV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Also in the mix (clockwise from top left): Scott Stringer, Andrew Yang, Ray McGuire and Maya Wiley. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JAMES ESTRIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES, BENJAMIN NORMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES AND JOSE A. ALVARADO JR. FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Growing Evidence Against a Republican Wave***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6679-SD21-DXY4-X2V3-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** UPSHOT

**Length:** 1676 words

**Byline:** Nate Cohn

**Highlight:** Since the fall of Roe v. Wade, it has been increasingly hard to see the once-clear signs of a G.O.P. advantage.

**Body**

Since the fall of Roe v. Wade, it has been increasingly hard to see the once-clear signs of a G.O.P. advantage.

At the beginning of this year’s midterm campaign, analysts and political operatives had every reason to expect a strong Republican showing this November. President Biden’s approval rating was in the low 40s, and the president’s party has a long history of struggling in midterm elections.

But as the start of the general election campaign nears, it’s becoming increasingly hard to find any concrete signs of Republican strength.

Tuesday’s strong Democratic showing in a special congressional election in New York’s 19th District is only the latest example. On paper, this classic battleground district in the Hudson Valley and Catskills is exactly where the Republicans would be expected to flip a seat in a so-called wave election. But the Democrat Pat Ryan prevailed over a strong Republican nominee, Marc Molinaro, by around two percentage points, outperforming Mr. Biden’s narrow win in the district two years ago.

The result adds to a growing pile of evidence suggesting that Democrats have rebounded in the aftermath of the Supreme Court’s decision in late June to overturn Roe v. Wade. No matter the indicator, it’s hard to see the once-clear signs of a Republican advantage.

Special elections

One special election would be easy to dismiss. But it’s not alone.

There have been five special congressional elections since the court’s Dobbs ruling overturned Roe, and Democrats have outperformed Mr. Biden’s 2020 showing in four of them. In the fifth district, Alaska’s at-large House special, the ranked-choice voting count is not complete, but they appear poised to outperform him there as well.

On average, Republicans carried the four completed districts by 3.7 percentage points, compared with Donald J. Trump’s 7.7-point edge in the same districts two years ago. The results aren’t merely worse than expected for Republicans; they’re straightforwardly poor. Republicans need to fare better than Mr. Trump, who lost the national vote by 4.5 points in 2020, to retake the House — let alone contemplate winning the Senate.

Special congressional elections are idiosyncratic low-turnout affairs, and these races were no exception. They had a relatively higher share of white voters in mostly rural districts that were not representative of the country. The voters who turn out in primary or special elections aren’t representative, either, with highly educated and well-informed voters usually making up an outsize share of the vote. Those two factors probably converged to the advantage of Democrats in all four completed districts. The results showed a superior turnout in highly educated liberal enclaves or college towns, like [*Ithaca in New York’s 23rd District,*](https://twitter.com/JacobRubashkin/status/1562842778228621315) while turnout elsewhere in the districts lagged behind.

But strength among high-turnout white voters can get a party pretty far in low-turnout midterm elections, which tend to have a relatively whiter electorate. Perhaps in part for that reason, there is a decent historical relationship between special election results and midterm outcomes. And before Dobbs, Republicans were outrunning Mr. Trump in special congressional elections. Since then, the pattern has reversed.

While there’s plenty of room for debate about exactly what the special election results mean for November, there’s no dispute that the results are plainly positive for Democrats.

Generic ballot

Democrats have made steady gains on the generic congressional ballot, a poll question asking voters whether they prefer Democrats or Republicans for Congress.

Overall, Democrats now have the slightest advantage on this measure, according to [*FiveThirtyEight’s tracker*](https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/polls/generic-ballot/). That represents about a three-point swing toward the Democrats since mid-June, when Republicans led before the Dobbs ruling.

A tight generic ballot represents a real improvement for Democrats. If the polls are right — a big “if” after the last few cycles — it suggests a fairly competitive district-by-district battle for control of the House, rather than the expected Republican rout.

Realistically, Republicans would remain clearly favored — the House map is still modestly tilted in their favor, and Democrats would have to win an outsize share of the competitive races to hold the chamber. But the notion that Democrats can even dream about House control is a remarkable turn from earlier in the cycle, when the House was all but penciled into the Republican column.

Horse race polls

It’s still a little early to look at polls pitting Democratic candidates against Republican ones in specific races. Many candidates remain unknown, and the general election campaign is just getting underway.

But the early state and district polls do look relatively promising for Democrats. That’s especially true in the Senate, where a simple polling average might even show Democrats poised to make gains.

The House polls are consistent with the generic ballot results. On average, Democrats are running about 4.7 points behind Mr. Biden’s performance across 40 nonpartisan House polls taken since the Dobbs decision. That would be consistent with a close national vote.

After the last few cycles of polling misfires, there’s plenty of reason to be skeptical of state surveys — especially in the relatively white ***working-class*** battleground states where the polls seem to have consistently underestimated Republicans.

But here again, the long-awaited “red wave” is nowhere to be found.

Washington primary

This is a bit of an odd one, but it’s a surprisingly useful measure and it doesn’t show much of a red wave either.

Washington State has a top-two primary in which all of the candidates from both parties appear on the same primary ballot; the top two candidates advance to the general election.

As a result, the Washington primary is a lot more like a general election than the typical primary — not only is every voter eligible, but voters can also select the Democrat or Republican of their choosing in every race. For good measure, Washington has universal vote-by-mail, which tends to keep the turnout pretty high. It’s more like the typical midterm electorate than some of the recent special elections.

The results of the Washington primary usually do a decent job of predicting the outcome of the fall election. In some years, Democrats do a bit better in November than in the primary; in other years, Republicans do. But it’s not usually hugely different. In retrospect, the solid Republican showing in the 2020 Washington primary was one of the better reasons to doubt the polls heading into November 2020.

This cycle, the Democratic candidates for House ran two points behind Mr. Biden’s performance in 2020 (excluding the two districts where pro-impeachment Republicans in safely Republican districts clearly benefited from considerable levels of strategic crossover support from Democrats).

Yet again, it’s a result that’s consistent with a fairly evenly divided national vote for the House.

Other primaries

Of all the indicators, primary elections are probably the single messiest measure of the national political environment. From state to state and cycle to cycle, voters may either have a very compelling reason to show up — or no reason to vote whatsoever. A strong or weak Democratic or Republican primary turnout can mean absolutely nothing.

But if all the states are added together, the vagaries of individual state primary elections more or less cancel out. Over the last few decades, partisan primary turnout does correlate relatively well with the results of midterm elections.

In 15 primaries since the court’s ruling, 52.5 percent of primary voters have cast Republican primary ballots compared with 48 percent in the same states in 2018, according to [*data compiled*](https://twitter.com/WinWithJMC/status/1562256144437067776?s=20&amp;t=1bK-ZHjSka_a-gJXWHQ-eg) by the pollster John Couvillon. The last midterm is used as the point of comparison because of the one-party presidential primary in 2020.

Of course, 2018 was a good year for Democrats. In the end, they won 54 percent of the major party vote and carried the House easily. So they have room to fare quite a bit worse than they did in 2018 and still put up a respectable showing. Indeed, a 4.5-point shift from 2018 would yield a pretty close House national vote, with maybe a slight Republican edge depending on how one looks at uncontested races.

And that 4.5-point Republican overperformance is a little worse for Republicans than earlier in the year. Before Roe, Republicans were running 6.7 points better than in the 2018 primaries in the same states. It’s hard to read a lot into this shift — primaries, again, are very idiosyncratic, with the competitiveness of different races and eligibility rules making a big difference. But the shift, however unreliable, is nonetheless consistent with the broader national story.

Biden approval

There’s still one measure that’s positive for Republicans: President Biden’s approval rating.

It’s in the low 40s, according to FiveThirtyEight, though it seems to have risen along with Democratic fortunes over the last few months.

It’s hard to think of any precedent for the president’s party to fare even half decently with such an unpopular president. The closest recent analogue might be Jimmy Carter in 1978. He held control of Congress despite an approval rating around 50 percent. (His approval rating was similar to Mr. Biden’s in August, but it increased after the Camp David Accords in September.)

Perhaps someone could construe the Democratic hold in the House in the 1950 midterms as somewhat analogous, though Democrats lost 28 seats and saw a net seven-point shift toward Republicans.

Ultimately, it’s possible that Mr. Biden’s approval rating will drag down the Democrats. It may even begin to drag them down by the other measures even before the fall election.

But for now, his approval rating stands apart as the only hard measurement that argues for a decisive Republican victory this fall.

PHOTO: Pat Ryan, right, with Gov. Kathy Hochul of New York, was the surprise winner of a special election. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MARY ALTAFFER/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

**Load-Date:** August 28, 2022

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[***Australian Voters, Feeling Discontent, Oust Prime Minister***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65H7-NXS1-DXY4-X0VR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 22, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 13; NEWS ANALYSIS

**Length:** 1392 words

**Byline:** By Damien Cave

**Body**

Like Biden before him, Anthony Albanese enters office more on the back of disgust at the conservative incumbent than enthusiasm for his leadership.

SYDNEY, Australia -- The incumbent prime minister, Scott Morrison, pushed Australia to the right and called himself ''a bit of a bulldozer.'' His Labor challenger, Anthony Albanese, ran as a modest Mr. Fix-It, promising to seek ''renewal, not revolution.''

In the end, moderation triumphed. Mr. Albanese won Saturday's election with a campaign that was gaffe-prone and light on policy but promised a more decent form of politics, delivering a stark rejection of Mr. Morrison after nearly a decade of conservative leadership in Australia.

It was a combination that carried powerful echoes of President Biden's victory a year and a half ago. Both Mr. Albanese and Mr. Biden are political lifers, ***working-class*** battlers with decades of experience in government and reputations for pragmatic compromise.

But they also both face the problem of how they won. Disgust with an incumbent put them into office. Governing, and staying in power, requires rallying enthusiasm from a fickle public.

''It's a question of whether he can be a galvanizing leader,'' said Paul Strangio, a politics professor at Monash University in Melbourne. ''Whether he can learn on the job.''

In a reflection of Australia's broader mood of discontent, voters did not just grant Labor a clear victory. They delivered a larger share of their support to minor parties and independents who ran against the political status quo, with a surge of grass-roots enthusiasm for candidates demanding more action on climate change and greater accountability in government.

In Sydney, Allegra Spender, an independent, was projected to defeat Dave Sharma, a moderate from the conservative Liberal Party. In Melbourne, the current treasurer, Josh Frydenberg, who has often been mentioned as a future prime minister, was projected to lose to another independent, Monique Ryan, a pediatrician, while Zoe Daniel, an independent and a former journalist, also won in the city's bayside suburbs.

''What this says is that community can make a difference,'' Ms. Daniel said at a victory party on Saturday night.

''Climate, integrity, equality,'' she added. ''We now have a chance to actually make a difference.''

In addition to the victories by independents, minor parties -- from the Greens on the left to the United Australia Party on the right -- also made gains, delivering what analysts described as a ''tipping point'' in a country that has been gradually moving away from major party dominance.

''Voters have sent the major parties the message that their support can't be guaranteed,'' said Jill Sheppard, a politics professor at the Australian National University.

''It's really a massive shift,'' she added. ''And it's one we don't really have our heads around yet.''

For Mr. Albanese, who has spent his entire career in Labor Party politics, including 23 years in Parliament, this sea change presents an unexpected challenge.

Contrasting his approach with the pugnacious style of Mr. Morrison -- who led a government that passed little memorable legislation but successfully managed the early months of the pandemic -- Mr. Albanese ran a ''small target'' campaign.

He proposed incremental reforms, including a promise to increase the minimum wage and provide more support for health care, nursing homes and child care. Mostly, though, he focused on altering the tone and style of leadership.

''I want to change politics,'' he said after voting on Saturday in the Sydney neighborhood where he grew up. ''I want to change the way it operates.''

Without a grand and well-defined vision already sold to the electorate, some analysts said it would be more difficult for Mr. Albanese to make rapid progress on his agenda.

''It doesn't make it impossible, but governments need momentum,'' said Tim Soutphommasane, a politics professor at the University of Sydney.

Some of the issues voters want addressed are unsurprising. The cost of living is rising. Businesses are struggling with labor shortages and wondering when the usual flows of skilled migrant workers will return. The pandemic has revealed gaps in health care and nursing homes.

Bigger questions -- about how to bring light to a political system awash in dark money, or how to build a less racist, more equal society, or how to counter a more ambitious and belligerent China -- were largely sidestepped by both Labor and its opponents in the campaign.

''It's been a very mundane election campaign, but that doesn't deny the fact that there is still a global pandemic and a war and shifting global power dynamics in the Indo-Pacific,'' said Professor Sheppard, of the Australian National University.

Mr. Albanese, 59, does arrive with a reputation for building consensus, and for nodding toward colleagues in his cabinet on issues in which they have greater expertise. During the campaign, Penny Wong, who will serve as foreign minister, announced Labor's plans to expand aid and diplomatic ties to Southeast Asia in an effort to counter Chinese influence.

''He's got an experienced and pretty talented frontbench, so I expect he will govern in a very collegial way,'' said Professor Strangio, of Monash University.

''The general view is he's workmanlike,'' he added. ''He's not exceptional. But maybe that's the sort of leader we need -- workmanlike, incremental change, dogged, doesn't think he's the smartest man in the room at all times. Maybe it's the kind of government that would suit Australia's circumstances.''

In the best of times, Australians tend to see their government as a service provider more than a battleground for ideology. Now, with the pressures from the pandemic and the geopolitical fallout of the Ukraine war, they are even more eager to see policies that produce tangible results, and they are less convinced that traditional party politics can do the job.

''We have these antiquated parties that are male-dominated,'' said Roslyn Lunsford, 74, a voter in Western Sydney on Saturday. ''It's the same old, same old -- we need a broom to go through.''

As if he could sense the need for a bolder policy statement, Mr. Albanese opened his acceptance speech Saturday night with a promise to support the Uluru Statement From the Heart, a call from Indigenous Australians to establish a formal role for Australia's First Nations people in the Constitution. It was issued in 2017 -- and rejected by the conservative coalition.

Similarly, Mr. Albanese pledged to make equal opportunity for women a national priority, to end Australia's ''climate wars,'' which have held back pledges for emissions cuts, and to make the country a renewable energy superpower.

Recognizing increased concern about integrity in government and oversight of public spending, Mr. Albanese also promised to quickly pass legislation to create a federal anticorruption commission, following through on an unfulfilled promise from Mr. Morrison in the last election.

''Tomorrow we begin the work of building a better future,'' he said. ''A better future for all Australians.''

To get it done, he now has to persuade a more fractured and more demanding country to believe in him and stick with him, at a time when it is cautiously emerging from two years of Covid isolation, with a surge of coronavirus cases, rising inflation and growing government debt all fueling anxiety.

At the same time, China's regional ambitions have become more threatening, with a new security agreement in the Solomon Islands. And the raging bush fires of 2020 have given way to extreme flooding -- a relentless reminder of the country's vulnerability to climate change, even as it remains the world's largest exporter of coal.

The challenges are colossal. The opposition from a more conservative Liberal Party promises to be fierce. And many analysts note that Mr. Albanese lacks the charisma of prior Labor leaders who won elections and moved the country in a new direction.

''It usually takes excitement and a bit of dazzle in a Labor leader to change the government,'' said James Curran, a historian at the University of Sydney. ''Albanese upsets that historic apple cart.''

Victoria Kim contributed reporting from Sydney, Natasha Frost from Melbourne and Yan Zhuang from Cessnock, Australia.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/21/world/australia/anthony-albanese-australia-election.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/21/world/australia/anthony-albanese-australia-election.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Anthony Albanese, center, won as a Labor challenger to Australia's conservative incumbent. (PHOTOGRAPH BY WENDELL TEODORO/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** May 22, 2022

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[***How to Mend a Pair of Jeans; Tip***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60BV-VRH1-DXY4-X1HX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 14, 2020 Tuesday 22:20 EST

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**Section:** MAGAZINE

**Length:** 374 words

**Byline:** Malia Wollan

**Highlight:** If threads start fraying, add stitching before the fabric tears. Patching should be your last resort.

**Body**

“Cut a patch of denim bigger than your hole,” says Atsushi Futatsuya, 36, a sewing teacher who lives in Lewisburg, Pa. He grew up in Japan, a descendant of many generations of experts in a kind of decorative needlework called sashiko. Wives of rural, ***working-class*** farmers and fishermen developed the stitching technique as early as the 1600s as a means to reinforce and mend their clothing. “The idea is that one jacket would be passed down three generations or more,” Futatsuya says. Different regions developed dozens of patterns, of which Futatsuya knows more than 100; his two favorites are asanoha (six-pointed stars) and shippo (overlapping circles). Since 2017, he has spent hundreds of hours covering jeans he owns in stitched patterns to make them stronger. If, after wearing, he notices threads fraying, he’ll add stitching before the fabric tears. “Patching should be your last resort,” he says.

You’ll need thick cotton sashiko thread, a rounded thimble and a two-inch-long needle with a small eye. “Stitch all over the patch first to make the fabric stronger,” Futatsuya says. For precise patterns, Futatsuya suggests either hand drawing on the fabric with washable pens or transferring an existing sashiko pattern onto your fabric using carbon tracing paper. Follow the traced lines with a simple, small, running stitch. Place your patch on the inside of your jeans and sew the two together. Sashiko is best suited to sturdy fabrics like denim or canvas. “A T-shirt is too stretchy,” Futatsuya says.

As a child, Futatsuya was embarrassed by his family’s sashiko company: It seemed old-fashioned, and he wanted to appear modern and trendy. His father died in 2013, and a few months later he moved to the U.S., where he found renewed connection to his family and culture through the traditional needlework technique. “Sashiko taught me who my father really was,” he says. Carefully mending a garment will change the way you approach clothing, fashion and even time. “I hope in the future, my 5-year-old daughter will receive what I’m wearing right now,” Futatsuya says. “And it will tell her who I was.”

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by Radio FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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* [*Now Is When We All Learn to Darn Our Socks Again*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/12/style/visible-mending.html)

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[***Northern Ireland's Marching Season Begins at a Tense Time***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:634N-Y8T1-DXY4-X07K-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 14, 2021 Wednesday

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 1520 words

**Byline:** By Megan Specia

**Body**

Text by Megan Specia Photographs by Andrew Testa

DERRY, Northern Ireland -- The curbs are painted the blue, red and white of Britain's Union Jack in the Fountain housing estate, the only Protestant enclave in this part of Derry, Northern Ireland. The ashes of a bonfire fueled with the tricolor flag of neighboring Ireland lay in a central square.

Along these narrow streets, bands from the Protestant community marched on Monday to mark July 12, a commemoration of a centuries old military victory of a Protestant king over a Catholic one.

Such marches are a longstanding annual event in Northern Ireland, but the tensions growing over changes that Brexit has wrought in the region are casting the parades in a new light. There has been sporadic violence in recent months, and fears that the tense climate could threaten the landmark 1998 Good Friday Agreement that ended decades of sectarian strife and halted a 30-year conflict in Northern Ireland.

Those worries are centered within the mostly Protestant Unionist community, where divisions have grown over its relationship with the rest of Britain. And those divisions are related to discontent with the post-Brexit trade arrangements for the region, known as the Northern Ireland protocol, which sets Northern Ireland apart from the rest of the United Kingdom.

The protocol, a deal reached between the British government and Europe to avoid resurrecting a hard border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, has come to embody broader discontent from unionists over neglect of the region by Westminster.

Many unionists feel alarmed or are resentful about the British government's agreement with Europe, said Katy Hayward, professor of political sociology at Queen's College in Belfast.

And Irish nationalists are upset that Northern Ireland is being removed from the European Union against the wishes of the majority who voted to remain in the bloc, she said.

While the Good Friday Agreement halted the violence, known as the Troubles, it failed to address the underlying sectarian roots and created a ''fragile balance,'' Ms. Hayward said, which depended on cooperation between Britain and Ireland, north and south, and unionists and nationalists.

''Across all three strands of the Good Friday agreement, that balance, the thing that has kept it in place has been taken away,'' she said. ''So everybody's feeling that particular degree of insecurity.''

Members of the Orange Order, a religious and political Protestant fraternal order, march in the city -- which is also called Londonderry by unionists who want the region to remain part of the United Kingdom -- and lead the festivities marking William of Orange's military victory over the Catholic King James II in 1690.

Many Catholic nationalists see the traditions associated with such celebrations, like the Orange Order marches and bonfires, on which the Republic of Ireland's tricolor flag are often burned, as a provocation. Caoimhe Archibald, a local Sinn Fein politician -- an Irish Republican party -- shared an image of one of the bonfires painted in the tricolor on Twitter with the message: ''This isn't an expression of culture, it's an expression of hate.''

But many Protestants maintain it is a vital celebration of identity and heritage.

''It's a culture I've been brought up on, it's a culture I'm proud of,'' said William Jackson, 59, a day earlier as he played outside with his grandchildren in the Fountain estate ahead of the annual celebration. The neighborhood is encircled by a high metal fence. British flags are duct taped to lamp posts wrapped in barbed wire.

Across Northern Ireland last weekend, bonfires blazed ahead of the parades, as towers of teetering pallets were set alight, casting a flickering orange glow on the faces of onlookers who gathered for street parties.

Born and raised in Derry, Mr. Jackson remembers well the old conflict -- between Catholic nationalists, who more closely identify with the Republic of Ireland, and predominantly Protestant loyalists and unionists, who see themselves as British -- and worries it would take little to set off renewed violence.

''That could all start again tomorrow,'' said Mr. Jackson. ''It doesn't take much to light a fuse, in my opinion, that is just waiting to happen. Because sooner or later the Protestant community who have been let down on all occasions are going to stand up and say right, we've had enough of this.''

While the marches passed without incident around the region on Monday, some Derry residents were unimpressed that they had been allowed to continue amid the pandemic. A group of Catholic women watched with folded arms from a doorway as the parade passed by, and said they believed the marches only make matters worse.

The marches normally feature dozens of bands and draw thousands of spectators. This year, they were divided into a series of smaller neighborhood marches because of the pandemic. Dozens of bonfires were also lit over the weekend in estates in loyalist areas in an atmosphere that was simultaneously festive and fraught.

''It's almost been the perfect storm,'' said Brian Dougherty, a community worker in Derry, who noted he has seen a shift in communal relations in the city after the 2016 Brexit referendum. ''We were talking all along quite comfortably up until then and then this thing happened.''

Mr. Dougherty said that the community had made great strides toward long-term peace building, but that the general anti-British sentiment caused by Brexit has also created a ''hostile atmosphere'' among unionists, pushing many to reaffirm their identities as part of the United Kingdom.

''What we found here,'' he said, ''is all of a sudden curb stones were starting to be painted red, white and blue, flags were getting flown again, the bonfires were getting higher.''

Despite the internal divisions, the celebrations still play a key role in reinforcing loyalist identity. Mr. Dougherty noted that the bands in particular have created a positive space for young people.

Most ***working class*** loyalist estates have a marching band that tends to attract some of the most marginalized, disenfranchised young people, he said, especially young men who may otherwise turn to paramilitaries. Two decades ago, the bands themselves were sometimes magnets for loyalist paramilitaries, ''but that mentality has changed,'' Mr. Dougherty said.

''It's about time we had a more honest reflection what parading means and what the positivity can bring, particularly to disenfranchised young people,'' he said, adding that there was broad community work being done, including relationships being built with Catholics. ''It's a really important message, that we get away from the binary politics of green and orange. There's a lot of nuances in between.''

Julie Porter, 27, who marched in Derry on Monday, has played flute in the band for 12 years and sees it as a way to celebrate traditions and build self-confidence.

For those who grow up in ***working class*** areas, she said, ''there is not a lot for you to do,'' and the bands offered an alternative, particularly for young men.

''And actually a band gives a different form of leadership and can take them off that path and onto a better one,'' she said.

In the port city of Larne, two towering bonfires made of wooden pallets were stacked in looming tiers and drew large crowds on Sunday night in the neighboring Craigyhill and Antiville estates before they were set alight just after midnight.

Paramilitary groups have increasingly played a role in building the pyres at these particular bonfires that once had been mostly created by the community, locals said. Flags celebrating local militias flew at the Craigyhill estate on Sunday night and a brigade boss was pictured posing atop the pile.

But many say the bonfires are merely a celebration, and a long overdue reunion with neighbors and friends after a year of pandemic restrictions.

Families shared drinks in front yards under Union Jack banners as two children ran by with flags tied around the shoulders. A little girl turned cartwheels in the glow of the fire. The crowd cheered as a pile of pallets teetered steeply and collapsed into a pile of flames, throwing ash skyward. But the ongoing controversy about the Northern Ireland protocol has also exposed deep divisions within unionist communities.

''I wanted Brexit, but we didn't vote for the Northern Ireland protocol,'' said Ruth Nelson, 41, who was visiting her sister in the Antiville estate in Larne for the bonfire. ''England screwed us again.''

She said she feels forgotten, by London and by local unionist politicians. Unionism in Northern Ireland is reaching a crisis point, experts and members of the community say, as Brexit widens divisions within the movement.

Many unionists feel the British government betrayed and misled them, Professor Hayward said.

''They depend on the British government at the same time as not trusting them,'' she said. ''The lessons of history suggests that they're wise to be cautious, and I think it's fair to suggest they will be let down again.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/14/pageoneplus/14rex1.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/14/pageoneplus/14rex1.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: An Orange parade along the walls of the City of Derry, Northern Ireland, on Monday. That day marks a commemoration of a centuries-old victory of a Protestant king over a Catholic one.

A future bonfire being built in Belfast, Northern Ireland, last week, above, and another one burning in the town of Larne on Monday, right.

The season for marches and bonfires comes at a time of discontent over Brexit and divisions within the largely Protestant unionist community.

Loyalists prepare to march in Derry, also known as Londonderry, in Northern Ireland on Monday.

**Load-Date:** July 14, 2021

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[***Body Language***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67J0-3DB1-DXY4-X067-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Length:** 3355 words

**Byline:** By Joshua Hunt

**Body**

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On the last Friday in November, in the afterglow of a literary awards ceremony, the novelist Mieko Kawakami held court in a banquet hall at the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo, wearing a tweed Gucci dress, clutching an Hermès Birkin handbag and sipping a glass of domestic beer she would never quite finish. Each time she raised the drink to her lips, another writer, editor or publicist came along to distract her from it. Kawakami, who is 46, greeted them each with a degree of warmth that made it hard to tell which were strangers and which were her friends. ''I'm a graduate of hostess university,'' she said, recalling her years spent working at a bar where she kept men company as they drank. More than two decades later, the skills she honed in the boozy, neon-lit back alleys of Osaka -- the ability to observe and to listen with acute curiosity -- are still apparent in her best-selling novels. ''You can see where that sensitivity arises from in her work,'' the translator David Boyd told me. ''She sees all the angles.''

The awards ceremony was hosted by Shueisha, a major Japanese publishing house that recruited Kawakami as a judge, confirming her as an arbiter of taste. ''One of the reasons my boss pleaded and pleaded for Kawakami-san to judge for our prize is because of her fame and her popularity among young Japanese writers,'' said Yuki Kishi, a literary editor at Shueisha. In the time since Kawakami acquiesced to that role, more women had submitted unpublished manuscripts for consideration, Kishi told me, and more of them took risks concerning voice and content. ''A lot of people look up to Kawakami-san's writing and her style and her energy and her buntai (literary style),'' Kishi said as we left the banquet hall. ''We want to be her.'' What Kawakami wants, however, is to confound expectations by writing books that are at times provocatively against type, as if to prove that there is no category that can contain her.

''I'm not an Olympic athlete,'' she told me. ''Literature doesn't represent anything.''

Kawakami first shot to fame in 2008 after winning the Akutagawa Prize, a prestigious award for early-career writers, for the novella ''Chichi to Ran.'' The novella, whose title translates to ''Breasts and Eggs,'' featured language as stylistically daring as James Joyce's: Kawakami deploys her native Osaka dialect and often packs six, seven or even eight commas into her frenzied, poetic sentences. The story unfolds over the course of three days when the narrator is visited by her older sister, Makiko, a 39-year-old bar hostess who has come from Osaka to Tokyo for a consultation at a breast-enhancement clinic. With Makiko is her daughter, Midoriko, whose diary entries break up the narrative with prepubescent anxieties over what she has learned about her body, and gender hierarchy, from middle-school health classes. ''How is it possible I knew about sperm first?'' Midoriko wonders after learning that women have ova, which she compares to the eggs she's been eating her whole life. ''That doesn't seem fair.''

In Kawakami's books, characters are alienated from society and themselves. They struggle with physical imperfection and poverty, wrestle with the moral dimension of wanting to change themselves and their circumstances. Often they surrender their inner lives to preoccupations with social norms. Their bodies dissatisfy and disconcert them: Seemingly wary of younger women threatening her position at the bar, Makiko wants the youthful breasts she had before childbirth; Midoriko is aghast at the idea of breast-enhancement surgery, which amplifies her fears that her body will no longer be her own after puberty. For the narrator, talk of surgery revives the sense that her ''monolithic expectation of what a woman's body was supposed to look like had no bearing on what actually happened to my body.'' There is a spectral quality to the patriarchal forces haunting these women. We hear little about the men in ''Breasts and Eggs,'' but misogynist thought persists. A girlfriend from school, not a male bully, tells Midoriko that ''when a woman dies, she can't become a Buddha ... basically, to become a Buddha, you have to be reborn as a man first.''

''Chichi to Ran'' made its author an overnight sensation and a feminist icon. In a promotional photograph advertising the book, she looked like a pop star, dressed in heels and a short skirt while leaning against a concrete pillar in a parking garage. Her account of contemporary poverty and womanhood resonated deeply in Japan, where single mothers and divorced women are still ostracized, maternity leave is virtually nonexistent and most married women can't have an abortion without permission from their husbands. In this social context, the book took on a political significance similar to that of Eve Ensler's 1996 play ''The Vagina Monologues'' in the United States. It was scorned by conservative establishment figures for daring to make protagonists out of the kind of women typically cast as cautionary tales. Among its detractors was Shintaro Ishihara, a politician and fellow winner of the Akutagawa Prize, whose obsession with improving Japan's economy by reversing its declining birthrate led him to remark, while serving as governor of Tokyo, that it was ''useless'' for women to go on living beyond menopause; unsurprisingly, he derided the book as ''unpleasant and intolerable.''

In the decade that followed, Kawakami wrote several more novels, including ''Heaven'' in 2009 and ''All the Lovers in the Night'' in 2011. Each was a departure from the last, but however varied in style or substance Kawakami's books are, they share a commitment to realism that will be unfamiliar to many casual readers of contemporary Japanese literature in translation. For nearly three decades, its chief emissary abroad has been Haruki Murakami, whose American influences and penchant for late-20th-century nostalgia and magical realism obscure whatever genuine insights he might offer foreign readers about life in Japan today. The middle-class malaise of Murakami's protagonists, who are more likely to speak with cats than to have uncomfortable conversations about late rent with their landlord's wife, is largely absent from Kawakami's work. That she has found success abroad through novels that look squarely at the times she is living through, with an emphasis on gender and class, suggests that Western readers may once more be ready for contemporary Japanese fiction that embraces the magic of realism itself.

In 2015, after the powerful literary agent Amanda Urban reached out to Kawakami about introducing her works to American readers, she decided that they should first meet the characters from her award-winning novella. Instead of merely translating it, though, she used the book as a foundation for something new. Called ''Natsu Monogatari'' in Japan, and ''Breasts and Eggs'' in the rest of the world, the novel included a retelling of the original novella followed by new material that catches up with its narrator, a novelist named Natsuko, as she approaches middle age and fixates on the idea of artificial insemination as a means of motherhood without sex or romance. ''I put everything I had into 'Breasts and Eggs,''' Kawakami told me. ''I put everything I felt into it. But after 10 years, I knew that there was room to build on its philosophy of feminism, and I better understood the changes that women's bodies go through.'' Above all, she better understood motherhood, having had a son in the intervening years. The expanded book was published by Europa Editions in the United States in early 2020 and became one of the most-talked-about books of the summer: The actress Natalie Portman recommended it for her book club, and the Italian author Elena Ferrante included it in a list of her favorite 40 books by female authors.

The following year brought an English translation of ''Heaven,'' her novel of friendship and teenage bullying, which was shortlisted for the International Booker Prize in 2022. Next came a translation of ''All the Lovers in the Night,'' which was recently named a finalist for the 2023 National Book Critics Circle Award for fiction. These honors have cemented Kawakami's status as an international literary star, while the books themselves showed her talent for reinvention. Structurally and stylistically, ''Heaven'' was a complete departure from ''Breasts and Eggs,'' with an unmistakably allegorical quality that made it feel timeless. ''Heaven'' also happens to be Kawakami's only novel with a male protagonist, called Eyes, because of the lazy eye that makes him a target of brutal bullying at his middle school. This, she said, was a deliberate provocation.

''I got tired of being called a feminist author,'' Kawakami told me.

I first met Kawakami last September at a cafe near her Tokyo office. She was waiting at a table on the second floor, dressed in Gucci pants and a beige long-sleeved blouse, watching the onset of a late-summer rainstorm through a long row of windows. The scene brought to mind the opening line from ''Breasts and Eggs'': ''If you want to know how poor somebody was growing up, ask them how many windows they had.''

There were few windows in the danchi -- a kind of public-housing block -- apartment where Kawakami grew up in Osaka. She and her two siblings were raised by an impoverished single mother who worked at a grocery store. Like so many of the characters in her novels, who are variably haunted by and ambivalent about the absence of their fathers, Kawakami has what she calls a ''complicated'' relationship with her dad. To help support her family, she lied about her age, starting around 14, so that she could be hired as a part-time worker at a Panasonic factory. ''In the summer, I made fans, and in the winter, I made heaters,'' she told me. ''Even now, I sometimes see that factory when I close my eyes at night.''

When her younger brother showed talent as a rugby player and had the opportunity to attend university, Kawakami took a job at a hostess bar to help pay for his education. Working at an upscale club, Kawakami poured drinks for lonely salarymen and other customers. It was far from the worst job she ever had, and far from the more lurid hostess bars that appear in her stories. But the experience clung to her in ways that other jobs did not and remains a recurring theme in her writing -- a setting she returns to again and again, as if sketching a scene from memory and hoping it might reveal some new truth. In her 20s, Kawakami left Osaka to pursue a singing career in Tokyo, where she recorded three albums that sold poorly. She started posting poems and essays on the personal blog that she had started with the intention of promoting her stalled career in music. ''Basically I was writing about everyday life,'' she told me. ''But now that I think about it, I was really experimenting with different writing styles.''

Among Kawakami's more surprising influences is the work of Haruki Murakami, who has praised her work as ''breathtaking'' and called her a ''genius'' and his favorite young author but has also been criticized for writing women as one-dimensional characters who can seem as though they exist for no reason beyond advancing the plot. For Kawakami, though, his novels provided a model for how to think about the individual. ''No parents, no family, no soporific preaching, none of the self-conscious struggles or triumphs so common in literature,'' she would later write in an essay. ''For me, bogged down by situations and circumstances I had never opted into, Murakami's individualism was shocking.''

This isn't to say that Kawakami does not differ from Murakami in terms of how she thinks about female characters. When he made himself available for a series of rare public appearances with Kawakami, including a 2017 Q. and A., she broached the obvious incongruity of their mutual admiration by telling him, ''It's common for my female friends to say to me, 'If you love Haruki Murakami's work so much, how do you justify his portrayal of women?''' Kawakami chose to highlight an example from his 2017 novel, ''Killing Commendatore,'' in which a woman introduces herself to the narrator by asking what he thinks of her breasts. Murakami responded by saying this was the woman's way of suggesting that she viewed the narrator as a kind of eunuch; for Kawakami, though, it seemed like a way of fashioning herself into a sexual object for no obvious reason or benefit.

It's hard not to feel that Kawakami is caught in the same kind of bind as one of her own characters -- forced to justify her interest in reading nonfeminist literature yet unable to shed her image as a feminist author, which she has called limiting. ''I would say that if in 100 years Mieko is remembered only for being a feminist author, she would look back on that and be pissed,'' Sam Bett, Boyd's co-translator, told me. Kawakami put it more gently: ''I want to be understood as a human writer.'' Her humanity shines through most vividly when she writes about class, a theme she returns to again and again. This is not so much an agenda as a function of how she sees the world, as if she is still a young girl wanting to see more of it than the windows of her danchi apartment will allow.

When I met her at the cafe, Kawakami had just finished work on ''Sisters in Yellow,'' a book that is as hard to categorize as anything she has written. Ostensibly a crime novel, it ''explores, from various perspectives, the relationship between facts and memories, victims and perpetrators,'' she said. Set in Tokyo at the outset of the coronavirus pandemic, it is her most contemporary novel, with four female characters who must contend with the consequences of what drove them apart two decades earlier. ''It's my version of 'The Makioka Sisters,''' Kawakami told me, referring to Junichiro Tanizaki's classic novel about four siblings in prewar Osaka struggling against the pull of modernity and the loss of prestige. Instead of World War II, though, it's economic malaise and the pandemic that pulls at the fabric of society in Kawakami's novel; instead of nostalgia for the rituals of the wealthy merchant class, its chief concerns are those rituals necessitated by poverty and deprivation. ''I was raised in the streets, so I know that there are some people who can only survive in the streets,'' Kawakami told me. ''I was interested in exploring what a 'Breaking Bad' kind of story might be like if it weren't such a macho drama.''

The result, according to Boyd, who has begun translating a revised version of ''Sisters in Yellow,'' is a remarkable book that ''stays doggedly focused on class,'' to an extent that is noteworthy even for Kawakami. In October, Knopf placed a major bet on Kawakami's ability to sell the reality of contemporary Japan to Americans who have grown accustomed to the more fantastic visions of Murakami's novels and Hayao Miyazaki's animated films. The following month, when I returned to Tokyo just before Thanksgiving, Kawakami told me the details of the six-way auction over coffee and reveled in every one of them, until I congratulated her on what I presumed was a very large paycheck. Wincing, she offered just three words, with her eyes downturned, as if in apology. ''Yes,'' she said. ''That's true.''

The comfortable life she has ended up with -- married to another successful novelist, with whom she shares a 10-year-old son and a modest home in Tokyo -- doesn't always fit as well as the designer dresses that disguise her ***working-class*** roots. Sitting across from her now, she had a poise that made it hard to imagine she had ever felt judged by society. But at the end of our interview, when I mentioned that I, too, was raised by a single mother, her posture toward me seemed to change. She prodded me -- where did my father go, she wondered -- and her pitiless curiosity about my life told me all I needed to know: People who have gone through similar hardships tend not to bother with false sympathy. As much as the good life suits her, I sensed a whiff of the shame that arises when climbing out of poverty forces you to look down on the people and places that shaped you. If anything made Kawakami uncomfortable, it seemed to be the idea that her hardest days were probably behind her.

Since flying to Tokyo in June, I'd been reading parts of ''Sisters in Yellow'' in The Yomiuri Shimbun, Japan's biggest daily newspaper, which paid for the exclusive rights to publish it in bite-size installments over the course of six months. It will be published by Knopf in 2025. What I read brought to mind the book that Natsuko works on in ''Breasts and Eggs'': a story about ''a teenage girl whose father belonged to a gang of yakuza'' and ''another girl the same age who was raised nearby, in a cult led by a group of women.''

Is it even possible for an author to steal her own character's idea for a book? I remembered what Bett had referred to as Kawakami's ''fearlessness when it comes to revisiting material, revisiting content, revisiting themes.'' It reminded him of Truman Capote's work. ''I think that Capote and Mieko -- I don't think either of them have any shame when it comes to going back to things,'' Bett told me. ''I think it's about having a real fascination with rubbing a sore spot.''

On the first day of December, when Kawakami and I met in her Tokyo neighborhood, she was carrying the finished manuscript in her oversize purse. She had been avoiding her office because someone recently died in the apartment directly above it. Kawakami said she had reason to suspect that it was a suicide. ''I don't believe in ghosts,'' she told me. ''But I keep hearing noises going on above me, and it seems too soon for someone else to have moved in.'' Instead of going to her office, we walked to a nearby ice-cream parlor.

''I don't have much interest in religion as a social phenomenon,'' Kawakami told me. ''I want to write about what faith means in Japan.'' Interest in such questions had exploded since the recent assassination of former Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, which was motivated by his ties to a fringe Christian sect that bankrupted the assassin's mother.

As with many Japanese people of her generation, her fascination dates back to March 1995, when members of the Aum Shinrikyo cult carried out sarin-gas attacks that killed 13 people on the Tokyo subway -- one of Murakami's few forays into nonfiction. Her interest, appropriately, is in what comes next: What kind of religion is possible for Japanese people in the shadow of Aum Shinrikyo? ''What I'm interested in, though, is finding some way of making a totally different kind of book from that material,'' she said. ''I feel like it's something I have to do.''

On that cold December afternoon, to avoid the ghosts she didn't believe in, we stood on the sidewalk across the street from her office building, eating our ice-cream cones while Kawakami made small talk with the shopkeeper. I thought of the strangeness of the moment, which I could imagine finding in a Murakami novel: a man and a woman, chased by ghosts to an ice-cream parlor. In this story, though, the woman is the protagonist, and the man exists for no reason beyond advancing the plot. I thought of all the other lives Kawakami had tried on before arriving at this moment and asked her what she thought she might be doing if she hadn't found success as a novelist.

''An old hostess,'' she said. Then, after laughing to herself, she reconsidered. ''Not a hostess. A madam.''

Joshua Hunt is a freelance writer based in Portland, Ore. He has previously worked as a Tokyo-based correspondent for Reuters and an adjunct assistant professor of journalism at Columbia University. Osamu Yokonami is a photographer whose work focuses on identity and cultural homogeneity. His recent book of photography, ''After Children,'' features the subjects of his earlier work ''1000 Children'' in restaged portraits at a later age.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/07/magazine/mieko-kawakami.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/07/magazine/mieko-kawakami.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY OSAMU YOKONAMI) (MM37) This article appeared in print on page MM36, MM37, MM38, MM39, MM40.

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[***Best Sellers: Combined Print & E-Book Nonfiction: Sunday, December 13th 2020***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61SY-6GC1-JBG3-641W-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 13, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 505 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the December 13, 2020 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending November 28, 2020. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  |  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Combined Print & E-Book Nonfiction |
| This | Last | On |  |
| Week | Week | List |  |
| 1 | 1 | 2 | A PROMISED LAND, by Barack Obama. (Crown) In the first volume of his presidential memoirs, Barack Obama offers personal reflections on his formative years and pivotal moments through his first term. |
| 2 | 2 | 6 | GREENLIGHTS, by Matthew McConaughey. (Crown) The Academy Award-winning actor shares snippets from the diaries he kept over the last 35 years. |
| 3 | 3 | 2 | DOLLY PARTON, SONGTELLER, by Dolly Parton with Robert K. Oermann. (Chronicle) The country music icon offers insights on 175 of her songs. |
| 4 | 6 | 87 | BECOMING, by Michelle Obama. (Crown) The former first lady describes her journey from the South Side of Chicago to the White House, and how she balanced work, family and her husband?s political ascent. |
| 5 |  | 1 | MODERN WARRIORS, by Pete Hegseth. (Broadside) The Fox News host and former combat veteran interviews soldiers about the different kinds of battles they encountered. |
| 6 | 4 | 2 | NO TIME LIKE THE FUTURE, by Michael J. Fox. (Flatiron) The actor discusses the challenges he has faced with Parkinson?s disease and other setbacks that caused him to reassess his outlook. |
| 7 | 7 | 17 | CASTE, by Isabel Wilkerson. (Random House) The Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist examines aspects of caste systems across civilizations and reveals a rigid hierarchy in America today. |
| 8 |  | 1 | SAVING FREEDOM, by Joe Scarborough. (Harper) The MSNBC host and former congressman describes the struggles Harry Truman faced before and during his time as president. |
| 9 | 8 | 38 | UNTAMED, by Glennon Doyle. (Dial) The activist and public speaker describes her journey of listening to her inner voice. |
| 10 |  | 6 | IS THIS ANYTHING?, by Jerry Seinfeld. (Simon & Schuster) The comedian shares material he collected in an accordion folder over the last 45 years. |
| 11 | 15 | 6 | HUMANS, by Brandon Stanton. (St. Martin's) Photos and stories of people from over 40 countries collected by the creator of ?Humans of New York.? |
| 12 |  | 88 | HILLBILLY ELEGY, by J.D. Vance. (HarperCollins) A Yale Law School graduate looks at the struggles of the white ***working class*** through the story of his own childhood. |
| 13 | 9 | 6 | THE ANSWER IS ..., by Alex Trebek. (Simon & Schuster) A memoir by the host of the TV game show ?Jeopardy!,? from 1984 to 2020. |
| 14 | 14 | 9 | MY OWN WORDS, by Ruth Bader Ginsburg with Mary Hartnett and Wendy W. Williams. (Simon & Schuster) A collection of articles and speeches by the Supreme Court justice. |
| 15 | 12 | 3 | UNCOMFORTABLE CONVERSATIONS WITH A BLACK MAN, by Emmanuel Acho. (Flatiron) A look at some questions and concepts needed to address systemic racism. |

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[***Best Sellers: Combined Print & E-Book Nonfiction: Sunday, December 13th 2020***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61VF-1031-DXY4-X11W-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Load-Date:** January 25, 2021

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[***Giorgia Meloni May Lead Italy, and Europe Is Worried***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66CY-SNJ1-DXY4-X1JN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 15, 2022 Thursday 10:42 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1712 words

**Byline:** Jason Horowitz

**Highlight:** The hard-right leader has excoriated the European Union in the past, and she regularly blasts illegal immigration and George Soros. But she is closer than ever to becoming prime minister.

**Body**

The hard-right leader has excoriated the European Union in the past, and she regularly blasts illegal immigration and George Soros. But she is closer than ever to becoming prime minister.

CAGLIARI, Sardinia — Giorgia Meloni, the hard-right leader of a party descended from post-Fascist roots and the favorite to become Italy’s next prime minister after elections this month, is known for her rhetorical crescendos, thundering timbre and ferocious speeches slamming gay-rights lobbies, European bureaucrats and illegal migrants.

But she was suddenly soft-spoken when asked on a recent evening if she agreed, all caveats aside, with the historical consensus that the Fascist leader Benito Mussolini — whom she admired in her youth as a “good politician” — had been evil and bad for Italy.

“Yeah,” she said, almost inaudibly, between sips of an Aperol Spritz and drags on a thin cigarette during an interview in Sardinia, where she had completed another high-decibel political rally.

That simple syllable spoke volumes about Ms. Meloni’s campaign to reassure a global audience as she appears poised to become the first politician with a post-Fascist lineage to run Italy since the end of World War II.

Such a feat seemed unimaginable not so long ago, and to pull it off, Ms. Meloni — who would also make history as the first woman to lead Italy — is balancing on a high-stakes wire, persuading her hard-right base of “patriots” that she hasn’t changed, while seeking to convince international skeptics that she’s no extremist, that the past is past, not prologue, and that Italy’s mostly moderate voters trust her, so they should, too.

On Sept. 25, Italians will vote in national elections for the first time since 2018. In those years, three governments of wildly different political complexions came and went, the last a broad national unity government led by Mario Draghi, a technocrat who was the personification of pro-European stability.

Ms. Meloni led the only major party, the Brothers of Italy, to stay outside that unity government, allowing her to vacuum up the opposition vote. Her support in polls steadily expanded from 4 percent in 2018 to 25 percent in a country where even moderate voters have grown numb to Fascist-Communist name calling, but remain enthusiastic about new, and potentially providential, leaders.

Ms. Meloni said her skyrocketing popularity did not mean the country had “moved to the extremes,” but that it had simply grown more comfortable with her and confident in her viability, even as she has tried to reposition herself closer to the European mainstream.

Ms. Meloni, whose campaign slogan is “Ready,” has become a staunch supporter of NATO and Ukraine, and says she backs the European Union and the euro.

Global markets and the European establishment remain wary. “I fear the social and moral agenda of the right wing,” Frans Timmermans, the European Commission’s vice president, said recently about the threat Ms. Meloni’s coalition posed to E.U. values. As recently as [*last month*](https://www.secoloditalia.it/2022/05/migranti-questanno-ne-sono-gia-sbarcati-quasi-11mila-meloni-blocco-navale-unica-soluzione-video/), she called for a naval blockade against migrants. She has depicted the European Union as an accomplice to “[*the project of ethnic replacement of Europe’s citizens desired by the great capitals and international speculators*](https://www.giorgiameloni.it/2017/02/03/ue-complice-invasione-europa-progetto-sostituzione-etnica-mogherini-si-dimetta/).”

She has in the past characterized the euro as the “wrong currency” and gushed with support for Viktor Orban of Hungary, Marine Le Pen of France and the illiberal democracies in Eastern Europe. She excoriated “Brussels bureaucrats” and “emissaries” of George Soros, a favorite boogeyman of the nationalist right and conspiracy theorists depicting a world run by Jewish internationalist financiers.

There remains concern that, once in power, Ms. Meloni would toss off her pro-European sheep’s wool and reveal her nationalist fangs — reverting to protectionism, caving in to her Putin-adoring coalition partners, rolling back gay rights and eroding liberal E.U. norms.

International investors and global leaders are wrong to be “afraid,” said Ms. Meloni, who is as affable and easygoing in private as she is vitriolic in public. Even in the midst of a heated campaign, she refused to take the bait from a desperate leader of the divided Italian left, who sounded “the alarm for Italian democracy.”

“They’ll accuse me of being a Fascist my whole life,” Ms. Meloni said. “But I don’t care because in any case the Italians don’t believe anymore in this garbage.”

She is delivering rations of red meat to her base (mass immigration is “an instrument in the hands of big great powers” to weaken workers, she growled in Cagliari) and is trying to mend fractures with the other right-wing leaders she is running with in a coalition.

Her chief ally, Matteo Salvini, became the darling of the hard right in 2018 when he pivoted his once-secessionist northern-based League party into a nationalist force. But Ms. Meloni said those hard-right voters “came back home, because I am of that culture, so no one can do it better than I can.”

Even so, Mr. Salvini is already creating problems for Ms. Meloni by urging a reconsideration of sanctions against Russia.

Ms. Meloni acknowledged that her other coalition partner, Silvio Berlusconi, the former prime minister who famously named a bed after President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia, had put her “in difficulty as a woman” during his Bunga Bunga sex scandals with young women, when she was herself a young woman in his government.

Neither of her partners, she suspects, wants a woman in charge.

“I would like to say, ‘No, it’s not a problem that I’m a woman,’” Ms. Meloni said. “But I’m no more sure about that.”

But when it comes to being a woman in politics, Ms. Meloni has leaned in. Her veneer of Roman-accented authenticity and her escalating and incensed style have become a part of the Italian political, and pop, landscape.

In 2019, her hard-line defense of the traditional family, and against L.G.B.T.Q. marriage and adoption — while herself being an unwed mother — prompted D.J.s to mockingly put one of her furious refrains, “I am Giorgia, I am a woman, I am a mother, I am Italian, I am Christian,” to a beat. It went viral. Ms. Meloni used it as a calling card. She titled her best-selling book “I am Giorgia.”

Ms. Meloni grew up without her father, who when she was a toddler set sail for the Canary Islands, where she learned Spanish on summer visits. After a fire that she and her older sister accidentally started, her mother, who at one point wrote romance novels to make ends meet, moved the family into the ***working class*** and left-leaning Garbatella neighborhood of Rome.

Ms. Meloni was overweight and introverted, but as a 15-year-old fan of fantasy books (and Michael Jackson, from whom she said she learned her good English) found what she has called a second family in the hard-right Youth Front of the post-Fascist Italian Social Movement.

She considered herself a soldier in Rome’s perpetual, often violent and sometimes fatal ideological wars between Communist and post-Fascist extremists, where everything from soccer games to high schools was politicized. Her party leader went to Israel to renounce the crimes of Fascism at the same time as she was rising quickly, later becoming the republic’s youngest-ever minister.

But as populism swept Italy in the last decade, Ms. Meloni adopted harsher tones and created the hard right’s latest iteration, the Brothers of Italy. She said she resented its members’ being depicted as “nostalgic imbeciles,” because she had worked hard to purge Fascists and build a new history.

Like Mr. Salvini, she turned her social media accounts into populist pasta on the wall as she desperately sought traction. In the town of Vinci she accused the French of trying to claim Leonardo da Vinci as one of their own. She went to a grappa distillery to call the president then of the E.U., Jean-Claude Juncker, a drunk. She warned about an “empire” of “invaders” consisting of President Emmanuel Macron of France, Angela Merkel of Germany, Mr. Soros and Wall Street.

At her annual political conference in 2018, she hosted Stephen K. Bannon and said that she supported his effort “to build a network that goes beyond the European borders,” and that “I look with interest at the phenomenon of Donald Trump” and at the “phenomenon of Putin in Russia.” She added, “And so the bigger the network gets, the happier I am.”

But on the threshold of running Italy, Ms. Meloni has pivoted. After years of fawning over Ms. Le Pen, she is suddenly distancing herself. (“I haven’t got relations with her,” she said.) Same for Mr. Orban. (“I didn’t agree with some positions he had about Ukrainian war.”) She now calls Mr. Putin an anti-Western aggressor and said she would “totally” continue to send offensive arms to Ukraine.

But critics say she revealed her true self during a recent [*speech at a conference supporting*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jMad7nLO3OM) Spain’s hard-right Vox party. “There is no possible mediation. Yes to the natural family. No to the L.G.B.T. lobbies,” she bellowed in Spanish. “No to the violence of Islam, yes to safer borders, no to mass immigration, yes to work for our people. No to major international finance.”

“The tone, that was very wrong,” she said in the interview. “But it happens to me when I’m very tired,” she said, adding that her passionate delivery “becomes hysteric.”

There are things she won’t give up on, including the tricolor flame she inherited as her party symbol. Many historians say it evokes the flickers over the tomb of Mussolini.

The flame, she has said, has “nothing to do with fascism but is a recognition of the journey made by the democratic right in our Republican history.”

“Don’t extinguish the flame, Giorgia,” a supporter shouted as Ms. Meloni commanded the stage in Cagliari, where she reserved her sharpest invective for leftist attacks that she said tried to depict her as “a monster.”

“They don’t scare me,” she screamed above chants of “Giorgia, Giorgia, Giorgia.” “They don’t scare me.”

PHOTOS: Giorgia Meloni, center, would be the first woman to lead Italy. Frans Timmermans, vice president of the European Commission, said, “I fear the social and moral agenda of the right wing.”; A rally for the Brothers of Italy political party this month. Ms. Meloni’s support in the polls has steadily increased. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY GIANNI CIPRIANO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 16, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction: Sunday, December 13th 2020***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61SY-6GC1-JBG3-641X-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 13, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 502 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the December 13, 2020 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending November 28, 2020. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  |  |  |
|  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction |
| This | On |  |
| Week | List |  |
| 1 | 19 | MY OWN WORDS, by Ruth Bader Ginsburg with Mary Hartnett and Wendy W. Williams. (Simon & Schuster) A collection of articles and speeches by the Supreme Court justice. |
| 2 | 56 | HILLBILLY ELEGY, by J.D. Vance. (Harper) A Yale Law School graduate looks at the struggles of the white ***working class*** through the story of his own childhood. |
| 3 | 110 | THE BODY KEEPS THE SCORE, by Bessel van der Kolk. (Penguin) How trauma affects the body and mind, and innovative treatments for recovery. |
| 4 | 10 | THE TRUTHS WE HOLD, by Kamala Harris. (Penguin) A memoir by the daughter of immigrants who is now the vice president-elect. |
| 5 | 33 | BRAIDING SWEETGRASS, by Robin Wall Kimmerer. (Milkweed Editions) A botanist and member of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation espouses having an understanding and appreciation of plants and animals. |
| 6 | 117 | WHITE FRAGILITY, by Robin DiAngelo. (Beacon) Historical and cultural analyses on what causes defensive moves by white people and how this inhibits cross-racial dialogue. |
| 7 | 48 | THE WARMTH OF OTHER SUNS, by Isabel Wilkerson. (Vintage) An account of the Great Migration of 1915-70, in which six million African-Americans abandoned the South. |
| 8 | 120 | SAPIENS, by Yuval Noah Harari. (Harper Perennial) How Homo sapiens became Earth?s dominant species. |
| 9 | 7 | WHAT UNITES US, by Dan Rather and Elliot Kirschner. (Algonquin) A collection of essays that define the historical changes and essential institutions of America to suggest ways to overcome divisions within the country. |
| 10 | 94 | BORN A CRIME, by Trevor Noah. (One World) A memoir about growing up biracial in apartheid South Africa by the host of ?The Daily Show.? |
| 11 | 6 | SHADE, by Pete Souza. (Voracious/Little, Brown) The former White House photographer juxtaposes pictures of former President Obama with tweets, headlines and quotes from the Trump administration. |
| 12 | 31 | THE COLOR OF LAW, by Richard Rothstein. (Liveright) A case for how the American government abetted racial segregation in metropolitan areas across the country. |
| 13 | 9 | LEAD FROM THE OUTSIDE, by Stacey Abrams. (Picador) A memoir by the former minority leader of the Georgia House of Representatives who ran to be the state?s governor in 2018. |
| 14 | 213 | THE NEW JIM CROW, by Michelle Alexander. (New Press) A law professor on the ?war on drugs? and its role in the disproportionate incarceration of Black men. |
| 15 | 254 | THINKING, FAST AND SLOW, by Daniel Kahneman. (Farrar, Straus & Giroux) When we can and cannot trust our intuitions in making business and personal decisions. |

**Load-Date:** January 18, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Australia’s New Leader Faces Peril of Winning as ‘Not the Other Guy’; news analysis***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65H2-6RS1-DXY4-X2H8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 21, 2022 Saturday 23:47 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; australia

**Length:** 1397 words

**Byline:** Damien Cave

**Highlight:** Like Biden before him, Anthony Albanese enters office more on the back of disgust at the conservative incumbent than enthusiasm for his leadership.

**Body**

Like Biden before him, Anthony Albanese enters office more on the back of disgust at the conservative incumbent than enthusiasm for his leadership.

SYDNEY, Australia — The incumbent prime minister, Scott Morrison, pushed Australia to the right and called himself “a bit of a bulldozer.” His Labor challenger, Anthony Albanese, ran as a modest Mr. Fix-It, promising to seek “renewal, not revolution.”

In the end, moderation triumphed. Mr. Albanese won Saturday’s election with a campaign that was gaffe-prone and light on policy but promised a more decent form of politics, delivering a stark rejection of Mr. Morrison after nearly a decade of conservative leadership in Australia.

It was a combination that carried powerful echoes of President Biden’s victory a year and a half ago. Both Mr. Albanese and Mr. Biden are political lifers, ***working-class*** battlers with decades of experience in government and reputations for pragmatic compromise.

But they also both face the problem of how they won. Disgust with an incumbent put them into office. Governing, and staying in power, requires rallying enthusiasm from a fickle public.

“It’s a question of whether he can be a galvanizing leader,” said Paul Strangio, a politics professor at Monash University in Melbourne. “Whether he can learn on the job.”

In a reflection of Australia’s broader mood of discontent, voters did not just grant Labor a clear victory. They delivered a larger share of their support to minor parties and independents who ran against the political status quo, with a surge of grass-roots enthusiasm for candidates demanding more action on climate change and greater accountability in government.

In Sydney, Allegra Spender, an independent, was projected to defeat Dave Sharma, a moderate from the conservative Liberal Party. In Melbourne, the current treasurer, Josh Frydenberg, who has often been mentioned as a future prime minister, was projected to lose to another independent, Monique Ryan, a pediatrician, while Zoe Daniel, an independent and a former journalist, also won in the city’s bayside suburbs.

“What this says is that community can make a difference,” Ms. Daniel said at a victory party on Saturday night.

“Climate, integrity, equality,” she added. “We now have a chance to actually make a difference.”

In addition to the victories by independents, minor parties — from the Greens on the left to the United Australia Party on the right — also made gains, delivering what analysts described as a “tipping point” in a country that has been gradually moving away from major party dominance.

“Voters have sent the major parties the message that their support can’t be guaranteed,” said Jill Sheppard, a politics professor at the Australian National University.

“It’s really a massive shift,” she added. “And it’s one we don’t really have our heads around yet.”

For Mr. Albanese, who has spent his entire career in Labor Party politics, including 23 years in Parliament, this sea change presents an unexpected challenge.

Contrasting his approach with the pugnacious style of Mr. Morrison — who led a government that passed little memorable legislation but successfully managed the early months of the pandemic — Mr. Albanese ran a “small target” campaign.

He proposed incremental reforms, including a promise to increase the minimum wage and provide more support for health care, nursing homes and child care. Mostly, though, he focused on altering the tone and style of leadership.

“I want to change politics,” he said after voting on Saturday in the Sydney neighborhood where he grew up. “I want to change the way it operates.”

Without a grand and well-defined vision already sold to the electorate, some analysts said it would be more difficult for Mr. Albanese to make rapid progress on his agenda.

“It doesn’t make it impossible, but governments need momentum,” said Tim Soutphommasane, a politics professor at the University of Sydney.

Some of the issues voters want addressed are unsurprising. The cost of living is rising. Businesses are struggling with labor shortages and wondering when the usual flows of skilled migrant workers will return. The pandemic has revealed gaps in health care and nursing homes.

Bigger questions — about how to bring light to a political system awash in dark money, or how to build a less racist, more equal society, or how to counter a more ambitious and belligerent China — were largely sidestepped by both Labor and its opponents in the campaign.

“It’s been a very mundane election campaign, but that doesn’t deny the fact that there is still a global pandemic and a war and shifting global power dynamics in the Indo-Pacific,” said Professor Sheppard, of the Australian National University.

Mr. Albanese, 59, does arrive with a reputation for building consensus, and for nodding toward colleagues in his cabinet on issues in which they have greater expertise. During the campaign, Penny Wong, who will serve as foreign minister, announced Labor’s plans to expand aid and diplomatic ties to Southeast Asia in an effort to counter Chinese influence.

“He’s got an experienced and pretty talented frontbench, so I expect he will govern in a very collegial way,” said Professor Strangio, of Monash University.

“The general view is he’s workmanlike,” he added. “He’s not exceptional. But maybe that’s the sort of leader we need — workmanlike, incremental change, dogged, doesn’t think he’s the smartest man in the room at all times. Maybe it’s the kind of government that would suit Australia’s circumstances.”

In the best of times, Australians tend to see their government as a service provider more than a battleground for ideology. Now, with the pressures from the pandemic and the geopolitical fallout of the Ukraine war, they are even more eager to see policies that produce tangible results, and they are less convinced that traditional party politics can do the job.

“We have these antiquated parties that are male-dominated,” said Roslyn Lunsford, 74, a voter in Western Sydney on Saturday. “It’s the same old, same old — we need a broom to go through.”

As if he could sense the need for a bolder policy statement, Mr. Albanese opened his acceptance speech Saturday night with a promise to support the Uluru Statement From the Heart, a call from Indigenous Australians to establish a formal role for Australia’s First Nations people in the Constitution. It was issued in 2017 — and rejected by the conservative coalition.

Similarly, Mr. Albanese pledged to make equal opportunity for women a national priority, to end Australia’s “climate wars,” which have held back pledges for emissions cuts, and to make the country a renewable energy superpower.

Recognizing increased concern about integrity in government and oversight of public spending, Mr. Albanese also promised to quickly pass legislation to create a federal anticorruption commission, following through on an unfulfilled promise from Mr. Morrison in the last election.

“Tomorrow we begin the work of building a better future,” he said. “A better future for all Australians.”

To get it done, he now has to persuade a more fractured and more demanding country to believe in him and stick with him, at a time when it is cautiously emerging from two years of Covid isolation, with a surge of coronavirus cases, rising inflation and growing government debt all fueling anxiety.

At the same time, China’s regional ambitions have become more threatening, with a new [*security agreement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/20/world/australia/china-solomon-islands-security-pact.html) in the Solomon Islands. And the raging bush fires of 2020 have given way to extreme flooding — a relentless reminder of the country’s vulnerability to climate change, even as it remains the world’s largest exporter of coal.

The challenges are colossal. The opposition from a more conservative Liberal Party promises to be fierce. And many analysts note that Mr. Albanese lacks the charisma of prior Labor leaders who won elections and moved the country in a new direction.

“It usually takes excitement and a bit of dazzle in a Labor leader to change the government,” said James Curran, a historian at the University of Sydney. “Albanese upsets that historic apple cart.”

Victoria Kim contributed reporting from Sydney, Natasha Frost from Melbourne and Yan Zhuang from Cessnock, Australia.

PHOTO: Anthony Albanese, center, won as a Labor challenger to Australia’s conservative incumbent. (PHOTOGRAPH BY WENDELL TEODORO/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** May 22, 2022

**End of Document**



[***In France, a Racist Conspiracy Theory Edges Into the Mainstream***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64ST-61N1-JBG3-60K1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 15, 2022 Tuesday 10:36 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1011 words

**Byline:** Norimitsu Onishi

**Highlight:** Valérie Pécresse, the center-right presidential candidate, used the phrase ‘great replacement’ in a speech punctuated with coded attacks on immigrants and Muslims.

**Body**

Valérie Pécresse, the center-right presidential candidate, used the phrase ‘great replacement’ in a speech punctuated with coded attacks on immigrants and Muslims.

PARIS — Until a couple of years ago, the “[*great replacement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/20/world/europe/renaud-camus-great-replacement.html)” — a racist conspiracy theory that white Christian populations are being intentionally replaced by nonwhite immigrants — was so toxic in France that even Marine Le Pen, the longtime leader of the country’s far right, pointedly refused to use it.

But in a presidential race that has widened the boundaries of political acceptability in France, [*Valérie Pécresse*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/18/world/europe/france-valerie-pecresse-republicans.html), the candidate of the mainstream center-right party in the coming election, used the phrase over the weekend in a speech punctuated with coded attacks against immigrants and Muslims.

The use of the slogan — in what had been billed as the most important speech so far by Ms. Pécresse, a top rival of President Emmanuel Macron — has fueled intense criticism from both her opponents as well as allies within her party. It also underscored France’s further shift to the right, especially among middle-class voters, and the overwhelming influence of right-wing ideas and candidates in this campaign, political experts said.

The “great replacement,” a conspiracy theory adopted by many white supremacists worldwide, has [*inspired mass killings*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/18/technology/replacement-theory.html) in the [*United States*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/07/us/el-paso-shooting-racism.html) and New Zealand.

[*Éric Zemmour*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/17/world/europe/zemmour-france-presidency-trump.html), a far-right author, [*television pundit*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/14/world/europe/france-cnews-fox-far-right.html) and now presidential candidate, was the leading figure to popularize the concept in France in the past decade — describing it as a civilizational threat against the country and the rest of Europe.

In a [*75-minute speech*](https://www.bfmtv.com/politique/elections/presidentielle/le-discours-de-valerie-pecresse-au-zenith-de-paris-en-integralite_VN-202202130236.html) before 7,000 supporters in Paris — intended to introduce Ms. Pécresse, 54, the current leader of the Paris region and a former national minister of the budget and then higher education, to voters nationwide — Ms. Pécresse adopted Mr. Zemmour’s themes, saying the election would determine whether France is a “a united nation or a divided nation.”

She said that France was not doomed to the “great replacement” and called on her supporters “to rise up.” In the same speech, she drew a distinction between “French of the heart” and “French of papers” — an expression used by the extreme right to point to naturalized citizens. Vowing not to let France be subjugated, she said of the symbol of France, “Marianne is not a veiled woman” — referring to the Muslim veil.

“By using the ‘great replacement,’ she gave it legitimacy and put the ideas of the extreme right at the heart of the debate of the presidential race,” said Philippe Corcuff, an expert on the far right who teaches at the Institute of Political Studies in Lyon. “When she talks of ‘French of papers,’ she’s saying that distinctions will be made between French people according to ethnic criteria. Her stigmatization of the Muslim veil is in the same logic of the extreme right.”

The use of a term once limited to the extreme right by Ms. Pécresse — who is the candidate of the Republicans, the party of former Presidents Nicolas Sarkozy and Jacques Chirac — marked a “Rubicon,” said Anne Hidalgo, the Socialist presidential candidate and current mayor of Paris.

But it also made uneasy people inside her own party, who still want to draw clear lines between it and the extreme right. Xavier Bertrand, a party heavyweight, said, “The great replacement, that’s not us,” according to [*French news media*](https://www.bfmtv.com/politique/elections/presidentielle/le-grand-remplacement-c-est-pas-nous-la-sortie-de-pecresse-fait-grincer-des-dents-a-droite_AN-202202140272.html).

[*Polls show*](https://www.ifop.com/presidentielle-2022/) Ms. Pécresse, Ms. Le Pen and Mr. Zemmour neck and neck for second place behind Mr. Macron in the first round of voting, scheduled for April 10. One of them would face off against Mr. Macron, who has also shifted to the right, especially in the past two years of his presidency, in the second round on April 24.

The sudden rise of Mr. Zemmour as a candidate has injected the “great replacement” and other explosive issues into the race, forcing other candidates on the right to fine-tune their positions at the risk of losing support to him.

Ms. Le Pen had expressly rejected the slogan, criticizing it as a conspiracy theory. While she has kept her distance from the term, her party’s president, Jordan Bardella, has started referring to it in recent months.

Facing criticism, Ms. Pécresse backpedaled a little, saying her use of the expression had been misconstrued.

But Nicolas Lebourg, a political scientist specializing in the right and far right, said that her use of the term simply reflected a political calculation: the center right’s traditional middle-class supporters have also shifted rightward in recent years.

“Since 2010, there’s been a significant hardening by upper-middle-class voters against immigration and Islam, but we hadn’t seen its political effects yet,” Mr. Lebourg said. “So what we’re experiencing now is a tipping over of part of the middle-class and upper middle-class.”

These voters are worried about issues like “wokisme” — the supposed contamination of France by “woke” American ideas on social justice that they see as overwrought political correctness.

“It’s middle-class voters who care about ‘wokisme,’ while Le Pen’s ***working-class*** supporters are completely uninterested in that,” Mr. Lebourg said.

The “great replacement” was conjured up by a French writer named Renaud Camus in 2010. In an [*interview*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/20/world/europe/renaud-camus-great-replacement.html) in 2019, Mr. Camus bemoaned the fact that leading politicians had rejected the slogan. The slogan and his embrace of the far right had turned him into a pariah in France’s literary and media circles, forcing him to publish his own books.

But in recent months, Mr. Camus has been invited back on television talk shows.

In an email exchange on Tuesday, he said, “I can only be delighted by the use of the expression, ‘great replacement,’ during this presidential campaign.”

Other campaign issues, like the pandemic and consumer purchasing power, were minor next to the reality described by the slogan, he said.

“The rest is of no importance by comparison,” he said.

PHOTO: In a speech, Valérie Pécresse, a mainstream center-right candidate, referred to the “great replacement,” a racist conspiracy theory. (PHOTOGRAPH BY FRANCOIS MORI/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

**Load-Date:** April 29, 2022

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[***Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction: Sunday, December 13th 2020***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61RF-8V41-JBG3-63FD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 13, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 502 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the December 13, 2020 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending November 28, 2020. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction |
| This | On |  |
| Week | List |  |
| 1 | 19 | MY OWN WORDS, by Ruth Bader Ginsburg with Mary Hartnett and Wendy W. Williams. (Simon & Schuster) A collection of articles and speeches by the Supreme Court justice. |
| 2 | 56 | HILLBILLY ELEGY, by J.D. Vance. (Harper) A Yale Law School graduate looks at the struggles of the white ***working class*** through the story of his own childhood. |
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| 15 | 254 | THINKING, FAST AND SLOW, by Daniel Kahneman. (Farrar, Straus & Giroux) When we can and cannot trust our intuitions in making business and personal decisions. |

**Load-Date:** January 11, 2021

**End of Document**



[***America Can Afford a World-Class Health System. Why Don’t We Have One?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YNF-H1N1-JBG3-654N-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 19, 2020 Sunday 12:20 EST

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**Section:** OPINION; sunday

**Length:** 1425 words

**Byline:** Anne Case and Angus Deaton

**Highlight:** Our system takes from the poor and ***working class*** to generate wealth for the already wealthy.

**Body**

Our system takes from the poor and ***working class*** to generate wealth for the already wealthy.

In March, Congress passed a coronavirus bill including $3.1 billion to develop and produce drugs and vaccines. The bipartisan consensus was unusual. Less unusual was the successful lobbying by pharmaceutical companies to weaken or kill provisions that addressed affordability — measures that could be [*used to control prices*](https://www.politico.com/news/2020/03/05/coronavirus-drug-industry-prices-122412) or invalidate patents for any new drugs.

The notion of price control is anathema to health care companies. It threatens their basic business model, in which the government grants them approvals and patents, pays whatever they ask, and works hand in hand with them as they [*deliver the worst health outcomes*](https://www.politico.com/news/2020/03/05/coronavirus-drug-industry-prices-122412) at the highest costs in the rich world.

The American health care industry is not good at promoting health, but it excels at taking money from all of us for its benefit. It is an engine of inequality.

Now is a difficult time to talk about the costs of health care. Doctors and nurses are risking their lives to fight the virus. We need more doctors and nurses. We need more beds, more ventilators and more protective equipment, and we need vaccines and drugs. High prices are not the best nor the only way to get drugs or vaccines that will win the war against the virus, but they can help.

Yet we cannot go on as we have been. America is a rich country that can afford a world-class health care system. We should be spending a lot of money on care and on new drugs. But we need to spend to save lives and reduce sickness, not on expensive, income-generating procedures that do little to improve health. Or worst of all, on enriching pharma companies that [*feed the opioid epidemic*](https://www.politico.com/news/2020/03/05/coronavirus-drug-industry-prices-122412).

The crisis will, inevitably, change health care in countless ways. The industry might emerge as a superhero of the war against Covid-19, like the Royal Air Force in the Battle of Britain during World War II. If so, it might become even more untouchable than before. Or it may be seen as a financial predator that leaves many thousands with unpayable bills for coronavirus care.

But the virus also provides an opportunity for systemic change. The United States spends more than any other nation on health care, and yet we have the lowest life expectancy among rich countries. And although perhaps no system can prepare for such an event, we were no better prepared for the pandemic than countries that spend far less.

The first step to reform is to change the way we think about the health care system. Many Americans think their health insurance is a gift from their employers — a “benefit” bestowed on lucky workers by benevolent corporations. It would be more accurate to think of employer-provided health insurance as a tax.

One way or another, everyone pays for health care. It accounts for about 18 percent of G.D.P. — [*nearly $11,000 per person*](https://www.politico.com/news/2020/03/05/coronavirus-drug-industry-prices-122412). Individuals directly pay about a quarter, the federal and state governments pay nearly half, and most of the rest is paid by employers.

In 2019, [*employer-based insurance plans cost*](https://www.politico.com/news/2020/03/05/coronavirus-drug-industry-prices-122412) an average of $21,000 for a family policy or $7,200 for a single person. This system requires companies to calculate whether a worker’s value to the company can cover both wages and benefits, a difficult test for less-skilled workers. Wages fall or employers shed or outsource these positions to companies with few benefits and fewer prospects for career advancement.

Rising health care costs account for much of the half-century decline in the earnings of men without a college degree, and contribute to the decline in the number of less-skilled jobs. Employer-based health insurance is a wrecking ball, destroying the labor market for less-educated workers and contributing to the rise in “[*deaths of despair*](https://www.politico.com/news/2020/03/05/coronavirus-drug-industry-prices-122412).”

Rising costs are an untenable burden on our government, too. States’ payments for Medicaid have risen from 20.5 percent of their spending in 2008 to [*28.9 percent in 2019*](https://www.politico.com/news/2020/03/05/coronavirus-drug-industry-prices-122412). To meet those rising costs, states have cut their financing for roads, bridges and state universities. Without those crucial investments, the path to success for many Americans is cut off. We face a looming [*trillion-dollar federal deficit*](https://www.politico.com/news/2020/03/05/coronavirus-drug-industry-prices-122412) caused almost entirely by the rising costs of Medicaid and Medicare, even without the recent coronavirus relief bill.

Every year, the United States spends[*$1 trillion*](https://www.politico.com/news/2020/03/05/coronavirus-drug-industry-prices-122412) more than is needed for high quality care. Of course, that waste is also someone’s income; executives at hospitals, medical device makers and pharmaceutical companies, and some physicians, are very well paid.

American doctors control access to their profession through [*a system*](https://www.politico.com/news/2020/03/05/coronavirus-drug-industry-prices-122412) that limits medical school admissions and the [*entry of doctors*](https://www.politico.com/news/2020/03/05/coronavirus-drug-industry-prices-122412) trained abroad — [*an imbalance that was clear even before the pandemic*](https://www.politico.com/news/2020/03/05/coronavirus-drug-industry-prices-122412). That keeps their numbers down and their salaries up. As of 2012, [*doctors were the largest single occupation in the top 1 percent*](https://www.politico.com/news/2020/03/05/coronavirus-drug-industry-prices-122412). The business model under which most doctors practice isn’t working; without the revenue from high-paid elective care, some hospitals are now resorting to [*furloughs and layoffs of doctors*](https://www.politico.com/news/2020/03/05/coronavirus-drug-industry-prices-122412) and nurses.

Hospitals, many of them classified as nonprofits, have consolidated, with monopolies over health care in many cities, and they have used that monopoly power to raise prices. Many Americans, even those with insurance, face bills that they cannot pay, or are hit with [*“surprise” medical bills*](https://www.politico.com/news/2020/03/05/coronavirus-drug-industry-prices-122412) charged by providers working at in-network hospitals who have opted not to accept insurance. Ambulance services and emergency departments that don’t accept insurance have become favorites of [*private equity*](https://www.politico.com/news/2020/03/05/coronavirus-drug-industry-prices-122412) investors because of their high profits. Medical device manufacturers have also consolidated, in some cases using a “[*catch and kill” strategy to swallow up nimbler*](https://www.politico.com/news/2020/03/05/coronavirus-drug-industry-prices-122412)start-ups and keep the prices of their products high.

These are all strategies that lawmakers and regulators could put a stop to, if they choose.

They choose not to. And so we Americans have too few doctors, too few beds and too few ventilators — but lots of income for providers. While millions suffer, our health care system has turned into an inequality machine, taking from the poor and ***working class*** to generate wealth for the already wealthy.

The health care industry has armored itself, employing five lobbyists for each elected member of Congress. But public anger has been building — over drug prices, co-payments, surprise medical bills — and now, over the fragility of our health care system, which has been laid bare by the pandemic. This anger could breach the protective cordon in Washington.

If it does, what will we get instead?

A single-payer system is just one possibility. There are many systems in wealthy countries to choose from, with and without insurance companies, with and without government-run hospitals. But all have two key characteristics: universal coverage — ideally from birth — and cost control.

Britain, for example, has the National Institute for Health and Care Excellence, which vets drugs, devices and procedures for their benefit relative to cost. The institute can sometimes delay the availability of good treatments, but it prevents the public system from spending money on expensive therapies of questionable value. It is designed to put the interests of patients ahead of providers.

In the United States, public funding is likely to play a significant role in any treatments or vaccines that are eventually developed for Covid-19. Americans should demand that they be available [*at a reasonable price to everyone*](https://www.politico.com/news/2020/03/05/coronavirus-drug-industry-prices-122412) — not in the sole interest of drug companies.

At the very least, America must stop financing health care through employer-based insurance, which encourages some people to work but it eliminates jobs for less-skilled workers. Employer-based health care is a particular nightmare in this pandemic. In recent weeks, millions have lost their paychecks and their insurance, and will have to face the virus without either.

We are believers in free-market capitalism, but health care is not something it can deliver in a socially tolerable way.

Anne Case and Angus Deaton, the 2015 Nobel laureate in economics, are professors at Princeton and the University of Southern California and the authors of “[*Deaths of Despair and the Future of Capitalism*](https://www.politico.com/news/2020/03/05/coronavirus-drug-industry-prices-122412).”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.politico.com/news/2020/03/05/coronavirus-drug-industry-prices-122412) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.politico.com/news/2020/03/05/coronavirus-drug-industry-prices-122412). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.politico.com/news/2020/03/05/coronavirus-drug-industry-prices-122412).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.politico.com/news/2020/03/05/coronavirus-drug-industry-prices-122412), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](https://www.politico.com/news/2020/03/05/coronavirus-drug-industry-prices-122412) and [*Instagram*](https://www.politico.com/news/2020/03/05/coronavirus-drug-industry-prices-122412).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 14, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Best Sellers: Combined Print & E-Book Nonfiction: Sunday, December 13th 2020***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61PD-4451-JBG3-64KX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 13, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 505 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the December 13, 2020 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending November 28, 2020. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  |  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Combined Print & E-Book Nonfiction |
| This | Last | On |  |
| Week | Week | List |  |
| 1 | 1 | 2 | A PROMISED LAND, by Barack Obama. (Crown) In the first volume of his presidential memoirs, Barack Obama offers personal reflections on his formative years and pivotal moments through his first term. |
| 2 | 2 | 6 | GREENLIGHTS, by Matthew McConaughey. (Crown) The Academy Award-winning actor shares snippets from the diaries he kept over the last 35 years. |
| 3 | 3 | 2 | DOLLY PARTON, SONGTELLER, by Dolly Parton with Robert K. Oermann. (Chronicle) The country music icon offers insights on 175 of her songs. |
| 4 | 6 | 87 | BECOMING, by Michelle Obama. (Crown) The former first lady describes her journey from the South Side of Chicago to the White House, and how she balanced work, family and her husband?s political ascent. |
| 5 |  | 1 | MODERN WARRIORS, by Pete Hegseth. (Broadside) The Fox News host and former combat veteran interviews soldiers about the different kinds of battles they encountered. |
| 6 | 4 | 2 | NO TIME LIKE THE FUTURE, by Michael J. Fox. (Flatiron) The actor discusses the challenges he has faced with Parkinson?s disease and other setbacks that caused him to reassess his outlook. |
| 7 | 7 | 17 | CASTE, by Isabel Wilkerson. (Random House) The Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist examines aspects of caste systems across civilizations and reveals a rigid hierarchy in America today. |
| 8 |  | 1 | SAVING FREEDOM, by Joe Scarborough. (Harper) The MSNBC host and former congressman describes the struggles Harry Truman faced before and during his time as president. |
| 9 | 8 | 38 | UNTAMED, by Glennon Doyle. (Dial) The activist and public speaker describes her journey of listening to her inner voice. |
| 10 |  | 6 | IS THIS ANYTHING?, by Jerry Seinfeld. (Simon & Schuster) The comedian shares material he collected in an accordion folder over the last 45 years. |
| 11 | 15 | 6 | HUMANS, by Brandon Stanton. (St. Martin's) Photos and stories of people from over 40 countries collected by the creator of ?Humans of New York.? |
| 12 |  | 88 | HILLBILLY ELEGY, by J.D. Vance. (HarperCollins) A Yale Law School graduate looks at the struggles of the white ***working class*** through the story of his own childhood. |
| 13 | 9 | 6 | THE ANSWER IS ..., by Alex Trebek. (Simon & Schuster) A memoir by the host of the TV game show ?Jeopardy!,? from 1984 to 2020. |
| 14 | 14 | 9 | MY OWN WORDS, by Ruth Bader Ginsburg with Mary Hartnett and Wendy W. Williams. (Simon & Schuster) A collection of articles and speeches by the Supreme Court justice. |
| 15 | 12 | 3 | UNCOMFORTABLE CONVERSATIONS WITH A BLACK MAN, by Emmanuel Acho. (Flatiron) A look at some questions and concepts needed to address systemic racism. |

**Load-Date:** January 6, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Contrary to Trump’s predictions, Democrats are poised to expand their House majority.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6159-4X31-JBG3-613F-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 27, 2020 Tuesday 00:03 EST

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**Section:** US; elections

**Length:** 459 words

**Byline:** Emily Cochrane and Catie Edmondson

**Highlight:** Buoyed by cash and President Trump’s low standing in battleground states, Democrats are poised to expand their advantage over Republicans in the House.

**Body**

Buoyed by cash and President Trump’s low standing in battleground states, Democrats are poised to expand their advantage over Republicans in the House.

Pushing further into Republican territory one week before Election Day, [*Democrats are poised to expand their majority in the House*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/27/us/politics/democrats-house-elections.html) while Republicans, weighed down by President Trump’s low standing in crucial battlegrounds, are scrambling to offset losses.

Bolstered by an enormous cash advantage, a series of critical Republican recruitment failures and a wave of liberal enthusiasm, Democrats have[*fortified their grip on hard-fought seats won in 2018*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/27/us/politics/democrats-house-elections.html) that allowed them to seize control of the House. They have trained their firepower and huge campaign coffers on once-solid Republican footholds in affluent suburban districts where voters have become disillusioned with Mr. Trump.

That has left Republicans, who started the cycle hoping to retake the House by clawing back a number of the competitive districts they lost in 2018, straining to meet a bleaker goal: limiting the reach of another Democratic sweep by winning largely rural, white ***working-class*** districts where Mr. Trump is still popular.

Depending on how successful those efforts are, Republican strategists, citing a national environment that has turned against them, privately forecast losing anywhere between a handful of seats to as many as 20.

That is starkly at odds with Mr. Trump’s own prediction just days ago that Republicans would win back control of the House, which Speaker Nancy Pelosi declared “delusional,” echoing the private assessments of many in the president’s own party.

Democrats currently outnumber Republicans in the House 232 to 197.

“The Democrats’ green wave in 2018 has turned into a green tsunami in 2020, which combined with ongoing struggles with college-educated suburban voters, makes for an extremely challenging environment,” said Corry Bliss, a Republican strategist who helped lead the party’s failed 2018 effort to protect its House majority, referring to the torrent of Democratic campaign cash.

“There are about a dozen 50-50 races across the country, and the most important factor in each is if the president can close strong in the final stretch.”

The terrain for House Republicans was not supposed to be this grim. But Mr. Trump’s stumbling response to the pandemic and inflammatory politics have alienated critical segments of the electorate, particularly suburban voters and women, dragging down congressional Republicans and[*opening inroads for Democrats in districts that once would have been unfathomable*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/27/us/politics/democrats-house-elections.html).

PHOTO: With Democrats poised to make gains in the House, Speaker Nancy Pelosi held a news conference on Capitol Hill.  (PHOTOGRAPH BY Pete Marovich for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 28, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Face Time With Eight Mayoral Candidates***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6257-5HP1-JBG3-64T6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 7, 2021 Sunday 21:55 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1244 words

**Byline:** Mara Gay

**Highlight:** Here’s what you need to know.

**Body**

Here’s what you need to know.

Running for mayor of New York City once involved, well, some running — from shaking hands on the Staten Island Ferry to schmoozing with donors at fund-raisers and awkwardly dancing in parades across the five boroughs. This year, the candidates have spent a lot of their time on Zoom. It’s been weird.

But the internet — in this case, Skype — is how I last talked with [*Kathryn Garcia*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/08/nyregion/kathryn-garcia-mayor-nyc.html), a wry, thoughtful former sanitation commissioner and candidate for mayor who deserves more attention than she has so far received in the race.

“Is it OK if I record this?” I asked. “I’ve never met a reporter who didn’t record me, so I’m fine with it,” she shot back with a smile. (It’s nice to see that at least some things remain unchanged.) What followed was a conversation that had me hoping more New Yorkers will come to know her name — and fearing that the limits of campaigning during a pandemic may be leaving voters ill-informed about the people who are vying to run their city.

Ms. Garcia isn’t the only candidate worthy of a closer look. With the pandemic still raging, public attention is focused on schools; masks; and, above all, the hope of a jab in the arm. For weary New Yorkers, the race for mayor can seem like an afterthought.

It isn’t only the pandemic that makes this year’s mayor’s race different. This year’s primaries are in June instead of September, as in years past. This will also be the first mayoral election in which New Yorkers use [*ranked choice voting*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/08/nyregion/kathryn-garcia-mayor-nyc.html) to cast their ballots. Paying attention now is all the more important since Primary Day is just a few months away, on June 22. Because Democrats outnumber Republicans nearly seven to one in the city, the winner of the primary is almost certain to become the city’s next mayor. Time is ticking.

The wide open field has been called lackluster. That’s not quite right. What the field lacks in star power it makes up for in formidable résumés and deeply experienced public servants.

Some of the top candidates are women. That’s exciting, since New York has never had a female mayor.

There’s Maya Wiley, a civil rights lawyer who served as counsel under Mayor Bill de Blasio, then led the city’s police oversight agency. Ms. Wiley, who until recently was a political analyst at MSNBC, is a deep policy thinker.

There’s Dianne Morales, a former nonprofit leader and former teacher who is wary of development and speaks passionately about the experiences and needs of ***working-class*** New Yorkers.

And there’s [*Ms. Garcia*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/08/nyregion/kathryn-garcia-mayor-nyc.html), who earned a reputation as a deft manager at the Sanitation Department and a bringer of accountability to the city’s troubled public housing authority.

Another experienced public servant in the race is Scott Stringer, the city’s comptroller, who has offered a series of clear, real plans for how to get New York back on its feet. In a city facing budget cuts and hard decisions, Mr. Stringer’s seasoned understanding of how to use government to help New Yorkers is an asset. He has a plan for nearly every problem and wouldn’t have to learn on the job.

Eric Adams, Brooklyn’s [*sometimes quirky*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/08/nyregion/kathryn-garcia-mayor-nyc.html) borough president, has also served as a state senator and a captain in the Police Department. Mr. Adams, who is Black and has spoken openly about having experienced abuse at the hands of the police, would undoubtedly bring a potent mix of life experiences to City Hall. “The Police Department is not going to play games with me,” Mr. Adams told me.

Shaun Donovan, the housing secretary and then a budget director in the Obama White House who had also served as a housing commissioner in the Bloomberg administration. He has a rich understanding of budgeting and how to build affordable housing, something this city desperately needs.

Also in the mix of New Yorkers is Ray McGuire, a former head of investment banking at Citigroup. He has impressive management experience and has promised to use his [*Wall Street acumen*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/08/nyregion/kathryn-garcia-mayor-nyc.html) to expand the city’s economy, create 500,000 jobs and build more housing. In candidate forums and interviews, Mr. McGuire displays a sober intensity, the kind it often takes to succeed at the highest levels if you are a Black man in America.

Then, of course, there is Andrew Yang, the enigmatic former presidential candidate and tech veteran who once served as chief executive of a test-prep company. Mr. Yang has sucked up an enormous amount of oxygen in the race so far. If he is elected, he would be the city’s first Asian-American mayor.

The lack of attention on the race might be one reason early [*polls*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/08/nyregion/kathryn-garcia-mayor-nyc.html) have Mr. Yang, who came into the race with high name recognition after his presidential bid, far ahead of his rivals.

It isn’t always clear what this front-runner has in store for New York or how well he knows the city — including [*where the A train begins and ends*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/08/nyregion/kathryn-garcia-mayor-nyc.html). But all the candidates have solid ideas that would make the city a better place to live.

Ms. Garcia wants to create “green belts,” expanding tree canopies, getting waste-spewing trucks off the road and making sidewalks safer, healthier, more relaxing places to spend time. Mr. Donovan wants to create a city of “15-minute neighborhoods,” in which every resident is within a 15-minute walk of public transit and parks, good schools, fresh food and health care.

Ms. Wiley has proposed a $10 billion capital plan she calls “New Deal New York,” with the goal of creating 100,000 new jobs. Mr. Adams wants to overhaul the food the city serves in schools, homeless shelters and jails.

Mr. Stringer wants to make child care free for the lowest-income New Yorkers and subsidize it for thousands of others. Mr. Yang’s idea to give cash relief to low-income New Yorkers is attractive, though it isn’t likely the city could afford to give enough to make a significant difference.

Ms. Morales’s intense focus on the needs and aspirations of ***working-class*** and low-income New Yorkers makes her an important voice in the race. Mr. McGuire’s steady confidence that he can bring hundreds of thousands of jobs back to New York sooner than any of the other candidates is reason enough for voters to give him a close look.

For all their good ideas, there are bad ideas, too. A suggestion to build a casino on Governors Island is silly, for instance. An even worse idea floating around is to ease up on enforcement of a group of ultra-Orthodox yeshivas suspected of failing to give students a basic education as required by state law.

Serious candidates in this race are laser-focused on how to create good jobs and improve schools, build affordable housing and better transportation, and give New Yorkers cleaner air and safer streets. There’s a lot at stake and a lot to consider, if voters would only take a look.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/08/nyregion/kathryn-garcia-mayor-nyc.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/08/nyregion/kathryn-garcia-mayor-nyc.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/08/nyregion/kathryn-garcia-mayor-nyc.html).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/08/nyregion/kathryn-garcia-mayor-nyc.html), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/08/nyregion/kathryn-garcia-mayor-nyc.html) and [*Instagram*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/08/nyregion/kathryn-garcia-mayor-nyc.html).

PHOTOS: Meet the candidates (clockwise from top left): Shaun Donovan, Eric Adams, Kathryn Garcia and Dianne Morales. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BRENDAN MCDERMID/REUTERS, MARK LENNIHAN/ASSOCIATED PRESS, BEBETO MATTHEWS/ASSOCIATED PRESS AND DOLLY FAIBYSHEV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Also in the mix (clockwise from top left): Scott Stringer, Andrew Yang, Ray McGuire and Maya Wiley. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JAMES ESTRIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES, BENJAMIN NORMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES AND JOSE A. ALVARADO JR. FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 7, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Best Sellers: Paperback Trade Fiction: Sunday, January 24th 2021***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61VN-GWX1-DXY4-X35W-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 24, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 502 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the January 24, 2021 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending January 9, 2021. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Paperback Trade Fiction |
| This | On |  |
| Week | List |  |
| 1 | 8 | HOME BODY, by Rupi Kaur. (Andrews McMeel) Poems and illustrations by the author of ?Milk and Honey? and ?The Sun and Her Flowers.? |
| 2 | 2 | THE DUKE AND I, by Julia Quinn. (Avon) The first book in the Bridgerton series. Daphne Bridgerton?s reputation soars when she colludes with the Duke of Hastings. |
| 3 | 30 | FIREFLY LANE, by Kristin Hannah. (St. Martin?s Griffin) A friendship between two women in the Pacific Northwest endures for more than three decades. |
| 4 | 78 | THEN SHE WAS GONE, by Lisa Jewell. (Atria) Ten years after her daughter disappears, a woman tries to get her life in order but remains haunted by unanswered questions. |
| 5 | 9 | THE QUEEN'S GAMBIT, by Walter Tevis. (Vintage) Sixteen-year-old Beth Harmon goes through changes as she plays chess in the U.S. Open championship. The basis of the Netflix series. |
| 6 | 1 | THE DUTCH HOUSE, by Ann Patchett. (Harper Perennial) A sibling relationship is impacted when the family goes from poverty to wealth and back again over the course of many decades. |
| 7 | 12 | THE SONG OF ACHILLES, by Madeline Miller. (Ecco) A reimagining of Homer?s ?Iliad? that is narrated by Achilles' companion Patroclus. |
| 8 | 173 | MILK AND HONEY, by Rupi Kaur. (Andrews McMeel) A collection of poetry about love, loss, trauma and healing. |
| 9 | 1 | NEWS OF THE WORLD, by Paulette Jiles. (Morrow) Following the Civil War, a man who reads newspapers to paying audiences agrees to deliver an orphan girl across difficult terrain to her relatives. |
| 10 | 2 | THE HOUSE IN THE CERULEAN SEA, by T.J. Klune. (Tor) Linus Baker is sent to the Marsyas Island Orphanage to assess whether six children in different forms might cause the end of days. |
| 11 | 1 | THE AUTHENTICITY PROJECT, by Clare Pooley. (Penguin) A circulating notebook brings strangers together after they write true things about their lives in it. |
| 12 | 2 | THE WRONG FAMILY, by Tarryn Fisher. (Graydon House) A retired therapist seeks peace after a grim diagnosis but moves in with a family that is not as perfect as it seems. |
| 13 | 68 | THE NIGHTINGALE, by Kristin Hannah. (St. Martin's Griffin) Two sisters in World War II France: one struggling to survive in the countryside, the other joining the Resistance. |
| 14 | 28 | NORMAL PEOPLE, by Sally Rooney. (Hogarth) The connection between a high school star athlete and a loner ebbs and flows when they go to Trinity College in Dublin. |
| 15 | 8 | SHUGGIE BAIN, by Douglas Stuart. (Grove) The winner of the 2020 Booker Prize. A boy?s ***working-class*** childhood in 1980s Glasgow is subsumed by his mother?s alcoholism. |

**Load-Date:** January 26, 2021

**End of Document**



[***The End of Black Politics***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6049-7CB1-JBG3-635S-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 14, 2020 Sunday 16:57 EST

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**Section:** OPINION; sunday

**Length:** 2134 words

**Byline:** Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor

**Highlight:** Black leaders regularly fail to rise to the challenges that confront young people.

**Body**

Young black people have exploded in rebellion over the grotesque killing of George Floyd. We are now witnessing [*the broadest protest movement*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/06/06/floyd-protests-are-broadest-us-history-are-spreading-white-small-town-america/) in American history. And yet the response of black elected officials has been cautious and uninspired.

The Congressional Black Caucus offered a familiar list of the kind of police reforms that have failed for decades to end police violence. After protesters vandalized CNN’s headquarters and set a police car on fire in Atlanta, the mayor, Keisha Bottoms, told them to “go home” because registering to vote “is the change we need.” President Barack Obama also [*argued*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/06/06/floyd-protests-are-broadest-us-history-are-spreading-white-small-town-america/) in an essay that “real change” comes from both protest and voting.

Instead, organizers on the ground have provided leadership. Women like [*Mary Hooks*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/06/06/floyd-protests-are-broadest-us-history-are-spreading-white-small-town-america/) from Southerners on New Ground in Atlanta and [*Miski Noor and Kandace Montgomery*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/06/06/floyd-protests-are-broadest-us-history-are-spreading-white-small-town-america/) of the Black Vision Collective in Minneapolis have been at the center of articulating new demands for redistributing resources away from policing, prisons and billionaires, and back into public programs. We can also find this leadership among the ranks of black low-wage “essential workers” who have challenged Amazon and other big corporations since the beginning of the pandemic. These organizers and workers are channeling the confrontational black politics of a previous period.

Because of them, we are at the end of one era of black politics and the start of a new one.

The revolt in American cities, amid a deadly pandemic that is disproportionately killing African-Americans, suggests that people feel the political system cannot solve their problems. Many have been looking back at the urban uprisings of the 1960s to make sense of our situation. Those protests exposed a shocking degree of racism in the supposedly liberal North. A main demand from protesters then was more black political control of cities.

The black insurgency of the 1960s and the Voting Rights Act laid the basis for the pivot to black electoral politics in the 1970s. There were fewer than [*1,500 black elected officials*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/06/06/floyd-protests-are-broadest-us-history-are-spreading-white-small-town-america/), so entering political office was part of the broader political struggle to achieve equality. A young John Conyers Jr., who would go on to be a congressman representing Detroit for five decades, [*weighed in on the debate*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/06/06/floyd-protests-are-broadest-us-history-are-spreading-white-small-town-america/):

Our own intelligence about the oppressiveness of the kind of society which would like to forget us along with other historical ‘mistakes’ should give black people a unique force in effecting change in America. An infusion of blacks into the political arena might provide the moral force of ‘soul’ which America either lost or never had. …

Some see the black American’s choice as between withdrawing from this ‘hopeless&#39; government or overthrowing the entire system. I see our choices as between political involvement or political apathy. America is the black man’s battleground. It is here where it will be decided whether or not we will make America what it says it is.

The [*Congressional Black Caucus*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/06/06/floyd-protests-are-broadest-us-history-are-spreading-white-small-town-america/) was formed in that era. Its members called themselves the [*“conscience of the Congress”*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/06/06/floyd-protests-are-broadest-us-history-are-spreading-white-small-town-america/) and saw themselves as representing the political interests of all of black America. They were “unbought and unbossed” as a founding member, Representative Shirley Chisholm of New York, said.

This independence led to confrontations, not only with Republicans, but also within the Democratic Party. In the summer of 1972, just weeks before Democrats would formally nominate [*Senator*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/06/06/floyd-protests-are-broadest-us-history-are-spreading-white-small-town-america/) [*George McGovern*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/06/06/floyd-protests-are-broadest-us-history-are-spreading-white-small-town-america/) for president, the [*caucus wrote*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/06/06/floyd-protests-are-broadest-us-history-are-spreading-white-small-town-america/) a “Black Declaration of Independence” and [*“Black Bill of Rights.”*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/06/06/floyd-protests-are-broadest-us-history-are-spreading-white-small-town-america/) These were inspired by a more militant document called “A National Black Agenda” that had emerged from the National Black Political Convention in Gary, Ind., where thousands of African-Americans had convened earlier that year.

The caucus linked the struggles of African-Americans to the broader hardships experienced by poor Americans of all races. The Black Bill of Rights made dozens of “nonnegotiable demands,” including “free medical care for all the poor and near poor,” a guaranteed income for the unemployed, the appointment of black judges and an immediate end to the Vietnam War. The statement declared, “The torch has passed to a new generation of blacks who no longer accommodate but confront; who no longer plead but demand; who no longer submit but fight.”

To be fair, no elected official is ever wholly “unbought” or “unbossed.” It is the nature of politics to negotiate and compromise. Many black politicians represented urban areas, and governing became harder as whites and their tax dollars fled to the suburbs. The 1970s also saw the end of the postwar economic boom and the acceleration of deindustrialization. The changing economic fortunes of cities, which had been the engine of the American economy, made it harder for the ascendant black political class to carry out reforms.

Increasingly, black elected officials were seen as managing the crises in black ***working class*** communities, instead of leading efforts to root them out.

As the black movement wound down, the nation went into recession, and black legislators became more entrenched in their positions. With seniority, repeated election cycles and without a robust movement as a source of accountability and direction, black elected officials began to govern like typical politicians. Staying in office became a priority, and as black legislators, they often had fewer resources. That meant more fund-raising from entities that may have been at odds with their constituencies.

In 1994, the Congressional Black Caucus [*played a key role*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/06/06/floyd-protests-are-broadest-us-history-are-spreading-white-small-town-america/) in the passage of the notorious crime bill, which is widely viewed as pivotal in the turn toward mass incarceration. Although the caucus pushed for a provision that would have allowed defendants on death row to appeal their sentences by citing statistics to try to show that such sentences have been racially biased, Bill Clinton weeded this out of the legislation. Nonetheless, a vast majority of caucus members still voted for the bill. In doing so, they had the support of [*African-American mayors*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/06/06/floyd-protests-are-broadest-us-history-are-spreading-white-small-town-america/) in Denver, Cleveland, Detroit, Atlanta and other major cities.

This was not just a case of selling out. As more blacks entered the middle class, political demands shifted. Black elected officials were more in tune with the needs of their middle-class constituencies, black and white, than they were with the needs of the black ***working class***. And their middle-class constituencies were more often concerned about a rise in property taxes than in ensuring access to a local Head Start.

Perhaps the uprising in Baltimore in [*April 2015*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/06/06/floyd-protests-are-broadest-us-history-are-spreading-white-small-town-america/) marked a symbolic end to this phase of black politics. Black people held many of the city’s top leadership roles, and the nation’s first black president and attorney general were a mere 40 miles away. And yet that concentration of black political power was not enough to stop the death of Freddie Gray, who died after being detained by the Baltimore police.

Of course, the problems ran much deeper than police violence. Thousands of African-Americans lived in neighborhoods where there was no pretense of investment. Black leaders didn’t stop the chronic joblessness or the underfunding of the public schools. Instead, many of them dug into the strategy of trying to attract higher salaried workers while making poverty so uncomfortable that the poor would simply leave.

This style of governance can be seen in cities across the country, and it may be motivating the “reverse migration” of African Americans to the South in search of better housing and jobs. Thousands of blacks [*are leaving Chicago*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/06/06/floyd-protests-are-broadest-us-history-are-spreading-white-small-town-america/) each year as the city has become increasingly hostile to their presence. The greatest public policy expenditures in Chicago are for the police, even as black residents have grown desperate for affordable housing and more investment in public schools. The city, which is now led by a black mayor, Lori Lightfoot, still prioritizes boondoggle development ventures like the [*$6 billion*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/06/06/floyd-protests-are-broadest-us-history-are-spreading-white-small-town-america/) Lincoln Yards project.

Black electoral success has not translated into qualitative improvements in black life. This too, erodes black participation in the political process. If voting simply reproduces variations on the same overall condition of deprivation, then black people are less likely to participate.

Now, we’re tumbling toward generational and class conflict. We can already see the fault lines forming. Last winter, African-American leaders fell in line to endorse Joe Biden and Michael Bloomberg as the Democratic nominees for president. The support for Mr. Biden was unsurprising given his tenure as Mr. Obama’s vice president, but the praise for Mr. Bloomberg smacked of opportunism.

Mr. Bloomberg was mostly known for his full-throated support of stop-and-frisk, which resulted in millions of needless police stops. As Mr. Bloomberg erroneously celebrated that tactic as the reason behind New York’s drop in crime, other cities sought to replicate it. That’s why stop-and-frisk and the racial profiling at its core [*were among the catalysts*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/06/06/floyd-protests-are-broadest-us-history-are-spreading-white-small-town-america/) for the Black Lives Matter movement.

Young black voters supported Bernie Sanders, but he was unable to translate that support into actual votes. His policies would have been most beneficial to [*African-Americans*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/06/06/floyd-protests-are-broadest-us-history-are-spreading-white-small-town-america/); in fact, they were more enthusiastic about his signature issue, Medicare for All, [*than any other demographic*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/06/06/floyd-protests-are-broadest-us-history-are-spreading-white-small-town-america/). But black voters in South Carolina, after the endorsement of Representative James Clyburn, cast cautious and predictable votes for Mr. Biden and turned the tide of the primary.

While older black voters are paralyzed by pragmatism when faced with the potential for a second term of Donald Trump, they have also been conditioned to accept the absolute least from political representatives. At the same time, young black people are rebelling against the strangulation of the status quo. This includes a stale black leadership that regularly fails to rise to challenges confronting this generation, which refuses to accept the symbolism of black leadership without its professed rewards. Black elected officials have become adept at mobilizing the tropes of black identity without any of its political content. Case in point: Muriel Bowser, the mayor of Washington, [*painting the words “Black Lives Matter”*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/06/06/floyd-protests-are-broadest-us-history-are-spreading-white-small-town-america/) on a street headed in the direction of the White House. But she also [*proposed*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/06/06/floyd-protests-are-broadest-us-history-are-spreading-white-small-town-america/) a $45 million increase in the local police budget.

In 2018, [*three black women sued*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/06/06/floyd-protests-are-broadest-us-history-are-spreading-white-small-town-america/) the city, claiming that the policies pursued by its administrators served to “attract younger, more affluent professionals” and “discriminated against poor and ***working class*** African-Americans” who had lived in the city for generations. These plaintiffs, like the mayor, are black women, but their differing class positions and access to power have fundamentally impeded the possibilities of solidarity.

Mr. Trump’s smearing of Ms. Bowser as “incompetent” put black voters in a tough spot. They want to defend African-American officials from racist and sexist charges, while at the same time challenging these officials’ policies. For poor black women in Washington, the issue isn’t incompetence; it’s Ms. Bowser’s conception of development, which has left ***working-class*** blacks behind.

This doesn’t mean that representation no longer matters. It does. But we can no longer assume that shared identity means a shared commitment to the strategies necessary to improve the lives of a vast majority of black people. Class tensions among African-Americans have produced new fault lines that the romance of racial solidarity simply cannot overcome.

Today, there are more black elected officials than ever before, and that has not been enough to contain the coronavirus, which has ravaged black communities. Nor has it done anything to mitigate police abuse and violence. For most African-Americans, things have changed, but not nearly enough. While there’s no question that the Republican Party is an altogether worse alternative, in the roundabout discussion of lesser and greater evils, rarely has the discussion turned to how African-Americans get free.

Representation in the halls of power has clearly worked for some, but we must talk about those it hasn’t worked for. We have not seen, in decades, protests with the scale or scope of those that were unleashed by the killing of George Floyd. New, young, black leaders with the [*Movement for Black Lives*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/06/06/floyd-protests-are-broadest-us-history-are-spreading-white-small-town-america/) are now emerging, leaders unencumbered by past failures and buoyed by their connection to the ruckus in the streets.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/06/06/floyd-protests-are-broadest-us-history-are-spreading-white-small-town-america/) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/06/06/floyd-protests-are-broadest-us-history-are-spreading-white-small-town-america/). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/06/06/floyd-protests-are-broadest-us-history-are-spreading-white-small-town-america/).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/06/06/floyd-protests-are-broadest-us-history-are-spreading-white-small-town-america/), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/06/06/floyd-protests-are-broadest-us-history-are-spreading-white-small-town-america/) and [*Instagram*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/06/06/floyd-protests-are-broadest-us-history-are-spreading-white-small-town-america/).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Diana Ejaita FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 14, 2020

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[***Best Sellers: Combined Print & E-Book Nonfiction: Sunday, December 13th 2020***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61RF-8V41-JBG3-63FC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 13, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 505 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the December 13, 2020 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending November 28, 2020. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  |  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Combined Print & E-Book Nonfiction |
| This | Last | On |  |
| Week | Week | List |  |
| 1 | 1 | 2 | A PROMISED LAND, by Barack Obama. (Crown) In the first volume of his presidential memoirs, Barack Obama offers personal reflections on his formative years and pivotal moments through his first term. |
| 2 | 2 | 6 | GREENLIGHTS, by Matthew McConaughey. (Crown) The Academy Award-winning actor shares snippets from the diaries he kept over the last 35 years. |
| 3 | 3 | 2 | DOLLY PARTON, SONGTELLER, by Dolly Parton with Robert K. Oermann. (Chronicle) The country music icon offers insights on 175 of her songs. |
| 4 | 6 | 87 | BECOMING, by Michelle Obama. (Crown) The former first lady describes her journey from the South Side of Chicago to the White House, and how she balanced work, family and her husband?s political ascent. |
| 5 |  | 1 | MODERN WARRIORS, by Pete Hegseth. (Broadside) The Fox News host and former combat veteran interviews soldiers about the different kinds of battles they encountered. |
| 6 | 4 | 2 | NO TIME LIKE THE FUTURE, by Michael J. Fox. (Flatiron) The actor discusses the challenges he has faced with Parkinson?s disease and other setbacks that caused him to reassess his outlook. |
| 7 | 7 | 17 | CASTE, by Isabel Wilkerson. (Random House) The Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist examines aspects of caste systems across civilizations and reveals a rigid hierarchy in America today. |
| 8 |  | 1 | SAVING FREEDOM, by Joe Scarborough. (Harper) The MSNBC host and former congressman describes the struggles Harry Truman faced before and during his time as president. |
| 9 | 8 | 38 | UNTAMED, by Glennon Doyle. (Dial) The activist and public speaker describes her journey of listening to her inner voice. |
| 10 |  | 6 | IS THIS ANYTHING?, by Jerry Seinfeld. (Simon & Schuster) The comedian shares material he collected in an accordion folder over the last 45 years. |
| 11 | 15 | 6 | HUMANS, by Brandon Stanton. (St. Martin's) Photos and stories of people from over 40 countries collected by the creator of ?Humans of New York.? |
| 12 |  | 88 | HILLBILLY ELEGY, by J.D. Vance. (HarperCollins) A Yale Law School graduate looks at the struggles of the white ***working class*** through the story of his own childhood. |
| 13 | 9 | 6 | THE ANSWER IS ..., by Alex Trebek. (Simon & Schuster) A memoir by the host of the TV game show ?Jeopardy!,? from 1984 to 2020. |
| 14 | 14 | 9 | MY OWN WORDS, by Ruth Bader Ginsburg with Mary Hartnett and Wendy W. Williams. (Simon & Schuster) A collection of articles and speeches by the Supreme Court justice. |
| 15 | 12 | 3 | UNCOMFORTABLE CONVERSATIONS WITH A BLACK MAN, by Emmanuel Acho. (Flatiron) A look at some questions and concepts needed to address systemic racism. |

**Load-Date:** January 11, 2021

**End of Document**



[***The New York Issue***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62X4-2RB1-DXY4-X07B-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 13, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section MM; Column 0; Magazine Desk; Pg. 14

**Length:** 606 words

**Body**

Sandra Lindsay, a nurse in Queens, in December became the first New Yorker -- and first American -- to receive the coronavirus vaccine.

â¬¤ Gov. Andrew Cuomo, now in his third term, arranged to livestream the event just before his regular Monday- morning news conference.

In the postwar era, New York was a ***working***- ***class*** city, its infrastructure shaped by the New Deal and, especially along the waterfront, the needs and desires of manufacturers.

â¬¤ Mayor Fiorello La Guardia spent Sundays in the 1930s driving around the city, thinking of things to build.

â¬¤ Mayor Michael Bloomberg said wealthy companies should pay a premium to be in New York, calling the city in 2003 a ''luxury product.''

In the 1970s, the city ran out of money, and its sprawling network of public institutions, subsidized housing and mass transit began its long decline.

â¬¤ Robert Moses, New York's planning-and- construction czar, reshaped the city in the mid-20th century by mastering its arcane rules and regulations.

â¬¤ Paula Kirby's family relocated their factory to the Long Island City waterfront in 1950; now their main business is real estate.

In the '80s, the city turned increasingly to private developers to direct the city's growth. New glass skyscrapers like Trump Tower rose, and cities were again the future of America -- at least for those who could afford them.

â¬¤ Robert Jackson, a community school board president, sued the state in 1993 claiming unequal school funding and won -- only to see overall funding gutted by the 2008 financial crisis.

â¬¤ Richard Carranza, who stepped down as chancellor of New York City's public schools in March, left them no more integrated or equal than he had found them.

Jackson: Jude Domski/Getty Images. Carranza: New York City Office of the Mayor, via Associated Press.

After Sept. 11, Mayor Michael Bloomberg overhauled Lower Manhattan, even as inequality widened: Between 1980 and the end of Bloomberg's tenure, the income share of the city's richest 1 percent had more than tripled.

LÃ³pez: Romina Hendlin. Koch: Dan Goodrich/Newsday, via Getty Images.

â¬¤ Monxo LÃ³pez helped found a nonprofit community land trust in the South Bronx, one of more than a dozen in neighborhoods around the city.

â¬¤ Ed Koch became mayor in 1978, when the South Bronx was an international symbol of urban decay.

Illustration by Jorge Colombo

â¬¤ Dara Byrne, an associate provost at CUNY's John Jay College of Criminal Justice, spent the pandemic working to keep students from dropping out.

â¬¤ The mayoral candidate Eric Adams, Brooklyn's borough president, graduated from John Jay.

Byrne: From Dara Byrne. Adams: Ron Adar/Sipa USA, via Associated Press.

â¬¤ Mayor Bill de Blasio, now in his second and final term, has proposed the biggest budget in New York City history.

Illustration by Jorge Colombo

While the coronavirus slowed most of the city to a crawl, commuting from poorer neighborhoods of the Bronx -- the borough with

the highest rates of Covid hospitalizations and deaths -- largely held steady, because so many essential workers lived in them.

â¬¤ The mayoral candidate Andrew Yang, after an unsuccessful run at the White House, led the polls for much of the spring.

â¬¤ The mayoral candidate Kathryn Garcia, formerly the commissioner for the New York City Sanitation Department, pulled ahead in the polls in late May.

Residents of Queensbridge Houses, the largest public housing complex in the country, lived just a few blocks from the proposed site of a new Amazon headquarters, but they had little hope of getting many of the 25,000 six-figure jobs the company had promised.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/10/magazine/13mag-awakening1cap.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/10/magazine/13mag-awakening1cap.html)

**Graphic**

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**Load-Date:** June 13, 2021

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[***Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction: Sunday, December 13th 2020***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61VF-1031-DXY4-X11X-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 13, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 502 words

**Body**

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These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the December 13, 2020 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending November 28, 2020. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction |
| This | On |  |
| Week | List |  |
| 1 | 19 | MY OWN WORDS, by Ruth Bader Ginsburg with Mary Hartnett and Wendy W. Williams. (Simon & Schuster) A collection of articles and speeches by the Supreme Court justice. |
| 2 | 56 | HILLBILLY ELEGY, by J.D. Vance. (Harper) A Yale Law School graduate looks at the struggles of the white ***working class*** through the story of his own childhood. |
| 3 | 110 | THE BODY KEEPS THE SCORE, by Bessel van der Kolk. (Penguin) How trauma affects the body and mind, and innovative treatments for recovery. |
| 4 | 10 | THE TRUTHS WE HOLD, by Kamala Harris. (Penguin) A memoir by the daughter of immigrants who is now the vice president-elect. |
| 5 | 33 | BRAIDING SWEETGRASS, by Robin Wall Kimmerer. (Milkweed Editions) A botanist and member of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation espouses having an understanding and appreciation of plants and animals. |
| 6 | 117 | WHITE FRAGILITY, by Robin DiAngelo. (Beacon) Historical and cultural analyses on what causes defensive moves by white people and how this inhibits cross-racial dialogue. |
| 7 | 48 | THE WARMTH OF OTHER SUNS, by Isabel Wilkerson. (Vintage) An account of the Great Migration of 1915-70, in which six million African-Americans abandoned the South. |
| 8 | 120 | SAPIENS, by Yuval Noah Harari. (Harper Perennial) How Homo sapiens became Earth?s dominant species. |
| 9 | 7 | WHAT UNITES US, by Dan Rather and Elliot Kirschner. (Algonquin) A collection of essays that define the historical changes and essential institutions of America to suggest ways to overcome divisions within the country. |
| 10 | 94 | BORN A CRIME, by Trevor Noah. (One World) A memoir about growing up biracial in apartheid South Africa by the host of ?The Daily Show.? |
| 11 | 6 | SHADE, by Pete Souza. (Voracious/Little, Brown) The former White House photographer juxtaposes pictures of former President Obama with tweets, headlines and quotes from the Trump administration. |
| 12 | 31 | THE COLOR OF LAW, by Richard Rothstein. (Liveright) A case for how the American government abetted racial segregation in metropolitan areas across the country. |
| 13 | 9 | LEAD FROM THE OUTSIDE, by Stacey Abrams. (Picador) A memoir by the former minority leader of the Georgia House of Representatives who ran to be the state?s governor in 2018. |
| 14 | 213 | THE NEW JIM CROW, by Michelle Alexander. (New Press) A law professor on the ?war on drugs? and its role in the disproportionate incarceration of Black men. |
| 15 | 254 | THINKING, FAST AND SLOW, by Daniel Kahneman. (Farrar, Straus & Giroux) When we can and cannot trust our intuitions in making business and personal decisions. |

**Load-Date:** January 25, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction: Sunday, December 13th 2020***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61PD-4451-JBG3-64JS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 13, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 502 words

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**Load-Date:** January 6, 2021

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[***Can Democrats Avoid a Midterm Wipeout?; Spencer Bokat-Lindell***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:661C-C341-DXY4-X36D-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Spencer Bokat-Lindell

**Highlight:** The upcoming election season might be more competitive than predicted.

**Body**

This article is part of the Debatable newsletter. You can [*sign up here*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/debatable) to receive it on Wednesdays.

It is one of the most [*enduring trends*](https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/why-the-presidents-party-almost-always-has-a-bad-midterm/) in American politics that the president’s party tends to fare poorly during midterm elections. And in 2022, that trend was supposed to reassert itself with a vengeance: As inflation climbs at its fastest pace in four decades, Joe Biden’s approval rating has plunged to the lowest of any elected president at this point in his presidency since the end of World War II, [*according*](https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/whats-behind-bidens-record-low-approval-rating/) to FiveThirtyEight.

But despite those grim conditions, the midterms could be surprisingly competitive: In a July poll conducted by The New York Times and Siena College, [*41 percent of registered voters said they preferred Democrats*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/13/upshot/poll-2022-midterms-congress.html?action=click&amp;pgtype=Article&amp;state=default&amp;module=styln-nyt-polling&amp;region=MAIN_CONTENT_1&amp;block=storyline_levelup_swipe_recirc) to control Congress, compared with 40 percent who preferred Republicans.

Here’s what people are saying about the state of the races, whether Democrats stand a chance of keeping one or both of their majorities in Congress, and what could change the forecast between now and November.

Why the races look closer than expected

If the Times/Siena polling made one thing clear, it’s that voters are not pleased with the way the country is being run. Even as the unemployment rate hovers [*around a 50-year low*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/08/business/economy/jobs-report-june-2022.html), Americans [*are deeply anxious*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/15/business/economy/inflation-economy-polling.html) about the economy: Just 10 percent of registered voters rated it as “good” or “excellent.” More broadly, political malaise seems the order of the day: A majority of respondents said the nation was too divided to solve its challenges, and just 13 percent said the country was heading in the right direction.

But there are a few factors insulating Democrats from all this negative sentiment.

* As The Times’s chief political analyst, Nate Cohn, [*explains*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/16/upshot/poll-analysis-2022-midterms.html), recent news is actually helping Democrats in some ways: This summer, the Supreme Court has handed the right significant victories on abortion, climate policy, religious rights and gun laws, galvanizing voters who lean Democratic on those issues and shifting the national political discourse away from the Republican Party’s preferred turf of immigration, crime and school curriculums. Recent mass shootings have also played a role in this shift.

1. In the past several years, the Republican Party has made inroads with less affluent, less educated voters while shedding support among higher-income, higher-educated voters. As a result, the electoral playing field has become less tilted toward Republicans, according to Nicholas Stephanopoulos, a law professor at Harvard who focuses on redistricting and demographic trends. While “the conventional wisdom has it that Democrats are disadvantaged in redistricting because of their inefficient over-concentration in cities,” he [*told*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/27/opinion/trump-red-blue-america.html) Thomas B. Edsall, a contributing writer for Times Opinion, “the Trump era seems to have changed the country’s political geography in ways that are beneficial to Democrats.”
2. Republicans are also reconfiguring their relationship with Donald Trump, whose grip on the party isn’t as strong as it once was, particularly as the fallout from the House Jan. 6 investigation compounds. [*According*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/12/us/politics/trump-approval-polling-2024.html) to the Times/Siena College poll, nearly half of Republican primary voters would prefer someone other than Trump for president in 2024. As Jake Lahut [*reports*](https://www.businessinsider.com/republican-senate-candidates-trump-endorse-struggle-oz-walker-vance-midterms-2022-7) for Insider, that fault line has created potential pitfalls for Trump-backed Senate candidates, like Mehmet Oz in Pennsylvania and Herschel Walker in Georgia, who have won their primaries but have struggled to break away in general election matchups against their Democratic opponents.

The odds: [*According*](https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/why-republicans-are-favored-to-win-the-house-but-not-the-senate/) to Nate Silver of FiveThirtyEight, Republicans have roughly the same chance of reclaiming a Senate majority as Democrats do of retaining theirs. In the House, though, Republicans are still heavily favored. Why? House candidates are both more numerous and more anonymous than Senate candidates, Silver explains, so voters’ feelings about the national political environment tend to be determinative.

As The Times’s David Leonhardt [*wrote*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/05/briefing/midterms-senate-democrats-hopeful.html) this month, “If Democrats keep the Senate without the House, they still would not be able to pass legislation without Republican support.” But, he added: “Senate control nonetheless matters. It would allow President Biden to appoint judges, Cabinet secretaries and other top officials without any Republican support, because only the Senate needs to confirm nominees.”

The abortion factor

Because the Supreme Court returned the power to regulate abortions to the states last month, abortion will be a live issue this midterm season in a way it hasn’t been for many decades. [*Five states*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/us/politics/midterms-abortion-access.html) will have ballot measures asking voters whether to amend their constitutions to either enshrine or proscribe the right to abortion. And in other states, the issue has raised the stakes in competitive races for the legislature and the governor’s mansion.

There are two ways abortion’s centrality could help Democrats in November, Ed Kilgore [*argues*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2022/07/what-polls-tell-us-about-dobbs-and-the-midterms.html) in New York magazine. “The first and most obvious is that it could keep in the Democratic ranks a significant number of suburban swing voters who voted for the Donkey Party in 2018 and 2020 but who might swing back to the G.O.P. without Trump totally dominating the landscape and with economic issues in the forefront,” he writes. “The second possible effect is to boost the turnout rates of certain pro-Democratic groups of voters who often skip non-presidential elections.”

Mainstream Democrats have historically treated abortion as a divisive issue best left on the periphery of their campaign strategy. (Biden himself did not utter the word “abortion” until [*more than a year*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/05/us/politics/biden-abortion.html) into his presidency.) But this election season, some Democrats are actively campaigning on the issue, wagering that the Supreme Court’s abrogation of the constitutional right to abortion could prompt a backlash from voters. In Georgia, for example, Stacey Abrams, the state’s Democratic nominee for governor, has [*started making direct appeals*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/21/us/politics/stacey-abrams-georgia-abortion.html) to swing voters and portraying her opponent, the incumbent governor, Brian Kemp, as the mind behind one of the nation’s most extreme abortion laws, which bans abortion after the sixth week of pregnancy.

Similarly, Senator Maggie Hassan, a Democrat who is up for re-election in “[*notoriously swingy*](https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/new-hampshire-is-tiny-and-pretty-weird-that-could-help-maggie-hassan/)” New Hampshire, has leaned into the issue. “I will fight and never back down,” she [*said*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dG0ntZHQz5Y) in a June television ad raising the possibility of a national abortion ban. “Protecting our personal freedoms isn’t just what’s right for New Hampshire. It’s what makes us New Hampshire.”

Whether this strategy will end up redounding to the Democrats’ benefit remains an open question. Since the court overruled Roe v. Wade, most polls have shown approximately a [*three-point shift*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/13/briefing/midterm-polls-republicans-democrats.html) in the Democrats’ direction on the generic ballot, which asks whether voters would prefer Democrats or Republicans to control Congress, compared with surveys by the same pollsters before the decision came down.

But some are skeptical that the shift will endure through November or prove significant enough to turn the electoral tide. “Does it have an effect? Absolutely,” Chuck Rocha, a Democratic strategist, [*told*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/05/us/politics/abortion-roe-midterm-elections-moderate-women.html) The Times. “Does it fundamentally change the landscape? No. Not in an off-year election, when your president’s approval rating is below 40 percent and gas is $5 a gallon.”

What to watch

Inflation: According to the Times/Siena College poll, [*78 percent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/15/business/economy/inflation-economy-polling.html) of voters say inflation will be “extremely important” when they head to the polls. “It’s a very negative thing politically for the Democrats,” [*said*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/14/us/politics/democrats-republicans-inflation-midterms.html) Jason Furman, an economist at Harvard University and a former economic adviser for the Obama administration. “My guess is that the negative views about inflation are so deeply baked in that nothing can change in the next few months to change them.”

Unless, of course, they get worse: Republicans [*are seizing on*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/14/us/politics/democrats-republicans-inflation-midterms.html) fears of rising prices in campaign ads, which economists warn could push prices even higher by entrenching inflationary expectations.

A surprise announcement from Trump: “Should former President Trump decide, against the advice of nearly every Republican strategist alive, to announce his candidacy before the midterm elections in November, he might energize Democratic voters enough to minimize their losses at the margins,” Charlie Cook of the Cook Political Report [*writes*](https://www.cookpolitical.com/analysis/national/national-politics/what-could-save-democrats-midterm-catastrophe). “I am not sure it would save one or both majorities, but it certainly has the potential to have a greater impact than abortion, guns, and Jan. 6 combined.”

Another polling failure: As this newsletter has [*explored,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/05/opinion/election-polls-wrong.html) the polling profession has been in something of a state of crisis since the 2016 election. Pollsters are having a harder and harder time reaching ***working-class*** voters, who have been trending Republican, and so polls have routinely [*overestimated Democratic support*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/12/us/politics/election-polls-trump-biden.html). As Cohn [*writes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/13/briefing/midterm-polls-republicans-democrats.html), “It’s hard not to wonder whether the good news for Democrats might simply be a harbinger of yet another high-profile misfire.”

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[*“This election could answer the biggest midterm question: Abortion or the economy?”*](https://www.politico.com/news/2022/07/24/new-york-19th-district-election-00046938)[Politico]

[*“Where the Midterms Could Most Affect Abortion Access”*](https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/where-the-midterms-could-most-affect-abortion-access/) [FiveThirtyEight]

[*“Could the Midterms Be Tighter Than Expected?”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/13/podcasts/the-daily/midterms.html) [The New York Times]

[*“Democrats’ Risky Bet: Aid G.O.P. Extremists in Spring, Hoping to Beat Them in Fall”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/16/us/politics/democrats-midterms-trump-gop.html) [The New York Times]

[*“Sorry, Democrats. Don’t get your hopes up for the midterms.”*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2022/07/07/midterms-generic-congressional-ballot-democrats-dont-get-your-hopes-up/) [The Washington Post]

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[***'It Was Relentless': Inside a Crypto Exchange's Bid for Influence***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66XN-JG51-JBG3-6098-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

In just three years, the FTX co-founder built a massive operation to woo politicians, regulators and nonprofits to support his crypto goals.

In May, the founder of a Chicago nonprofit that works with recently incarcerated people got an email from the father of Sam Bankman-Fried, offering to make a donation on behalf of his son's cryptocurrency exchange.

Soon after FTX pledged to give the nonprofit $600,000, a consulting firm hired by the exchange blasted the news to members of prominent think tanks, urging them to praise the program publicly on Twitter. At least two email recipients did so.

The money never made its way to the nonprofit, called Equity and Transformation. But the pledge -- and its attendant publicity -- provides a glimpse into the inner workings of the sprawling influence campaign that Mr. Bankman-Fried shaped before it all came to a halt this month when his company was forced to file for bankruptcy, prompting a criminal investigation.

In the three years since Mr. Bankman-Fried launched FTX, the company, its executives and its philanthropic arm spent or pledged hundreds of millions of dollars in political and charitable contributions, consulting fees, investments in media outlets and even real estate.

A network of political action committees, nonprofits and consulting firms funded by FTX or its executives worked to court politicians, regulators and others in the policy orbit, with the goal of making Mr. Bankman-Fried the authoritative voice of crypto, while also shaping regulation for the industry and other causes, according to interviews, email exchanges and an encrypted group chat viewed by The New York Times.

Politicians, advocacy groups and fund-raisers are now distancing themselves. Some lawmakers are offloading campaign contributions from Mr. Bankman-Fried and his allies by making donations to charity in the same amounts they received. Lawmakers are calling for hearings.

In some ways, FTX followed the playbook of larger and more established corporations that spend years carefully spreading money through the political system to cultivate relationships and build clout. But FTX's influence operation launched faster and was more frenzied.

It blurred the lines between corporate affairs and political activity, and prompted concerns among some involved about whether the money was being spent effectively and in compliance with strict campaign finance laws, while leaving some potential beneficiaries feeling like there was a quid pro quo.

''It was relentless and all-encompassing,'' said Dennis Kelleher, the president of Better Markets, a nonprofit that fights for more regulation of financial firms.

When FTX was seeking regulatory approval for some of its activities from the Commodity Futures Trading Commission, a company official asked around about whether a donation would help secure the support of Better Markets, according to Mr. Kelleher and a second person with knowledge of the inquiry who did not want to be identified. FTX did not donate to Mr. Kelleher's group.

In an interview on Sunday night, Mr. Bankman-Fried said he strongly believed in the charitable causes he funded. But he acknowledged that some of his political work around the world was a public-relations exercise.

''All people running especially regulated businesses had to spend time thinking of what ribbons we had to place around the business to cloak it in a sense of we-wish-they-could do-gooderism,'' Mr. Bankman-Fried said. ''We all end up playing that same game.''

Mr. Bankman-Fried and Ryan Salame, another FTX executive, burst onto the big-money political scene during the 2022 election campaign. As their net worths soared, they established themselves and FTX as influential cross-partisan givers.

To determine where to spend their money, representatives for a newly formed super PAC operation that received money from FTX executives sent questionnaires to dozens of candidates to assess their stances on cryptocurrency.

In early March, representatives for one super PAC, Web3 Forward, were pleased when the campaign of John Fetterman, the Pennsylvania Senate candidate, returned a completed questionnaire expressing support for the cryptocurrency industry, according to people familiar with the situation.

''Need nothing further from Team Fetterman. Thrilled he is pro crypto,'' a consultant for Web3 Forward emailed an ally of Mr. Fetterman.

About two months after the email, Web3 Forward began airing an ad casting Mr. Fetterman as a ***working class*** champion who was not ''gonna get schmoozed by lobbyists.'' The super PAC spent nearly $4.7 million boosting Democratic candidates in the midterm elections, mostly in their primary campaigns, including more than $212,000 supporting Mr. Fetterman, who won his race and is set to begin his term Jan. 3.

Joe Calvello, a spokesman for Mr. Fetterman, sought to distance the newly elected senator from the disgraced crypto entrepreneur. ''Sam Bankman-Fried must be held fully accountable,'' Mr. Calvello wrote in an email.

In a statement, Adam Goldberg, a spokesman for Web3 Forward, said that neither Mr. Bankman-Fried, Mr. Salame ''nor anyone else at FTX or representing its interests had any role in deciding the candidates we supported.''

But campaign filings show that Web3 Forward received almost all of the roughly $5.9 million it raised in 2021 from GMI PAC, a super PAC for which Mr. Salame was a founding board member. GMI, in turn, received about 32 percent of its nearly $11.6 million from Mr. Salame, Mr. Bankman-Fried and an FTX affiliate.

Mr. Goldberg said that although Mr. Salame was involved in GMI, not everyone who donated to the super PAC or sat on its board supported FTX's specific agenda, and in fact some opposed elements of it. Mr. Salame resigned from the board of GMI PAC on the day this month that FTX filed for bankruptcy, according to a person familiar with the super PAC.

Mr. Salame did not respond to requests for comment.

In the months leading up to the 2022 elections, Mr. Bankman-Fried donated about $40 million to federal campaigns and committees that primarily supported Democrats, according to Federal Election Commission records -- including $27 million to a super PAC called Protect Our Future that said it focused on helping candidates who support pandemic preparedness.

That made him the party's second biggest single donor behind George Soros, the billionaire financier who has been among the leading funders on the left for decades. Mr. Soros is 92, and some Democratic fund-raisers had high hopes that Mr. Bankman-Fried, 30, could play a similar role financing the left well into the future.

In a podcast interview earlier this year, Mr. Bankman-Fried said he expected to spend ''north of $100 million'' in the 2024 presidential election.

Republicans also had high hopes for Mr. Salame, who donated nearly $24 million in the 2022 campaign, mostly to Republicans and groups that support them, including $15 million to a super PAC he launched called American Dream Federal Action. It spent nearly $517,000 supporting the successful Senate campaign of Representative Ted Budd of North Carolina.

Mr. Budd was also the beneficiary of more than $400,000 in spending by a super PAC called Crypto Innovation devoted to helping Republican congressional candidates. Crypto Innovation in turn received $2.8 million from GMI, the PAC connected to Mr. Salame.

Mr. Budd did not respond to a request for comment.

A week before Election Day, a group funded by Mr. Bankman-Fried and formerly run by his brother, Gabe Bankman-Fried, Guarding Against Pandemics, hosted separate cocktail receptions for Democrats and Republicans at a townhouse near the Capitol. The group, which focused on pandemic preparedness, paid nearly $3.3 million in April for the house, where it hosted events. An invitation to the Republican reception hailed Mr. Salame as a ''budding Republican megadonor.''

Some people in Mr. Bankman-Fried's orbit were worried that FTX and its executives were being sloppy in their political spending, diminishing its effectiveness and potentially courting violations. Those concerns are reflected in messages to an encrypted group chat called ''Political FTX comms alignment,'' which also reveals a blurry line between FTX and some of the political and advocacy efforts funded by its executives.

An official at Guarding Against Pandemics texted the chat in late October, concerned that a $500,000 donation to a Democratic Party PAC in Oregon from Nishad Singh, an FTX executive, had been misattributed to a cryptocurrency payment processing firm.

''I don't want FTX to get less than fully value from the contribution,'' the official wrote, asking company executives to confirm ''1) whether this is an FTX advocacy contribution, and 2) if so, who it is supposed to be from.''

The official appeared to reference a similar occurrence earlier in the year, when a $14 million contribution had been listed on F.E.C. filings as having come from the same payment processing firm. It was subsequently re-attributed mostly to Mr. Bankman-Fried and partly to Mr. Singh. The donation to the Oregon PAC was also reclassified to reflect that it was from Mr. Singh, according to state campaign finance records.

Mr. Singh did not respond to requests for comment.

The shifting filings underscored concerns about crypto money financing political donations, which are tightly regulated by laws that carry stiff penalties for masking the source of funds.

The Oregon Elections Division is investigating the donation as a possible campaign finance violation at the request of Shemia Fagan, Oregon's secretary of state, according to Ben Morris, a spokesman. He said that if the agency found sufficient evidence of a criminal violation, it would refer the matter to law enforcement.

To burnish his intellectual profile in public, Mr. Bankman-Fried often participated in events to demystify the cryptocurrency industry. On Oct. 12, he sat down for a ''fireside chat'' with Jason Grumet, the president of the think tank the Bipartisan Policy Center -- at Mr. Grumet's invitation -- to discuss ''recent movements in the crypto market, the role of regulation, and the long-term future of the industry.''

Mr. Bankman-Fried could be charming in private meetings, disarming his audience with his directness and excitement about crypto, said one person who interacted with him. As he tried to secure a meeting with Gary Gensler, the chair of the Securities and Exchange Commission, he asked J. Christopher Giancarlo, a former chairman of the C.F.T.C., for an introduction.

Mr. Giancarlo, whose friendly posture toward crypto earned him the nickname ''Crypto Dad,'' agreed to help. He attended a meeting with Mr. Gensler and Mr. Bankman-Fried in October 2021.

''He presented FTX with a degree of confidence and expressed integrity,'' Mr. Giancarlo said. ''We now know that was not true, but that's how he presented it.''

Behind the scenes, Mr. Bankman-Fried also held discussions with other regulators, in particular the C.F.T.C., which regulates derivatives trading. FTX officials had numerous meetings with staff of the commission, mostly to talk about FTX's application for a C.F.T.C. license. Larger issues, including how cryptocurrencies should be regulated, also came up, three people briefed on the discussions said.

Rostin Behnam, the chairman of the C.F.T.C., and Mr. Bankman-Fried agreed that the C.F.T.C., rather than the S.E.C., should have primary oversight of much of the crypto markets, the people said. That was the broad thrust of a cryptocurrency bill being drafted by Senator Debbie Stabenow, Democrat of Michigan, who was Mr. Behnam's former employer.

Staff of the C.F.T.C. provided ''technical'' advice to Ms. Stabenow's staff working on the bill, called the Digital Commodities Consumer Protection Act, said Steven Adamske, a commission spokesman.

FTX representatives, including Mark Wetjen, its head of government affairs and a former C.F.T.C. commissioner, also gave their input.

Mr. Adamske said that the technical assistance and legal analysis his organization provided to Congress ''came solely from the C.F.T.C.''

Matt Williams, a spokesman for Ms. Stabenow, said no single stakeholder, including FTX, had ''significant input'' into the bill. ''In fact, none of the substantial changes FTX requested were included in the legislation.''

Mr. Bankman-Fried gave $20,800 to the Stabenow Victory Fund.

In late July, when the bill was unveiled, Mr. Behnam's chief of staff wrote to the offices of the four other commissioners -- two Republicans and two Democrats -- asking them to release a joint statement praising the legislation. When they did not all agree to do so, Mr. Behnam, a Democrat, released a statement on his own.

Christy Goldsmith-Romero, one of the Democratic commissioners, said she did not issue a statement because she wanted to study the legislation and ''decide what I thought.''

Even as Mr. Bankman-Fried focused on politicians and regulators, his father, Joseph Bankman, appeared to be more involved in promoting his son's ideas for charity and social change.

In addition to connecting with Equity and Transformation, the Chicago nonprofit, Mr. Bankman identified programs designed to increase financial inclusion and close the racial wealth gap that he thought Mr. Bankman-Fried should donate to.

Mr. Bankman, a professor at Stanford Law School, also sought to connect his son with his friends in academia whose research focused on racial equality and financial inclusion. Mr. Bankman hoped his colleagues would support his beliefs that cryptocurrencies could help equalize access to the financial system.

''I did reach out to others who share my interest in financial inclusion to explore the role that crypto might play,'' Mr. Bankman said in a phone interview on Monday.

On Nov. 11, the day FTX filed for bankruptcy, Mr. Bankman wrote to Richard Wallace, the executive director of the Chicago nonprofit, to express his sadness that the $600,000 donation wouldn't come through. The staff of the FTX Foundation, the exchange's philanthropic arm, had resigned and its funds had evaporated.

The donation, which had been promised in June and would have paid for a guaranteed income program for recently incarcerated people and their families, was set to begin Thursday.

''I'm heartbroken, as you can imagine, about what's happening and heartbroken about the loss of our project,'' Mr. Bankman wrote to Mr. Wallace. He said he would have funded half the project out of his own pocket had the FTX Foundation been able to put in the other half. Funding the entire $600,000 by himself was out of the question, Mr. Bankman added.

''I'll be spending substantially all of my resources on Sam's defense.''

Joe Rennison and David McCabe contributed reporting. Kitty Bennett and Alain Delaquérière contributed research.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/22/business/ftx-sam-bankman-fried-influence.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/22/business/ftx-sam-bankman-fried-influence.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Sam Bankman-Fried, the co-founder of FTX. The company sought to shape industry regulation. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

The campaign of John Fetterman, left, was backed by a super PAC funded by FTX executives. FTX pledged $600,000 to a Chicago nonprofit run by Richard Wallace, right, but it fell through. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KRISTON JAE BETHEL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

IVANA JARMON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A17) This article appeared in print on page A1, A17.

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[***Mayor Michelle Wu Wants to Change Boston. But Can Boston Change?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66P3-65X1-JBG3-639S-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By David Marchese

**Body**

When Michelle Wu became mayor of Boston just under a year ago, she was seen as a transformative figure -- not only for what she represented as the first woman and first person of color to be elected as the city's mayor but also for the progressive policies she hoped to pursue, like a civic Green New Deal, waiving fees for some public transportation and reinstating a form of rent control. When Wu took office, these lofty goals were complicated by circumstances both predictable and unforeseen, mundane and extraordinary. ''I was sworn in and immediately was trying to navigate Boston through the Omicron surge,'' says Wu, who is 37. ''Then there were major searches for another police commissioner, school superintendent, director of our planning and development agency, fire commissioner. We were shepherding through a first budget and allocation of federal recovery funds. Our state-run public transportation system announced that they were shutting down one of the most heavily used subway lines for 30 days with two weeks' notice.'' It's been a busy 11 months. ''Has it only been less than a year?'' Wu asks. ''It feels like much longer!''

Boston is experiencing both a housing-affordability crisis and growing wealth inequality at the same time that industries like pharma and biotech are booming in the city. As long as that sort of structural dynamic is in place, where are the real opportunities to help make the city more livable for ***working-class*** people and their families? We will never be successful as long as the challenge is how to most fairly or least painfully allocate a shrinking pie or even one that is of a fixed size. We have to grow it. That's uniquely challenging in Boston. You could count on one hand the spaces that are left for major development, unlike other parts of the country where there is more landmass available. But I have in my head the number 800,000, which was the peak of Boston's population in the 1950s. We have been climbing back but still are at or under 700,000. So the question is: How do we ensure that we can be a green and growing city that's healthy and affordable for everyone? We need to have the infrastructure to be able to support getting back to that height of our population with growth that is equitable and sustainable. So we did a land audit to identify opportunities on city-owned land -- maybe it's a parking lot; maybe it's a community center in need of renovations -- to wherever possible add affordable housing that is climate-resilient and accessible. We're rethinking the whole process of how planning, development and zoning happens.

Does that rethinking involve abolishing the Boston Planning and Development Agency? Our plan is to ensure that the institutional structures that Boston has match the current needs of the community today and into the future.

You punted the question. Yes. The answer is yes. We have a planning and development system that is still basically what was created in the 1950s and '60s in an era of trying to tackle blight and focusing on the downtown areas. Today Boston is in a very different place, and we have needs that are just as dire, and so we need to reorient our systems and governments to focus on resiliency, equity and affordability. That involves separating planning and development and empowering planning to be connected with how we think about climate and transportation and housing.

But as far as housing, how do you define what success looks like? Do you have a number in mind for new units of affordable housing built and a date by which that should happen? Our Office of Housing and the Boston Housing Authority have goals in terms of how many new units of affordable housing we intend to formally propose or get into the pipeline over the three years left in this term. But to your average residents living in one of our neighborhoods, that number is meaningless if they are still feeling that they have to make hard choices between paying the rent or paying for groceries -- or if they're feeling that they managed to buy their home when it was still possible in Boston, but that their kids don't have any scenario in which they can. That's why I'm focused on understanding how we can house people and get to an 800,000 population number, which feels different than just counting units of housing.

Almost a year into the job, what have you learned about the tensions between trying to enact the transformative policies you ran on and the day-to-day operational and transactional realities of running a city? City government can be nimble, innovative and move quickly when we choose to, but sometimes it feels as if we don't have a choice because we're dealing with a major crisis -- public-health-related or infrastructure-and-transportation-related. But the goal, always, is to try to carve out the time and space from the unexpected crisis-level situations that need an immediate response to be able to change systems and get to root causes in a transformational way. We can't take only safe steps that get us to maybe mediocre outcomes. We have to take risks. Sometimes we will fail, but we will keep learning from what we're doing. For example, our experience with the Orange Line shutdown: That entire subway line closed down for major repairs and upgrades. That was the purview of the Massachusetts Bay Transit Authority. The city stepped up to support all of the diversionary transportation, the alternative shuttle service, traffic signals, dedicated bus lanes, making our bike-share system free for 30 days. It went about as smoothly as it could go. Since the reopening, we've kept some of the changes, because many of the ideas that we accelerated and made happen have been helpful for traffic flow and public safety. That's the goal, to look for opportunities for lasting impact and constantly iterate and show improvements.

You mentioned the need to take risks. What's an example of a real risk you've taken? The first thing I did in office: We filed a request with the City Council for funds to make three bus routes fare-free in Boston. I advocated for a program like this over the years, and we had been told this could not happen -- that the system would be overrun and unable to accommodate the demand; that this would somehow lead to devaluing the service if anyone could just get on and ride. We had to work through weeks of negotiating all the way up to the Federal Transit Administration and Secretary Buttigieg about getting the rules clearly defined and determining that this was something that could proceed -- and did it! These three routes have been running for months now. I have met people who have said this is life-changing, not only for their ability to move around the city and access opportunities and resources, but even for something as basic as their feeling like they belong in the city when there's a service that is available for all.

But the federal money that pays for those free bus lines is going to run out in the not-too-distant future, right? There was some portion of the federal recovery funds that was used for revenue replacements, and we allocated somewhere around $350 million, including the $8 million for that pilot. The eight million is for the next two years, and the rest of the federal funds mostly have to be spent between 2025 and 2026. This is in some ways a risk that we are taking to prove and make tangible the impacts of a different way of doing things so that we can make the case for increased investment from the state and federal government or a new revenue source at the city level.

Correct me if I'm wrong, but wasn't it determined that the first of the free transit lines was by and large not saving people money because most riders had to transfer to get to the free lines? I think one-third of folks were just riding the bus and therefore directly saved on their fares. That number can seem small if you're looking at it like 33 out of 100 percent, but for the 33 percent of community members who now are fully plugged into job opportunities, getting to and from Roxbury Community College and child care and social meetings with friends and family, that makes a big difference. You know, it's not all or nothing. Think about traffic flow, for example. Boston had, prepandemic, the worst rush hour congestion of any city in the country. The thing about traffic is, some folks will say, ''You're never going to get everyone to give up their cars.'' But that is not the goal. The goal is to ease traffic. Studies have shown that getting even 5 percent of cars off the road creates enough space for the folks who are still driving to maneuver around other cars. That's the scale of work at the city level that can add up to quickly having impact.

You won your election by a wide margin, but the overall turnout was very low -- less than 30 percent. How much is public apathy a problem for your work? There's a lot of not even apathy but outright cynicism and disillusionment around politics today, for very good reason. Battling that sense that we can't do anything, that delivering change is impossible, rests entirely on building trust and creating a connected community. At all levels of government, this is a major struggle, but city government is the place where we can demonstrate regular progress, and the steps are immediately impactful and can make a difference in people's lives. For example, if you take the school system, there are a lot of structural challenges that our Boston public schools have been facing. We could implement all the new curriculum and policy that we want, but unless your child's bus comes on time and you can rely on the fact your child is going to get to school and have a great, full day there, none of the big-picture stuff matters. So it's at that scale: You build back trust by getting the little things right.

Do you feel you've made any mistakes that undermined public trust? I'm thinking of an example like the controversy around Ricardo Arroyo, in which you endorsed him for district attorney, then rescinded the endorsement, and then said you voted for him anyway. I mean, there are so many immediate situations that require almost instantaneous decisions and responses. No day is perfect, and on any number of issues, we try to debrief and learn and be transparent with residents about what went well and what didn't go well so that we can keep improving. I do my best to be transparent about my own decision making.

It's hard enough in Boston to do what sound like relatively simple things like converting the city's gas street lamps to LED or creating an electric school-bus fleet, let alone even bigger projects. So when that's the case, aren't you in danger of getting caught in an overpromise-underdeliver cycle that then feeds the cynicism you talked about earlier? People understand that longstanding challenges didn't happen overnight and aren't going to be fixed tomorrow. But that's why it's so important to be honest about what the specific milestones are, what the process is, who's involved and why pieces need to be put in place in order to deliver change. For example, we had a community meeting about the Boston police union contract-bargaining process, and someone in the meeting remarked that this was not something they had ever heard of happening before. Usually it's a closed-door conversation. Someone else in the meeting said, Why are we even talking about contracts when the real issue is accountability or police reform overall? But it's important to be clear that something that feels as technical as legal language in a contract has a lot to do with outcomes that we experience on the street in terms of training and preparedness and community interactions and funding. Bringing people into that process is important to get to the real purpose of government, which is for us to have shared ownership over big problems so that we can actually solve them. It has to be a shared endeavor.

This interview has been edited and condensed from two conversations.

David Marchese is a staff writer for the magazine and writes the Talk column. He recently interviewed Lynda Barry about the value of childlike thinking, Father Mike Schmitz about religious belief and Jerrod Carmichael on comedy and honesty.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/21/magazine/mayor-michelle-wu-wants-to-change-boston-but-can-boston-change.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/21/magazine/mayor-michelle-wu-wants-to-change-boston-but-can-boston-change.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY MAMADI DOUMBOUYA) (MM11)

Below: Michelle Wu celebrating her election as mayor of Boston, November 2021. Opposite: Wu with Gov. Charlie Baker and Representative Aaron Michlewitz in September. (PHOTOGRAPH BY STUART CAHILL/MEDIANEWS GROUP/ BOSTON HERALD, VIA GETTY IMAGES) (MM12)

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY MATT STONE/MEDIANEWS GROUP/ BOSTON HERALD, VIA GETTY IMAGES) (MM13) This article appeared in print on page MM11, MM12, MM13.

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[***The American Dream: Successes and Doubts; letters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64SC-6HR1-JBG3-61FY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 13, 2022 Sunday 14:07 EST

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**Section:** OPINION; letters

**Length:** 991 words

**Highlight:** Readers respond to an essay by Tara Westover, the author of “Educated,” about college education and the American dream.

**Body**

Readers respond to an essay by Tara Westover, the author of “Educated,” about college education and the American dream.

To the Editor:

Re “[*I Am Not Proof of the American Dream,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/02/opinion/tara-westover-educated-student-debt.html)” by Tara Westover (Opinion guest essay, Sunday Review, Feb. 6):

I grew up poor in New York City and had experiences similar to Ms. Westover’s.

The American dream is unobtainable today for the vast majority of poor students, particularly because of the outrageous cost of obtaining a college, let alone a graduate school, education. This is an American tragedy, a threat to our democracy, yet is a problem that is solvable if as a nation we put our minds to it.

Student debt needs to be eliminated. We as a nation need to rein in the explosion in the costs of higher education, and we need to make it affordable through government subsidy, an expansion of Pell grants or other means not yet identified.

Our democracy is still an experiment that requires constant nurturing by an educated and informed populace. Education has always been, and shall continue to be, a pillar of a successful democracy. That fact ought to be a guiding light in bringing together our otherwise polarized nation because we all shall “win” or “lose” based on whether we successfully address this challenge.

Barry S. Sziklay

West Orange, N.J.

To the Editor:

Through her own tenacity, grit and will, Tara Westover, using a modest government grant to help pay basic expenses and tuition subsidized by the Mormon Church, transformed herself from an unsophisticated, impoverished young girl into a highly skilled, successful and well-educated professional.

But she has become disillusioned with the American dream she personified, and paints a depressingly bleak and disheartening picture of the prospects for a new generation of equally determined young strivers.

Ms. Westover vividly describes how she struggled to achieve her goals. She writes: “But it was possible. Without family money, without cultural advantages, it was a thing that could be done, if only just, if you really wanted it.”

That’s a pretty good definition of the American dream, and it remains a reality for many thousands of motivated offspring of ***working-class*** Americans as well as immigrants who came here with next to nothing, and who are equally plucky and determined as the younger Ms. Westover.

The inflated costs (of tuition, housing, etc.) that Ms. Westover justifiably laments may indeed seem impossibly imposing. But lesser costs once seemed so to her. Why underestimate today’s dreamers? They are out there, undeterred.

By all means, let us pursue Ms. Westover’s suggestions: restore funding, reduce inefficiencies and inequalities. But let us promote the hopeful example of her earlier experience rather than the discouraging despair of her current view of the American dream.

Alan M. Schwartz

Teaneck, N.J.

To the Editor:

Tara Westover’s essay notes that her life was transformed by the financial stability provided by a Pell grant she received as a college sophomore.

Ms. Westover applied for that grant because a church leader insisted she do so. It was this person’s intervention, as much as the grant itself, that allowed Ms. Westover to shift her focus from keeping a roof over her head to her academic work. She succeeded because she gained access to both personal and financial resources that enabled her to fully participate in her studies.

Most of us have benefited from a timely offer of help, encouragement or information. The networks that provide such support, at least as much as the resources they mobilize, enable people to succeed. None of us can make it alone.

Ms. Westover’s experiences show how important it is that each of us embrace our opportunities to extend a helping hand.

Deborah Beck

Austin, Texas

The writer is an associate professor of classics at the University of Texas at Austin.

To the Editor:

Tara Westover’s essay resonated deeply with me. I feel like a fraud because people tell me I should be proud of my success, but none of it would have been possible if not for financial aid from the State of Texas and scholarships from private donors that allowed me to have a slightly more normal college experience than the typical kid putting herself through college. I can’t imagine putting time toward extracurriculars or taking only one job during college if not for that.

Even with all that help, I still had to take on student loans, and if not for my major and career choice, I wouldn’t have been able to pay them off so soon. I definitely wouldn’t recommend that most people make the choices I made.

My story, like the author’s, proves what’s so nefarious about the American dream: We’re conditioned to think that if we ask for help we’re a drain on society, thus shaming us into silence and avoiding an honest conversation on the role of government in this crisis.

Dhananjay Khanna

Seattle

To the Editor:

The underlying message in Tara Westover’s fine piece is really about the failures of our financial aid system.

Students are perplexed about how much funding is available. Ms. Westover didn’t know she was eligible for a Pell grant until her sophomore year. Even if she had, though, financial aid can still be inadequate today.

If we are going to provide economic opportunity to all students who manage the inequities of the K-12 education system and are college-ready, the financial aid system needs to be more transparent so that students know what college will really cost them. And it needs to provide sufficient aid so that lower-income students don’t need to work multiple jobs, go into excessive debt, and survive on ramen noodles. Our current system fails on both scores.

Phillip B. Levine

Wellesley, Mass.

The writer is a professor of economics at Wellesley College and the author of the forthcoming book “A Problem of Fit: How the Complexity of College Pricing Hurts Students — and Universities.”

PHOTO:   (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by Tyler Comrie; Photograph by Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 1, 2023

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[***Closeness***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YT2-NV11-DXY4-X09Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 1, 2020 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; Movies, Performing Arts/Weekend Desk; Pg. 5

**Length:** 367 words

**Byline:** By Glenn Kenny

**Body**

The first feature film from Kantemir Balagov arguably commits an egregious breach of cinematic ethics.

The early scenes of ''Tesnota (Closeness)'' -- the first feature directed by Kantemir Balagov, whose subsequent ''Beanpole'' was Russia's 2019 entry for the international feature Academy Award -- convey unsettling sexual intrigue and old-fashioned exuberance. The tomboyish Ilana (Darya Zhovner) and her brother David (Veniamin Katz), part of a ***working-class*** Jewish family living in the Russian town of Nalchik in 1998, have an unusually close relationship. A little before David's engagement party, the siblings have a cheeky discussion on how ''lucky'' David's betrothed is, given his sexual equipment. Whoa.

The following celebration, though, is feisty and innocent. Balagov has a real knack for getting in close to his characters and almost participating, with the camera, in their dancing.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

After this, the trouble begins. The couple is immediately kidnapped by locals -- likely Kabardians, the Circassian tribe that dominates the town.

The demanded ransom is high, and while the engaged girl's family can afford it, Ilana and David's cannot. One potential solution involves an arranged marriage. But Ilana's involved with a Kabardian lug, Zalim (Nazir Zhukov). As attached as she is to her brother, she can't abide this proposed refutation of whatever autonomy she has left.

This movie, which Balagov, a Nalchik native, states in an onscreen text is based on a true story, has a whole lot of ''slow'' and one very nasty burn. Ilana gets plastered with Zalim and his pals (one of whom says, ''Jews are good -- to make soap from,'' not aware Ilana is Jewish), and the group watches a VHS tape of authentic documentary footage showing the slow torture and murder of a Russian. This is apparently footage Balagov himself saw under similar circumstances as a younger man. Whatever his ostensible point, its inclusion here is a deplorably truculent demonstration of directorial prerogative. It does more than cast a pall over the rest of the picture.

Tesnota (Closeness)

Not rated. In Russian, with subtitles. Running time: 1 hour 58 minutes. Watch on Kino Marquee.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/30/movies/closeness-review.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/30/movies/closeness-review.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: A scene from ''Closeness,'' from the director Kantemir Balagov. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Kino Lorber FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 1, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Inside Sam Bankman-Fried’s Quest to Win Friends and Influence People***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66XH-H7F1-JBG3-6023-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** BUSINESS

**Length:** 2537 words

**Byline:** Kenneth P. Vogel, Emily Flitter and David Yaffe-Bellany

**Highlight:** In just three years, the FTX co-founder built a massive operation to woo politicians, regulators and nonprofits to support his crypto goals.

**Body**

In just three years, the FTX co-founder built a massive operation to woo politicians, regulators and nonprofits to support his crypto goals.

In May, the founder of a Chicago nonprofit that works with recently incarcerated people got an email from the father of Sam Bankman-Fried, offering to make a donation on behalf of his son’s cryptocurrency exchange.

Soon after FTX pledged to give the nonprofit $600,000, a consulting firm hired by the exchange blasted the news to members of prominent think tanks, urging them to praise the program publicly on Twitter. At least two email recipients did so.

The money never made its way to the nonprofit, called Equity and Transformation. But the pledge — and its attendant publicity — provides a glimpse into the inner workings of the sprawling influence campaign that Mr. Bankman-Fried shaped before it all came to a halt this month when his company was forced to file for bankruptcy, prompting a criminal investigation.

In the three years since Mr. Bankman-Fried launched FTX, the company, its executives and its philanthropic arm spent or pledged hundreds of millions of dollars in political and charitable contributions, consulting fees, investments in media outlets and even real estate.

A network of political action committees, nonprofits and consulting firms funded by FTX or its executives worked to court politicians, regulators and others in the policy orbit, with the goal of making Mr. Bankman-Fried the authoritative voice of crypto, while also shaping regulation for the industry and other causes, according to interviews, email exchanges and an encrypted group chat viewed by The New York Times.

Politicians, advocacy groups and fund-raisers are now distancing themselves. Some lawmakers are offloading campaign contributions from Mr. Bankman-Fried and his allies by [*making donations to charity*](https://www.politico.com/news/2022/11/15/lawmakers-return-ftx-money-00067009) in the [*same amounts they received*](https://www.cnbc.com/2022/11/14/former-ftx-ceo-sam-bankman-fried-loses-lobbyists-to-washington.html). Lawmakers are calling for hearings.

In some ways, FTX followed the playbook of larger and more established corporations that spend years carefully spreading money through the political system to cultivate relationships and build clout. But FTX’s influence operation launched faster and was more frenzied.

It blurred the lines between corporate affairs and political activity, and prompted concerns among some involved about whether the money was being spent effectively and in compliance with strict campaign finance laws, while leaving some potential beneficiaries feeling like there was a quid pro quo.

“It was relentless and all-encompassing,” said Dennis Kelleher, the president of Better Markets, a nonprofit that fights for more regulation of financial firms.

When FTX was seeking regulatory approval for some of its activities from the Commodity Futures Trading Commission, a company official asked around about whether a donation would help secure the support of Better Markets, according to Mr. Kelleher and a second person with knowledge of the inquiry who did not want to be identified. FTX did not donate to Mr. Kelleher’s group.

In an interview on Sunday night, Mr. Bankman-Fried said he strongly believed in the charitable causes he funded. But he acknowledged that some of his political work around the world was a public-relations exercise.

“All people running especially regulated businesses had to spend time thinking of what ribbons we had to place around the business to cloak it in a sense of we-wish-they-could do-gooderism,” Mr. Bankman-Fried said. “We all end up playing that same game.”

Mr. Bankman-Fried and Ryan Salame, another FTX executive, burst onto the big-money political scene during the 2022 election campaign. As their net worths soared, they established themselves and FTX as influential cross-partisan givers.

To determine where to spend their money, representatives for a newly formed super PAC operation that received money from FTX executives sent [*questionnaires*](https://prospect.org/power/crypto-pac-questionnaire-claims-bitcoin-mining-good-for-environment/) to dozens of candidates to assess their stances on cryptocurrency.

In early March, representatives for one super PAC, Web3 Forward, were pleased when the campaign of John Fetterman, the Pennsylvania Senate candidate, returned a completed questionnaire expressing support for the cryptocurrency industry, according to people familiar with the situation.

“Need nothing further from Team Fetterman. Thrilled he is pro crypto,” a consultant for Web3 Forward emailed an ally of Mr. Fetterman.

About two months after the email, Web3 Forward began [*airing an ad*](https://host2.adimpact.com/admo/viewer/b2f3ac7a-3c15-445a-8a90-969707cca08a) casting Mr. Fetterman as a ***working class*** champion who was not “gonna get schmoozed by lobbyists.” The super PAC spent nearly $4.7 million boosting Democratic candidates in the midterm elections, mostly in their primary campaigns, including [*more than $212,000 supporting Mr. Fetterman*](https://docquery.fec.gov/cgi-bin/fecimg/?202207159521494616), who won his race and is set to begin his term Jan. 3.

Joe Calvello, a spokesman for Mr. Fetterman, sought to distance the newly elected senator from the disgraced crypto entrepreneur. “Sam Bankman-Fried must be held fully accountable,” Mr. Calvello wrote in an email.

In a statement, Adam Goldberg, a spokesman for Web3 Forward, said that neither Mr. Bankman-Fried, Mr. Salame “nor anyone else at FTX or representing its interests had any role in deciding the candidates we supported.”

But campaign filings show that Web3 Forward received almost all of the roughly $5.9 million it raised in 2021 from GMI PAC, a super PAC for which Mr. Salame was a founding board member. GMI, in turn, received about 32 percent of its nearly $11.6 million from Mr. Salame, Mr. Bankman-Fried and an FTX affiliate.

Mr. Goldberg said that although Mr. Salame was involved in GMI, not everyone who donated to the super PAC or sat on its board supported FTX’s specific agenda, and in fact some opposed elements of it. Mr. Salame resigned from the board of GMI PAC on the day this month that FTX filed for bankruptcy, according to a person familiar with the super PAC.

Mr. Salame did not respond to requests for comment.

In the months leading up to the 2022 elections, Mr. Bankman-Fried donated about $40 million to federal campaigns and committees that primarily supported Democrats, according to Federal Election Commission records — including $27 million to a super PAC called Protect Our Future that said it focused on helping candidates who support pandemic preparedness.

That made him the party’s second biggest single donor behind George Soros, the billionaire financier who has been among the leading funders on the left for decades. Mr. Soros is 92, and some Democratic fund-raisers had high hopes that Mr. Bankman-Fried, 30, could play a similar role financing the left well into the future.

In a [*podcast interview*](https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/sam-bankman-fried-wants-to-save-the-world/id1602541473?i=1000563436178) earlier this year, Mr. Bankman-Fried said he expected to spend “north of $100 million” in the 2024 presidential election.

Republicans also had high hopes for Mr. Salame, who donated nearly $24 million in the 2022 campaign, mostly to Republicans and groups that support them, including $15 million to a super PAC he launched called American Dream Federal Action. It spent nearly [*$517,000*](https://docquery.fec.gov/cgi-bin/fecimg/?202206209515210770) [*supporting*](https://docquery.fec.gov/cgi-bin/fecimg/?202206209515210771) the successful Senate campaign of Representative Ted Budd of North Carolina.

Mr. Budd was also the beneficiary of [*more than $400,000*](https://docquery.fec.gov/cgi-bin/fecimg/?202205059502681386) in spending by a super PAC called Crypto Innovation devoted to helping Republican congressional candidates. Crypto Innovation in turn received $2.8 million from GMI, the PAC connected to Mr. Salame.

Mr. Budd did not respond to a request for comment.

A week before Election Day, a group funded by Mr. Bankman-Fried and formerly run by his brother, Gabe Bankman-Fried, Guarding Against Pandemics, hosted separate cocktail receptions for Democrats and Republicans at a townhouse near the Capitol. The group, which focused on pandemic preparedness, [*paid nearly $3.3 million in April*](https://int.nyt.com/data/documenttools/guarding-against-pandemics-purchased-a-3/a8026b60d18a591d/full.pdf) for the house, where it hosted events. [*An invitation*](https://int.nyt.com/data/documenttools/invitation-to-a-reception-with-ryan-salame-at-the-guarding-against-pandemics-townhouse-nov/c14d4638a0d1e246/full.pdf) to the Republican reception hailed Mr. Salame as a “budding Republican megadonor.”

Some people in Mr. Bankman-Fried’s orbit were worried that FTX and its executives were being sloppy in their political spending, diminishing its effectiveness and potentially courting violations. Those concerns are reflected in messages to an encrypted group chat called “Political FTX comms alignment,” which also reveals a blurry line between FTX and some of the political and advocacy efforts funded by its executives.

An official at Guarding Against Pandemics texted the chat in late October, concerned that a $500,000 donation to a Democratic Party PAC in Oregon from Nishad Singh, an FTX executive, had been misattributed to a cryptocurrency payment processing firm.

“I don’t want FTX to get less than fully value from the contribution,” the official wrote, asking company executives to confirm “1) whether this is an FTX advocacy contribution, and 2) if so, who it is supposed to be from.”

The official appeared to reference a similar occurrence earlier in the year, when a $14 million contribution had been listed on F.E.C. filings as having come from the same payment processing firm. It was subsequently [*re-attributed mostly to Mr. Bankman-Fried*](https://www.politico.com/news/2022/04/19/crypto-super-pac-campaign-finance-00026146) and partly to Mr. Singh. The donation to the Oregon PAC was also reclassified to reflect that it was from Mr. Singh, according to [*state campaign finance records*](https://secure.sos.state.or.us/orestar/transactionHistPubDetail.do?tranRsn=4394693&amp;transType=currentTran&amp;OWASP_CSRFTOKEN=YBVZ-IJB4-N9UG-38US-TN03-FT1I-MYNI-DZYS).

Mr. Singh did not respond to requests for comment.

The shifting filings underscored [*concerns about crypto money*](https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/digital-currencies-flow-into-political-campaigns-but-state-regulations-vary-widely) financing political donations, which are tightly regulated by laws that carry stiff penalties for masking the source of funds.

The Oregon Elections Division is investigating the donation as a possible campaign finance violation at the request of Shemia Fagan, Oregon’s secretary of state, according to Ben Morris, a spokesman. He said that if the agency found sufficient evidence of a criminal violation, it would refer the matter to law enforcement.

To burnish his intellectual profile in public, Mr. Bankman-Fried often participated in events to demystify the cryptocurrency industry. On Oct. 12, he sat down for a “fireside chat” with Jason Grumet, the president of the think tank the Bipartisan Policy Center — at Mr. Grumet’s invitation — to discuss “recent movements in the crypto market, the role of regulation, and the long-term future of the industry.”

Mr. Bankman-Fried could be charming in private meetings, disarming his audience with his directness and excitement about crypto, said one person who interacted with him. As he tried to secure a meeting with Gary Gensler, the chair of the Securities and Exchange Commission, he asked J. Christopher Giancarlo, a former chairman of the C.F.T.C., for an introduction.

Mr. Giancarlo, whose friendly posture toward crypto earned him the nickname “Crypto Dad,” agreed to help. He attended a meeting with Mr. Gensler and Mr. Bankman-Fried in [*October 2021*](https://www.sec.gov/foia/docs/secchaircalendar/chair-gensler-public-calendar-2021-10.pdf).

“He presented FTX with a degree of confidence and expressed integrity,” Mr. Giancarlo said. “We now know that was not true, but that’s how he presented it.”

Behind the scenes, Mr. Bankman-Fried also held discussions with other regulators, in particular the C.F.T.C., which regulates derivatives trading. FTX officials had numerous meetings with staff of the commission, mostly to talk about FTX’s application for a C.F.T.C. license. Larger issues, including how cryptocurrencies should be regulated, also came up, three people briefed on the discussions said.

Rostin Behnam, the chairman of the C.F.T.C., and Mr. Bankman-Fried agreed that the C.F.T.C., rather than the S.E.C., should have primary oversight of much of the crypto markets, the people said. That was the broad thrust of a cryptocurrency bill being drafted by Senator Debbie Stabenow, Democrat of Michigan, who was Mr. Behnam’s former employer.

Staff of the C.F.T.C. provided “technical” advice to Ms. Stabenow’s staff working on the bill, called the Digital Commodities Consumer Protection Act, said Steven Adamske, a commission spokesman.

FTX representatives, including Mark Wetjen, its head of government affairs and a former C.F.T.C. commissioner, also gave their input.

Mr. Adamske said that the technical assistance and legal analysis his organization provided to Congress “came solely from the C.F.T.C.”

Matt Williams, a spokesman for Ms. Stabenow, said no single stakeholder, including FTX, had “significant input” into the bill. “In fact, none of the substantial changes FTX requested were included in the legislation.”

Mr. Bankman-Fried gave $20,800 to the Stabenow Victory Fund.

In late July, when the bill was unveiled, Mr. Behnam’s chief of staff wrote to the offices of the four other commissioners — two Republicans and two Democrats — asking them to release a joint statement praising the legislation. When they did not all agree to do so, Mr. Behnam, a Democrat, released a statement on his own.

Christy Goldsmith-Romero, one of the Democratic commissioners, said she did not issue a statement because she wanted to study the legislation and “decide what I thought.”

Even as Mr. Bankman-Fried focused on politicians and regulators, his father, Joseph Bankman, appeared to be more involved in promoting his son’s ideas for charity and social change.

In addition to connecting with Equity and Transformation, the Chicago nonprofit, Mr. Bankman identified programs designed to increase financial inclusion and close the racial wealth gap that he thought Mr. Bankman-Fried should donate to.

Mr. Bankman, a professor at Stanford Law School, also sought to connect his son with his friends in academia whose research focused on racial equality and financial inclusion. Mr. Bankman hoped his colleagues would support his beliefs that cryptocurrencies could help equalize access to the financial system.

“I did reach out to others who share my interest in financial inclusion to explore the role that crypto might play,” Mr. Bankman said in a phone interview on Monday.

On Nov. 11, the day FTX filed for bankruptcy, Mr. Bankman wrote to Richard Wallace, the executive director of the Chicago nonprofit, to express his sadness that the $600,000 donation wouldn’t come through. The staff of the FTX Foundation, the exchange’s philanthropic arm, had resigned and its funds had evaporated.

The donation, which had been promised in June and would have paid for a guaranteed income program for recently incarcerated people and their families, was set to begin Thursday.

“I’m heartbroken, as you can imagine, about what’s happening and heartbroken about the loss of our project,” Mr. Bankman wrote to Mr. Wallace. He said he would have funded half the project out of his own pocket had the FTX Foundation been able to put in the other half. Funding the entire $600,000 by himself was out of the question, Mr. Bankman added.

“I’ll be spending substantially all of my resources on Sam’s defense.”

Joe Rennison and David McCabe contributed reporting. Kitty Bennett and Alain Delaquérière contributed research.

PHOTOS: Sam Bankman-Fried, the co-founder of FTX. The company sought to shape industry regulation. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); The campaign of John Fetterman, left, was backed by a super PAC funded by FTX executives. FTX pledged $600,000 to a Chicago nonprofit run by Richard Wallace, right, but it fell through. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KRISTON JAE BETHEL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; IVANA JARMON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A17) This article appeared in print on page A1, A17.

**Load-Date:** November 23, 2022

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[***Biden has an edge over Trump in Iowa, according to a New York Times/Siena College poll.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6141-0P21-DXY4-X3T9-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 21, 2020 Wednesday 21:49 EST

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**Section:** US; elections

**Length:** 436 words

**Byline:** Jonathan Martin and Glenn Thrush

**Highlight:** A New York Times/Siena College poll shows Joe Biden with an edge over President Trump in Iowa.

**Body**

A New York Times/Siena College poll shows Joe Biden with an edge over President Trump in Iowa.

[*Joseph R. Biden Jr.*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html) has a narrow edge over [*President Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html) in Iowa, a state Mr. Trump carried by more than nine percentage points in 2016, and the high-stakes Senate race there appears even closer, according to a New York Times/Siena College poll released Wednesday.

Mr. Biden leads Mr. Trump 46 percent to 43 percent among likely voters in Iowa, which is within the poll’s margin of error, with 7 percent saying they were undecided or refusing to name a preference, according to the survey.

Senator Joni Ernst, a Republican whose re-election race could help determine control of the Senate, is capturing 45 percent support while Theresa Greenfield, her Democratic opponent, has 44 percent.

Mr. Biden is being propelled by women, younger voters and white voters with college degrees, the same demographics lifting him across the country. But he is also running stronger in Iowa among seniors and ***working-class*** white voters than he is in other similarly Republican-leaning states.

Mr. Biden is leading among voters 65 and older, 49 percent to 42 percent, and he is trailing Mr. Trump among white voters without college degrees by only seven points, 48 percent to 41 percent.

The poll, which interviewed 753 likely voters in Iowa by phone from Oct. 18 to 20, has a margin of sampling error of about four percentage points.

President Barack Obama carried Iowa twice, but the state swung decisively to Mr. Trump [*in 2016*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html). But as in other Midwestern states, Mr. Trump’s incendiary conduct has alienated many voters. The president is viewed unfavorably by more than half of likely Iowa voters, and very unfavorably by over half of women and college-educated voters there.

Another survey of Iowa, released Wednesday by [*Monmouth University*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/elections/joe-biden.html), found Mr. Biden leading Mr. Trump by 50 to 47 percent among likely voters there. Mr. Biden’s edge, which is within the poll’s margin of error, was calculated using a high-turnout scenario that most observers say is already playing out in early voting and absentee balloting.

It also represents a dramatic shift in just the last month: In September, Monmouth found Mr. Trump leading by a 49-to-46 percent margin using the same voter model.

The Monmouth poll found Ms. Greenfield narrowly leading Ms. Ernst, by a 49-to-47 percent margin, which was also within the poll’s 4.4 percent margin of error.

PHOTO: Joseph R. Biden Jr. campaigned in North Carolina on Sunday. A new poll finds him three points ahead of President Trump in Iowa. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Ruth Fremson/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 21, 2020

**End of Document**



[***When America Was Awash in Patriotic Frenzy and Political Repression; Nonfiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66HT-7VJ1-JBG3-60V4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 3, 2022 Monday 17:53 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 2002 words

**Byline:** Thomas Meaney

**Highlight:** Adam Hochschild’s new book, “American Midnight,” offers a vivid account of the country during the years 1917-21, when extremism reached levels rarely rivaled in our history.

**Body**

Adam Hochschild’s new book, “American Midnight,” offers a vivid account of the country during the years 1917-21, when extremism reached levels rarely rivaled in our history.

AMERICAN MIDNIGHT: The Great War, a Violent Peace, and Democracy’s Forgotten Crisis, by Adam Hochschild

At a time when professional doom-mongering about democracy has become one of the more inflationary sectors of the American economy, it is tonic to be reminded by Adam Hochschild’s masterly new book, “American Midnight,” that there are other contenders than the period beginning in 2016 for the distinction of Darkest Years of the Republic. By some measures — and certainly in many quarters of the American left — the years 1917-21 have a special place in infamy. The United States during that time saw a swell of patriotic frenzy and political repression rarely rivaled in its history. President Woodrow Wilson’s terror campaign against American radicals, dissidents, immigrants and workers makes the McCarthyism of the 1950s look almost subtle by comparison.

As Hochschild vividly details, the Wilson administration and its allies pioneered the police raids, surveillance operations, internment camps, strikebreaking and legal chicanery that would become part of the repertoire of the American state for decades to come. It may be recalled how, when Donald Trump was a presidential candidate in 2016, his followers ignited a media storm when they threatened to lock up his challenger. But only Wilson went the distance: He jailed his charismatic Socialist opponent, the 63-year-old Eugene Debs, for opposing America’s descent into the carnage of the First World War, with the liberal press in lock step. “He is where he belongs,” Hochschild quotes The New York Times declaring of the imprisoned Debs. “He should stay there.”

When Wilson became president in 1913, he was hailed as a progressive visionary. He wanted to transform moth-eaten American institutions into a sleek administrative state. Despite prompt invasions of Mexico and Haiti during Wilson’s first term, the country was hardly prepared for a major war. In 1917, as Hochschild recounts, the U.S. Army was smaller than Portugal’s. An 18th-century legal corset — the U.S. Constitution — constrained the executive branch, requiring two-thirds of the Senate to ratify foreign treaties. The state’s financial coffers were heavily reliant on excise and customs revenues. Despite the booming American economy and a thriving modern culture that would soon sweep the globe, Wilson found that he had taken control of the equivalent of a creaking galleon in an age of submarine warfare. He wanted to make America the decisive player in world politics, and for its influence to match its economic might.

Aided by the news of German war atrocities, the Wilson administration whipped up anti-German hysteria. Wilson produced a great deal of cant about making the world “safe for democracy,” though by “democracy” he had in mind something like an international clinic for political delinquents with America as supervisor. Internal enemies ultimately proved more reliable than high ideals in sustaining the country’s war fever. German-speaking Americans and other immigrant groups made for obvious targets. “I want to say — I cannot say it too often,” Wilson declared in 1919, “any man who carries a hyphen about with him carries a dagger that he is ready to plunge into the vitals of this Republic.” But the grander enemy was American socialists, who publicly opposed entering a war in which they would kill fellow workingmen at the behest of their ruling classes.

Standard histories of the first “Red Scare” tend to tell it as a largely domestic story. Hochschild insists on filling out the international dimension. The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 features in “American Midnight” like a flare against the dark sky that captures the imagination of the left wing of the American labor movement. “Lenin and Trotsky were the men of the hour,” Debs declared, as members of the Industrial Workers of the World — known as the Wobblies — organized actions across the country. In 1919, one in five American workers walked off their jobs. In Seattle, in what later became known as the “Soviet of Washington,” a motley group of labor unions succeeded in conducting the first general strike in U.S. history — the only time American workers have taken over a city.

Yet neither the Wobblies nor any of the other American socialist outfits were a pincer party, unlike the Bolsheviks in Russia, who were led by a determined group of brilliant strategists and had a crumbling empire in their sights. Instead, the Wobblies, whose American membership never numbered more than 100,000, were a thinly organized movement fighting against business groups, which financed vast armories, many of which still squat at the center of American cities. These, in turn, were backed by a fledgling surveillance state that did not hesitate to outsource its violence to officially sanctioned vigilante groups. “Force, force to the utmost, force without limit,” Wilson said on Flag Day in 1918, the year his administration began overseeing the banning of small radical magazines like The Masses, and the hounding of any publication not on board with the war.

Hochschild also stresses how the Wilson administration drew on America’s experience in the Philippines, importing torture and counterinsurgency techniques back to the mainland. In “American Midnight,” the years 1917-21 figure unmistakably as a two-front war. While Wilson dispatched the Philippine War veteran Gen. John Pershing to fight Germany in Europe, he permitted the more ruthless Gen. Leonard Wood — who had, among other achievements, overseen a large massacre of Moro and Tausug people in his days as governor of Moro Province — to put down revolts across the American Midwest.

Hochschild’s best-known book, “[*King Leopold’s Ghost*](https://www.nytimes.com/1998/09/20/books/into-africa.html?searchResultPosition=3),” initiated a generation of Americans into the horrors of European colonialism and became required reading in the human-rights-saturated 1990s. Something of a specialist in the annals of atrocity, Hochschild spares no detail in “American Midnight.” In 1914, the Colorado National Guard, which had fought in the Philippine War, killed 11 children while defending a Rockefeller coal mine from strikers. For German-speaking Americans, these were years of persecution and fear. There were public burnings of German songbooks, and German-language instruction was widely banned in schools. In a foretaste of the transformation of French fries into “freedom fries” during the Iraq war, frankfurters became “hot dogs,” while sauerkraut less successfully transitioned into “liberty cabbage.”

Paranoia reached an absurdist pitch. “You can’t even collect your thoughts without getting arrested for unlawful assemblage,” the editor of The Masses, Max Eastman, told an audience in 1917. “They give you 90 days for quoting the Declaration of Independence, six months for quoting the Bible, and pretty soon somebody’s going to get a life sentence for quoting Woodrow Wilson in the wrong connection.” When a young Eugene O’Neill went to work one sunny day on the beach in Cape Cod, a vigilant citizen interpreted the flashing glares reflecting off the metal of his typewriter as — what else? — covert signals to German submarines. “He was arrested at gunpoint,” Hochschild writes.

As in “King Leopold’s Ghost,” Hochschild in “American Midnight” stages a morality tale. There is an extensive cast of villains, from Leo Wendell, the intrepid federal agent who managed to pass himself off as one of the most radical Wobblies for years, to A. Mitchell Palmer, who with the help of a young J. Edgar Hoover conducted “raids” on radicals; Nicholas Murray Butler, the war-giddy president of Columbia University; and Ole Hanson, the reactionary mayor of Seattle, whom Hochschild nominates as America’s first “professional anti-Communist.” As a Nebraskan who takes some pride in my local knowledge, I thought I was the only one who knew about the mafia boss Tom Dennison, who toppled the progressive mayor of Omaha by orchestrating a series of attacks on women by white thugs in blackface, but Hochschild includes every twist and turn of the episode.

If the proto-human-rights missionaries such as Roger Casement and Edmund Morel were the heroes of “King Leopold’s Ghost,” Hochschild has a more colorful cast to work with in “American Midnight.” There is Emma Goldman, the Russian-born revolutionary; Marie Equi, the medical doctor and fighter for women’s and workers’ rights; and the fiery orator Kate Richard O’Hare — all of whom the Wilson administration wasted no time imprisoning on charges authorized by the 1917 Espionage Act. W.E.B. Du Bois captures the deep dismay American Blacks felt about a party that had begun to attract more of their votes, but which all but acquiesced in the licensing of lynching by Dixie senators. Hovering throughout Hochschild’s account is Debs himself, the keeper of the tablets of American socialism, who tried to unite the various factions of the nation’s labor movement, but whose temperament and long term in prison made him more of a symbol than a strategist.

Hochschild’s sharp portraits and vignettes make for poignant reading, but at times skirt fuller historical understanding. We hear about newspapers and magazines being shut down, but little about what was being argued in them. Powerful thinkers about the political moment, such as Randolph Bourne, are absent from “American Midnight,” while John Dos Passos features more as a backup bard than a literary chronicler with historical insight. Hochschild attributes much of the failure of American socialists to expand their ranks to the racism and xenophobia that bedeviled the white ***working class***. But there were also significant problems of organization in the American labor movement, which struggled to unite unskilled immigrant workers with workers in established unions. Trotsky had expected America to make as great a contribution to world socialism as it had to capitalism; he was appalled by the lack of party discipline, later damning Debs with faint praise, as a “romantic and a preacher, and not at all a politician or a leader.” The Catholic Church inoculated large segments of immigrant workers from radicalization, while canny capitalists like Henry Ford devised ways to divide workers into a caste system with different gradations of privilege. For all of the success of the strike waves of 1919, almost none of them left any permanent new union organization in place, nor did socialists make much headway in electoral politics.

In the closing portions of this tale, Hochschild shows that, by contrast, a generation of American liberals learned what not to do from Wilson. As his international crusade sputtered into catastrophe, with Wilson signing off on the Versailles Treaty, which laid the kindling for World War II, younger members of his staff were already preparing to become different kinds of liberals. Felix Frankfurter, who, as a young judge advocate general, gallantly tried to counteract some of Wilson’s domestic terror, and Frankfurter’s friend Walter Lippmann, who worked on Wilson’s foreign policy team, were determined to cast off the administration’s excesses. Both envisioned a state that would protect civil rights instead of violating them, and oversee a more efficient and fair economy. In the early 1930s, even as they drifted apart, Lippmann and Frankfurter would help impart a crucial lesson to the Roosevelt administration: If it wanted to snuff out American socialism, it was better to absorb some of its ideals than to banish them.

Thomas Meaney is a fellow at the Max Planck Society in Göttingen, Germany.

AMERICAN MIDNIGHT: The Great War, a Violent Peace, and Democracy’s Forgotten Crisis | By Adam Hochschild | 421 pp. | Mariner Books | $29.99

Thomas Meaney is a fellow at the Max Planck Society in Göttingen.

PHOTO: A socialist rally against World War I in New York City in 1914. (PHOTOGRAPH FROM LIBRARY OF CONGRESS)

**Load-Date:** October 4, 2022

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[***Transcript: Ezra Klein Interviews Richard Reeves; The Ezra Klein Show***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67RH-MG21-JBG3-62M7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 10, 2023 Friday 09:59 EST

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**Section:** PODCASTS

**Length:** 22316 words

**Highlight:** A conversation with scholar Richard Reeves.

**Body**

Every Tuesday and Friday, Ezra Klein invites you into a conversation about something that matters, like today’s episode with Richard Reeves. Listen [*wherever you get your podcasts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/19/opinion/how-to-listen-ezra-klein-show-nyt.html).

Transcripts of our episodes are made available as soon as possible. They are not fully edited for grammar or spelling.

EZRA KLEIN: I’m Ezra Klein. This is “The Ezra Klein Show.”

[MUSIC]

Men and boys are in bad shape. They’re in real bad shape. That’s the argument of Richard Reeves’ new book, “Of Boys and Men.” Or maybe I shouldn’t say it’s the argument. It’s just what the numbers say across a huge range of domains — health, and education, and income, and happiness, and friendship, and on and on. Reeves is a senior fellow at Brookings, where he’s been studying inequality and poverty and family policy and gender inequality for years.

And that work has taken him to an unexpected, even uncomfortable place. When we think about gender inequality, we’re usually thinking about women and girls, and for good reason. Men have been dominant, forcibly dominant, legally dominant in society, functionally forever. And only in recent decades have enormous barriers been even weakened. But the progress women have made in that time is remarkable.

Here’s one stat Reeves offered that blows my mind about Title IX, the big gender equity and education bill that was passed in 1972. At that time, there was a 13 point gender gap in bachelor’s degrees, with men of course ahead 13 points. That gap has only grown since, to 15 points, but now it’s women ahead. So the gap is bigger now than it was in 1972, but in women’s favor. And obviously — obviously, the problem there is not that women are doing well. The problem is that in a lot of places, men are doing poorly.

They’re falling behind. They’re falling behind where they have been in the past. And they’re falling behind in ways that are tough on families, in ways that are tough on marriages, ways that are tough on children. And it gets much, much worse when you go down the income ladder. So I wanted to have Reeves on the show to take a close look at these numbers, to think through some of the objections to them, and to ask what can and should be done here.

And I went back and forth on saying this next part because maybe it’s just obvious. But at a meta level, I often think in politics you face this implicit sense that compassion or concern is zero sum, that to care about one group or one issue is to care less about another. I just don’t believe that. I actually think there’s evidence is not true. And maybe I can talk about that in an Ask Me Anything episode sometime.

But compassion, it’s not measured out in teaspoons from a cup. It’s quite the opposite. I think it’s much more of a habit, something we get better at, something we have more capacity for the more we practice it. As always, my email, [*ezrakleinshow@nytimes.com*](mailto:ezrakleinshow@nytimes.com)

[MUSIC]

Richard Reeves, welcome to the show.

RICHARD REEVES: Thanks, Ezra, really pleased to be here.

EZRA KLEIN: So your book opens with the line that, “I have been worrying about boys and men for 25 years.” Why 25 years? What are you worried about?

RICHARD REEVES: Well, that’s a reference to the fact that I’ve raised three boys, and the oldest is actually just about to turn 26. And so I’ve been engaged in the enterprise of fathering boys for that long. And I have this view that all scholarship is at least partly autobiographical. I think inevitably we bring some of our own experience into it. And so I just wanted to put out there immediately, that is one of the reasons why I have a particular interest in boys and men.

I don’t — I obviously don’t have a counterfactual, would I have written the book if I’d had three daughters, or written a different book as opposed to having three sons? But there is no doubt that personal reason is part of the motivation for the book.

EZRA KLEIN: But something you suggest there is that in your long life as a poverty and family policy scholar, 15 years ago, 20 years ago, you might have been worried about your boys, but you weren’t as worried about boys. And something began to ping for you and change that. What were the early signals that this was a class that needed special consideration now?

RICHARD REEVES: Well, it’s true that I knew some of the general trends around what was happening to boys and men in various areas, but I just had a couple of moments where I read a couple of findings, or I just — it was a couple of facts were illuminated in a way that I hadn’t really noticed before. And I kept stumbling across them, essentially. And eventually, just cumulatively, I came to see that my work on inequality, generally on family change, even on race equity, just had this missing lens, which was this gendered lens.

And of course, then, I’m bringing the conversations from home into the workplace too, but just a couple of moments where I had just read a paper, or I saw a stat. And I went, whoa, OK, I didn’t know that. And then I would sometimes share it with colleagues and say, did you know this? Did you know, for example, that college enrollment fell by seven times as much for men as for women in 2020? That’s one example.

And so I just kept feeling like it went from stumbling across these data points to kind of running in them and bruising my chin on them. And then secondly, the mere fact that these things weren’t well known enough was an indication that we weren’t having a very good quality conversation about men and boys and masculinity. I looked around and I said, why, who’s talking about this? And I didn’t really like the answer, generally, to the question of who’s talking about this. And so that felt like both an opportunity and a responsibility.

EZRA KLEIN: I want to raise an obvious objection here, which maybe speaks to that who’s talking about it, why aren’t people talking about it, which is for most of human history, men have been socially and economically dominant. We’re going to talk a lot about education and college studies, but men were basically all college graduates for almost the entire time there’s been such a thing as college. We’ve had a couple of decades of just moving in the general direction of equality.

And as soon as women are ahead on a couple of measures, not by any means all measures, there’s this — oh, crap, what about the boys feeling that emerges. How do you answer that objection when you hear it?

RICHARD REEVES: Well, the first thing I do is not only to honor that objection, if you like, but to share it. It’s honestly one of the reasons I think that it’s taken me so long to gather the evidence, and to some extent, muster the courage to address this issue, because I have the same reflex. Essentially, what we’re saying is, OK, so we’ve had, I don’t know, 10,000 years in which the cause of gender equality was just intrinsically synonymous with the cause of women and girls.

And then just, like, yesterday women got ahead in a few areas, and suddenly you’re freaking out? Seriously? Like, I get that instinct. I think that’s actually a perfectly natural reflex, in part because the pace of the change has just been so extraordinary that updating our view of the world is very difficult. It’s a bit like the needles on a compass swinging from North to South or something. It’s like, wait, what?

And just think updating our view of the world as the evidence changes is very difficult. But also just honestly, at an emotional level, I totally understand that gut reaction to this sense of, like, oh, wait, now you’re freaking out about boys and men? Like, you get three minutes where you’re behind and it’s a crisis? I get it. But I don’t think it’s productive to stay in that emotion. I think that’s an understandable and necessary and honorable emotion. But then we say, OK, having established that, now let’s look at the facts.

And the facts are there a bunch of places where boys and men are really struggling now. And maybe it’s in all our interests to address them.

EZRA KLEIN: Let’s work through a couple of them. And I want to begin with education. Tell me about the male-female education gap that has opened in K to 12.

RICHARD REEVES: So it depends which measure you use, of course, but a couple of data points just to ground our conversation are that if we take high school GPA, which is a pretty good measure of all kinds of things — outcomes, it’s a very good predictor — what does it look like? And if you then just rank high school GPA across the distribution, what you find is that the top scoring students, in terms of GPA — the top decile, ⅔ of them are girls, and bottom 10 percent, ⅔ of them are boys, with a roughly linear relationship in between.

So there’s a very big gender skew in high school GPA. There’s about a six percentage point gap in on time high school graduation. There’s a very big gap in kind of school readiness. In the typical U.S school district now — this is work from Sean Reardon and his colleagues at Stanford — in the typical school district, girls are at least ¾ of a grade level ahead in English and dead even in math. And in the poorer school districts, they’re a grade level ahead in English and about a ⅓ of a grade level ahead in math.

And so the broad picture here is that in K-12 education, and indeed in every level of education — we’ll obviously come to higher education in a moment — what you’re seeing is that there is a really pretty significant gap in favor of girls in school as opposed to boys. A very important caveat is that those gaps are just much wider in certain places and for certain groups. So for boys of color and especially Black boys, the gap between Black boys and Black girls is much bigger than the gender gap for other racial groups. it’s much bigger in poorer communities.

And so there is a very strong class and race dimension, too. Essentially, the gender gap just magnifies the further you go down the socioeconomic scale, or you introduce a race equity lens as well.

EZRA KLEIN: Yeah, I want to hold on that for a minute. And this is a point you make in the book which I think is a little counterintuitive, because there’s a way of coding this conversation as an almost backlash conversation, a conservative take on where things have gone. But something your book gets at very clearly is that this is very much an intersectional argument, to use the terms of the day, that when you begin to stack what is happening — let’s take schooling here for a minute — with boys.

And then you add in poverty, or you add in race, or you add in some of these other markers. The situation gets very, very stark, which I think is honestly one of the better reasons to be deeply concerned about it. Can you talk a bit about that, because I think when we talk about boys and girls, there’s a tendency to keep missing the kind of subdivisions within there?

RICHARD REEVES: Yeah, and the different ways that different distributions overlap. And again, it’s one of the reasons why I decided I wanted to write this book, because you do see that this story of struggling boys and men is very largely one of less economically powerful, or less advantaged boys and men. I’ve come to the point now where for some of these categories that we’re looking at, I think it’s borderline irresponsible just to look at the category Black, for example, and things like on time high school graduation, or higher education, or even upward mobility.

Because what that does, by just — of course, it’s appropriate to look at it in one way. But then you have to break it down because the differences between the outcomes for Black boys and Black girls, for example, are really very, very wide. So I think that the intersectional lens, applied as I understand it, anyway, is to say, look, let’s look at how different identities are coming together in ways that would actually explain different patterns of disadvantage.

And here, it turns out that when you add gender to the story, it goes in different ways. So ***working class*** boys, low income boys are doing really badly, and as I said, especially Black boys and men, by comparison to their sisters, or to the girls in their communities. And the last thing I’ll say on this — and it turns out this is again something that really struck me, I didn’t really know this. It’s one of these things that the scholars say, oh, well, it’s a well known finding in this literature.

And in this case, it means seven people knew it, which is that poverty, school quality, family instability, et cetera, dramatically affects boys more than girls. And so that means that there’s an intergenerational element to male disadvantage as well. And the fact that inequality does affect — poverty and inequality do affect boys more is, I think, an opportunity, because what that means is that if you’re serious about caring about boys and men, which a lot of people on the political right would claim to be, then you should get much more serious about poverty and inequality.

But also, by the way, if you’re serious about economic inequality and poverty, which a lot of people on the left would say they are, you really need to look at the boys and men, because they’re the ones who are struggling most in those groups.

EZRA KLEIN: One thing that was a striking finding for me is that we will talk about the way school is structured, but this is showing up before school. You write, quote, girls are 14 percentage points more likely than boys to be school ready at age five, controlling for parental characteristics. Why do you think that is?

RICHARD REEVES: The blunt reason is that boys develop a little bit more slowly than girls on average. I think we can assume that for this conversation, people will — your listeners will understand that these are averages, and a fair question is how much the distributions then overlap. But on average, five-year-old boys just aren’t — they’re just not quite as developed as five-year-old girls. And that’s why controlling for all these other characteristics is important, and why looking at siblings is important, too.

So it’s just — they’re just not quite as grown up as girls by that point. And then, again, there’s a much bigger gap later in adolescence, which maybe we’ll get to. So it looks like the two big developmental gaps by gender are around the age of four or five, and around the age of 14 or 15. And the problem with those dates is that it — coincidentally, those turn out to be when you’re starting school and when you’re getting into high school, which are in other words very important transition moments where you see this big development gap.

So although there’s a big, heated debate about the male brain versus female brain in adults, and so on — how different are our brains, to which my answer is not very different, and not in ways that really matter once you get to adulthood. There’s really no debate about the timing differences, and that girl’s brains do develop earlier than boys. And that seems to be particularly true at around those two ages. So I think it’s largely a neuroscientific thing.

But I think there’s also some evidence that boys are a little bit more sensitive to their environments. They’re a bit more sensitive to poverty, a bit more sensitive to family instability. They benefit much more from getting stable foster care, for example, than girls. And so there’s something also about — if you do have this disadvantage beginning in these early years, these crucial early years, that to the extent that there are problems in those early years, they’ll be more likely to affect the boys than the girls, and therefore show up in measures of school readiness.

EZRA KLEIN: This is going to come up a couple times in the conversation, but something that struck me reading the book is that there are moments of what you might call biological determinism or gender essentialism — right, this thing about boys’ brains developing a little bit later, or being more aggressive, particularly as children. And then there’s a lot that goes in the other direction, which I don’t think you always actually call out, but struck me as I went through it from our cliches.

This interesting finding that boys are more sensitive to their environments, and seem to pick up more intergenerational inheritance in some ways, culturally, socially, than girls do — I mean, that is — I would call that a narrative violation, right? Boys being more sensitive to their environments in a lot of different ways, masculinity being a much more fragile construct, which we will talk about, boys in some ways becoming less adventurous — that there are things that we have claimed in society for a very long time about how boys are strong and robust and durable and stoic, and so on.

And women are emotional and sensitive and hysterical, and you can run down the list of cliches. That is not really proving out right now in a way that I think fascinatingly upends a lot of our typical conversation.

RICHARD REEVES: I came across this term in psychology a few years ago, which I find quite helpful in this debate, which is the difference between an orchid and a dandelion. So it’s a well used just conceptual framework, which is the idea that an orchid is developmentally much more sensitive, where it takes a lot of work to make an orchid grow, whereas a dandelion will grow pretty much everywhere, under all kinds of conditions. So dandelions are resilient.

And it turns out that in terms of the environmental conditions, that boys are a bit more orchid and girls are a bit more dandelion. The difficulty is that no one really knows why. There isn’t an obvious — as far as I know, an obvious causal mechanism that says, why is it that boys are more sensitive to these different backgrounds than girls? And there’s lots of theories that fly around in evolutionary psychology, but I just — I haven’t found any kind of convincing story as to why.

But we do know that it’s true, and that it’s true across all these different domains, all these different dimensions. So one example that — actually, this work draws on the work of Raj Chetty, that I know you know very well, is that kind of neighborhood poverty just seems to affect boys more than girls, independent of the family’s own income situation — like, just in a poor neighborhood. And you can speculate as to all kinds of reasons that might be the case, but the same with a poorer performing school — just seems to affect boys a bit more.

And as I say, I haven’t found a kind of convincing explanation for why. But I agree with you that it’s a narrative violation, to the extent that the narrative is — if the narrative is boys are strong and independent, they don’t need any particular attention, girls need nurturing and tendering — to the extent that there is any difference, it runs exactly the other way.

EZRA KLEIN: One thing you argue based on this difference in the timing of brain development is that we need to face up to the idea that school is simply structurally designed in a way that disadvantages boys. Tell me what you mean by that.

RICHARD REEVES: Yes, and it’s important just to say, not structurally designed in order to be less favorable to boys. So it’s not intentional. There wasn’t some great secret feminist conspiracy 100 years ago when we were designing the high school system to say, a-ha, it’ll take a century, but eventually we’ll get our way. But now that we’re in a situation where we have, thankfully, taken away most of, if not all, of the barriers to women’s education — girls and women’s educational opportunities and pathways and ambition, we do see this difference opening up.

And what I mean by that is that the education system rewards certain kinds of skills and behaviors which are, everything else equal, more likely to be found in girls than in boys, and more likely to come earlier in girls than in boys, like organization, et cetera. So I find the difference in the GPA gap and the standardized test score gaps really instructive in this regard. There is a quite significant GPA gap in favor of girls, but there isn’t on standardized tests.

Standardized tests now are basically equal. So it’s not that girls are smarter than boys, or of course, the other way around. It’s that girls have just got their act together a bit more. They’ve got their prefrontal cortex kicking in. They’re turning their chemistry homework in. They’re getting their coursework done. Those are what social scientists call like non-cognitive skills, or I do — I refer to them as turning in your chemistry homework skills.

And so to the extent that we reward those kinds of behaviors and that they are more likely to be found in girls, then everything else equal, that means that baked into the education system is something of a tilt towards girls. It’s just that we couldn’t see that before because we were basically not letting girls go on to college, or certainly strongly discouraging them from doing so. So those natural advantages weren’t as obvious.

And the other thing that I’d say very quickly are the drop in the share of male teachers in public K-12 schools — not in privates, interestingly. It’s going up there. But there are fewer and fewer men in our classrooms. That, everything else equal, I’m reasonably convinced does seem to have some implications for boys in the classroom. So we’re down to 24 percent of K-12 teachers are men now, down from 33 percent in the ’80s, and very few, particularly in early years and elementary and middle school.

And the last point is that something of a retreat from vocational forms of training, which everything else equal, does seem to have some gender effects — technical high schools, more vocational training seems to be a little bit more attuned to boys’ learning styles than girls. And of course, you want balance here, but we’ve actually underinvested in those slightly more male friendly aspects of education.

So you put all those three things together and what you end up with is a school system that not through intent but by accident has ended up being somewhat more female friendly than male friendly.

EZRA KLEIN: I was somebody who struggled terribly in school with these exact kinds of skills, and so I’m very, on some intuitive level, sympathetic. But I want to make sure I’m raising a frustration that I can imagine coming up right about here, which is traditionally, when we’ve had groups that were struggling in school, kids of another race, poor kids, kids from a different socioeconomic class, women, we’ve tended to turn that into a problem with them or the culture they came from or their genetic inheritance, or something, right?

If you didn’t do well at school — school is a testing ground, and if you didn’t test, well — well, that showed there was something wrong with you. And then now boys are struggling, and it’s like, eh, maybe there’s something wrong with school. How do you think about that difference between, we should change school around boys, versus we somehow need to change boys around school, or we’re discovering something here that is more intrinsically telling?

RICHARD REEVES: Well, I think I disagree with the way you described the way we treated those groups, or at least you’ve generalized it. I think that one of the big gains, actually, has been to move away — particularly, I would say on the center left — away from that approach of saying, well, what’s wrong with you, individualizing these problems. And instead —

EZRA KLEIN: Well, that took a long time, I would say.

RICHARD REEVES: Well, I mean, if you go back to the — like, in the 1970s, this is a good test case, which is more specifically around gender. Like, in the 1970s when we passed Title IX and we were really pushing, or putting lots of money in trying to get women into STEM, et cetera, I think that, actually, there wasn’t the presumption that the reason the women and girls were behind in education was because there was something wrong with them.

I think the presumption was because the system was sexist, and society was sexist, and schools were sexist, and colleges were sexist. And we needed to batter the hell out of those sexist institutions. So I think you’re wrong. I think that, actually, one of the driving forces of the women’s movement at least was not to say what’s wrong with women. It was to say what’s wrong with society, what’s wrong with these institutions, and move away from that.

Now, of course, conservatives are much more likely to take that approach, the one you’ve described, which is the individualistic one. I actually think by contrast, what’s happening now is that by and large on the center left, there is a tendency to say what’s wrong with boys, what’s wrong with men, why are they so toxic? Why are they so lazy? Or whatever — and to not look for structural problems. So as I think we’ve moved now to a world where we’re much better at looking at what are the structural forces facing other groups, but we’re not doing that for boys and men now.

So in some ways, I see it almost entirely the opposite way to the way you’re seeing it, in terms of this structural versus individual way of looking specifically at gender. And I could be getting the history of the 1970s and 1980s wrong, but my sense of it is not that we were blaming women and girls and saying, what was wrong with them?

EZRA KLEIN: Well, I’d say two things on that. So one, I think if you only start the clock in the ’70s and ’80s, that’s sort of my point, that I mean, yes, we had a sort of moment of liberatory movements. But even there — I mean, I came of age as a journalist at a time when the cultural pathology explanation for Black kids in school and their achievement, or what was happening in Black families, was extremely dominant.

And now that a lot of that has moved over to white communities, that’s become less true. The ways in which we’re thinking about breakdown of marital stability — I mean, you know this work much better than I do — in white communities now, it’s much less about, oh, there’s some kind of cultural pathology, and much more about — and it’s somewhat in this book, too, there’s a structural set of problems.

And I mean, you see this again with the difference between the way we’ve looked at crack and opioids. So my point — I actually think you’re right. I 100 percent agree that the left — one problem it has, it is resistant to making the same move for boys. I think this is actually one of the very important contributions of your book. But I also want to acknowledge it, I guess in part to knock it down, but in part because I think it’s been a real dynamic, that it is an interesting move.

It is a difference in the way of looking at something to say, OK, as soon as a group begins falling behind in school, maybe we need to remake schools as opposed to begin looking for deficiencies in the group, or in their parents, or in their communities.

RICHARD REEVES: Yeah, start fixing the individuals, like, one individual at a time, which is still I think the dominant narrative for many on the conservative side of this argument. And when they’re being consistent about it, they also apply it to boys and men. They would say, yeah, they need to buck up. They need to stop looking at so much porn and video gaming so much, and they need to man up. They need to rediscover their inner masculine whatever — right, take your cliche from the right.

And of course, I could do the same for the left around toxic masculinity — stop being so toxic and pathological. But I think that this move that we’ve made, which is to say, well, look, without in any way dismissing the importance of what’s happening to individuals, let’s just look at the environment. Let’s look at the structures. Let’s look at the way in which the systems and structures around this person are informing their choices. And let’s start with that.

You don’t necessarily end there, but let’s start with that insight. And so you’re right that what I’m trying to do is take what I think was a very important move and say, let’s look at structures and not just individuals, and apply that to boys and men. And it may well be that it doesn’t always work, and that it’s not the right structure. But I think that we should have the same instinctive approach when we see gender inequalities running one way or the other way.

EZRA KLEIN: One very striking finding, given how clear the data is for girls doing better than boys in grade school, is that boys still performed a little better on most standardized tests. Tell me a bit about how that data has been changing and what you make of it?

RICHARD REEVES: Yeah, and it’s important. I think only a little bit better, I think it’s gone altogether on the ACT now. So it depends which tests you’re talking about, but that’s generally right. And the way I think about that is that those tests are largely getting at cognitive ability, let’s call it sort of just smartness, whatever, whereas things like GPA and so on are getting it these non-cognitive skills, which turn out to be very predictive, by the way, of life success and college success and so on.

So I think, historically, we’ve probably overweighted the smarts, the cognitive — right, the good test taking skills. We’re now actually — we’re now in danger if anything, perhaps, of going too far the other way. I’m not sure. But we need to rebalance it. And to the extent that there are gender differences in those outcomes, then what we want, of course, is a situation that balances both. But the way I interpret that difference is I don’t expect, actually, that girls will massively overtake boys on those standardized tests.

I think I would expect it to level out at something close to equality because I think girls and boys are about as smart as each other. So that’s a great thing. That’s a great gain, a great win for equality, if you like. I think the more interesting stuff is when you get into those non-cognitive skills. And then the question is, how much do they matter, right? So for example, when a college goes test optional in terms of its admissions — if a higher education institution says, no, you don’t have to put your test in, the main effect of that is to significantly increase the share of women by about four percentage points in that student body.

Now, you’d expect that, because the girls are just doing so much better on all these other measures — student government, GPA, et cetera. The only place where there’s kind of basically equality is on standardized tests. And so I actually don’t blame the institutions for doing that, but I think we should be eyes wide open about the fact that kind of policy move is going to have these gendered effects just because we see these differences in the outcomes on these two very different measures of ability.

EZRA KLEIN: Let’s move then to higher education. You mentioned Title IX, which passed in 1972, maybe we can say a word on what that was. But I think it’s a good marker. What was the gender gap like in higher education then and what is it like now?

RICHARD REEVES: So in 1972, Title IX was passed. And that was a big change in US law that just essentially said that we had to have and enforce gender equality across the board in US higher education. And it had really very positive and dramatic effects on women’s educational opportunities and outcomes. I mean, if you just look at the lines, it’s pretty extraordinary how quickly things changed after Title IX.

But at that time when Title IX was passed, boys, young men were about 13 percentage points more likely to get a four year college degree than girls. Now, girls, young women, are about 15 percentage points more likely to get college degree than boys and young men. And so we have Title IX level gender gap in higher education now, it’s just the other way around. So what happened was —

EZRA KLEIN: That’s an extraordinary finding. I mean, not finding. That’s just the literal data, but it is an extraordinary statistic.

RICHARD REEVES: Yeah, and I guess what I’m doing here is I’m using it to just dramatize to some extent the scale of the change, to put it the way that I just put it — you’re right, it’s not — that’s not difficult data to find. But it is — it’s really interesting how many people are surprised when I tell them that, because I’m like, well, it’s there in the NCES data sets. And I — didn’t you know? And of course, the answer is no. Of course they didn’t know, because it’s not really anybody’s job to make them know.

And it might not matter in the same way, by the way. I mean, we might take a very different view, even if the gaps were about the same or a little bit bigger now, we might very reasonably take different views about the gaps, not least because we might see them as having different causes, which indeed they do have. The main reason for the gap now is that the boys are just performing not as well at high school. That predicts how they do at college. That’s a very different problem to basically having this ceiling that we used to put on women’s equality.

So an inequality doesn’t necessarily mean an injustice, but it did in ’72. Does it now? I would say, no, it doesn’t. It just means we should look harder at the structures. And so — very quick catch up. And then I think it’s also important to note that nobody predicted or expected this great overtaking. We were quite rightly focused in the ’70s and ’80s — and we really were focused on just, how do we do better in terms of getting women and girls better educational opportunities and outcomes?

But the lines just kept going. And no one expected that. There’s — you cannot find anybody in the literature saying, well, wait, actually, this is going to turn out to go the other way, which I think is partly why we’re struggling to kind of get our heads around it, because it was just so in some ways unexpected that the lines just keep going in the way they have.

EZRA KLEIN: Something you note which I really didn’t know — I mean, I did know the college gap, although I didn’t know that it was a perfect inversion of when Title IX was passed, but the idea that female students are now twice as likely to study abroad. They are much more likely to do things like Peace Corps or AmeriCorps. The gap is even greater in the UK’s voluntary service overseas program. That’s really interesting to me. Talk a bit about that observation and what you make of it.

RICHARD REEVES: Yeah it’s an example of what I now think of as like the small data points, as opposed to the big data points. So you have these big data points, like college completion that we just talked about, or GPA, or earnings, or whatever. But then you stumble across these small data points, which I find in some ways are more culturally illuminating. So you’re quite right that studying abroad, twice as likely, AmeriCorps and Peace Corps, women twice as likely to be doing that as men.

And so there are these — like, outside of the kind of mainstream data sets, there are these really interesting data points that I think indicate something about ambition, about aspiration, about future orientation. There’s a sense of a passivity, of drift, of a bit — checking out a little bit in among young men and boys. And you see that then playing out in things like, more likely to live at home with their parents. Women are more likely to buy their first home, et cetera.

And so you’re seeing a whole series of scattered small data points which I think speak to a deeper cultural problem, which is something like male drift, passivity, uncertainty, a bit lost. So the women and the girls are actually just a little bit more metronomically going forward. And I give you — actually, this is a big data point, but another one that really struck me is that there’s about a 10 percentage point gap in college enrollment, four year college enrollment, between males and females.

But then conditional on enrolling, there’s a very big completion gap, and particularly at four years. So there’s a 10 percentage point gap between, conditional on enrolling, graduating four years later in favor of women. And so they’re just much more likely to graduate. They’re more likely to finish high school, go straight to college, finish college on time, go. And so there’s a linearity to the progress of girls and young women, and more of a zigzaggy look — and a bit more of a sense of retreat, perhaps, among many boys and young men.

EZRA KLEIN: This struck me as another interesting narrative violation, that we talk about men being very testosterone soaked, risk taking, aggressive. And there’s good evidence for that. I mean, you talk a bit about aggression statistics. And they’re very clear. But packaged in all that, I think in our stories, at least, has been that men are adventurous, that we’re explorers, that we want to go out into the world, and women are oriented to home and hearth.

And whatever the sort of underpinnings of this, this is quite different, what we’re starting to see now. I mean, the degree to which women are venturing out and men seem to be closing in, including in sort of digital worlds and otherwise, is striking.

RICHARD REEVES: Yeah, I say something along the lines of, like, women have been having to fight against misogyny outside of them, and men are now struggling for motivation within themselves. And it turns out that actually men, if anything, perhaps need a bit more structure, a little bit more sense of a script, if you like, which maybe we can talk a bit more about. But even things like geographical mobility is really interesting.

I think I discovered this after I finished the book, but in many countries, women are much more geographically mobile. Now partly, that’s driven by the higher education thing, but not just that. And so a great example of this is East Germany, where actually what happened was a lot of the women left and went to the West to seek new opportunities. And so there are parts of East Germany now where there are massive differences by gender just in the populations — also not coincidentally, the heart of the reactionary right in Germany.

So this sense of actually men being left behind, not moving, not getting up, not going, having less agency in many ways than women — and that could be partly related to the internet. I think in some ways, the internet might be both bad news and good news in that sense, because it might be better that men are in the basement than roaming around doing antisocial things. We can maybe get into some of that theory, as to is it good or bad that men are on the internet all the time?

But I do think the kind of broader point is that absent a really clear set of messages and scripts, men are actually not as likely to be adventurous. The only thing I wonder about, I’m just thinking about this recently, is like, is this a temporary effect? I’ve had a lot of people say to me, well, look, women are basically like immigrants now. They’ve had to fight their way in. They’re fighting for it. They want to be independent. They’re getting a message about being independent, so there’s a generation or two of women that are just unusually, like, ambitious and aspirational.

And that will pass over time, that difference will go. So the aspiration gap could be just that women are just unusually killing it right now, and very aspirational, and that will pass. But I’m not convinced, actually. I think that there might be something more structural going on here.

EZRA KLEIN: That brings up something I’ve been wanting to ask about, which is the international data. Let’s take schooling as an example here. When you look at peer countries, so other post industrialized, mostly democracies, what do we see?

RICHARD REEVES: We see the same patterns pretty much everywhere is that the short version. To some — there are differences at different levels, but I think it’s important that it’s happening pretty much everywhere in terms of those advanced economies, because that’s a good sign that it’s not something weird about the US K-12 system, for example. If it wasn’t also happening in Canada and the UK and Western Europe and everywhere, then you might start to think, oh, maybe it’s something about our system.

It’s not. It’s something broader than that, which I think speaks to these more deeper, structural issues that we’re facing. So in every OECD country, for example, there are more young women with a college degree than men. The gap is much wider in more gender equal places, which you might expect, so places like Scandinavia, there are much narrower gaps. In other places — like Germany, for example, has a much smaller gap than others in terms of getting some kind of post-secondary education. But that’s largely because of the technical education system in Germany.

But the basic picture is — I know the UK best, where I’m from, the UK data. And the UK data is very similar to the US data in terms of educational outcomes for boys and girls.

EZRA KLEIN: As someone who spends a lot of time reading about policy interventions, something that you tracked in here that I really didn’t know, and was striking, was that there — we’ve seen now a lot of pretty profound efforts to increase college attainment, or better K-12 outcomes, that look like they work. And then when you dig into them, they only work for women. And you have quite a few examples here. So I want to see if you could talk through the Kalamazoo study, and then just generally what you think this might be revealing.

RICHARD REEVES: Yeah, it was the Kalamazoo one that sent me down this track. So the Kalamazoo promise is the most generous college scholarship program. There are a number of these promise programs now around the U.S. And essentially, what they do is that they say, look, if you’re from this place, you can go to college for free. So in Kalamazoo, if you come out of a Kalamazoo high school, you go through the high school system there, we’ll pay full tuition. We’ll just pay for this in basically any college in the state.

So it’s unusually generous as a promise program, but also it’s really the only one that’s been properly evaluated by scholars at the Upjohn Institute. And I looked at their evaluation of the Kalamazoo Promise, and it finds pretty good overall results, but huge gender differences. And in fact, all the positive result is driven by women. So it increased college completion for women by around 50 percent, which they describe quite rightly as a really just very, very big increase, but it didn’t move the needle at all on male college completion.

There was no effect on male college completion. So that, again, is one of those moments where it’s not a data point you stumble across. It’s one that you bruise your shin on, you fall over, you get up again. You run around the corridors of Brookings showing it to everybody, saying, did you know this? They’re saying no. And then I dug in, and I kept coming across other studies, like a community college mentoring program, a school choice program, et cetera.

And then I actually discovered that colleagues like Brad Hershbein, who was one on the team in Upjohn, but also David Autor and Melanie Wasserman, David Figlio and others, they’d done work on this. And there were sentences in their conclusions saying, and we find, as so many other studies, that this well known effect that the intervention worked for girls or women, but didn’t work for boys and men. And I was like, well, I didn’t know it. I sort of think I should have known it, given where I am.

And so I walked around the corridors again, I’m going, did you know it? And they’re like, no, not really. So it was literally a handful of scholars knew that there was a pretty well known effect that we had these interventions that didn’t work for boys and men. So I end up really digging in on that and finding examples. Now of course, there are examples that go the other way — not many, actually. Like, a Boston pre-K evaluation found It was a bit better, if anything, for boys.

And there are lots of things that seem to work for both, like the ASAP program for community colleges and stuff. But to the extent that there are differences, they tend to break that way. And the scholars themselves very often weren’t making a very big deal of it, with some honorable exceptions. It was sort of noted, well, that’s interesting. We found the same thing as that last study, move on. But I didn’t want to move on. I thought, OK, this is just as important from a public policy point of view.

Why is it that these policies or programs are working for one sex and not the other?

EZRA KLEIN: So you went down to Kalamazoo, and you talked to some of the men who would have benefited from it, or maybe tried to, and didn’t. What did you hear?

RICHARD REEVES: I heard a lot of what we’ve been talking around in terms of the social science, actually, which was these guys were very — the ones who’d struggled, had gone in, hadn’t finished, et cetera. And I heard a few things. I heard one who was, like, I couldn’t make up my mind what to do, so I kept changing majors. Then, my friend had an idea for a business, so I stopped out to go and help him. And I never got back on the rails — or someone got sick, and I couldn’t get back.

And so a bit zigzag versus straight line, again, but they’re also very — I think it was — Tyreese, who was one of the guys that I talked to there. And he’s like, well, look, the women are more motivated. They’re more organized. They’ve got longer term horizons. And they’ve got better study skills. He’s like, duh. And Saad — I think it was one of them said to me, I always try and get women if I’m going to do a study group because they’re just so much better. They’re just on it.

And that sense of just being on it really kind of came through from these guys. So they were seeing themselves — just this skill gap, essentially, that they thought explained most of the difference in the ability to take — even the money. So what it suggested to me, and this is a broader point now, I think, just from gender, is that it’s really about the skill, and study skills, and the ability to make your way through college that’s important.

And I’m pleased that some colleges, a handful, are starting to realize that men are just finding that harder. Queensborough Community College, for example, just launched a men’s resource center. There’s one at the University of Oregon. I think we’ll see more of those as colleges just wake up to the fact that the guys just don’t have quite the same developed skills as the women. That’s certainly what all the ones I spoke to in Kalamazoo said.

EZRA KLEIN: So now to wrap this in an actual proposal, you argue that the college gap reflects the K to 12 gap. And I think your most eye catching idea of what to do about it is to redshirt boys in school, to start boys in school a year later than girls. Tell me about that.

RICHARD REEVES: Yeah, so based on the evidence that boys just do develop later than girls — again, on average — age, of course, is a very crude proxy. Like, when do we put our kids in school, right? How do you just — like, different countries, different states, different schools have different rules about this. So it’s a very arbitrary system in a way, when we put them in. But given that there is this gap, and especially this gap in adolescence where girls seem to develop earlier.

And in terms of non-cognitive skills, they’re a year or two ahead of boys in adolescence. Why not just start the boys a year later? So if we start girls at five, start boys at six — or four and five, or whatever it would be. And I see that as leveling the playing field. It would mean that developmentally the girls and boys would be closer to each other, even if chronologically, the boys are ahead. So the relationship between chronological age, developmental age is a bit different for the two of them.

And so for instance, in ninth and 10th grade, for example, where you see these huge gender gaps opening up, I think you’d see less of that. I think the boys would do a bit better if they just had that extra year, essentially for their brains to catch up with the girls’ brains. And the other thing — and here, I’m putting on my sort of class analyst hat too, is I really notice that it’s affluent parents who are quite commonly holding their boys back.

And in one private school I went to in the DC area, 30 percent the boys were actually old for their year. And I interviewed — this is for an “Atlantic” article that I did on red shirt the boys, I interviewed a bunch of people in and around these affluent parts of Dc. And it was kind of common knowledge. I mean, this woman who was actually a counselor to parents said, well, there are two entry dates, one for boys, one for girls. Everyone knows that.

And so as soon as I see people in positions of power, people with the resources to do something doing something, I’m paying attention. And right now, this is a very upper middle class thing to do. But ironically, it’s the boys who are the poorest who would benefit the most from an extra year, not the ones who are richest.

EZRA KLEIN: How would this affect girls? I mean, imagine a world where all boys are starting a year later. And that means they’re going through, among other things, puberty earlier. They’re that much bigger. Have we been able to see in the studies where this creates a better or worse environment for girls in these schools?

RICHARD REEVES: No — so importantly, of course, it would mean, actually, that boys are hitting puberty at about close to the same time as girls in the school, because of course girls hit puberty quite a bit earlier than boys. But I don’t know of any good evidence for the effect of having older boys around in schools has on girls in the school, or in the classroom. I think at a classroom level, it’s reasonable to think that it wouldn’t be a bad thing if the boys are just a little bit more mature, they’re a little bit more developed.

And I think that’s, if anything, going to create a better learning environment for the girls. So if you’re a 15-year-old girl trying to study, then actually you want a boy that’s a bit more like you in terms of age. And one data point on this is that girls are twice as likely to date a boy that’s older than them in school. That’s obviously a romantic thing, so it’s a different measure. But it speaks to something about that developmental gap, I think.

And it’s not as if we don’t have a lot of older boys in our schools anyway. I mean, quite a few boys will get held back a grade. And so it’s not a new thing to have older boys in schools. This would, of course, mean there’d be a lot more of them. And I think we’d have to evaluate. I think we’d have to see. But on the face of it, I actually think that having slightly more mature boys in a school wouldn’t necessarily be a bad thing. I mean, they’re going to hit puberty in high school anyway. They’re going to have that — kind of the bath of testosterone that comes with puberty.

That’s going to happen anyway. And so actually, in the sense that it’s happening a year later to them in terms of the school year isn’t a bad thing. I think in terms of the fact — like, how do they deal with that — I think it would be — on balance, I think would probably be good for everybody, but especially good for the boys.

EZRA KLEIN: So as far as interventions go, this just seems like a dream to pilot and evaluate. Like, you choose six school districts in different areas of the country, you randomize which schools within them do this. You follow the students for 10, 15, 20 years, and boom, you really know what’s going on here. But there have been some studies done that are more limited. Talk me through the effect sizes we seem to see here.

RICHARD REEVES: Yeah, so first of all — yes, if there’s anybody listening who would love to pilot this, that would be great. And I do think it needs careful evaluation for sure. But so — the studies that have been done, and there’s a very good one by Diane Schanzenbach and Elizabeth Cascio — and I should say, by the way, that they do not agree with me in terms of the policy proposal, although I partly based it on their research. I want to be clear and honest about that.

But what they do is they take a study that actually just accidentally meant that there were some kids that were older in their classes as a result of an unrelated policy reform. It’s actually about class sizes, reassigning kids to different class sizes. But it had this nice effect of basically randomly putting kids of different ages into different school years in Tennessee. And what they found was that there were some positive effects to being absolutely a year older.

So it’s not about relative age within the class. It’s about your absolute age. But strikingly, they found that the effects were just much bigger for boys than for girls. And for boys, they lasted all the way through high school graduation, or at least SAT taking. But for girls, they disappeared by high school. And they were much bigger for boys. What was nice about that study was that it was largely lower income boys and disproportionately Black boys, and so it was an unusual sample for this “redshirting,” thing, because most of the people being redshirted tend to be more affluent and white.

And so it was a chance to see what the effects were. And there were nontrivial effect sizes. And so to the extent that we have evidence from those kinds of studies where there’s been almost this accidental thing happening, the evidence points to some positive effects. The question is just, are they big enough to justify the policy overall? And what I argue is that we should just change the default. We should just think differently about it, and say maybe by default, just boys a year later than girls.

And of course, you could override the default, just as we do now — or maybe, ultimately, just have a system for admissions that is a bit more developmentally sensitive anyway.

EZRA KLEIN: You said those researchers don’t agree on the policy. What is their argument? What don’t they buy in yours?

RICHARD REEVES: So one of the concerns is that assuming that we keep girls starting schools at their current age, if we start boys a year later, then they’re going to be older. They might be more likely to drop out of high school. That’s one thing — because they hit a legal age where they could do. So that’s a real concern. But we could increase the school leaving age, maybe. Someone said to me, well, just start the girls a year earlier, because they’re ready earlier.

So that’s a different way of structuring the policy, of course. But they’re also concerned that there are costs because there’s an extra year of child care, or pre-K. And so that’s an important thing to bear in mind as well. And they’re worried about a lost year in the labor market. They’re worried that by taking an extra — another year over finishing school, essentially, that’s one year less in the labor market, which has effects on earnings, Social Security, et cetera.

I’m much less worried about that than them, because honestly, the boys I’m most worried about are not generally going straight from high school, to college, to a good job, and staying in work. They’re zigzagging one way or the other. And so I think they’re overweighting that one year for the group I’m most worried about. But I think that’s a reasonable concern, and I think, again, a reason why ideally you’d want to evaluate a policy like this.

[MUSIC PLAYING]:

EZRA KLEIN: Let me ask about one other solution in the educational space, which is you argue for a dramatic expansion of vocational and technical schools — not just education, not just a class in the school, but schools really dedicated to this. For people not familiar, tell me what the schools are like, and then tell me the kinds of effects we see of sending boys to them?

RICHARD REEVES: So a technical high school is one that’s intended to be one that is focused more around vocational kinds of learning. And so it could, for example, be doing more stuff in STEM, but it could also be doing sort of more vocational training towards, for example, some areas you’d consider to be more female, like health care administration, et cetera — but also a lot more around what you’d see as kind of classically vocational classes that were kind of more leading towards engineering type jobs, or electrician, et cetera.

And so they’re just more vocational — or auto mechanics is another one you do. So it’s essentially just more of what people might think of, quote, more shop class. Now, importantly, not instead of academics, they still do very strong academic programs as well. And there are a few states in the Northeast of the US that do have quite a few technical high schools, where we can actually draw some good evaluations from.

And I do propose we significantly increase that. So they just get more hands on learning, more vocationally oriented, more career oriented. And the evaluation studies that have been done in places like Connecticut show really some very good results in terms of earnings, in particular for boys who go to those schools, and no results for girls. This is a great example of a counter-example to the general trend of an educational intervention tending to work for girls and boys.

To the extent this is seen as an intervention, it tends to be quite pro-male. It really does seem to help boys a lot more than girls. And so — and for me, that’s the reason to do it, rather than not do it. An important, although slightly — one key point is that the evidence that I look at, anyway, suggests that career and technical education just spread across high schools doesn’t seem to be as effective as just, OK, here’s a technical high school, and you’re going to go to a technical high school.

And I’d love more students and parents to have that choice. There’s a real suspicion around some of them, I think, maybe a bit of snobbery, some concerns about tracking, which obviously have deep roots in American educational history. So there are lots of reasons why the US just is not as cool with the idea of these high schools as other countries are. But I’m pretty convinced that they would be a good idea, not least for boys.

EZRA KLEIN: So let’s move then to what happens after school. How would you describe the way the labor market changed over the past 50 years for men and for women?

RICHARD REEVES: So we’ve seen dramatically different trajectories for many men — most men and many women, and most women, but by no means all. So the way I see the labor market over the last 50 years — and here, I’m very influenced by the work of people like Claudia Goldin and others, just looking at the labor market trajectories — is that for most men, things have been pretty tough. And David Autor and Melanie Wasserman are good on this, too. It’s been pretty tough.

So a data point here is that most American men earn less today than most American men did in 1979. So not all, the men at the top are doing better than the men at the top were doing, but just overall. That means that at the median and a little bit above the median, male wages are a little bit lower, controlling for inflation, of course, than they were. We’ve seen rises across the distribution in wages for women, although again, much faster at the top than at the bottom.

So the class gap has massively widened for both men and women. But in terms of wages, of course there’s still a gender pay gap, largely as a result of the differences in the impact of parenting on men and women. But another data point is that in 1979, only 13 percent of women earned more than the median man, a typical man. And today, it’s about 40 percent. So about 40 percent of women now earn more than the typical man. That’s just a dramatic economic change.

The female wage distribution has not caught up entirely with the male one. And especially at the top, there’s still a lot more work to do. But wow, I mean, it’s hard not to look at that and see that, as I do, as the greatest economic liberation in global history. The amount of economic power that women now have in the labor market compared to 50 years ago is extraordinary. And then, of course, that plays out in employment too, where rates of female employment are just much higher than they were.

And actually, male labor force participation has obviously dropped quite significantly.

EZRA KLEIN: You mentioned the gender wage gap and the role of parenting there. I do think that’s an important thing to talk about directly. So the stat people will hear, maybe know, for every $100 earned by men, women earn $82. Tell me how you understand that data, and tell me a bit about how you parse the debate over that data.

RICHARD REEVES: Yeah, and it’s actually also just a great example of just another debate where I was so frustrated by the arguments on both sides, honestly, where there’s all these YouTube videos of why the gender pay gap is a myth, right? And then there’d be someone saying, yeah, but once you control for occupation and earnings and age and time in the labor market, it basically disappears, right? So it’s a myth.

Well, even if all those things are true, well, it doesn’t make it a myth. You’re helping me explain why it’s happening, but it’s not a myth. It’s just math. It’s just true.

EZRA KLEIN: There’s a great line, sometimes, of controlling for what you’re measuring, which I always think about when I see the videos.

RICHARD REEVES: Yeah, exactly.

EZRA KLEIN: Like, a-ha, I’ve controlled away the differences I was looking for.

RICHARD REEVES: I mean, you see it in race too. I mean, actually, I’ve seen studies that say, basically, if you control for every aspect of what it means to be Black in America, then being Black doesn’t make any difference. And so I think that’s a real problem in the way you use controls generally. And so I think that’s a fair criticism of it. So you’re controlling away the gendered nature of the labor market, for example.

But on the other hand, there is also a very strong sense among a lot of people that, yeah, there’s a gender pay gap and that’s because of discrimination. And in fact, I’m really struck by the survey evidence, that the more educated the respondent is, the more likely they are to believe that the cause of the gender pay gap is employer discrimination, that it’s because women are paid less than men for doing the same job. And that’s just not true.

It’s actually for much more interesting and deeper and structural reasons about gender division of labor around childcare, occupational segregation, et cetera. And so it’s just a more complex and nuanced debate, as so often, than either side of this would prefer us have to believe. On the one hand, it’s a myth. On the other hand, it’s a sign that employers are still patriarchs, discriminating wildly against women doing the same jobs. And neither of those are true. It’s actually just a much deeper question.

EZRA KLEIN: I think at this point it is fair to say we simply are using the wrong word for it. So back when I was at Vox, as editor, Sarah Kliff, who was there too, is now at “The New York Times” and is a great health and policy reporter, she did a ton of work on this. And we actually did a Netflix episode about it, and the whole thing. And it’s really a motherhood penalty.

RICHARD REEVES: Right.

EZRA KLEIN: And you could see this in different countries, and you see it in lesbian couples.

RICHARD REEVES: Yes.

EZRA KLEIN: Can you just trace some of that finding?

RICHARD REEVES: Yeah, I actually drew on some of Sarah’s work when I was looking at this. I think it’s really, really excellent work. And that is basically right. I mean, essentially, what you’re seeing is it’s a parenting penalty, I’ll put it that way, because it actually turns out — as you say, we have very good evidence from same sex couples now, et cetera, that it is just this fact of, you have a child. That affects what happens to you in the labor market.

And because that’s mostly women, that’s having this gender effect. So it’s really striking if you look at, like, earnings of men and women in their 20s now are very close, but around the age of 30, something happens. What is that thing — well, duh. And if you look at the charts that I think Sarah and others drew on, from — Kleven has good work in Denmark, but Corinne Low, I think, and others, have work in the US — that it’s still essentially true that for women, having a child is the economic equivalent of being hit by a meteorite, whereas for men, it doesn’t make a dent.

You just don’t see it, assuming they’re in heterosexual couples. And then what you see from this new data on same sex couples is that it’s really the parent. So among lesbian couples, as I think you alluded to, that the birth parent has suffered this wage penalty. What’s interesting, of course, about lesbian couples is that very often, you can take it in turns to be the birth parent. And so to that extent, within the couple at least, the “pain” of being out of the labor market for a while and losing out in the labor market can be shared.

But in a straight couple, obviously, it’s inevitable that the woman will be the birth parent. And if the birth parent is still the one that’s kind of paying this economic cost in the labor market, we’re still going to see a gender pay gap. And that is largely the reason for the gender pay gap. Now, of course, that doesn’t mean, OK, nothing to see here, then, move on. What it does is it just raises the more interesting question, which is, OK, so why is that then? Why is it that women are taking more time out of the labor market?

Why does parenting have such disparate effects on women and men? Is that really a choice? How far is that choice constrained? Why are the trade offs so hard? How do we make this better? So in a way, it just raises a more interesting question, rather than saying there’s no question here to be answered.

EZRA KLEIN: So to go back to the pay data, and I think this gets to something very important, we can talk about medians, right, the kind of imagined person in the middle of the data set. And we can talk about means, right, the sort of averages of everybody. And one thing that one of those will catch and the won’t is that elite men, men at the very top of the income distribution, there’s a very different story to tell about them than men in the bottom half, including comparatively with women.

So can you talk a bit about that difference and also the ways it might deform this conversation?

RICHARD REEVES: Yeah, it’s true that men at the top are continuing to do really well. You’re also seeing massive wage gains for educated women at the top as well, relative to where they were before, and especially for white women, actually. I mean, white women now earn more than Black men, for example. But it is this top of society. It’s the top 20 — this is back to my earlier work on the dream hoarders, the top 20 percent, and they tend to marry each other and so on. And

So there’s just, like, massive runaway economic inequality, or there has been in the last few decades, towards the top. And that is driven to some extent by men. So men at the top, yep, still doing pretty well economically, and women at the top doing pretty well economically, a lot more than they were before. And then when you get into the institutions, especially the apex — right, you start to see, like, who makes partner in a law firm, who gets into the c-suite, et cetera, still very gender skewed.

And so at the apex of society, what you’re seeing is that women are still struggling to turn these kind of massively increased educational credentials into economic power at the same rate as men. They’re obviously much more economically powerful than previous generations of women, but that translation mechanism just isn’t working quite the same way. And I think that’s because there remain these structural barriers in some ways — in some areas like politics, which you know better than me for sure, Ezra, but in things like, how do you make partner?

How do you get tenure? How do you get into the c-suite? And the way that the labor market currently works is that, basically, the way you do that is by killing yourself from about the age of 27 to the age of 37. Well, duh, they then wonder why it’s harder on average for women to do that. And so again, it’s the trajectories of elite professional careers that really seem to end up penalizing even these very highly educated women, which results in some pretty big gender pay gaps even at the top.

EZRA KLEIN: One of the questions I think your book is asking is why there isn’t more attention to how badly men are falling behind, particularly in the bottom half of the income distribution, particularly Black men, why the narrative of female disadvantage is still so stark and entrenched and sort of all encompassing?

And I do suspect there’s some answer here that if you think about where a lot of this conversation comes from, who has access to the level of microphone to be in this conversation, on this podcast, writing stories in the media, et cetera, it is people, men and women, who are much more familiar and are themselves operating within the dynamics of elite institutions. And so when you think of some of the very culturally important documents here, you think about Sheryl Sandberg’s “Lean In.”

Or you think about Anne-Marie Slaughter’s big “Atlantic” article from a couple years ago on whether or not women can have it all, there is as always, as in all things, an outsized focus on what are the dynamics of elite institutions, because people from them have access to the media and write books and so on. And so if they’re telling a pretty different story, if that is a very different reality in those institutions than it is in society at large, you’re going to get a very skewed conversation.

And I do think that has happened quite significantly here.

RICHARD REEVES: I think that’s right. We are leaning in, but we’re not looking down. And inevitably, our reference points are those that are around us. And so — and I think you’re right. And it’s a really deep problem that within elite discourse, you just look around. So if you’re an upper middle class, educated woman trying to make law partner, you’re listening to this, you’re looking around saying, what is he talking about, because all you see is guys above you, and et cetera.

And I’m not suggesting for a moment that people at all levels can’t be struggling in all kinds of ways. But the deep problems here are just much lower down. And so this class fracture gets in the way of more honest debate about this, because even the women who are doing so much better than their mothers are doing at the top of the distribution, they’re still looking around and seeing a society where there’s still a lot more to do on behalf of women and girls.

But that can simultaneously — women, particularly into these c-suite jobs and so on — where, again, there’s been huge progress, but more to do. But we can think two thoughts at once. We can think, yeah, particularly around political representation, corporate leadership, et cetera, there is really quite a lot more to do. And I think here we are into the design of labor market institutions and so on. But well, look down here, look over there, crikey. Those boys over there, the boys and men are the ones who are really struggling.

And are we allowed to think both those thoughts at once? And I’m afraid that up until this point, it’s been a choice, and that people have understandably but wrongly thought that focusing on the problems of boys and men, even those who are really disadvantaged, somehow distracts from or means less attention to the problems of women and girls, especially in these apex situations. And I think that zero sum framing is just poisoning the whole debate, as it is generally our politics. It’s not zero sum. We can think two thoughts at once.

EZRA KLEIN: Can you talk about Raj Chetty’s findings here on the differences in upward mobility between Black women and Black men, because I remember being knocked over by this finding a couple of years ago, and watching as the coverage of that study filtered out, and realizing nobody knew what to do with this part of i.

RICHARD REEVES: Again, one of the studies that really influenced me thinking about this was Raj Chetty’s work showing there’s just much higher rates of upward mobility for men and for women from poorer backgrounds, but especially a huge difference in the upward mobility rates between Black men and Black women. And he and his research team conclude that all of the difference between Black and white Americans in intergenerational mobility is explained by Black men — boys and men — all of it.

And there’s actually more recent work from the Urban Institute that tries to control for the structural effects of being Black in America, which again shows this huge difference in the impact on Black boys and Black men. It essentially shows that taking away — we’re trying to look at the effect of structural racism. And it would have massively beneficial effects for Black men if we were to do better on that front than for Black women.

So again, I agree with you that we didn’t quite know what to do with it, or at least certainly perhaps in center-left circles didn’t know what to do with it, because it sort of disrupted some of these senses that we have. We like the world to be neat. We like it to be white above Black, men above women, straight above gay, take your thing. And it all just stacks up neatly like that, like some sort of child’s toy, or it’s all just neat.

But that’s not how it works, and especially when it comes to the experience of being Black in America, gender is hugely important and seems to strongly disfavor Black boys and Black men. And what Raj and his colleagues’ work really showed was that just plays out in this intergenerational literature very, very strongly. And what it means is that if we’re genuinely worried about what’s happening to Black Americans, then most of our attention should go to Black boys and Black men.

EZRA KLEIN: So I want to talk a bit about the solutions chapters you have here. And one opportunity that you talk a lot about is for men to expand their — I think I call it identity in the labor market, the way they understand themselves in relation to jobs. And so you talk a lot about the work on STEM jobs, and the need for symmetrical work on what you call HEAL jobs. Tell me about that.

RICHARD REEVES: Well, the first thing, I stumbled across this great story looking into the background of stem, which is that a woman called Judith Ramaley who’d been brought into the National Science Foundation to promote what at that point was called SMET — SMET occupations and SMET careers. And she said, what the heck is that? And they explained that it was science, math, engineering, and tech. And she said no, no, no, that won’t do. It’ll have to be STEM, so she renamed it STEM.

And the rest is — like, within a year, there was a congressional caucus and stuff. So like, never doubt the power of a good acronym in public policy —

EZRA KLEIN: Not all heroes wear capes.

RICHARD REEVES: Right. So she turned it to STEM, and sort of the rest is history, in the sense that that became a huge thing, first of all, for national security reasons, and then really getting more women into STEM was a big push. And even very recently, Melinda Gates has put $1 billion into gender equality in the US, and a huge chunk of that is going to get more women into STEM jobs. And we have increased the share of women in STEM jobs from single digits, like, 8 percent back in the 1970s, up to 1980 to 20 — approaching now 27, 28 percent.

So not 50 percent, but just massive gains in terms of getting women into those STEM jobs. Not accidentally — it took huge amounts of money and effort and campaigning, and people going to middle schools, and massive recruitment drives of female STEM teachers in colleges and high schools, and so on. So it’s been a really successful movement. I think we should be very proud of the efforts that we’ve made to get more women into STEM.

But on the other side of it, there are these other jobs that are becoming more gender segregated. So the labor market generally is becoming less gender segregated in STEM, but also in things like law and medicine. But there are other areas, particularly areas like education and care and social work and so on where we’re becoming more gender segregated. There are fewer men as a share of those professions. And I refer to those as HEAL jobs, so health, education, administration, and literacy.

So there’s my acronym to come to compete with Judith’s STEM, which is HEAL. And there are fewer and fewer men in those HEAL jobs, even though we need men in those jobs. Those jobs are growing, et cetera. And so again, I didn’t think it was getting enough attention that we’re just seeing an absolute plummeting in the male share in — we’ve already talked a bit about education, but also in areas like social work and psychology where we’ve basically halved the male share just in the last few decades.

EZRA KLEIN: Give me a few of those numbers if you have them off the top of your head.

RICHARD REEVES: In social work and elementary, middle school, it’s gone from about 40 percent male in 1980 to about 27 percent male now. But one of the ones that really jumped out at me, actually, is psychology. I was surprised to learn that psychology was actually a bit — was more male in 1980 than it is now. Maybe I shouldn’t have been surprised by that. But it’s really astonishing what’s happened.

So in the last — and here I’m using prime age and full time, but in the last 10 years or so, we’ve gone down from male share in psychology from like, 39 percent to 29 percent, massively declining share of male enrollment in psychology courses at universities and so on. So I think that’s interesting for a number of reasons, because it first of all shows you that occupations can get quite gendered quite quickly. They can also get degendered quite quickly, but it turns out you can gender them quite quickly, because that’s happened in my lifetime, and very quickly in a few decades.

But I also think it’s a problem for the provision of services. So when I wanted a therapist, I was actually, given the issues I was dealing with, delighted to be able to work with a male therapist. When one of my sons needed a therapist, we were really happy to be able to find a male therapist for him. But that’s getting harder and harder to do. And rolling this forward, it’s going to become even harder to find men in those caring professions.

And I think that’s a problem for all kinds of reasons, but one big reason why it’s a problem is because men need those services. And if it’s hard to persuade them to get that kind of care anyway, and it looks like it is a bit harder to persuade men, it’s going to get even harder still if we don’t have male providers. And so the lack of diversity in provision in those HEAL jobs, I think is a problem for all kinds of reasons.

EZRA KLEIN: I think one reason the psychology example is interesting, too, is that psychology is a very well paid job. So I think sometimes there’s a view that one reason men stay out of these professions is that they don’t pay that well. They don’t have a lot of societal cachet. And people say that about nursing and teaching, which is not, of course, always true, but there’s an argument to be made compared to, say, STEM jobs. But psychologists can make quite a lot of money.

RICHARD REEVES: They can, although they don’t make as much money given the levels of education required for those professions as you might hope for. And that’s true for a lot of these professions, since these professions actually share an interesting characteristic, which is that they have quite high credentials to get into them. You need, like, master’s degrees to get into most of these professions.

And even though you don’t need a master’s degree to get into K-12 education, it actually helps. And I think about 50 percent of K-12 teachers have a master’s degree. And of course, they all need a four year degree. So there’s high levels of credential which don’t translate into earnings in the same way that they might if you went down a different path. So you’re right that some of those can actually pay quite well, but conditional on the level of education that you have to get in order to get those jobs, they don’t pay all that well comparatively.

An interesting counterexample is that nursing, you’re seeing an increasing share of men. It’s up to — I don’t know, 13, 14 percentage points now, male share in nursing, down from single figures back in 1980. So that’s the only area where you are seeing somewhat more men going, and still very low levels, and much more we need to do. But of course, nursing actually is getting better paid. So I think your intuition is right, that kind of pay is mattering here. But you can make pretty good money as a nurse now, and you don’t necessarily need quite as much education as you might for other professions.

So I think there’s no coincidence that we’re doing a bit better at attracting men into that profession.

EZRA KLEIN: So what do you think of as the explanations here? I mean, one you’ll often hear is that men are thing oriented, and women are people oriented, and these are people oriented jobs, and men just don’t want them. There’s nothing that can really be done about that. How do you take that objection?

RICHARD REEVES: I think the money matters for sure. And so the fact that K-12 teachers essentially haven’t had a pay rise for 20 years matters just period, right — obviously just matters for all kinds of other reasons, but one reason it also matters is because just it is harder to get men to go into those jobs when they pay relatively poorly, especially conditional on the educational requirements to go into them.

But I think there’s a couple of things here. One is that it is true that on average, women are a bit more into people, men a bit more into things. But the distributions overlap quite considerably. So the question is, like, as you look at these occupations, do they look like they could be the result of differences in, say, those natural preferences? And the answer is, for a lot of these professions we’re talking about now, the answer is no. There’s just no explaining it through those natural differences.

And I was very pleased to find a study by a couple of psychologists, Rong Su and James Rounds, where what they did was they looked at the differences between men and women on this people, things psychological dimension, right? So I’m into things, so I’m going to be an engineer or car mechanic. I’m into people, I’m going to be a nurse, I’m going to be a social worker. And what they do find is that across the population, yes, on average, women are a bit more people oriented and men are a bit more thing oriented.

But the question is, how much, and then how does that map against occupational segregation? And what they estimate is that if everybody was choosing occupations based at least on that psychological difference, about of 30 percent engineers would be women and about 30 percent of nurses would be men. That’s important, because it’s not 50 percent, right? That suggests that even under conditions of total equality, you are going to see a few fewer women do engineering, a few fewer men do nursing. That’s explained by these natural Differences

But currently, we’re at 15 percent engineering, 12 percent nursing. So the question, again, is not that there isn’t any difference. The question is, how much weight should we put on those differences to explain these patterns? And a lot of these occupations, there is just no explaining those patterns by natural differences. So one of my sons is an early years educator for example, and that puts him among 2 or 3 percent of men in early years education.

In fact, as a share of the profession, there are twice as many women flying US military planes as there are men teaching kindergarten. And I’m going to go out on a limb here, Ezra, and say that I think it’s more important to have men teaching kindergarten than women flying fighter jets. It’s not that they’re not both important.

EZRA KLEIN: I found that to be a very striking comparison, and something I was thinking about when I read it, because we would like — we’re moving and thinking about child care in our next spot. And we would like to have male child care for our two boys. And it’s quite hard to find. And not because — obviously, women are amazing at it too, but they’re rambunctious. My older one seems to connect with men more easily. And it just seems like you should be able to do this. And it is not a straightforward thing to do.

And you made the point that you think in the book that because you actually did have male child care, that might have affected your son’s decision to go into early childhood education. And we do know that representational and visibility effects like that, including from some other work from Raj Chetty, are very powerful. So I’d like you to talk a bit more about that pathway, about the ways in which having so few men in these positions can become self-fulfilling for the future of them.

RICHARD REEVES: Yeah, I think that’s right. I mean, this was the mantra from the women’s movement, is that you have to see it to be it. And I think we could really apply that to these roles here too. And I do think that, actually, having those role models is hugely important too. So actually, one of my other sons said to me — we were driving home from an appointment with a pediatrician. And I can’t remember how old he was, about six or seven. But he said, oh, Dad, I didn’t know that men could be doctors, because the doctor we had just seen was a male.

And I said, what do you mean? He said, well, I didn’t know that. And I realized that every doctor he’d ever seen had been a female. And so, of course, in his brain, perfectly naturally, he assumed, having only ever seen female doctors, the men couldn’t be doctors. And so I said, no, no, actually, men can be doctors as well — and nurses. It was a real — vividly showed me just how imprinted these roles can become on us quite early.

So I do think that one reason to get more men into these professions is, again, so that boys growing up see those roles as ones that are appropriate for men, because I’m also convinced by the evidence that there are sort of tipping points around the degree to which an occupation is pretty segregated. And so it looks as if around something like 30 percent is an important number. And I don’t want to say it’s exactly 30, but if there’s an occupation that’s like 3 percent male, like early years is, it’s quite hard to go into that as a guy.

And similarly, if only 5 percent of engineers are women, it’s quite hard to go into that as a woman, right? But one of my frustrations, honestly, is that even getting people to agree that it’s a problem that we have fewer and fewer and fewer men in these occupations, let alone spend money or political capital on doing something about it, really frustrates me because I’m worried about this tipping point thing.

So right now, as we’ve said, 76 percent of K-12 teachers are women. What about when we get to 80 percent or 85 percent? It’s just going to get progressively harder to persuade boys and men that teaching is a career for them, unless we can, I think, start to turn the tide a little bit on the share of men in those professions right now.

[MUSIC PLAYING]:

EZRA KLEIN: We’ve been talking a lot about economics here and economic outcomes. But I want to be mindful that there’s a lot more to life than a paycheck. So tell me a bit about what the data show right now on mortality.

RICHARD REEVES: Yes, so so-called deaths of despair, that was the term that was I think originally used in “The Atlantic” but popularized by Anne Case and Angus Deaton, they’re much higher among men than women, that those deaths include suicide, alcohol related illnesses, and drug overdoses. So opioid deaths are at about 70 percent plus male, men are about four times more likely to commit suicide than women are. It’s risen by about 25 percent as well over the last 10 years or so.

It’s risen for all groups, but because the starting rates are so much higher for men, you’re still seeing this kind of fourfold difference in rates of suicide. Obviously, men die earlier, but that’s for all kinds of complicated reasons. And they’re also much more likely to die from COVID, by the way. That was one of the most interesting stories about COVID, was the way it played out. And about twice as many middle aged men died from COVID as middle aged women in the US. That’s a little bit of a separate story in some ways.

But overall, what you’re seeing I think in these deaths of despair is not just a mental health crisis — although of course, you’re seeing that — to some extent, a cultural crisis, some extent a crisis of meaning, a crisis of identity. I quote one academic as saying that men lack ontological security, which is not a great sort of rallying cry — what do we need, ontological security? When do we need it, now.

But what he’s getting at there I think is exactly right, which is a sense of a secure place in the world, a secure sense of, like, who am I? I have a role, and I am needed by somebody or something, at least? I think that sense of being needed is hugely important. And I came across a study by Fiona Shand published in the British Medical Journal, which looked at the words that men used to describe themselves before suicide. And the two words they most commonly used were useless and worthless.

And of course, that’s a selected sample — tragically selected sample of men. But nonetheless, I thought that’s not just words. There’s actually something here about a sense of, like, I won’t be needed. And many of the men will say that they think their families and communities will be better off without them than with them, and I think that’s a very deep problem that we should take very seriously indeed.

EZRA KLEIN: I do want to hold on COVID for a second, because I think it operates as a useful case, in part because it doesn’t have some of the cultural baggage or blame, or — you got yourself into this mess — that people sometimes attach to things like drug overdoses, and I would say wrongly, but nevertheless. And the death rate divergence was very striking. And you write something that feels true to me.

You say, quote, almost every major think tank and international organization in the world produced reports on the negative impact of the pandemic on women, many written in a hyperbolic tone. By comparison, the much higher risk of death from COVID-19 for men warranted barely a mention. Tell me a bit about that and what you’re getting at with it.

RICHARD REEVES: Yeah, and it’s an area that I ended up working in, and producing reports for Brookings on this gap between men and women. And I tried to get other colleagues involved in it and so on. But they’re just like, well, I’m not a public health person. Why am I doing this? And the honest answer is because nobody else was.

And even the organizations who are collecting the data that showed these gaps were not really promoting them, and weren’t actually all that thrilled, necessarily, that I was using their data to highlight this gender gap — really very significant gender gap, which is global, by the way. And I think that it does show the institutional asymmetry that we currently have. So there were huge number of organizations, councils, reports, et cetera, on the impact of the pandemic on — particularly women’s employment.

There was lots of discussion of a she-cession because women’s employment rates did drop more precipitously than men’s. Of course, everyone’s just dropped. It was like — it was like an asteroid hitting the economy. But actually, women’s rates have bounced back pretty well. And so I know don’t a credible labor market economists now that would still use the word she-cession. Turns out that it kind of came out in the wash.

That doesn’t mean there weren’t other issues for women, by the way. But there were huge issues for men, including dying. And we didn’t hear very much about that because there are no institutions or at least no responsible institutions or respected institutions whose job it was to point out that fact to us, whereas there were lots of institutions whose job it was quite rightly to say, how will this thing — in this case, a pandemic, in COVID — affect our stakeholders, i.e. women and girls.

Like, just there’s people — there are thousands of people whose job it is to get up every morning and write about that, and think, how will this affect women and girls? And they did a pretty — they did a good job of it. There were a lot of reports. And of course, the reports meant they got lots of coverage. But there were just no equivalent, really, reports saying, well, hold on, what’s happening to men here. And particularly, this greater vulnerability to death just wasn’t getting very much attention.

So I’m not blaming anybody for that. I’m just saying that there just aren’t any institutions whose job it is to draw attention to that but. That institutional asymmetry I think does create a problem down the line because it means that someone’s going to talk about that. And those people who are talking about that are going to be people on the internet who will then use the fact that mainstream institutions are not talking about it as evidence that you don’t care about boys and men, that you’ve fallen into a feminist conspiracy.

EZRA KLEIN: Well, I think it’s not just that the existence of institutions, but also the existence of accepted frames. So one thing that was true in the pandemic, and this is an accepted frame because it is a true frame, is that when there are crises of family life, women often bear much more of that burden. And so the dynamic of pieces that — now, just like always, something has gone wrong, and women are being asked to be working and/or sacrificing their work to immediately go back, and now run Zoom school, and also handle the elderly parents and so on.

It was all true. And we sort of knew where to put that. But the fact that men were dying at a much higher rate, although that does actually connect to things like the deaths of despair, and trends in male mortality, there wasn’t as much of a kind of accepted — like, this is where this fits in the conversation. And this is what you do about it. There was that, again, on race. I mean, we heard a lot, correctly, about the toll the pandemic was taking in, say, Black communities.

But the gender death rate, which I was myself slow to realize was happening, was really, really quite large. I mean, it is not a small difference. I focus here because I think it’s important for a bunch of the things we’re talking about in this conversation, is — you get a lot more coverage of things where the frame is more accepted and close at hand, not because other things are exactly suppressed, but because a lot of things just go with the cultural grain.

RICHARD REEVES: Yeah, and if it confirms our priors, it goes with the grain as you say, it kind of causes you to just start nodding your head almost subconsciously, like, yeah, once again, this will be terrible for women, et cetera. As you say, it fit. And it’s uncomfortable to go against those frames. It’s uncomfortable to say, well, hold on. This thing is happening which doesn’t fit with that. But it’s also true.

And what that means is we’ve just got to be better about reframing. We’ve got to get better at terms of just looking at our frames and saying, OK, well, that’s true there, say around some issues around childcare. But it’s not true over here, but it’s true for this group, but it’s not true for that group — and become — I think we can wear our — use our frames a little bit more loosely than we currently do.

But I actually think that is a bit of a counterexample to something we were arguing about a while ago, which is this individualization of the problem. So you’re quite right that there was, correctly, attention — and I did some work on race gaps on COVID as well, so like differences in racial outcomes. But that tended to be, at least among mainstream institutions, to look for structural reasons why that was the case.

It wasn’t typically described as the fault of Black people or Hispanic people because they had more preexisting conditions, or they wouldn’t wear a mask, or they wouldn’t get vaccinated, or whatever — right, or choose your reason. But all of those were actually applied to men. And so there was quite a lot of — there was quite a lot of coverage, quite a lot of stories going, why, that’s because men, they have preexisting conditions more than women. That turned out not really true. They won’t wear a mask, they won’t get vaccinated.

So that — actually, I think it was a bit worse even than you’re describing it. There was a 10 — even in order to make it fit with the frame, people, particularly people in mainstream, or maybe center left institutions, had to find a reason why it was men’s fault rather than saying, OK, let’s see what’s going on here.

But I think the deeper point here is just that we have to — I’ve really come to thinking this much more recently, and since I’ve been out talking about the book, is that just the lack of, like, boring institutions looking at the issues of boys and men is a problem, because it means that there aren’t institutional frameworks through which to have these conversations. And I’m thinking about what that means in terms of my work going forward.

But it also means that this stuff still goes somewhere. And it goes to the internet. It goes to the men’s rights groups. It goes to the people who can really exploit it. And I’ll give you one example of this. I was having an argument with a men’s rights activist the other day. He would dispute the label, but very alt-right guy. And he said, look, they don’t care about male suicide. I said, what are you talking about? Of course, they — first of all, who’s they? And what do you mean?

He said he means — I mean the C.D.C. I mean the White House. I mean the government. They don’t care about male suicide. I said, yes they do. Why do you say that? He sent me a link. And the link was to the C.D.C. page on suicide disparities. He said, where does it talk about men? And he’s right. It doesn’t. It talks about all kinds of other disparities — by race, LGBTQ, rural, urban, veteran, non veteran, et cetera. But there isn’t a subsection. It doesn’t just straightforwardly address the fact that there’s a massive, massive gender gap in suicide.

And so I’m like, oh, I’m cursing the C.D.C. people who made that decision because they’re making life much harder for me as I’m arguing with this men’s rights activist. When he says they don’t care because they didn’t cover the COVID deaths, they don’t talk about male suicide, it now makes it harder for me to tell him he’s crazy. And I think the institutional asymmetry means that they don’t sound as crazy as they should when they say that we don’t care enough about boys and men.

And I think the goal here has to be to make them sound crazy. It has to be — when they say that, to say, what are you talking about? There’s a whole task force on male suicide. There’s a whole thing in the White House about boys and men. What are you talking about — and make them sound crazy. But right now, because of this reluctance to address the issue, we create a huge vacuum. And it makes them sound plausible when they claim that we’re not addressing these issues. And I think that’s fatally damaging.

EZRA KLEIN: I will push just a little bit on this in one particular way, which is — I think the COVID example is a very good one. That is a clear case of what you’re talking about. I think deaths of despair have been widely, widely, widely covered as a male problem. That’s not one where I think if you’ve followed the debate, like I followed COVID very closely, and it took me time to realize that there was this huge gender gap in mortality.

But if you followed the deaths of despair discussion from the beginning, it has always been about men.

RICHARD REEVES: Yeah, but it’s been more about white — has been more about more white and then ***working class*** before men, wouldn’t you say?

EZRA KLEIN: Well, yeah, I mean it was initially framed as a white, ***working class*** thing, although I think that the data now shows that has changed.

RICHARD REEVES: Yes.

EZRA KLEIN: We’ve developed a terrifying, a terrible form of equality there.

RICHARD REEVES: Yes.

EZRA KLEIN: But I think it was always framed as a male thing. And I think it goes a little bit to this point of frames that people are used to, because it has been connected to something else you talk about in the book, which is another place where I think there’s a lot of widespread attention to a problem with men. This is not as severe, but it’s loneliness, which I think is very commonly covered as a problem of men. And you write quite a bit about the male friendship deficit, which I think is pretty important.

For instance, a 2021 report from the Survey Center on American life identifying a friendship recession, with 15 percent of men saying they have no close friends at all, which is up from only 3 percent in 1990. So I want to hear what you’re saying about the question of frames, but I’d also like you to talk a bit about the male friendship crisis, which in terms of a life well lived I think is pretty profound.

RICHARD REEVES: Yeah, so I think you’re right as I reflect on it — the white, ***working class*** guy. And I think actually now, you’re right. The evidence is that it’s not just white for sure in terms of deaths of despair. There has been some concern about what’s happening to these guys. And that is from people like Wasserman and Autor but also Nick Eberstadt and so on too. I think that the concern about loneliness and social isolation is one that we have to look at through a gender lens.

And I agree that we are. We do see, I think, quite a bit of attention being paid to this idea of what’s happening to these — especially young men, these kind of lonely and isolated young men, partly because of the suicide rates and so on, too. So I agree. And the evidence, again, is just so striking. There’s a deeper problem of friendliness and isolation among men than among women, I think there’s all kinds of reasons for that. But I think women typically get a bit better at doing that emotional maintenance.

I also think men have these competing attractions online for in real life friends, if you like. So there’s lots of reasons for that. But the kind of key point here is it means that the mental health problems that we’re seeing of girls and boys, and young women, young men are just playing out very differently. And so for young men and boys especially, I think they’re more properly seen as problems of isolation, of retreat, of despair, of a sense of not being needed, lack of purpose, et cetera.

Whereas I think what’s happening for a lot of girls and young women is a sense of they feel like the environment is quite hostile, there’s a lot of relational bullying. Social media is having a very different effect on women and young girls, I think, than on boys and young men — the TikTok, the relational issues, and obviously issues around body image and self esteem.

It’s just — it’s playing out differently. It’s again — it’s not that one is worse or better than the other. It’s just that they’re playing out differently. But for sure among boys and young men — and again, especially those with less economic power, this issue of isolation is a growing one. They just feel alone too much of the time.

EZRA KLEIN: This one really — I recognize it as by no means the worst of what we’ve talked about, but it breaks my heart very particularly. And I have two young boys. And I worry — I mean, they’re not there yet. But I worry about them. These findings on friendship really always break my heart in a particular way. I have incredibly deep male friendships. I mean, I have friends I deeply love and have for many, many years. And so I don’t have as much, I feel like, empathic access to this one as others.

And so it confuses me more. And in particular, what confuses me about it is you have to explain a rate of change. You could say men have been stoic, and they don’t share their feelings. And all that stereotypically, culturally, would have been truer, I think, about mid 20th century men than men and boys today. But you’re seeing this really sharp drop since the 1990s, right? I would say men are better at talking about their feelings than they were in 1990, but they have fewer close friends according to the data.

How do you understand that? What is an explanation that accounts for a drop since 1990?

RICHARD REEVES: First of all, at just a personal level, I agree with you. I think these findings are — they are genuinely kind of emotionally resonant when you see just how isolated many of these men are. I think Bertrand Russell, the British philosopher, once said that the mark of a civilized person was the ability to weep over a column of numbers. And there’s been quite a few columns of numbers that I think that’s applied to in my case.

And similarly, I have male friends who I deeply love, too. And I think it’s very important that we use the L word, by the way. I think we’re just all getting better at that. So what’s happening more generally? I think what’s happening is the deinstitutionalization of male friendships and male, relationships that men to the extent that perhaps men might struggle — just I think for some natural reasons, but for other reasons — just struggling a little bit to make those connections. They’re a little bit less relational, perhaps, just off the bat than women.

What that means is the institutions through which you form male friendships, whether that’s schools, colleges, workplaces, places of worship, Boy Scouts groups, et cetera, that those institutions are actually more important for the building and sustaining of male friendships, everything else equal, even than female friendships, right? And stereotypically, again, like the shared experience of becoming mothers, and those biological differences, might actually give women access to kind of relational networks it’s harder for men to access, right?

Becoming a father doesn’t automatically open up a network of other new dads in quite the same way that it does for women. So what that means is that if there are fewer men in colleges, fewer men in the workforce, fewer men in — all of our religious institutions have a gender gap. If we do see the falling away of institutions like the Boy Scouts — or in fact, the Boy Scouts have become co-ed. So what that means for male friendship, I don’t know? But I think it was a mistake because I do think there’s something to be said for those environments.

So basically, what I’m suggesting is that the institutions, including institutions of marriage, where women do a lot of the work in terms of sustaining those friendships — as those institutions have atrophied, it’s exposed the fact that men were more reliant on those institutions for making and keeping friends than women were. And so you see this gap opening up. I can’t prove any of that.

But I have this strong intuition that institutions matter more to men in terms of those relationships than they do to women. And men are actually in those institutions much less than they were before, including the institution of marriage and the institution of the family.

EZRA KLEIN: Speaking of columns and numbers that might make you weep, one of the ones that I’ve been thinking about since I read it is you write, “women and men are equally likely to say that their job or career provides a great deal of meaning and fulfillment.” That’s 33 percent among women, 34 percent among men. But in almost every other domain, there was a marked gender gap. So 43 percent of women across all age groups mentioned children or grandchildren as a source of current meaning, compared to just 24 percent of men.

Can you talk about that fragility of meaning for men, the way in which women seem to have more diverse sources of meaning, and men have their identities built on more narrow pillars?

RICHARD REEVES: There’s a couple of things here. I think one thing is that I have come to believe, and this is something that I have reluctantly come to believe, that male identity, or masculinity, if you prefer, is somewhat more socially constructed than female is. I don’t like that. I’d prefer it not to be true. But that’s my reading of the evidence, that we have to do — that it is more of a construction job for boys to become men, and for men to know their role, than for women.

I think that’s largely around the differences in reproductive roles. So I think there’s just more of a “fragility” to masculinity. And I don’t mean that — that’s used as a slur quite often, like, eye rolling, oh, yeah, fragile masculinity, et cetera. I think it’s just an anthropological fact that masculinity is a bit more fragile in the sense that it has to be more constructed, like every society has kind of worked on finding pro-social roles for men that attach them to communities and so on.

So I think that’s a finding that I find a little bit uncomfortable, but I nonetheless am reasonably convinced of. So I think that that’s a big part of the story here. But I think it’s also true that at least right now, women have developed something more of what we might think of as like a balanced portfolio in terms of their sources of meaning. They’ve expanded their sense of meaning to include careers and occupations, but without giving up the strong sources of meaning that they get from families and relationships, and so on to, whereas men are still putting too much of their eggs in one basket, if you like.

I think it’s, like, a sense of male identity is still too narrowly construed. And what that means is that if you fail to succeed in that pretty narrow area of meaning, then you don’t have as much to fall back on. The idea is here is what psychologists call cognitive self complexity. So you have a bad day at work, but you did well as a dad, or vice versa. And it turns out that women have a bit more of that ability to switch between different sources of meaning, which might make them a little bit more resilient.

But men are still a little bit too stuck on the source of meaning being from their occupation, from their job, and from their income, which is why I think the loss of a job has a much bigger psychological impact on men than it does on women. It’s bad for both, but it’s actually turns out to be a much bigger psychological blow for men, because again, I think that so much of their sense of themselves is wrapped up in that.

EZRA KLEIN: Draw for me for a minute more that anthropological idea, that masculinity is more fragile, is more constructed. As I understand it, this has to do with the idea that motherhood is a much more obvious role in the creation of the human species than fatherhood is. Is that basically right?

RICHARD REEVES: Yeah, I think it’s a broader point that there are clearer markers, let’s say, for the kind of different life stages that women go through than men, which are then culturally — either they’re venerated or pathologized, depending on your point of view. But there is a kind of clearer sense of what it means to go from girl, to woman, to mother, et cetera, than there is perhaps for men.

But also because just — now, I’m thinking like over a long historical time, this sort of sense of knowing who your child is, looking after the child, or the tribe, and so on, it’s just been a little bit more of a question for men. Then, I think that’s meant that the kind of roles for men, the rites of passage for men, et cetera, have tended to be more elaborate. And I don’t think that’s just because of straightforward patriarchy. I think it’s because we have had to be a bit more intentional about taking boys and men through those rites of passage.

And there’s actually a line from Margaret Mead, which I’ve used so much that I’ve committed it essentially to memory — Margaret Mead, the anthropologist — who said that in every known human society, men have had to learn to be nurturing, to rested on the learned nurturing behavior of men. “And this behavior being learned is rather fragile, and can disappear quite quickly under circumstances that no longer teach it effectively.”

And the reason I like that quote is because it’s really getting a sense of, yeah, men can nurture. Of course they can — maybe not exactly the same way as women, but it’s more of a learned behavior for men. And so every known human society has found ways to teach men how to do that nurturing. But because it’s learned, taught, scripted, it’s a bit fragile. It can disappear a bit more easily.

And I fear that we’re in a period right now where we’re not doing a very good job of setting out that learning, that teaching, that script for men, partly because some level we kind of wish we didn’t need it, think we don’t need it. Honestly, personally, I sort of probably kind of wish in some ways, we didn’t need it. But I think we do need it. And absent that, we leave a lot of boys and men not flourishing in this whole new androgynous world, where they can be whoever they want, but actually finding on the internet influences that we might prefer them not to find.

EZRA KLEIN: Well, I mean not just not flourishing, but groping for some kind of leadership.

RICHARD REEVES: Yes.

EZRA KLEIN: We’ve been living through this interesting period of this, where there was the very fast and very profound rise of Jordan Peterson, the Canadian psychologist and sort of — I think reactionary political thinker, which is how the left knows him. But more than that, I think for his own fans, he’s functionally like a self-help guru. Then, he’s kind of ebbed, and then Andrew Tate, who I think in a lot of ways is a lot worse than Peterson.

But there’s a really clear and consistent searching right now for these hyper masculine, I would say pretty aggressive and angry voices that are in a very tough love-y way, trying to tell men how to be men, or trying to tell lost men how to be found men.

RICHARD REEVES: Yeah, I love lost men had to be found men. I think just, like, what’s happening here is the internet search is, how should I be a man today? What does it mean to be a man today, or whatever the equivalent is? And I see Jordan Peterson as something like a gigantic and quite empathetic listening ear. I mean, he’s a psychologist by background of course. I mean, what he says is honestly either kind of wrong, or a little bit crazy or overstated, or obvious, right?

I don’t find, at least on this issue — I mean, I do think he has contributions elsewhere. So he’s not an innovator. He’s not he’s not saying anything at all remotely kind of new. All he’s just saying is, I hear you. I get it. I do think I understand it. And he’s visibly on their side. He gives young men the sense that someone’s hearing them, articulating some of their concerns, has their back.

And the mere fact that that can turn him into a global phenomenon, who has to book, like, Wembley when he goes to London, sold millions of copies of his book — what’s interesting about that, of course, is not the supply, because I don’t think his supply that interesting — it’s the demand. And then enter Andrew Tate. And I see Andrew Tate, who is this internet influencer, massive influence, what’s interesting about Tate is that he makes Jordan Peterson seem like George W. Bush when Donald Trump came along.

So remember that moment when all the liberals around the dinner table started saying, you know what, George Bush, he wasn’t so bad? He was a pretty good guy, really.

EZRA KLEIN: I want to say that I am not one of those people. And I do not go in for George W. Bush revisionism. Like, he caused a tremendous amount of damage, that guy —

RICHARD REEVES: But by comparison to Trump, I notice a lot of people saying —

EZRA KLEIN: Yes, as a personal figure, there was definitely a yearning for him. But — and you’re right about this phenomenon. It’s just a real big bugaboo of mine.

RICHARD REEVES: I think I may have heard you say that before, so it’s a badly chosen analogy for at least this audience of one. But maybe other people out there have had this experience.

EZRA KLEIN: No, you’re right. You’re right. You’re right about —

RICHARD REEVES: Oh, Bush doesn’t seem so bad now that Trump is along. And the same thing’s happen with Peterson. Like, Peterson is a pretty kind of tweedy academic guy who’s just stumbled across this reservoir and monetized it. Andrew Tate is just a straightforward, performative, algorithm driven, video misogynist who’s been deplatformed. Obviously, now he’s been arrested for alleged rape and trafficking. And he’s just mastered the algorithm. But he is everywhere.

And so actually, as I was finishing up my book at the beginning of 2022, my son said to me, well, you’ve got to write about Andrew Tate, Dad, if you’re writing about men. I said, who’s Andrew Tate? I asked the question that people have been asking in the months since, which is, who is Andrew Tate? And he told me who he was, and showed me him. I said, no, I don’t need to worry about him. He’s a fringe figure. Of course, my son was right. And I was wrong.

By the summer, he had 12 billion views on TikTok. He was the top influencer in the world, and so just a massive, global phenomenon. He made Jordan Peterson look like an amateur in terms of ability to capture the sense of — and he performs this sort of retrograde, cigar smoking, Maserati buying, bronzed, muscular, shade wearing way of being a male. And so I talked to a lot of young men in my life about, what’s going on with Tate?

And they say, well, a lot of it is obviously crazy stuff, like misogyny. But actually, at least he’s answering the question. He’s offering advice. He’s saying it’s difficult to be a young man, here are some answers. And my view about someone like Tate is that if we don’t like his answers, the solution is not to just tell boys to stop looking for those answers. It is to provide some better ones for ourselves, and it is to recognize the fact that there is a real search here, a real demand for an answer to the question of, how should I be a good man today, and remain a man?

I want to be a boy. I am a boy. I am a man. How do I do that? I am I’m in favor of gender equality. I want a world of gender equality. And most boys and men do. But look, I don’t want to feel like I’m the problem here. I don’t want to feel pathologized. I don’t want to keep being told how toxic I am. Can you help? And unfortunately, I think we — we as the mainstream institutions, and so on, because we haven’t acknowledged some of these problems sufficiently, or embraced them, we’ve actually driven a lot of this stuff.

And so I think we’ve provided a lot of the market for people like Tate and Paterson to sweep up.

EZRA KLEIN: I have very complicated feelings on this. And people on the show have heard me before say that a question I’m very interested in was what a Jordan Peterson of the left looks like. And a real frustration I have with liberals on this is I have read and heard repeatedly Peterson and Tate described in this weird way as boring, right — unoriginal, uninteresting.

And if you’re looking at phenomenons like that, and just kind of casting into the bin of advice you’ve heard before, so you don’t need to think about what it is doing, I think you’ve like closed your mind in a way that is really dangerous. And as you say, well, we’ll let these kinds of figures flourish. What I’m not sure of is that there is some kind of pro-social shunting of that same impulse.

And I do think it’s fair to say that Peterson, who I have a lot of problems with, is a quite different sort of figure than Tate. There’s an overlap — as you call it, there’s an overlap in the distribution. But there is a difference in what they are. But I think something you see if you watch them, and if you go back to other figures who I think were a little bit like this, or would have been like this today — I mean, I think about the popularity of Andrew Dice Clay, the hyper misogynist comic in the ’90s, that there has long been an interest among young men in these transgressive, angry figures.

And they both have this. I mean, Tate is very angry, like a thrumming anger. He has a sort of MMA, a mixed martial arts background. If you look at Peterson, he’s always struck me as having the affect of a clenched fist. He is also emotional and he’ll cry, but there is kind of — like, a readiness to fight in everything he says. He’s wound very tight — but that when you talk about demand and supply, I wonder if it is actually in the power of the left to supply something that answers the demand for Andrew Tate, because sometimes demand knows what it wants.

And maybe if you’re a 14-year-old boy, like, what you want is transgressive in a way that it is very hard for institutions or people who want to be prosocial to answer. I mean, there’s always this tendency to say on the left, like, oh, let’s get the good version of this thing. But there isn’t always a good version of that thing. So I’m curious what you think it would actually look like?

RICHARD REEVES: Yeah, well, I think what it means is that we really have to parse out the different elements of the demand for these kinds of figures, the different levels of interest. You don’t get 12 billion views on TikTok just by meeting one kind of demand. And I do think that people like Tate, to some extent Peterson, and all the people that you’ve just mentioned, actually might be meeting different kinds of need answering different questions, and that actually separating them out is an important part of the exercise.

So if we go through them, I’m thinking out loud here, but you mentioned transgression. I think being transgressive is just always appealing, and especially to adolescent boys. It just is, always has been. And right now, a way to be transgressive is to transgress against whatever you want to call it, feminist orthodoxy, mainstream society, et cetera, and be — perform this sort of just outrageous — I mean, Tate sort of makes James Bond look like Germaine Greer type thing. I mean, just like just absurd, caricature.

But most of the men watching it, they know it’s a caricature. But there’s a thrill, there’s a real thrill in that transgression. That’s very adolescent. I think Trump played into that. He was a bit of a middle finger. Trump was a very adolescent male figure in my view. And so that sense of transgression, that’s one thing. I think the second thing is this sense of, OK, I just want misogyny. I want backlash. I want to feel angry. I want to share this misogynist anger against the fact that women are out to get us now, and we’re being crushed, et cetera. That’s another one.

And then another one is, I really just want some help. Like, how do I date? How do I navigate this world? What should I do — like advice, essentially, so the uncle, if you like, the advice column from the uncle, or brother, or cousin. And actually, I think the consumers of some of these people are depending on — especially if they’re older — are able to make some of those distinctions.

But I think more importantly, we should make those distinctions, because of course if there are people out there who just really want to consume angry, misogynist content, we should not try and replace that. We should try and show why that’s a very bad idea. Transgression, well, you’re always going to get that humor, or whatever. It’s the third element. It’s the extent to which Peterson or Tate and/or others are providing advice, honest conversation, feels like they’re just being candid in their writing, that’s the bit we should try and replace in a way that is still recognizably masculine.

So the trick here is try and meet that part of the demand. And that, I think, is doable. I don’t know how. I don’t have a how yet, maybe you do.

EZRA KLEIN: I think there’s actually interesting tension here, because I think that decomposition is correct. Going over to Joe Rogan, who’s very interested in figures like that. Lots of things people don’t like about Joe Rogan, but I don’t consider Joe Rogan sort of simply malign in any way — but is, again, if you listen to him, particularly back in the day when he built his audience, there’s a lot of comedians. It’s a bit transgressive. It’s a lot of stuff about weight lifting, a lot of stuff about mixed martial arts.

It’s about how to be a person. In a way, it’s like a men’s magazine used to be before the men’s magazines got more egalitarian. And then you go over to Peterson and Tate, and they both also have this self-improvement dynamic. And one thing that’s interesting, in conversation with our conversation, is, I think, a problem for the left when trying to talk to this desire, is the tendency to systematize problems, is a tendency to say — if you’re struggling out there, it’s because we have designed schools poorly, or the entire structure of the economy has moved towards HEAL jobs, or we don’t have enough vocational education.

And I mean, this is a problem you point out with the right. It is extremely individualistic in the way it responds to these problems — right, the famous Jordan Peterson “clean your room, make your bed” advice. But also, people live life as individuals. And they want to hear something they can do now.

RICHARD REEVES: Yeah.

EZRA KLEIN: And they want somebody who empowers them now. And one of my observations — I think there’s a turn against self-help language on the left. I don’t think it’s true everywhere. I can think of counterexamples here, particularly for women. But I do think there is in general a kind of pushing against the individualization of problems, as kind of pull yourself up by your bootstraps.

But if you give up on that, I think you also give up on a very deep human yearning. And so funnily enough, I think the kind of figure you would need to answer the problem you’re talking about is also a figure who is somehow very, very different than the systematic analysis that runs through your book.

RICHARD REEVES: Yeah, that’s so interesting. I mean, what I think is there’s maybe some middle ground here. And it’s where actually I’ve found myself moving, honestly. Since writing a book that’s pretty wonky, right, deliberately so, I think what you’re alluding to is that there is a cultural problem here, too, which I think sits between this idea of, oh, here’s the public policy, here’s the system. Let’s fix the schools so that they’re better for boys — and make you bed at the individual level, which is the sort of Petersonian thing.

And that intermediary is culture. It’s the relationships between people. It’s the way the boys learn to become men. It’s the institutions, not just in the sense of, like, an institution, like a school delivering products, but like, the culture, the people around you, the people you see, the people you interact with. And what I think now is that the cultural requirement to actually just have a straightforward conversation — and to some extent not only tell, but show a way of being masculine in a modern world.

And again, it’s uncomfortable to think about, but I think that’s important, because kids especially and young people believe their eyes much more than their ears. And so they do need to see it and hear it, and to try and fill that space in a way that I think is lacking in a little bit in our institutions. And so one of the reasons, for example, why I care about the lack of male teachers in schools, it’s not just because of the studies showing the boys will get better grades.

It is because when you don’t have male teachers in schools, you don’t have male coaches in schools. And you don’t have men around the boys, for the boys to see, and just see how they’re being. I think about my own English teacher who was a Korean War veteran, and managed to get a bunch of 16-year-old ***working class*** boys to be tearful over 17th century love poetry. That’s a tough thing to do with a bunch of — but he did it part — and I’m sure it was partly because he was a man.

And he was showing us that he could be both obviously masculine in various ways, that we could either say is a problem or not. But also, by the way, we can still read Andrew Marvell and find it very moving. Hey guys, look, I’m doing that. I’m not just telling you that you can be like that. I’m showing you that you can be like that. And I don’t know exactly where this leads me, but I do think that what Tate and others are doing is they’re filling a cultural gap.

And it’s a mistake on the left to think that we don’t need places and spaces where boys learn to become men, especially from other men in our families, in our communities, and our schools, and our churches and synagogues, or Scout groups, take your pick. But my basic point is that especially masculinity doesn’t invent itself. And so if we think it needs to be — it does need to be to some extent created, then we need to do some of the creating, and not leave that to the people who are online.

That’s the vacuum, I think, Tate and other figures fill, because you can consume the Tate content for most horrible misogynist stuff. But if you watch a lot of it, and I’ve watched a lot of it now, there’s some really good stuff in there. And I’m afraid even to say that out loud, because it’s like, what, Andrew Tate said something good? And the answer is yeah. Like, an example, someone called in to a show he was doing and says, I’m very short, and I know that women prefer tall men. Am I screwed? What should I do, right?

And what Tate basically said is, look, mate, you’ve got to deal — you’ve got to deal with the cards you’re dealt. Get yourself in good shape, get yourself sorted out, try and dress — whatever. He just said, that’s just the way it is. He didn’t whinge, he didn’t say — oh, and most importantly, he didn’t start blaming women for preferring taller men. So he just said, that’s the way it is. Let me help you make the best of it. And I just — I watched that clip and thought, “that’s pretty good, actually.”

And so why is it only Tate right now that’s having those conversations? And I don’t think we should necessarily try and replace it on the internet, but instead where it leads me to think is, yeah, more male teachers, please, more male Scout leaders, please, more men in our churches, please, more men in our communities — again, to quote the Chetty work, more fathers in our neighborhoods, please, more men in roles where they can help boys to become boys without just — there isn’t a curriculum for masculinity.

It’s a culturally learned behavior. And we’ve — I just think we’ve backed off that task too much.

EZRA KLEIN: I think that’s a great place to end. Always our final question, what are three books you would recommend to the audience?

RICHARD REEVES: Can I cheat and do one as a paper rather than as a book?

EZRA KLEIN: You can. I always love a good paper.

RICHARD REEVES: I know you do. Of all people I could say that to, it’s probably you, Ezra. But one paper I just kept turning back to over and over again is a paper, it’s in the Journal of Economic Perspectives. And it’s called, “The Tenuous Attachments of ***Working Class*** Men.” And it’s by Kathryn Edin, Tim Nelson, Andrew Cherlin, and others. And it’s just — it looks at the way in which some of the core anchors of male identity around work and family and community and religious communities have just atrophied in four different cities.

It’s just one of the best pieces of qualitative work that I’ve seen in this space. And I just — I found myself going back to it over and over again. It’s a splendid work. I hope they will turn it into a book. I think they could call it “The Haphazard Self,” which is the way they refer to what men are doing now. And it could be a great book.

The second book I’d recommend, which really gets at both the educational and labor market stuff, but actually more from looking at women, I think you learn about men, is Claudia Goldin’s book, “Career and Family,” which — as I said, I think Goldin is just absolutely the best in the business when it comes to looking at gender and education and labor market. And she does it looking at women. I actually talked to her at one point. And I said, can I talk to you about men? And she said, I don’t know anything about men. I only do women.

But actually, because she’s talking about family and more generally about these institutions, I actually sort of read Goldin’s book and learned a lot about the other side of it that she claimed not to know anything about. And the third book I got a huge amount out of was a book by Anna Machin, who’s an anthropologist — I think maybe an evolutionary anthropologist at the University of Oxford. And her book — maybe you’ll know it, actually, Ezra — it’s called “The Life of Dad: The Making of a Modern Father.”

And it’s a few years old now, but it’s just a terrific book. And it looks at the way in which fatherhood kind of came into being as a result of some of the changes in our evolutionary history, and it makes, I think, just a very strong, progressive, and humane case for the importance of fathers in the modern world.

EZRA KLEIN: And Richard Reeves, your book is “Of Boys and Men.” Thank you very much.

RICHARD REEVES: Thank you, Ezra.

[MUSIC]

EZRA KLEIN: “The Ezra Klein Show” is produced by Emefa Agawu, Annie Galvin, Jeff Geld, Roge Karma and Kristin Lin. Fact checking by Michelle Harris, Mary Marge Locker and Kate Sinclair. Mixing by Sonia Herrero. Original music by Isaac Jones. Audience strategy by Shannon Busta. The executive producer of New York Times Opinion Audio is Annie-Rose Strasser, and special thanks to Carole Sabouraud and Kristina Samulewski.

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[***More Cases of Covid-19 Among Child Patients In South Africa Hospitals***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6487-T4N1-DXY4-X2N4-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

The increase, observed in children's wards at two major hospitals in South Africa, points to increased community transmission, doctors say.

JOHANNESBURG -- The children had gone to the hospital for various reasons: One had jaundice, another malaria. A third had a broken bone. But once they were admitted, they all tested positive for the coronavirus, a worrying trend in South African hospitals that hints at how transmissible the new variant, Omicron, may be.

The doctors in the children's wards of two large hospitals in Johannesburg say they have not seen a spike in admissions, and they still do not know whether the children have Omicron. But the increase in the number of those who test positive after coming in may provide a glimpse into the behavior of the heavily mutated variant that was discovered just last month, and about which little is known.

''Our suspicion is that Covid positivity rates in the community setting are very, very high at the moment and increasing,'' said Dr. Gary Reubenson, a pediatrician at the Rahima Moosa Mother and Child Hospital in Johannesburg.

Young children under 12 are not yet eligible for Covid-19 vaccines in South Africa, which also leaves them more vulnerable.

While it is still too soon to draw any conclusions about the severity of the illness caused by Omicron, early modeling and analysis suggest that it may move twice as fast as the Delta variant.

''What is scary now is the proportion of patients who are positive among those who are admitted is very high,'' said Dr. Sithembiso Velaphi, who works at the Chris Hani Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto. ''The number of admissions overall has not increased.''

And although the number of young patients is relatively small, doctors noted that few of the children so far have needed oxygen.

The number of coronavirus cases in South Africa continues to rise exponentially in a fourth wave of infections that epidemiologists believe is driven by Omicron. Since the variant was first sequenced and announced by South African doctors on Nov. 25, it has become the dominant version among samples tested in the country.

At the Rahima Moosa hospital, a public hospital that serves ***working-class*** neighborhoods in central Johannesburg, Dr. Reubenson said that he had not seen a spike in admissions but that a higher proportion of pediatric patients and pregnant women were testing positive for the coronavirus.

But, he cautioned, it is still too early to draw conclusions about the variant. On Tuesday, there were 10 patients in the pediatric Covid-19 ward, but very few showed respiratory symptoms. Only one child, who was diagnosed with pneumonia, needed oxygen, said Dr. Reubenson, who also works as a pediatric infectious diseases specialist at the University of the Witwatersrand medical school.

The relatively small number of Covid-19 patients needing oxygen was in line with findings in an early report from doctors at the Steve Biko Academic and Tshwane District Hospital Complex in Pretoria, currently the epicenter of the outbreak in South Africa.

At the Chris Hani Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto, Dr. Velaphi has seen a similar pattern in the pediatric Covid-19 ward. On Tuesday, 12 children were admitted, three of whom needed oxygen.

It is still too soon to tell whether the children will develop a potentially more serious condition, multi-inflammatory syndrome, which has been found in some children who test positive for the virus. It can take about six to eight weeks after infection for that to develop, Dr. Velaphi said. Symptoms usually includes stomach pain, diarrhea and vomiting, among others.

In both hospitals, it was unclear how many of the children came from homes with vaccinated parents or guardians. In the labor ward at Rahema Moosa, it was also not clear how many pregnant women had been vaccinated.

But data from the National Institute of Communicable Diseases showed that many of the children who tested positive for the coronavirus had parents or guardians who were not vaccinated.

While preliminary studies show that previous infection may not protect against the new variant, the relaxation of regulations such as mask-wearing and social distancing in late October most likely played a part in the increased positivity rate, Dr. Reubenson said.

In the previous wave of infections, driven by the Delta variant, children made up 12 percent of positive coronavirus cases, according to data from the communicable diseases institute.

Then, during the South African winter, when children attended school on a staggered timetable, more teenagers were infected and admitted to hospital, said Dr. Waasila Jassat, a public health specialist at the National Institute of Communicable Diseases.

South Africa extended vaccination to children as young as 12 in October, with more than 652,000 vaccinated so far. The South African government authorized one shot of the Pfizer-BioNTech vaccine for the 12 to 17 age group, with the second dose available starting in January.

To bypass hesitant guardians and parents, teenagers do not need permission from their parents or guardians to get the shot at free, public vaccination stations.

This may account, Dr. Jassat said, for why there are more younger children testing positive than teenagers. It is not yet clear if South Africa's health products regulator will authorize the use of vaccines for children younger than 12.

As of last week, vaccine manufacturers had not yet sought approval to administer vaccines to children younger than 12 in South Africa, officials said.

**Graphic**

PHOTO: ''Positivity rates in the community setting are very, very high,'' a Johannesburg pediatrician said. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DENIS FARRELL/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

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[***What Is the Federal Reserve’s Role in the Economy? Bernanke Knows.; Nonfiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65G5-8601-DXY4-X01F-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** Ben S. Bernanke’s “21st Century Monetary Policy” is an insider’s account of the operations of the Fed.

**Body**

21st CENTURY MONETARY POLICY

The Federal Reserve From the Great Inflation to Covid-19

By Ben S. Bernanke

The world has confronted two acute crises in the past 15 years. In 2007, a housing bubble in the United States brought on the worst financial panic since the Great Depression. In 2019, a novel coronavirus in China set off the deadliest pandemic in a century.

During the first of these crises, [*Ben S. Bernanke*](https://www.federalreservehistory.org/people/ben-s-bernanke) was the primary policymaker overseeing the United States government’s emergency response. Shortly before the panic began, President George W. Bush appointed Bernanke to be the chair of the Federal Reserve, a job he would hold for the next eight years, through the end of Bush’s presidency and most of Barack Obama’s. Bernanke ran the Fed as it made decisions about how to prevent a new depression.

He and his colleagues largely succeeded. In the early month of the crisis, economic activity deteriorated even more rapidly than it had in 1929 and 1930. Yet neither the United States nor the world fell into a depression: The unemployment rate peaked at 10 percent in 2009, compared with 25 percent in 1933.

Bernanke’s success sprang from a few core causes. He came to the job with decades of preparation. He started studying the Fed when he was an economics graduate student in the 1970s, after [*Stanley Fischer*](https://www.federalreservehistory.org/people/stanley-fischer), a distinguished professor, encouraged Bernanke to read a history of monetary policy and see if it intrigued him. He rose to become one of the field’s leading scholars as a professor at Princeton. In 2002, he left Princeton to become a Fed official and then spent seven months as an economic adviser in Bush’s White House, which gave him a firsthand view of the executive branch’s operations. By the time the financial crisis began, he had both a rigorous knowledge of Fed history and theory and a grasp of real-world politics.

In public, Bernanke has always resembled a professor more than a powerful political leader. He is bearded and soft-spoken. He speaks carefully, giving the impression of thinking through an issue while he is talking about it. Yet his style can be misleading. He proved to be a daring Fed chair, willing to take unparalleled steps during the crisis, acting decisively and operating in the gray areas of the Fed’s authority. In doing so, he was following an American tradition of experimentation during an emergency that is most associated with President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Bernanke has now published “21st Century Monetary Policy,” a history of the Fed over roughly the past century. (Despite the title, he devotes considerable space to the 20th century.) It comes after a personal memoir, published seven years ago. In this new book, he considers both his own tenure and those of his predecessors and successors. It is light on personal anecdotes and devoted to substantive judgments. This exercise of historical assessment from a central participant is one that more policymakers should probably try. It allows readers to make judgments along with Bernanke and think about what lessons today’s policymakers — who are once again battling inflation — might take.

Even in his restrained style, Bernanke offers criticisms. The book’s antiheroes are [*Arthur F. Burns*](https://www.federalreservehistory.org/people/arthur-f-burns) (the Fed chair who did not confront rising inflation in the 1970s); Donald J. Trump and Richard Nixon (presidents who tried to intimidate Fed leaders); and modern-day congressional Republicans (some of whom he views as more concerned with partisan advantage than the country’s well-being). Bernanke offers a mixed judgment on [*Alan Greenspan*](https://www.federalreservehistory.org/people/alan-greenspan), who presided over a 1990s boom but also missed the gathering signs of crisis in the early 2000s and, unlike Bernanke, aggressively pushed his personal preference for low taxes. The policymakers who come off best are [*Paul A. Volcker*](https://www.federalreservehistory.org/people/paul-a-volcker), the Fed chair who crushed inflation after Burns, as well as Obama and [*Janet Yellen*](https://home.treasury.gov/about/general-information/officials/janet-yellen), Bernanke’s successor and the current Treasury secretary. That these three all are or were Democrats (Volcker is deceased) is a sign of how far today’s Republican Party has moved from restrained conservatives like Bernanke.

Bernanke also offers some self-criticisms, including an acknowledgment that he failed to recognize how slowly the economy was emerging from recession after the emergency. Had he read the situation correctly, Bernanke says, the recovery probably would have been stronger.

The one area where the book would have benefited from more introspection is economic inequality, which Bernanke largely dismisses as beyond the Fed’s mandate. Although he is correct that the central bank cannot solve the problem, it does have relevant tools, like its influence over financial markets, bank regulation and the housing sector. Instead, by treating stagnant ***working-class*** living standards as a sideshow, the Fed has contributed to the rise of populist anger that Bernanke laments.

Even with these caveats, “21st Century Monetary Policy” tells a success story, and deservedly so. Bernanke’s Fed performed far better than the institution had during previous economic crises, like the Great Depression and the 1970s oil shocks. It did so because Bernanke and his colleagues learned from the mistakes of their predecessors and were willing to overcome the torpor that can afflict large bureaucracies. They asked themselves what they could plausibly do to help — like purchasing mortgage-backed securities to halt a financial panic — and they did it. The title of his 2015 memoir was apt: “The Courage to Act.”

Bernanke did not always find this approach comfortable. “In my time as chair of the Princeton economics department, I had led with a deliberative, consensus-building style, and I had tried to bring that approach to the Fed,” he writes. “But, with markets in disarray and every economic indicator pointing down, that approach fell by the wayside, at least for a time.” Bernanke understood that deliberative caution during a crisis could lead to more human suffering.

In a more lasting change, and a break with Greenspan’s Fed, Bernanke also pushed the Fed to explain its actions more clearly to the public. He began holding regular news conferences and released more information about Fed deliberations. He tried to explain decisions in plainer English.

Anybody reading his book today, during the Covid-19 pandemic, may notice that its message applies to more than monetary policy. The Centers for Disease Control, the Food and Drug Administration and other agencies have often failed to act decisively or to speak clearly over the past two and a half years. Their advice — on masking, quarantines, booster shots, at-home tests and more — can be impossible for ordinary people to understand. And at important moments, federal agencies have followed bureaucratic traditions unsuited for a crisis. The clearest contrast to the Bernanke Fed is probably the F.D.A.’s hewing to a version of its lengthy, prepandemic process for vaccine review, which created the jarring contrast of government officials urging Americans to take a vaccine although those same officials had refused to grant the vaccines formal approval. Evidently, they did not have the courage to act.

When explaining the Fed’s failures during the Great Depression, Bernanke writes of “its decentralized structure and lack of effective leadership.” Those failures led to a 1935 federal law that created a clearer structure for the Fed, which in turn helped Bernanke to act boldly and creatively. His book is intended to help future generations of economic policymakers, and it probably will. But they are not the only ones who would benefit from thinking about its lessons.

David Leonhardt, a senior writer at The Times, won a Pulitzer Prize in 2011 for his commentary on the financial crisis. 21ST CENTURY MONETARY POLICY The Federal Reserve From the Great Inflation to Covid-19 By Ben S. Bernanke 512 pp. W.W. Norton & Company. $35.

PHOTO: Ben S. Bernanke, 2009. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS/ THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Related Articles**

* [*Ben Bernanke: I Was Chairman of the Federal Reserve. Save the States.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/15/opinion/ben-bernanke-coronavirus-federal-aid.html)

1. [*Ben Bernanke’s ‘The Courage to Act’*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/25/books/review/ben-bernankes-the-courage-to-act.html)
2. [*The 2008 Financial Crisis as Seen From the Top*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/16/books/review/ben-bernanke-timothy-geithner-henry-paulson-firefighting.html)

**Load-Date:** July 14, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Best Sellers: Paperback Trade Fiction: Sunday, January 17th 2021***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61VN-GWX1-DXY4-X35X-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 17, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 493 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the January 17, 2021 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending January 2, 2021. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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| --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |
|  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Paperback Trade Fiction |
| This | On |  |
| Week | List |  |
| 1 | 7 | HOME BODY, by Rupi Kaur. (Andrews McMeel) Poems and illustrations by the author of ?Milk and Honey? and ?The Sun and Her Flowers.? |
| 2 | 1 | THE DUKE AND I, by Julia Quinn. (Avon) The first book in the Bridgerton series. Daphne Bridgerton?s reputation soars when she colludes with the Duke of Hastings. |
| 3 | 77 | THEN SHE WAS GONE, by Lisa Jewell. (Atria) Ten years after her daughter disappears, a woman tries to get her life in order but remains haunted by unanswered questions. |
| 4 | 11 | THE SONG OF ACHILLES, by Madeline Miller. (Ecco) A reimagining of Homer?s ?Iliad? that is narrated by Achilles' companion Patroclus. |
| 5 | 8 | THE QUEEN'S GAMBIT, by Walter Tevis. (Vintage) Sixteen-year-old Beth Harmon goes through changes as she plays chess in the U.S. Open championship. The basis of the Netflix series. |
| 6 | 172 | MILK AND HONEY, by Rupi Kaur. (Andrews McMeel) A collection of poetry about love, loss, trauma and healing. |
| 7 | 31 | CIRCE, by Madeline Miller. (Back Bay) Zeus banishes Helios' daughter to an island, where she must choose between living with gods or mortals. |
| 8 | 29 | FIREFLY LANE, by Kristin Hannah. (St. Martin?s Griffin) A friendship between two women in the Pacific Northwest endures for more than three decades. |
| 9 | 1 | THE WRONG FAMILY, by Tarryn Fisher. (Graydon House) A retired therapist seeks peace after a grim diagnosis but moves in with a family that is not as perfect as it seems. |
| 10 | 2 | THIS TIME NEXT YEAR, by Sophie Cousens. (Putnam) Minnie and Quinn, both born on New Year?s Day 30 years ago, are polar opposites in terms of luck but could make a good pair. |
| 11 | 1 | THE HOUSE IN THE CERULEAN SEA, by T.J. Klune. (Tor) Linus Baker is sent to the Marsyas Island Orphanage to assess whether six children in different forms might cause the end of days. |
| 12 | 80 | THE SUN AND HER FLOWERS, by Rupi Kaur. (Andrews McMeel) A second collection of poetry from the author of "Milk and Honey." |
| 13 | 7 | SHUGGIE BAIN, by Douglas Stuart. (Grove) The winner of the 2020 Booker Prize. A boy?s ***working-class*** childhood in 1980s Glasgow is subsumed by his mother?s alcoholism. |
| 14 | 67 | THE NIGHTINGALE, by Kristin Hannah. (St. Martin's Griffin) Two sisters in World War II France: one struggling to survive in the countryside, the other joining the Resistance. |
| 15 | 73 | THE OVERSTORY, by Richard Powers. (Norton) Winner of the 2019 Pulitzer Prize for fiction. Nine people drawn to trees for different reasons fight for the last of the remaining acres of virgin forest. |

**Load-Date:** January 26, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Coronavirus Cases Are Rising Among Children in South African Hospitals***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6483-P5W1-DXY4-X2C0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 8, 2021 Wednesday 23:33 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; africa

**Length:** 942 words

**Byline:** Lynsey Chutel

**Highlight:** The increase, observed in children’s wards at two major hospitals in South Africa, points to increased community transmission, doctors say.

**Body**

The increase, observed in children’s wards at two major hospitals in South Africa, points to increased community transmission, doctors say.

JOHANNESBURG — The children had gone to the hospital for various reasons: One had jaundice, another malaria. A third had a broken bone. But once they were admitted, they all tested positive for the coronavirus, a worrying trend in South African hospitals that hints at how transmissible the new variant, Omicron, may be.

The doctors in the children’s wards of two large hospitals in Johannesburg say they have not seen a spike in admissions, and they still do not know whether the children have Omicron. But the increase in the number of those who test positive after coming in may provide a glimpse into the behavior of the heavily mutated variant that was [*discovered just last month*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/25/world/variant-south-africa-covid.html), and about which little is known.

“Our suspicion is that Covid positivity rates in the community setting are very, very high at the moment and increasing,” said Dr. Gary Reubenson, a pediatrician at the Rahima Moosa Mother and Child Hospital in Johannesburg.

Young children under 12 are not yet eligible for Covid-19 vaccines in South Africa, which also leaves them more vulnerable.

While it is still too soon to draw any conclusions about the severity of the illness caused by Omicron, early [*modeling and analysis*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/03/health/coronavirus-omicron-vaccines-contagiousness.html) suggest that it may move twice as fast as the Delta variant.

“What is scary now is the proportion of patients who are positive among those who are admitted is very high,” said Dr. Sithembiso Velaphi, who works at the Chris Hani Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto. “The number of admissions overall has not increased.”

And although the number of young patients is relatively small, doctors noted that few of the children so far have needed oxygen.

The number of coronavirus cases in South Africa continues to rise exponentially in a fourth wave of infections that epidemiologists believe is [*driven by Omicron*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/06/world/africa/omicron-coronavirus-research-spread.html). Since the variant was first sequenced and announced by South African doctors on Nov. 25, it has become the dominant version among samples tested in the country.

At the Rahima Moosa hospital, a public hospital that serves ***working-class*** neighborhoods in central Johannesburg, Dr. Reubenson said that he had not seen a spike in admissions but that a higher proportion of pediatric patients and pregnant women were testing positive for the coronavirus.

But, he cautioned, it is still too early to draw conclusions about the variant. On Tuesday, there were 10 patients in the pediatric Covid-19 ward, but very few showed respiratory symptoms. Only one child, who was diagnosed with pneumonia, needed oxygen, said Dr. Reubenson, who also works as a pediatric infectious diseases specialist at the University of the Witwatersrand medical school.

The relatively small number of Covid-19 patients needing oxygen was in line with findings in an [*early report*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/06/world/africa/omicron-coronavirus-research-spread.html) from doctors at the Steve Biko Academic and Tshwane District Hospital Complex in Pretoria, currently the epicenter of the outbreak in South Africa.

At the Chris Hani Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto, Dr. Velaphi has seen a similar pattern in the pediatric Covid-19 ward. On Tuesday, 12 children were admitted, three of whom needed oxygen.

It is still too soon to tell whether the children will develop a potentially more serious condition, multi-inflammatory syndrome, which has been found in some children who test positive for the virus. It can take about six to eight weeks after infection for that to develop, Dr. Velaphi said. Symptoms usually includes stomach pain, diarrhea and vomiting, [*among others*](https://www.cdc.gov/mis/mis-c.html).

In both hospitals, it was unclear how many of the children came from homes with vaccinated parents or guardians. In the labor ward at Rahema Moosa, it was also not clear how many pregnant women had been vaccinated.

But data from the National Institute of Communicable Diseases showed that many of the children who tested positive for the coronavirus had parents or guardians who were not vaccinated.

While preliminary studies show that [*previous infection may not protect*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/03/world/a-past-infection-might-not-protect-against-omicron-scientists-say.html) against the new variant, the relaxation of regulations such as mask-wearing and social distancing in late October most likely played a part in the increased positivity rate, Dr. Reubenson said.

In the previous wave of infections, driven by the Delta variant, children made up 12 percent of positive coronavirus cases, according to data from the communicable diseases institute.

Then, during the South African winter, when children attended school on a staggered timetable, more teenagers were infected and admitted to hospital, said Dr. Waasila Jassat, a public health specialist at the National Institute of Communicable Diseases.

South Africa [*extended vaccination to children*](https://www.nicd.ac.za/covid-19-unpacking-south-africas-plan-to-vaccinate-adolescents/) as young as 12 in October, with more than 652,000 vaccinated so far. The South African government authorized one shot of the Pfizer-BioNTech vaccine for the 12 to 17 age group, with the second dose available starting in January.

To bypass hesitant guardians and parents, teenagers do not need permission from their parents or guardians to get the shot at free, public vaccination stations.

This may account, Dr. Jassat said, for why there are more younger children testing positive than teenagers. It is not yet clear if South Africa’s health products regulator will authorize the use of vaccines for children younger than 12.

As of last week, vaccine manufacturers had not yet sought approval to administer vaccines to children younger than 12 in South Africa, officials said.

PHOTO: “Positivity rates in the community setting are very, very high,” a Johannesburg pediatrician said. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DENIS FARRELL/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

**Load-Date:** December 9, 2021

**End of Document**



[***‘Closeness’ Review: A Russian Kidnapping Drama Unsettles in Unexpected Ways***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60BV-S0H1-JBG3-62HH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 30, 2020 Thursday 23:33 EST

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**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 382 words

**Byline:** Glenn Kenny

**Highlight:** The first feature film from Kantemir Balagov arguably commits an egregious breach of cinematic ethics.

**Body**

The first feature film from Kantemir Balagov arguably commits an egregious breach of cinematic ethics.

The early scenes of “Tesnota (Closeness)” — the first feature directed by Kantemir Balagov, whose subsequent [*“Beanpole”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/28/movies/beanpole-review.html) was Russia’s 2019 entry for the international feature Academy Award — convey unsettling sexual intrigue and old-fashioned exuberance. The tomboyish Ilana (Darya Zhovner) and her brother David (Veniamin Katz), part of a ***working-class*** Jewish family living in the Russian town of Nalchik in 1998, have an unusually close relationship. A little before David’s engagement party, the siblings have a cheeky discussion on how “lucky” David’s betrothed is, given his sexual equipment. Whoa.

The following celebration, though, is feisty and innocent. Balagov has a real knack for getting in close to his characters and almost participating, with the camera, in their dancing.

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/28/movies/beanpole-review.html)]

After this, the trouble begins. The couple is immediately kidnapped by locals — likely Kabardians, the Circassian tribe that dominates the town.

The demanded ransom is high, and while the engaged girl’s family can afford it, Ilana and David’s cannot. One potential solution involves an arranged marriage. But Ilana’s involved with a Kabardian lug, Zalim (Nazir Zhukov). As attached as she is to her brother, she can’t abide this proposed refutation of whatever autonomy she has left.

This movie, which Balagov, a Nalchik native, states in an onscreen text is based on a true story, has a whole lot of “slow” and one very nasty burn. Ilana gets plastered with Zalim and his pals (one of whom says, “Jews are good — to make soap from,” not aware Ilana is Jewish), and the group watches a VHS tape of authentic documentary footage showing the slow torture and murder of a Russian. This is apparently footage Balagov himself saw under similar circumstances as a younger man. Whatever his ostensible point, its inclusion here is a deplorably truculent demonstration of directorial prerogative. It does more than cast a pall over the rest of the picture.

Tesnota (Closeness)

Not rated. In Russian, with subtitles. Running time: 1 hour 58 minutes. Watch on [*Kino Marquee*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/28/movies/beanpole-review.html).

PHOTO: A scene from “Closeness,” from the director Kantemir Balagov. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Kino Lorber FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 14, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Winning in England, but Losing in Scotland***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62MC-V4R1-JBG3-6173-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 8, 2021 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 12

**Length:** 1392 words

**Byline:** By Mark Landler and Stephen Castle

**Body**

His pillars of ''getting Brexit done'' and ''leveling up'' struggling areas in northern England and the Midlands have fueled a separatist drive in Scotland.

LONDON -- The great realignment of British politics accelerated this week, but it is pulling in starkly different directions north and south of the Scottish border.

In England, Prime Minister Boris Johnson's Conservative Party scored decisive victories in regional elections on Thursday, leaving the opposition Labour Party gasping for breath. But the same populist forces that propelled the Conservatives there cut against them in Scotland, where supporters of Scottish independence are on track to prosper and rejuvenate their long-nurtured bid for independence.

For Mr. Johnson, the results add up to the ultimate split decision: Victorious in England, with an opposition so vanquished that it gives the Conservatives a simulacrum of one-party rule, but threatened by Scotland, which could make him the prime minister who presides over the dissolution of the United Kingdom.

''The tectonic plates of British politics had already begun to shift, and they are now shifting further and quite possibly faster,'' said Tony Travers, a professor of politics at the London School of Economics. ''What links these elections is Boris Johnson, not liked in Scotland, but pretty much liked in England.''

Mr. Johnson's brand of soft-edged populism played well in the old Labour bastions of northern England, where the Conservative candidate trounced her Labour opponent in the gritty port town of Hartlepool. He was helped further by the successful rollout of vaccines and more generally by the pandemic, which enabled him to remake the Conservatives as a party of New Deal-style state intervention.

Yet Mr. Johnson remains unpopular in Scotland, where his pro-Brexit credentials still rankle Scots, who voted in a majority against leaving the European Union. The Scottish National Party has championed a second independence referendum that would reverse that decision, if only for Scotland. The same policies Mr. Johnson used to woo voters in England could also further drive away those in Scotland.

''The challenge for Boris Johnson is that he is finding that the better he does in England, the more he alienates Scotland,'' said Matthew Goodwin, a professor of politics at the University of Kent.

Vote counting was taking longer in Scotland than in England, so it was unclear whether the Scottish National Party would win an outright majority in Scotland's Parliament. But even if it falls a few seats short, it can assemble a pro-independence majority with the support of Scottish Greens, guaranteeing that the pressure on Mr. Johnson to allow a referendum will mount.

Still, there was plenty for Mr. Johnson to celebrate. The parliamentary by-election in Hartlepool was not so much a defeat as a humiliation for the Labour Party, which had held the seat since the constituency's establishment in the 1970s. The Conservative candidate, Jill Mortimer, captured nearly twice the number of votes as the Labour candidate, Paul Williams.

Labour candidates fared as badly in local elections in northern towns and cities, further evidence that the party's ''red wall'' in industrial and ***working-class*** parts of the country was crumbling. From Northumberland and Dudley to Nuneaton and Bedworth, the Conservatives seized control of local councils.

They benefited from the absence of single-issue pro-Brexit parties, which had split the pro-Brexit vote in previous elections. In Hartlepool, for example, Labour would have lost its seat to the Conservatives in the 2019 general election, were it not for the Brexit Party candidate siphoning off votes.

Even as Brexit has receded as an issue, voters seemed determined to abandon the blue-collar party of their parents and grandparents for the Johnson government's message of ''leveling up'' the Midlands and the north with London and other more prosperous cities in England's south and west.

The Conservative Party's success appears to confirm the theory that, turbocharged by the Brexit debate, Britain's politics are splintering along new dividing lines, related more to values than to social class.

The result in Hartlepool, Mr. Goodwin said, ''symbolizes the Labour Party's broken bond with the ***working class*** and reflects a deeper realignment in British politics where the old left and right is making way for a new divide, between liberals and conservatives, that is really more to do with identities rather than class or how much money you have.''

Voters also brushed aside a swirl of questions about Mr. Johnson's ethical conduct in office, ranging from his cellphone exchanges with a British billionaire to the expensive makeover of his apartment in Downing Street, which appears to have been paid for, at least initially, by a Conservative Party donor.

As he did after his landslide election victory in 2019, Mr. Johnson struck an uncharacteristically modest tone.

''What has happened is that they can see we did get Brexit done and, to a certain extent, they can see that we delivered on that,'' he said in Hartlepool. ''What people want us to do now is to get on with delivering on everything else.''

The results will raise hard questions for the Labour Party leader, Keir Starmer. Critics were quick to fault him for tactical blunders, like running an anti-Brexit candidate in pro-Brexit Hartlepool. And they demanded changes in the party's direction, though the shape of that new direction was far from clear.

Visibly frustrated and sounding less polished than usual, Mr. Starmer accepted responsibility, describing the results as ''bitterly disappointing.'' But he did not offer any details of a comeback plan.

''We have changed as a party, but we need to go further and we need to set out that strong case to the country,'' Mr. Starmer said, promising to ''reconnect and rebuild trust with working people, particularly in places like Hartlepool.''

With its weakness among those voters, Labour now depends on better educated voters who are at home in cosmopolitan, multicultural, cities. In London, for example, the Labour mayor, Sadiq Khan, was cruising toward re-election.

''If the Conservatives can take Hartlepool, they can take probably two dozen other blue-collar Labour seats where voters lean left on the economy and right on culture,'' Mr. Goodwin of the University of Kent said. ''The Labour Party cannot simply pivot to graduates and middle-class professionals; there are not enough seats for that to work.''

The paradox for Mr. Johnson is that the success of his strategy in England has an equal and opposite effect in Scotland, where political sentiment is moving in a more liberal direction and opposition to Brexit remains strong.

Reaction to Mr. Johnson's election-eve deployment of Navy ships to the island of Jersey, in a dispute with France about fishing rights, was more muted in Scotland than in England, where tabloids rhapsodized about a latter-day battle of Trafalgar.

''Up here it was seen as English nationalism, not British nationalism,'' said James Mitchell, professor of public policy at Edinburgh University.

Moreover, he said, Mr. Johnson's promises of economic help to the north of England could further undermine his support in Scotland, where voters are quick to see favoritism.

For Scotland's first minister, Nicola Sturgeon, the path to an independence remains tricky. If the Scottish National Party doesn't win an outright majority in the Parliament -- a scenario that seemed possible on Friday -- the momentum behind another referendum might dissipate temporarily.

The last time Scots held a referendum, they voted against leaving the United Kingdom by 55 percent to 44 percent. Polls currently put support for independence at roughly 50-50, slightly weaker than six months ago.

Still, with the support of the Greens, Ms. Sturgeon is likely to have the numbers to press on with legislation for another plebiscite, and to provoke a legal challenge from Mr. Johnson or his allies to declare it illegal.

''What Sturgeon will want to do is to create the impression that Johnson is blocking a referendum,'' Mr. Mitchell said. ''One way that could see more people coming over to the cause of a referendum is the perception of London blocking a referendum or of it undermining Scotland.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/07/world/europe/uk-boris-johnson-conservatives-election.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/07/world/europe/uk-boris-johnson-conservatives-election.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Prime Minister Boris Johnson with Jill Mortimer, the Hartlepool candidate who trounced her Labour opponent in Thursday's election. (PHOTOGRAPH BY LEE SMITH/REUTERS)

Keir Starmer, the Labour leader, called the results ''bitterly disappointing.'' The Conservatives made gains throughout England. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HENRY NICHOLLS/REUTERS)

The England-Scotland border. A new vote for secession from the United Kingdom may be looming, as Scots continue to disagree with the Brexit decision and advocate for a more liberal direction. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREW TESTA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 8, 2021

**End of Document**



[***NATO Vows to Expedite Its Membership Process For Finland and Sweden***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65FX-YNC1-DXY4-X136-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 16, 2022 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 9

**Length:** 1232 words

**Byline:** By Edward Wong and Anatoly Kurmanaev

**Body**

In another setback for Moscow, top officials from alliance nations met over the weekend in Berlin to discuss admitting Finland and Sweden and supporting Ukraine.

BERLIN -- The head of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization said Sunday that the security bloc would grant fast-track membership to Sweden and Finland, raising the pressure on Vladimir V. Putin, who justified his invasion of Ukraine by what he cast as the need to keep the military alliance away from Russia's borders.

''President Putin wants Ukraine defeated, NATO down, North America and Europe divided,'' the NATO secretary general, Jens Stoltenberg, said in Berlin after meeting the foreign ministers of the alliance's members. ''But Ukraine stands, NATO is stronger than ever, Europe and North America are solidly united.''

Both countries said their applications were imminent. Finland's Parliament is expected to ratify a NATO application on Monday. And Sweden's governing Social Democratic Party said Sunday that it would vote in favor of joining NATO -- all but guaranteeing that the Nordic nation would end 200 years of neutrality.

The possibility of NATO troops deploying along Russia's 810-mile border with Finland comes as Mr. Putin is facing notable setbacks in the war he began in Ukraine nearly three months ago.

Ukrainian forces have advanced to near the Russian border in recent days after pushing Russian troops from the outskirts of Kharkiv, Ukraine's second-largest city. And evidence mounted on Sunday that Russia's offensive in the Donbas region further east is faltering after the initial modest gains.

Estimates based on publicly available evidence suggest that well over 400 Russian soldiers were killed or wounded as they tried to cross the Donets River at the village of Bilohorivka, in the eastern Luhansk region, in a bid to encircle Ukrainian forces. The debacle is likely to have been one of the bloodiest engagements since the start of the war, leading even influential pro-Russian bloggers to begin to voice concern, despite the Kremlin's efforts to criminalize dissent.

''I've been keeping quiet for a long time,'' Yuri Podolyaka, a war blogger with 2.1 million followers on the messaging app Telegram, said in a video posted on Friday, saying he had avoided criticizing the Russian military.

''The last straw that overwhelmed my patience,'' he said, ''was the events around Bilohorivka, where due to stupidity -- I emphasize, because of the stupidity of the Russian command -- at least one battalion tactical group was burned, possibly two.''

British intelligence officials said Sunday that Russia had lost a third of the ground forces it had committed to the Ukraine offensive. The rate of attrition, if confirmed, would make it extremely difficult for Russia to achieve a decisive victory against a well-motivated and increasingly well-armed and trained enemy, according to analysts.

But within Russia, the Kremlin's propaganda and repression of independent media have effectively shielded the majority of the population from the true human cost of the war. The Russian government's emergency economic measures have thus far blunted the impact of sanctions.

Western and Ukrainian officials say that thousands of Russian soldiers have already died in the conflict. But reports about deaths have been heavily censored by the state and concentrated among ***working-class*** families spread across the world's largest country, precluding local tragedies from coalescing into national grieving.

Many Russians believe the war is no longer against Ukraine, but has morphed into a proxy conflict with the United States and NATO, who, they say, are exploiting the conflict to destroy their nation, according to interviews with a half-dozen residents in Moscow and in provincial Siberia.

If pushed into a corner, Russia will always fight on, some of them said, even if it risks provoking a nuclear war.

The decision of Finland and Sweden to apply to join NATO has only played into the siege narrative pushed by the Kremlin, tapping into patriotic feelings in a nation that prides itself on coming together to repel foreign threats over the centuries.

For their part, both Nordic states have long been wary of Russian power.

Finland was part of the Russian Empire and fought to maintain its independence from the Soviet Union during the Second World War. Sweden and Russia fought to dominate Eastern Europe in the 18th century.

But Finland and Sweden both remained neutral after the Soviet Union confronted the United States and its allies in the aftermath of the Second World War. The end of that neutrality is a striking sign of the extent to which Mr. Putin's strategic calculation in Ukraine has backfired and undermined longstanding Russian security priorities.

As a rationale for his invasion of Ukraine, Mr. Putin had said he was concerned about NATO enlargement, and in particular the deployment of new missiles near the Russian borders. This concern is shared by the majority of Russian citizens, who believe the United States has taken advantage of their country's weakness after the collapse of the Soviet Union to bring missiles to its borders.

An application to join NATO must be unanimously approved by its 30 members. One of those members, Turkey, has raised issues over the pending applications, though it has suggested it would not oppose admission if its own security concerns are addressed.

Antony J. Blinken, the American secretary of state, said after the Berlin meetings on Sunday that there was strong support among current NATO members on bringing the two Nordic states into the alliance. U.S. officials said their application processes should be completed in months, and Germany's foreign minister, Annalena Baerbock, said Sunday that her nation would be among the first to ratify them.

The Baltic States joined NATO in 2004, bringing the alliance to the border with the Russian heartland. And in 2008, President George W. Bush promised that Ukraine and Georgia could enter NATO and pushed the alliance to make similar statements.

Western European nations, however, were reluctant to make good on that promise. Before the war, both the United States and European allies had said that Ukraine would not be qualified to enter NATO anytime soon.

After Russia invaded, Ukraine's president, Volodymyr Zelensky, pushed for the Western powers to act on his government's desire to enter NATO, but has since said he would be more open to a neutral Ukraine if its security is guaranteed.

On Sunday morning, Mr. Blinken met in Berlin with Dmytro Kuleba, the foreign minister of Ukraine, to discuss the war. The State Department said the two men discussed the details of further American security assistance to Ukraine.

Mr. Kuleba posted on Twitter a photo of the two standing in a room and smiling. ''More weapons and other aid is on the way to Ukraine,'' he wrote.

Edward Wong reported from Berlin, and Anatoly Kurmanaev from Mexico City. Reporting was contributed by Anton Troianovski from New York; Carlotta Gall from Prudyanka, Ukraine; Ivan Nechepurenko from Tbilisi, Georgia; and Marc Santora from Krakow, Poland.Edward Wong reported from Berlin, and Anatoly Kurmanaev from Mexico City. Reporting was contributed by Anton Troianovski from New York; Carlotta Gall from Prudyanka, Ukraine; Ivan Nechepurenko from Tbilisi, Georgia; and Marc Santora from Krakow, Poland.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/05/15/world/russia-ukraine-war-news/finland-sweden-nato-russia-ukraine*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/05/15/world/russia-ukraine-war-news/finland-sweden-nato-russia-ukraine)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Above, battling a fire started on Sunday by a Russian artillery attack near Kharkiv, Ukraine. Below, a woman describing the destruction of her home by Russian forces in the village of Andrivka, west of Mariupol. Russia's offensive in eastern Ukraine has faltered in recent days, analysts say. Reports suggest that over 400 Russian troops were killed or injured in the Luhansk region last week while trying to encircle Ukrainian forces. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY FINBARR O'REILLY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

IVOR PRICKETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 16, 2022

**End of Document**



[***An Election Win for Boris Johnson, but His Strategies Risk Breaking Up the U.K.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62M5-RVV1-JBG3-652M-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Byline:** Mark Landler and Stephen Castle

**Highlight:** His pillars of “getting Brexit done” and “leveling up” struggling areas in northern England and the Midlands have fueled a separatist drive in Scotland.

**Body**

His pillars of “getting Brexit done” and “leveling up” struggling areas in northern England and the Midlands have fueled a separatist drive in Scotland.

LONDON — The great realignment of British politics accelerated this week, but it is pulling in starkly different directions north and south of the Scottish border.

In England, Prime Minister [*Boris Johnson*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/11/world/europe/queens-speech-boris-johnson.html)’s Conservative Party scored decisive victories in regional elections on Thursday, leaving the opposition [*Labour Party*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/11/world/europe/queens-speech-boris-johnson.html) gasping for breath. But the same populist forces that propelled the Conservatives there cut against them in Scotland, where supporters of [*Scottish independence*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/11/world/europe/queens-speech-boris-johnson.html) are on track to prosper and rejuvenate their long-nurtured bid for independence.

For Mr. Johnson, the results add up to the ultimate split decision: Victorious in England, with an opposition so vanquished that it gives the Conservatives a simulacrum of one-party rule, but threatened by Scotland, which could make him the prime minister who presides over the dissolution of the United Kingdom.

“The tectonic plates of British politics had already begun to shift, and they are now shifting further and quite possibly faster,” said Tony Travers, a professor of politics at the London School of Economics. “What links these elections is Boris Johnson, not liked in Scotland, but pretty much liked in England.”

Mr. Johnson’s brand of soft-edged populism played well in the old Labour bastions of northern England, where the Conservative candidate trounced her Labour opponent in the gritty port town of Hartlepool. He was helped further by [*the successful rollout of Covid-19 vaccines*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/11/world/europe/queens-speech-boris-johnson.html) and more generally by the pandemic, which enabled him to remake the Conservatives as a party of New Deal-style state intervention.

[*Yet Mr. Johnson remains unpopular in Scotland*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/11/world/europe/queens-speech-boris-johnson.html), where his pro-Brexit credentials still rankle Scots, who voted in a majority against leaving the European Union. The Scottish National Party has championed a second independence referendum that would reverse that decision, if only for Scotland. The same policies Mr. Johnson used to woo voters in England could also further drive away those in Scotland.

“The challenge for Boris Johnson is that he is finding that the better he does in England, the more he alienates Scotland,” said Matthew Goodwin, a professor of politics at the University of Kent.

Vote counting was taking longer in Scotland than in England, so it was unclear whether the Scottish National Party would win an outright majority in Scotland’s Parliament. But even if it falls a few seats short, it can assemble a pro-independence majority with the support of Scottish Greens, guaranteeing that the pressure on Mr. Johnson to allow a referendum will mount.

Still, there was plenty for Mr. Johnson to celebrate. The parliamentary by-election in Hartlepool was not so much a defeat as a humiliation for the Labour Party, which had held the seat since the constituency’s establishment in the 1970s. The Conservative candidate, Jill Mortimer, captured nearly twice the number of votes as the Labour candidate, Paul Williams.

Labour candidates fared as badly in local elections in northern towns and cities, further evidence that the party’s “red wall” in industrial and ***working-class*** parts of the country was crumbling. From Northumberland and Dudley to Nuneaton and Bedworth, the Conservatives seized control of local councils.

They benefited from the absence of single-issue pro-Brexit parties, which had split the pro-Brexit vote in previous elections. In Hartlepool, for example, Labour would have lost its seat to the Conservatives in the 2019 general election, were it not for the Brexit Party candidate siphoning off votes.

Even as Brexit has receded as an issue, voters seemed determined to abandon the blue-collar party of their parents and grandparents for the Johnson government’s message of “leveling up” the Midlands and the north with London and other more prosperous cities in England’s south and west.

The Conservative Party’s success appears to confirm the theory that, turbocharged by the Brexit debate, Britain’s politics are splintering along new dividing lines, related more to values than to social class.

The result in Hartlepool, Mr. Goodwin said, “symbolizes the Labour Party’s broken bond with the ***working class*** and reflects a deeper realignment in British politics where the old left and right is making way for a new divide, between liberals and conservatives, that is really more to do with identities rather than class or how much money you have.”

Voters also brushed aside a swirl of questions about Mr. Johnson’s [*ethical conduct in office*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/11/world/europe/queens-speech-boris-johnson.html), ranging from his cellphone exchanges with a British billionaire to the [*expensive makeover of his apartment in Downing Street*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/11/world/europe/queens-speech-boris-johnson.html), which appears to have been paid for, at least initially, by a Conservative Party donor.

As he did after his landslide election victory in 2019, Mr. Johnson struck an uncharacteristically modest tone.

“What has happened is that they can see we did get Brexit done and, to a certain extent, they can see that we delivered on that,” he said in Hartlepool. “What people want us to do now is to get on with delivering on everything else.”

The results will raise hard questions for the Labour Party leader, Keir Starmer. Critics were quick to fault him for tactical blunders, like running an anti-Brexit candidate in pro-Brexit Hartlepool. And they demanded changes in the party’s direction, though the shape of that new direction was far from clear.

Visibly frustrated and sounding less polished than usual, Mr. Starmer accepted responsibility, describing the results as “bitterly disappointing.” But he did not offer any details of a comeback plan.

“We have changed as a party, but we need to go further and we need to set out that strong case to the country,” Mr. Starmer said, promising to “reconnect and rebuild trust with working people, particularly in places like Hartlepool.”

With its weakness among those voters, Labour now depends on better educated voters who are at home in cosmopolitan, multicultural, cities. In London, for example, the Labour mayor, Sadiq Khan, was cruising toward re-election.

“If the Conservatives can take Hartlepool, they can take probably two dozen other blue-collar Labour seats where voters lean left on the economy and right on culture,” Mr. Goodwin of the University of Kent said. “The Labour Party cannot simply pivot to graduates and middle-class professionals; there are not enough seats for that to work.”

The paradox for Mr. Johnson is that the success of his strategy in England has an equal and opposite effect in Scotland, where political sentiment is moving in a more liberal direction and opposition to Brexit remains strong.

Reaction to Mr. Johnson’s [*election-eve deployment of Navy ships to the island of Jersey*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/11/world/europe/queens-speech-boris-johnson.html), in a dispute with France about fishing rights, was more muted in Scotland than in England, where tabloids rhapsodized about a latter-day battle of Trafalgar.

“Up here it was seen as English nationalism, not British nationalism,” said James Mitchell, a professor of public policy at Edinburgh University.

Moreover, he said, Mr. Johnson’s promises of economic help to the north of England could further undermine his support in Scotland, where voters are quick to see favoritism.

For Scotland’s first minister, Nicola Sturgeon, the path to an independence remains tricky. If the Scottish National Party doesn’t win an outright majority in the Parliament — a scenario that seemed possible on Friday — the momentum behind another referendum might dissipate temporarily.

The last time Scots held a referendum, they voted against leaving the United Kingdom by 55 percent to 44 percent. Polls currently put support for independence at roughly 50-50, slightly weaker than six months ago.

Still, with the support of the Greens, Ms. Sturgeon is likely to have the numbers to press on with legislation for another plebiscite, and to provoke a legal challenge from Mr. Johnson or his allies to declare it illegal.

“What Sturgeon will want to do is to create the impression that Johnson is blocking a referendum,” Mr. Mitchell said. “One way that could see more people coming over to the cause of a referendum is the perception of London blocking a referendum or of it undermining Scotland.”

PHOTOS: Prime Minister Boris Johnson with Jill Mortimer, the Hartlepool candidate who trounced her Labour opponent in Thursday’s election. (PHOTOGRAPH BY LEE SMITH/REUTERS); Keir Starmer, the Labour leader, called the results “bitterly disappointing.” The Conservatives made gains throughout England. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HENRY NICHOLLS/REUTERS); The England-Scotland border. A new vote for secession from the United Kingdom may be looming, as Scots continue to disagree with the Brexit decision and advocate for a more liberal direction. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREW TESTA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 11, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Mounting Crises Provided Tailwind for Passage***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6446-8SV1-JBG3-61HB-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 2030 words

**Byline:** By Jonathan Weisman

**Body**

President Barack Obama barely muscled his health law through the House. But income inequality, economic stagnation and a pandemic propelled an even more ambitious bill.

WASHINGTON -- In March 2010, with Tea Party activists protesting loudly in the hallways of Capitol Hill and the political wind in their faces, 34 House Democrats -- including Representative Stephen F. Lynch of Massachusetts -- broke with their president to vote against passage of the Affordable Care Act.

It was not enough to kill the bill, but more than enough to register deep concerns about its reach in American society -- and its potential impact on the midterm elections.

On Friday, Mr. Lynch and every other Democrat but one cast votes for about $2 trillion in spending on social welfare and climate change programs that arguably go much further than the health law -- further, in fact, than any government intervention in half a century. And the concerns that peeled so many Democrats away from the health measure more than a decade ago were hardly in evidence -- at least on their side of the aisle.

''I've served a couple of times in the minority, a couple of times in the majority,'' said Mr. Lynch, the last remaining House Democrat who voted against Barack Obama's signature domestic achievement. ''I've got a better sense of time and how these moments are rare when you can seize on something and make real change.''

The political and economic shifts in the United States in the decade between the first vote and the second may explain how a party still divided could unite around legislation of such sweep. The worst public health crisis in a century laid bare economic stagnation in the middle class and the soaring wealth of the super rich. The recovery from the coronavirus crisis is still held back by child care costs and poor educational access that have kept parents home instead of working.

Searing heat waves, record wildfires and waves of battering hurricanes have underlined the reality of climate change. And the killings of Black men and women, captured on video and spread instantly around the world, raised awareness of racial injustice and inequality just as a new generation of progressives was rising up in the Democratic Party.

''I've always said courage comes out of crisis,'' said Representative Pramila Jayapal, Democrat of Washington and the leader of the nearly 100-member Congressional Progressive Caucus. ''You just couldn't ignore this stuff anymore. It was intolerable to watch.''

Those forces appeared to unite Democrats as they made their way to the Capitol to vote. There were no shouts from angry opponents, like the ones that greeted Democrats in 2010 as they prepared to approve the Affordable Care Act. Their main barrier to passage was an eight-hour speech by the House Republican leader, Representative Kevin McCarthy of California. Beyond the chamber, the only activists in evidence were a small clutch of supporters singing old union songs and someone dressed like the Build Back Better Act, modeled after the bill in the old ''Schoolhouse Rock'' video.

The social safety net and climate bill still must navigate a tortuous road through the evenly divided Senate, where a single defection would bring it down. If it is able to clear that chamber, it most likely will have to go back to the House for a final vote, devoid of some of the items that drew Democrats to support it on Friday. But if it is enacted, it will touch virtually every American life, from birth to death, akin to Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal or Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society.

Its generous subsidies for child care and universal prekindergarten are designed to lift the struggling ***working class*** into a less precarious economic position. Ample housing support, more higher education aid and worker training programs in the bill would reach well into the middle class. Home and community health care, a new hearing benefit for Medicare and price controls for prescription drugs would ease the lives of older Americans.

All of that could reasonably be described as big-government excess, and Republicans have made that case repeatedly for months. The scope and cost of the bill, if anything, is understated by its roughly $2 trillion price tag because Democrats kept the cost down by phasing in some measures and arbitrarily ending others well before the expiration of the bill's 10-year window, some after a single year. In all, according to the Committee for a Responsible Budget, if the entire Build Back Better Act were made permanent, the 10-year cost would be $4.9 trillion, which would exceed the inflation-adjusted, four-year cost of World War II, as Mr. McCarthy charged repeatedly over eight hours.

Yet a combined assault by business organizations like the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America, their political operatives at groups like American Action Network, and the intense focus of the Republican Party against what they call ''socialist'' early education, crippling tax increases and dangerous limitations on the drug companies was not enough to peel away even four House Democrats, the bare minimum that would have been needed to defeat the legislation.

Competitive races next year will test whether voters embrace Republicans' grim view of the package or Democrats' belief that they are delivering vital programs that will be broadly appealing. Representative Tim Ryan, a Democrat from a ***working-class*** region of Ohio who is running for an open Senate seat, said Republicans have dug themselves a political hole by railing against the bill.

''They're getting themselves in a position where they're putting themselves against universal preschool; they're putting themselves against controlling child-care costs for people; putting themselves on the other side of a tax cut for families,'' Mr. Ryan said. ''You know, people have been screaming 'socialism' for a long time, and Roosevelt got elected four times.''

The social welfare and climate bill is not yet law, but to have gotten it even this far was a prodigious feat, and one that probably happened only because of the societal and economic changes that preceded it, Democrats from across the spectrum of their party say.

''Look at the millennials in my district, who can't afford a house, who can't afford to pay back their student loans, who can't even dream about living the lives their parents lived,'' Representative John B. Larson of Connecticut, a veteran Democrat, said. ''You can't tell people they are doing better than they are.''

And as society has changed, so has the Democratic Party. Representative Jamaal Bowman's New York district stretches from the wealthy suburb of Scarsdale to the tougher streets of Mount Vernon, and for 32 years, was represented by a white establishment Democrat, Eliot L. Engel.

Mr. Bowman, a progressive Black man who defeated Mr. Engel in a Democratic primary last year, said his constituents acknowledge wealth inequality and income stagnation in their midst -- in part, because he won't let them deny it.

''If they tried to look the other way, they really can't,'' Mr. Bowman said. ''And they know that whether it's through government or private industry, or both, we have to do more to close the inequality gap.''

Republicans are still betting that voters will fixate on the spectacle of a Democratic president struggling for months to unite his divided majority around his agenda. They argue that the chaotic and deadly withdrawal from Afghanistan, rising inflation and unsteady economic growth have only added to a sense that the country is adrift, and say they are not about to allow Democrats to use the social safety net bill to distract from those concerns.

''We have a supply chain crisis that continues to rage on, exacerbating the skyrocketing prices and scarcity of goods our citizens are experiencing,'' the House Republican leader, Mr. McCarthy, said Thursday. ''And ask yourself this: What has this chamber done, especially this week, to alleviate any of these pressures on our fellow citizens, the people we were sent here to represent? The answer is absolutely nothing.''

Passage of the bill, Republicans say, will only stoke inflation, force the Federal Reserve to raise interest rates, and create ''stagflation,'' the combination of stagnant economic growth and rising prices that doomed Jimmy Carter's presidency.

Democrats contend that their policies will offer real relief. Economic trends indicate a need for targeted assistance to the working and middle class, and it would be paid for largely by the richest Americans and largest corporations.

Median household income grew by 41 percent from 1970 to 2000, to $70,800, at an annual average rate of 1.2 percent, according to the nonpartisan Pew Research Center. From 2000 to 2018, that annual average slowed to 0.3 percent. During that time, the 745 billionaires in the United States added $2.1 trillion to their combined net worth over during the pandemic, which now totals $5 trillion, the liberal Institute for Policy Studies recently found. And new revelations have detailed how prominent billionaires like Jeff Bezos, Elon Musk and Michael R. Bloomberg have paid little -- and sometimes nothing -- in federal income taxes.

In 2009 and 2010, the barrage of legislation that flew through Congress with huge Democratic majorities helped give rise to the Tea Party movement and a backlash against an activist government. A large-scale stimulus bill, a ''cash for clunkers'' measure to help people swap their old cars for new, firm new regulations to combat the Wall Street excesses that led to the Great Recession, and near-universal health care may each have had support on their own, but collectively, they appear to have overwhelmed the electorate's tolerance for action.

This time around, Democrats have passed a $1.9 trillion pandemic aid package, a $1 trillion infrastructure bill, and are driving forward with the most far-reaching social policy since Johnson's War on Poverty -- and hoping for different political results.

''The plans we're working to advance today are policies that are hugely popular to people of all stripes,'' said Representative Matt Cartwright, a Democrat whose Pennsylvania district voted for President Donald J. Trump's re-election by nearly 10 percentage points. ''Creating bricks-and-mortar jobs for people who work with their hands, cutting taxes for the middle class, lowering the cost of prescriptions -- these are things that are going to help so many people in my district.''

In 2010, a moderate Democrat was socially liberal on issues like abortion and immigration but fiscally conservative on government spending, and many of them voted against the Affordable Care Act. Today, a new brand of moderates have emerged who are fiscally populist but more circumspect on progressive social causes, like immigration, defunding police forces and pressing responses to racial injustice. They voted for the bill on Friday.

Republicans warn that Democrats will pay a steep political price for doing so. They point to the accelerating pace of retirement announcements, the latest coming on Thursday from Representative G.K. Butterfield, a senior Black Democrat from North Carolina who would face a difficult re-election if a Republican-gerrymandered district map for 2022 passes court muster.

''Who can blame these Democrats for retiring?'' Mr. McCarthy asked, almost taunting them before the vote. ''They see the writing on the wall, and they know this reconciliation bill will be the end of their Democrat majority, and for many, their congressional careers.''

(Mr. Butterfield, who noted he was 74 years old, said Thursday night that he appreciated Mr. McCarthy's sense of humor.)

Mr. Cartwright, who in 2012 unseated a fellow Democrat in Northeastern Pennsylvania because he had voted against the health law, said he did not fear the Republican attacks to come.

''Republicans have opposed things that help ordinary working people for generation after generation after generation,'' he said. ''They spoke of downfall of civilization when Roosevelt came up with Social Security.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/19/us/politics/democrats-economic-bill.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/19/us/politics/democrats-economic-bill.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Although divisions among Democrats in the House remain, Speaker Nancy Pelosi was able to unite them around the sweeping social policy and climate change plan. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Tom Brenner for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 20, 2021

**End of Document**



[***NATO Leaders Say They Will Speed Finland and Sweden Membership Bids***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65FT-M2Y1-JBG3-60TF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 15, 2022 Sunday 03:57 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1311 words

**Byline:** Edward Wong and Anatoly Kurmanaev

**Highlight:** In another setback for Moscow, top officials from alliance nations met over the weekend in Berlin to discuss admitting Finland and Sweden and supporting Ukraine.

**Body**

In another setback for Moscow, top officials from alliance nations met over the weekend in Berlin to discuss admitting Finland and Sweden and supporting Ukraine.

BERLIN — The head of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization said Sunday that the security bloc would grant fast-track membership to Sweden and Finland, raising the pressure on Vladimir V. Putin, who justified his invasion of Ukraine by what he cast as the need to keep the military alliance away from Russia’s borders.

“President Putin wants Ukraine defeated, NATO down, North America and Europe divided,” the NATO secretary general, Jens Stoltenberg, said in Berlin after meeting the foreign ministers of the alliance’s members. “But Ukraine stands, NATO is stronger than ever, Europe and North America are solidly united.”

Both countries said their applications were imminent. Finland’s Parliament is expected to ratify a NATO application on Monday. And Sweden’s governing [*Social Democratic Party*](https://www.socialdemokraterna.se/nyheter/nyheter/2022-05-15-partistyrelses-beslut-om-socialdemokraternas-sakerhetspolitiska-linje#0)said Sunday that it would vote in favor of joining NATO — all but guaranteeing that the Nordic nation would end 200 years of neutrality.

The possibility of NATO troops deploying along Russia’s 810-mile border with Finland comes as Mr. Putin is facing notable setbacks in the war he began in Ukraine nearly three months ago.

Ukrainian forces have advanced to near the Russian border in recent days after pushing Russian troops from the outskirts of Kharkiv, Ukraine’s second-largest city. And evidence mounted on Sunday that Russia’s offensive in the Donbas region further east is faltering after the initial modest gains.

Estimates [*based on publicly available evidence*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/15/world/europe/pro-russian-war-bloggers-kremlin.html?smid=url-copy) suggest that well over 400 Russian soldiers were killed or wounded as they [*tried to cross the Donets River*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/15/world/europe/pro-russian-war-bloggers-kremlin.html?smid=url-copy) at the village of Bilohorivka, in the eastern Luhansk region, in a bid to encircle Ukrainian forces. The debacle is likely to have been one of the bloodiest engagements since the start of the war, leading even influential pro-Russian bloggers to begin to voice concern, despite the Kremlin’s efforts to criminalize dissent.

“I’ve been keeping quiet for a long time,” Yuri Podolyaka, a war blogger with 2.1 million followers on the messaging app Telegram, said in a video [*posted*](https://t.me/yurasumy/3510) on Friday, saying he had avoided criticizing the Russian military.

“The last straw that overwhelmed my patience,” he said, “was the events around Bilohorivka, where due to stupidity — I emphasize, because of the stupidity of the Russian command — at least one battalion tactical group was burned, possibly two.”

British intelligence officials [*said Sunday*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/05/15/world/russia-ukraine-war-news/russia-may-have-lost-a-third-of-the-troops-it-sent-to-ukraine-a-british-report-says?smid=url-copy) that Russia had lost a third of the ground forces it had committed to the Ukraine offensive. The rate of attrition, if confirmed, would make it extremely difficult for Russia to achieve a decisive victory against a well-motivated and increasingly well-armed and trained enemy, according to analysts.

But within Russia, the Kremlin’s propaganda and repression of independent media have effectively shielded the majority of the population from the true human cost of the war. The Russian government’s emergency economic measures have thus far blunted the impact of sanctions.

Western and Ukrainian officials say that thousands of Russian soldiers have already died in the conflict. But reports about deaths have been heavily censored by the state and concentrated among ***working-class*** families spread across the world’s largest country, precluding local tragedies from coalescing into national grieving.

Many Russians believe the war is no longer against Ukraine, but has morphed into a proxy conflict with the United States and NATO, who, they say, are exploiting the conflict to destroy their nation, according to interviews with a half-dozen residents in Moscow and in provincial Siberia.

If pushed into a corner, Russia will always fight on, some of them said, even if it risks provoking a nuclear war.

The decision of Finland and Sweden to apply to join NATO has only played into the siege narrative pushed by the Kremlin, tapping into patriotic feelings in a nation that prides itself on coming together to repel foreign threats over the centuries.

For their part, both Nordic states have long been wary of Russian power.

Finland was part of the Russian Empire and fought to maintain its independence from the Soviet Union during the Second World War. Sweden and Russia fought to dominate Eastern Europe in the 18th century.

But Finland and Sweden both remained neutral after the Soviet Union confronted the United States and its allies in the aftermath of the Second World War. The end of that neutrality is a striking sign of the extent to which Mr. Putin’s strategic calculation in Ukraine has backfired and undermined longstanding Russian security priorities.

As a rationale for his invasion of Ukraine, Mr. Putin had said he was concerned about NATO enlargement, and in particular the deployment of new missiles near the Russian borders. This concern is shared by the majority of Russian citizens, who believe the United States has taken advantage of their country’s weakness after the collapse of the Soviet Union to bring missiles to its borders.

An application to join NATO must be unanimously approved by its 30 members. One of those members, Turkey, has raised issues over the pending applications, though it has suggested it would not oppose admission if its own security concerns are addressed.

Antony J. Blinken, the American secretary of state, said after the Berlin meetings on Sunday that there was strong support among current NATO members on bringing the two Nordic states into the alliance. U.S. officials said their application processes should be completed in months, and Germany’s foreign minister, Annalena Baerbock, said Sunday that her nation would be among the first to ratify them.

The Baltic States joined NATO in 2004, bringing the alliance to the border with the Russian heartland. And in 2008, President George W. Bush promised that Ukraine and Georgia could enter NATO and pushed the alliance to make similar statements.

Western European nations, however, were reluctant to make good on that promise. Before the war, both the United States and European allies had said that Ukraine [*would not be qualified*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/13/us/politics/nato-ukraine.html) to enter NATO anytime soon.

After Russia invaded, Ukraine’s president, Volodymyr Zelensky, pushed for the Western powers to act on his government’s desire to enter NATO, but has since said he would be more open to a neutral Ukraine if its security is guaranteed.

On Sunday morning, Mr. Blinken met in Berlin with Dmytro Kuleba, the foreign minister of Ukraine, to discuss the war. The State Department said the two men discussed the details of further American security assistance to Ukraine.

Mr. Kuleba posted on Twitter a photo of the two standing in a room and smiling. “More weapons and other aid is on the way to Ukraine,” he wrote.

Edward Wong reported from Berlin, and Anatoly Kurmanaev from Mexico City. Reporting was contributed by Anton Troianovski from New York; Carlotta Gall from Prudyanka, Ukraine; Ivan Nechepurenko from Tbilisi, Georgia; and Marc Santora from Krakow, Poland.

Edward Wong reported from Berlin, and Anatoly Kurmanaev from Mexico City. Reporting was contributed by Anton Troianovski from New York; Carlotta Gall from Prudyanka, Ukraine; Ivan Nechepurenko from Tbilisi, Georgia; and Marc Santora from Krakow, Poland.

PHOTOS: Above, battling a fire started on Sunday by a Russian artillery attack near Kharkiv, Ukraine. Below, a woman describing the destruction of her home by Russian forces in the village of Andrivka, west of Mariupol. Russia’s offensive in eastern Ukraine has faltered in recent days, analysts say. Reports suggest that over 400 Russian troops were killed or injured in the Luhansk region last week while trying to encircle Ukrainian forces. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY FINBARR O’REILLY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; IVOR PRICKETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 16, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Affordable Studio, Expensive Neighborhood***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65FR-WK71-DXY4-X076-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 15, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section RE; Column 0; Real Estate Desk; Pg. 4; RENTERS

**Length:** 1171 words

**Byline:** By D.W. Gibson

**Body**

A woman had a low-enough income to qualify for a HUD-sponsored apartment in Southampton, but then she went to the grocery store.

''Nothing like living next to some of the most beautiful beaches in the world,'' Liza Coppola said. One in particular, Coopers Beach, is often included on lists of the top 10 beaches in the country. ''Only problem is, I'm not allowed to go there.''

Coopers Beach, she explained, is a Southampton village beach, not to be confused with a beach in the larger town of Southampton. If you want a parking permit for the village beaches you have to live in the village. Ms. Coppola does not. She lives in a section of Southampton called Tuckahoe. ''Had to learn that the hard way,'' she said, ''with a parking ticket.''

She could pay the $250 annual fee for non-permit holders, but that's too steep, so she finds other ways to get to the sought-after seascape. ''I can park near the town beach and walk along the sand to Coopers -- it's only a couple of miles.''

Like Coopers Beach, there is very little about the village of Southampton that feels easily accessible to Ms. Coppola. ''It's not for me,'' she said. ''I have to leave here to do my shopping -- even the supermarkets are too expensive.'' The drive takes at least a half-hour, but the savings make it worth it.

She works as a housing assistant on the nearby Shinnecock Reservation, helping direct funding from U.S. Housing and Urban Development, or HUD, to rehabilitate homes. ''Some of these houses are so deteriorated,'' she said, ''you wouldn't want to live in them.''

She says most of the people she knows in the Shinnecock community face a similar dynamic of being priced out of the place they live. ''They go to the Stop & Shop in Hampton Bays because it's cheaper than the one in Southampton -- by a third, easily.''

The prices at farm stands are out of reach for her, too. ''If I want to go to one, it's insane,'' she said. ''And I'm not having it. I've been coming to farm stands out here for 30 years -- I'm not paying $15 for a quart of strawberries. Not doing it.''

At 63, Ms. Coppola is a rare breed in Southampton: a full-time renter. ''I have a Ph.D. in the school of hard knocks,'' she said. ''Never been rich, but I've always found my way.''

Ms. Coppola was a homeowner on the North Fork for 22 years, but when the housing crisis hit, she found herself upside-down in her mortgage. She managed to hang on for a while, but eventually had to give it up in 2019 in a short sale.

She rented a place in Mattituck on the North Fork for a few months before she moved into her current apartment in November of 2019.

''So that's the story of how I became a renter,'' she said.

She liked living in Mattituck and wasn't looking to leave, but when her landlord told her that he needed the garage apartment back so he could use it for extended family, she had to look for options.

$1,094 | Southampton

Liza Coppola, 63

Occupation: Housing assistant and musician

On the Summer Vibe: Ms. Coppola said that Covid has colored the way summer visitors spend their time in the Hamptons. ''When people come out,'' she said, ''they rent a beautiful home, keep 50 people in there, and they don't go out all that much.''

On Her Song Book: Ms. Coppola has performed music for 15 years, playing mostly acoustic rock covers -- a lot of ballads and songs with a folk soul. ''I'm a troubadour girl,'' she says. ''I like reminding people of the songs they love.''

Because she's spent years working on housing issues -- first at a nonprofit in Greenport and now with the Shinnecock community -- Ms. Coppola knew she would qualify for HUD developments projects intended for people making less than the area median income of $100,722.

There were a few such apartment buildings in the nearby town of Riverhead, but the waiting lists were long. She looked at the open market, too, but didn't see many listings. ''There are very few available apartments -- and that's a problem.''

One agent told me that many Hamptons landlords are altogether reluctant to lease their apartments and homes to full-time tenants like Ms. Coppola because they can make more money renting at a premium during the summer months.

Seeking more options, still, Ms. Coppola searched a 40-mile radius. That's when she unexpectedly found a possibility in Southampton: Construction on the Sandy Hollow Cove Apartments, a HUD development, was complete and the management was accepting applications from households with 80 percent or less of the area median income.

Ms. Coppola put in an application and, three weeks later, she was notified that one of the 28 new apartments was hers. ''Which never happens,'' she said. ''These places have waiting lists for years -- I've seen it through my work.''

She guesses that the development wasn't overwhelmed by applications because there was very little trumpeting of the project -- as far as she could tell. ''You know how Southampton can be,'' she said, ''God forbid you have affordable housing. So it was almost like this big secret. Nobody really knew about it.''

But she did -- thanks to a mention at 27east.com, an online aggregator of local newspapers. ''This place is just perfect for me.''

Her alcove studio is filled with plants. ''It's apartment living,'' she said. ''You can't have a garden so you have to bring the garden inside.''

She shares the apartment with Layla, her 11-year-old Pekingese, who, unfortunately, does not share Ms. Coppola's affinity for the beach: ''The minute she gets sand between her toes she wants to leave.''

Most of Ms. Coppola's neighbors, like her, are ***working class*** -- a librarian, a paralegal. ''The parking lot is cleared out by 9:30 because everyone's at work.''

It hasn't been so easy making friends in Southampton. She has a few family members a short drive away, and a lot of people back in Queens where she grew up. ''I miss Queens people,'' she said. ''They're just really down to earth and not afraid to talk. They start up conversations easily.''

She joined a Presbyterian church in Water Mill, another hamlet of Southampton, and it's become one of the few places where she feels a sense of belonging.

Otherwise, she still spends a lot of her time on the North Fork. ''It just feels like home,'' she said. She plays music gigs, and she likes to ''hit up all the old joints.''

Ms. Coppola is able to cover her rent and living expenses with a combination of income from her gigs and the day job on the Shinnecock Reservation, which she's had for the past six years. She isn't a member of the community, but she's grateful for the opportunity to work with the people, and she admires how they look out for each other.

She gets gratification from her job, and more recently, Covid relief funds have made it possible to help with each rehabilitation case that's been brought to her office. ''When you help people,'' she said, ''you always feel better.''

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/09/realestate/renters-shinnecock-southampton.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/09/realestate/renters-shinnecock-southampton.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Top, Liza Coppola chilling out with her dog, Layla, in their alcove studio in Southampton. She has filled the place with plants: ''You can't have a garden, so you have to bring the garden inside.'' (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDY RYAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***'Philadelphia Freedom'***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64GW-R391-JBG3-60MS-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Allyson McCabe

**Body**

Elton John's song from 1975 resonates with me more than ever.

When most people think of ''Philadelphia Freedom,'' a single refrain comes to mind: ''I lo-o-ove you/Yes I do!'' They're hard-pressed to remember the rest of the words, because as with many of Elton John's songs, the lyrics are kind of oblique. He wrote the song in 1975 for Billie Jean King, drawing inspiration from her pioneering mixed-gender tennis team, the Philadelphia Freedoms, with a melody that nodded to the great Philly soul sounds of Gamble and Huff. But it took me decades to understand that the song wasn't really about tennis, or Philadelphia -- which is why it came to resonate so much more with me.

I was a 6-year-old ***working-class*** tomboy when I first heard ''Philadelphia Freedom.'' It figured prominently into the city's 1976 Bicentennial celebration, then later at parades, sporting events, pretty much every occasion that called for civic pride. Yes, there are over-the-top flutes, horns and strings. Yes, the man singing about how freedom ''took him knee-high to a man'' wears glittery suits, sequined hats and bedazzled eyewear -- and calls himself Captain Fantastic. But if you noticed any of that, someone would inevitably call you out: ''What are you -- gay?''

Throughout my teens, the same rule applied to Queen, Culture Club, Judas Priest and Frankie Goes to Hollywood. High school was an exercise in camouflage and self-erasure. The unspoken code was ''don't ask, don't tell.'' Then came AIDS and the outing of closeted musicians, movie stars and politicians. Outing was the opposite of pride, but at least the closet doors began to budge.

After I graduated, I landed at Hampshire College, a tiny experimental school in western Massachusetts that felt like an upside-down world. There it was so cool to be queer that even the straight kids tried it. We took classes in gender theory, queer cinema and representations of AIDS. Busloads of us went to D.C. for the 1993 March on Washington, where we were joined by a million leather daddies, drag queens, dykes on bikes, teachers, farmers, parents and kids. We joined AIDS activists for a ''die-in'' in front of the White House to memorialize those lost to the government's inaction on the pandemic. We held hands, danced and flirted with strangers. Elton had come out. Billie Jean was taking ownership of her identity. I started to hear ''Philadelphia Freedom'' differently, letting myself experience the song as the wink it was intended to be.

Within the space of a few years, the world appeared to be catching up. Celebrities became self-declared queer icons. ''Gayborhoods'' sprang up in cities and towns across America. In 1999, my girlfriend and I had a commitment ceremony in Washington, then a Massachusetts marriage in 2004 and a Connecticut civil union in 2007, which was eventually recognized as marriage in every state. Rainbow flags went mainstream, even corporate. It seemed like progress -- but when we had kids, things changed.

My wife is cisgender. I'm genderqueer. Strangers would often stop us on the street to tell us how cute our kids were, then look at me and ask quizzically, ''Are you the ... ? '' Things only got worse when we moved to a short-term rental in a suburb in Westchester County, N.Y., where we were the only visible two-mom family. The problem wasn't that I didn't look like my kids' mom -- it was that I didn't look like anyone's mom.

An athleisure army of other mothers stared me down at school visits, tracking my movements en route to parent-teacher conferences and classroom celebrations. Sometimes they asked me what my husband did. More often they smiled tensely, as it wasn't clear if I had one or was one. I discovered that visibility is complicated -- it's not only what you reveal but what others are willing to see.

So when my son's second-grade teacher sent out an email to parents asking for volunteers to give presentations about our hometowns, I said yes. Standing in front of a classroom filled with 6- and 7-year-olds, I started clicking through slides of Independence Hall, the Liberty Bell and ''Rocky.'' The kids weren't connecting; they just sat there fidgeting. But then I pulled up a photo of Billie Jean King and Elton John and started blasting ''Philadelphia Freedom'' from my laptop.

When the first bars rang out and Elton sang, ''I used to be a rolling stone, you know/If the cause was right,'' I didn't know what would happen next. But the kids started dancing. So did the teacher. Of course, no one caught the rest of the words, but Billie Jean was right when she said it's the feeling of freedom people hear in the song that matters most.

Without Billie Jean King, there is no Megan Rapinoe. Without Elton John, there is no Lil Nas X. We still have a lot of work to do, but equality isn't achieved simply by playing the game. It's done by showing up, even when the court isn't ready for us. That is why I see ''Philadelphia Freedom'' not simply as a gay anthem, but a pride anthem. It's a song about what it feels like when we manifest our truest, fullest and freest selves.

The first time I heard it, I was the same age as these kids. Maybe some of them will grow up to be queer or genderqueer, and in some hazy way, maybe they'll remember the day at school when they experienced a tiny flicker of affirmation. Others will just remember the music and the pretzels I handed out at the end. That's OK, too.

Allyson McCabe is a music journalist based in New York.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/04/magazine/philadelphia-freedom-elton-john.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/04/magazine/philadelphia-freedom-elton-john.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: A musical education in equality and acceptance. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JUSTINE KURLAND

HIGHER PICTURES GENERATION)

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[***‘Breasts and Eggs’ Made Her a Feminist Icon. She Has Other Ambitions.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67GW-PTD1-DXY4-X403-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** MAGAZINE

**Length:** 3339 words

**Byline:** Joshua Hunt

**Highlight:** Will the Japanese novelist Mieko Kawakami’s stark explorations of class translate to American readers?

**Body**

To hear more audio stories from publications like The New York Times, [*download Audm for iPhone or Android*](https://www.audm.com/?utm_source=nytmag&amp;utm_medium=embed&amp;utm_campaign=body_language_joshua_hunt).

On the last Friday in November, in the afterglow of a literary awards ceremony, the novelist Mieko Kawakami held court in a banquet hall at the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo, wearing a tweed Gucci dress, clutching an Hermès Birkin handbag and sipping a glass of domestic beer she would never quite finish. Each time she raised the drink to her lips, another writer, editor or publicist came along to distract her from it. Kawakami, who is 46, greeted them each with a degree of warmth that made it hard to tell which were strangers and which were her friends. “I’m a graduate of hostess university,” she said, recalling her years spent working at a bar where she kept men company as they drank. More than two decades later, the skills she honed in the boozy, neon-lit back alleys of Osaka — the ability to observe and to listen with acute curiosity — are still apparent in her best-selling novels. “You can see where that sensitivity arises from in her work,” the translator David Boyd told me. “She sees all the angles.”

The awards ceremony was hosted by Shueisha, a major Japanese publishing house that recruited Kawakami as a judge, confirming her as an arbiter of taste. “One of the reasons my boss pleaded and pleaded for Kawakami-san to judge for our prize is because of her fame and her popularity among young Japanese writers,” said Yuki Kishi, a literary editor at Shueisha. In the time since Kawakami acquiesced to that role, more women had submitted unpublished manuscripts for consideration, Kishi told me, and more of them took risks concerning voice and content. “A lot of people look up to Kawakami-san’s writing and her style and her energy and her buntai (literary style),” Kishi said as we left the banquet hall. “We want to be her.” What Kawakami wants, however, is to confound expectations by writing books that are at times provocatively against type, as if to prove that there is no category that can contain her.

“I’m not an Olympic athlete,” she told me. “Literature doesn’t represent anything.”

Kawakami first shot to fame in 2008 after winning the Akutagawa Prize, a prestigious award for early-career writers, for the novella “Chichi to Ran.” The novella, whose title translates to “Breasts and Eggs,” featured language as stylistically daring as James Joyce’s: Kawakami deploys her native Osaka dialect and often packs six, seven or even eight commas into her frenzied, poetic sentences. The story unfolds over the course of three days when the narrator is visited by her older sister, Makiko, a 39-year-old bar hostess who has come from Osaka to Tokyo for a consultation at a breast-enhancement clinic. With Makiko is her daughter, Midoriko, whose diary entries break up the narrative with prepubescent anxieties over what she has learned about her body, and gender hierarchy, from middle-school health classes. “How is it possible I knew about sperm first?” Midoriko wonders after learning that women have ova, which she compares to the eggs she’s been eating her whole life. “That doesn’t seem fair.”

In Kawakami’s books, characters are alienated from society and themselves. They struggle with physical imperfection and poverty, wrestle with the moral dimension of wanting to change themselves and their circumstances. Often they surrender their inner lives to preoccupations with social norms. Their bodies dissatisfy and disconcert them: Seemingly wary of younger women threatening her position at the bar, Makiko wants the youthful breasts she had before childbirth; Midoriko is aghast at the idea of breast-enhancement surgery, which amplifies her fears that her body will no longer be her own after puberty. For the narrator, talk of surgery revives the sense that her “monolithic expectation of what a woman’s body was supposed to look like had no bearing on what actually happened to my body.” There is a spectral quality to the patriarchal forces haunting these women. We hear little about the men in “Breasts and Eggs,” but misogynist thought persists. A girlfriend from school, not a male bully, tells Midoriko that “when a woman dies, she can’t become a Buddha … basically, to become a Buddha, you have to be reborn as a man first.”

“Chichi to Ran” made its author an overnight sensation and a feminist icon. In a promotional photograph advertising the book, she looked like a pop star, dressed in heels and a short skirt while leaning against a concrete pillar in a parking garage. Her account of contemporary poverty and womanhood resonated deeply in Japan, where single mothers and divorced women are still ostracized, maternity leave is virtually nonexistent and most married women can’t have an abortion without permission from their husbands. In this social context, the book took on a political significance similar to that of Eve Ensler’s 1996 play “The Vagina Monologues” in the United States. It was scorned by conservative establishment figures for daring to make protagonists out of the kind of women typically cast as cautionary tales. Among its detractors was Shintaro Ishihara, a politician and fellow winner of the Akutagawa Prize, whose obsession with improving Japan’s economy by reversing its declining birthrate led him to remark, while serving as governor of Tokyo, that it was “useless” for women to go on living beyond menopause; unsurprisingly, he derided the book as “unpleasant and intolerable.”

In the decade that followed, Kawakami wrote several more novels, including “Heaven” in 2009 and “All the Lovers in the Night” in 2011. Each was a departure from the last, but however varied in style or substance Kawakami’s books are, they share a commitment to realism that will be unfamiliar to many casual readers of contemporary Japanese literature in translation. For nearly three decades, its chief emissary abroad has been Haruki Murakami, whose American influences and penchant for late-20th-century nostalgia and magical realism obscure whatever genuine insights he might offer foreign readers about life in Japan today. The middle-class malaise of Murakami’s protagonists, who are more likely to speak with cats than to have uncomfortable conversations about late rent with their landlord’s wife, is largely absent from Kawakami’s work. That she has found success abroad through novels that look squarely at the times she is living through, with an emphasis on gender and class, suggests that Western readers may once more be ready for contemporary Japanese fiction that embraces the magic of realism itself.

In 2015, after the powerful literary agent Amanda Urban reached out to Kawakami about introducing her works to American readers, she decided that they should first meet the characters from her award-winning novella. Instead of merely translating it, though, she used the book as a foundation for something new. Called “Natsu Monogatari” in Japan, and [*“Breasts and Eggs”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/07/books/review/breasts-and-eggs-mieko-kawakami.html) in the rest of the world, the novel included a retelling of the original novella followed by new material that catches up with its narrator, a novelist named Natsuko, as she approaches middle age and fixates on the idea of artificial insemination as a means of motherhood without sex or romance. “I put everything I had into ‘Breasts and Eggs,’” Kawakami told me. “I put everything I felt into it. But after 10 years, I knew that there was room to build on its philosophy of feminism, and I better understood the changes that women’s bodies go through.” Above all, she better understood motherhood, having had a son in the intervening years. The expanded book was published by Europa Editions in the United States in early 2020 and became one of the most-talked-about books of the summer: The actress Natalie Portman recommended it for her book club, and the Italian author Elena Ferrante included it in a list of her favorite 40 books by female authors.

The following year brought an English translation of [*“Heaven,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/25/books/review/mieko-kawakami-heaven.html) her novel of friendship and teenage bullying, which was shortlisted for the International Booker Prize in 2022. Next came a translation of [*“All the Lovers in the Night,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/30/books/mieko-kawakami-all-lovers-in-the-night.html) which was recently named a finalist for the 2023 National Book Critics Circle Award for fiction. These honors have cemented Kawakami’s status as an international literary star, while the books themselves showed her talent for reinvention. Structurally and stylistically, “Heaven” was a complete departure from “Breasts and Eggs,” with an unmistakably allegorical quality that made it feel timeless. “Heaven” also happens to be Kawakami’s only novel with a male protagonist, called Eyes, because of the lazy eye that makes him a target of brutal bullying at his middle school. This, she said, was a deliberate provocation.

“I got tired of being called a feminist author,” Kawakami told me.

I first met Kawakami last September at a cafe near her Tokyo office. She was waiting at a table on the second floor, dressed in Gucci pants and a beige long-sleeved blouse, watching the onset of a late-summer rainstorm through a long row of windows. The scene brought to mind the opening line from “Breasts and Eggs”: “If you want to know how poor somebody was growing up, ask them how many windows they had.”

There were few windows in the danchi — a kind of public-housing block — apartment where Kawakami grew up in Osaka. She and her two siblings were raised by an impoverished single mother who worked at a grocery store. Like so many of the characters in her novels, who are variably haunted by and ambivalent about the absence of their fathers, Kawakami has what she calls a “complicated” relationship with her dad. To help support her family, she lied about her age, starting around 14, so that she could be hired as a part-time worker at a Panasonic factory. “In the summer, I made fans, and in the winter, I made heaters,” she told me. “Even now, I sometimes see that factory when I close my eyes at night.”

When her younger brother showed talent as a rugby player and had the opportunity to attend university, Kawakami took a job at a hostess bar to help pay for his education. Working at an upscale club, Kawakami poured drinks for lonely salarymen and other customers. It was far from the worst job she ever had, and far from the more lurid hostess bars that appear in her stories. But the experience clung to her in ways that other jobs did not and remains a recurring theme in her writing — a setting she returns to again and again, as if sketching a scene from memory and hoping it might reveal some new truth. In her 20s, Kawakami left Osaka to pursue a singing career in Tokyo, where she recorded three albums that sold poorly. She started posting poems and essays on the personal blog that she had started with the intention of promoting her stalled career in music. “Basically I was writing about everyday life,” she told me. “But now that I think about it, I was really experimenting with different writing styles.”

Among Kawakami’s more surprising influences is the work of Haruki Murakami, who has praised her work as “breathtaking” and called her a “genius” and his favorite young author but has also been criticized for writing women as one-dimensional characters who can seem as though they exist for no reason beyond advancing the plot. For Kawakami, though, his novels provided a model for how to think about the individual. “No parents, no family, no soporific preaching, none of the self-conscious struggles or triumphs so common in literature,” [*she would later write in an essay.*](https://lithub.com/acts-of-recognition-on-the-women-characters-of-haruki-murakami/) “For me, bogged down by situations and circumstances I had never opted into, Murakami’s individualism was shocking.”

This isn’t to say that Kawakami does not differ from Murakami in terms of how she thinks about female characters. When he made himself available for a series of rare public appearances with Kawakami, including a 2017 Q. and A., she broached the obvious incongruity of their mutual admiration by telling him, “It’s common for my female friends to say to me, ‘If you love Haruki Murakami’s work so much, how do you justify his portrayal of women?’” Kawakami chose to highlight an example from his 2017 novel, [*“Killing Commendatore,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/16/books/review/haruki-murakami-killing-commendatore.html) in which a woman introduces herself to the narrator by asking what he thinks of her breasts. Murakami responded by saying this was the woman’s way of suggesting that she viewed the narrator as a kind of eunuch; for Kawakami, though, it seemed like a way of fashioning herself into a sexual object for no obvious reason or benefit.

It’s hard not to feel that Kawakami is caught in the same kind of bind as one of her own characters — forced to justify her interest in reading nonfeminist literature yet unable to shed her image as a feminist author, which she has called limiting. “I would say that if in 100 years Mieko is remembered only for being a feminist author, she would look back on that and be pissed,” Sam Bett, Boyd’s co-translator, told me. Kawakami put it more gently: “I want to be understood as a human writer.” Her humanity shines through most vividly when she writes about class, a theme she returns to again and again. This is not so much an agenda as a function of how she sees the world, as if she is still a young girl wanting to see more of it than the windows of her danchi apartment will allow.

When I met her at the cafe, Kawakami had just finished work on “Sisters in Yellow,” a book that is as hard to categorize as anything she has written. Ostensibly a crime novel, it “explores, from various perspectives, the relationship between facts and memories, victims and perpetrators,” she said. Set in Tokyo at the outset of the coronavirus pandemic, it is her most contemporary novel, with four female characters who must contend with the consequences of what drove them apart two decades earlier. “It’s my version of [*‘The Makioka Sisters,’*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/21/books/review/junichiro-tanizaki-the-makioka-sisters.html)” Kawakami told me, referring to Junichiro Tanizaki’s classic novel about four siblings in prewar Osaka struggling against the pull of modernity and the loss of prestige. Instead of World War II, though, it’s economic malaise and the pandemic that pulls at the fabric of society in Kawakami’s novel; instead of nostalgia for the rituals of the wealthy merchant class, its chief concerns are those rituals necessitated by poverty and deprivation. “I was raised in the streets, so I know that there are some people who can only survive in the streets,” Kawakami told me. “I was interested in exploring what a ‘Breaking Bad’ kind of story might be like if it weren’t such a macho drama.”

The result, according to Boyd, who has begun translating a revised version of “Sisters in Yellow,” is a remarkable book that “stays doggedly focused on class,” to an extent that is noteworthy even for Kawakami. In October, Knopf placed a major bet on Kawakami’s ability to sell the reality of contemporary Japan to Americans who have grown accustomed to the more fantastic visions of Murakami’s novels and Hayao Miyazaki’s animated films. The following month, when I returned to Tokyo just before Thanksgiving, Kawakami told me the details of the six-way auction over coffee and reveled in every one of them, until I congratulated her on what I presumed was a very large paycheck. Wincing, she offered just three words, with her eyes downturned, as if in apology. “Yes,” she said. “That’s true.”

The comfortable life she has ended up with — married to another successful novelist, with whom she shares a 10-year-old son and a modest home in Tokyo — doesn’t always fit as well as the designer dresses that disguise her ***working-class*** roots. Sitting across from her now, she had a poise that made it hard to imagine she had ever felt judged by society. But at the end of our interview, when I mentioned that I, too, was raised by a single mother, her posture toward me seemed to change. She prodded me — where did my father go, she wondered — and her pitiless curiosity about my life told me all I needed to know: People who have gone through similar hardships tend not to bother with false sympathy. As much as the good life suits her, I sensed a whiff of the shame that arises when climbing out of poverty forces you to look down on the people and places that shaped you. If anything made Kawakami uncomfortable, it seemed to be the idea that her hardest days were probably behind her.

Since flying to Tokyo in June, I’d been reading parts of “Sisters in Yellow” in The Yomiuri Shimbun, Japan’s biggest daily newspaper, which paid for the exclusive rights to publish it in bite-size installments over the course of six months. It will be published by Knopf in 2025. What I read brought to mind the book that Natsuko works on in “Breasts and Eggs”: a story about “a teenage girl whose father belonged to a gang of yakuza” and “another girl the same age who was raised nearby, in a cult led by a group of women.”

Is it even possible for an author to steal her own character’s idea for a book? I remembered what Bett had referred to as Kawakami’s “fearlessness when it comes to revisiting material, revisiting content, revisiting themes.” It reminded him of Truman Capote’s work. “I think that Capote and Mieko — I don’t think either of them have any shame when it comes to going back to things,” Bett told me. “I think it’s about having a real fascination with rubbing a sore spot.”

On the first day of December, when Kawakami and I met in her Tokyo neighborhood, she was carrying the finished manuscript in her oversize purse. She had been avoiding her office because someone recently died in the apartment directly above it. Kawakami said she had reason to suspect that it was a suicide. “I don’t believe in ghosts,” she told me. “But I keep hearing noises going on above me, and it seems too soon for someone else to have moved in.” Instead of going to her office, we walked to a nearby ice-cream parlor.

“I don’t have much interest in religion as a social phenomenon,” Kawakami told me. “I want to write about what faith means in Japan.” Interest in such questions had exploded since the recent assassination of former Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, which was motivated by his ties to a fringe Christian sect that bankrupted the assassin’s mother.

As with many Japanese people of her generation, her fascination dates back to March 1995, when members of the Aum Shinrikyo cult carried out sarin-gas attacks that killed 13 people on the Tokyo subway — one of Murakami’s few forays into nonfiction. Her interest, appropriately, is in what comes next: What kind of religion is possible for Japanese people in the shadow of Aum Shinrikyo? “What I’m interested in, though, is finding some way of making a totally different kind of book from that material,” she said. “I feel like it’s something I have to do.”

On that cold December afternoon, to avoid the ghosts she didn’t believe in, we stood on the sidewalk across the street from her office building, eating our ice-cream cones while Kawakami made small talk with the shopkeeper. I thought of the strangeness of the moment, which I could imagine finding in a Murakami novel: a man and a woman, chased by ghosts to an ice-cream parlor. In this story, though, the woman is the protagonist, and the man exists for no reason beyond advancing the plot. I thought of all the other lives Kawakami had tried on before arriving at this moment and asked her what she thought she might be doing if she hadn’t found success as a novelist.

“An old hostess,” she said. Then, after laughing to herself, she reconsidered. “Not a hostess. A madam.”

Joshua Hunt is a freelance writer based in Portland, Ore. He has previously worked as a Tokyo-based correspondent for Reuters and an adjunct assistant professor of journalism at Columbia University. Osamu Yokonami is a photographer whose work focuses on identity and cultural homogeneity. His recent book of photography, “After Children,” features the subjects of his earlier work “1000 Children” in restaged portraits at a later age.

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY OSAMU YOKONAMI) (MM37) This article appeared in print on page MM36, MM37, MM38, MM39, MM40.

**Load-Date:** February 12, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Don't Push Dad***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:647D-RN91-DXY4-X1K4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 5, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section ST; Column 0; Style Desk; Pg. 10; SOCIAL Q'S

**Length:** 838 words

**Byline:** By Philip Galanes

**Body**

A reader asks for advice on talking to her father about his new romantic life.

My dad came out as gay to my mom and me two years ago, and my parents got divorced. Since then, he befriended another gay man. When I was last visiting my dad, his friend called. The phone was on speaker, and I could hear every word of their conversation -- though I don't think my dad knew that. At the end of the call, the friend said: ''I love you.'' I knew they were close; he cared for my father after a recent surgery, and they sometimes cook dinner together. But my dad has told me they're just friends. Should I tell him what I overheard? He has the right to keep the true nature of their relationship to himself, but if I keep quiet, I will be misleading him. Right?

DAUGHTER

I have a couple of friends whom I feel close enough to that we end our calls by saying ''I love you.'' I have never slept with any of them. We don't know anything about the ''true nature'' of your father's relationship based on a single endearment. The friend may simply have supported your father through his coming out and surgery. That's a kind of love, though not necessarily romantic.

More important, it isn't ''misleading'' people to respect the limits of their comfort in revealing themselves to us -- even if we know more than they say. Coming out seems to have been hard for your dad. He waited to do it. Better to let him know you support his loving relationships than to quiz him about them. It's kinder (and more effective) to let people work through sensitive issues at their own pace.

Now, I don't mean to minimize any distress that you and your mother felt at your father's coming out. It may have been very upsetting. I can imagine it also heightened your desire for honesty from him. Pressing him to tell you things before he's ready, though, may only lead to further obfuscation and half-truths. Be patient.

What, I'm Not Good Enough for You?

I went to a state school in the Midwest. Most of the people I met there were from ***working-class*** backgrounds like mine. After graduation, two of my best friends moved to the West Coast and got big jobs in the tech industry. I've seen them several times over the years, and we've spoken on the phone sporadically. During the past year, though, I've reached out to them repeatedly without response. (One of them butt dials me frequently; it hurts to see her calling me by mistake.) Since college, I've mostly worked at blue-collar jobs. People like me have been lauded during the pandemic, but we're used to being brushed off as unimportant. My friends' lives are different: Their jobs impress people. I'm happy with my choices. But am I wrong to think my friends ditched me because they think I'm not good enough?

FRIEND

I'm really sorry that you've taken the (sadly) common experience of losing touch with old friends as a personal indictment. As we get older, making time for people from the ever-increasing old days -- childhood, college, former jobs -- requires commitment. And many people feel pinched for time and energy.

During the pandemic especially, when a simple grocery run could be exhausting, many people's worlds grew smaller. Your friends may not have the bandwidth to respond to you now. And nothing in your letter hints at snobbishness before.

Write them a substantive note. (No ''What's up?'' texts.) Tell them you've missed them, and ask them to call you when they have the energy so you can catch up. I can't promise they will, but it's a more generous posture than assuming that old friends have suddenly dropped you because you're not fancy.

Thanks, but No Thanks

Any day now, I will receive a booze-soaked fruitcake from a close relative who sends them every year. While appreciated, they are not enjoyed. And I hate that she spends her hard-earned money on them. May I ask her to stop sending them without sounding ungrateful?

S.R.V.

My answer is no -- even in spite of the many letters I will receive from readers who believe the cost of these fruitcakes should be redirected to charity. (No one is stopping anyone from donating to charitable causes!) Your relative chooses to express her affection for you with a fruitcake. Why try to control her or her budget? Simply accept the gift in the loving spirit it was given, then deploy it elsewhere.

About That One-Night Stand ...

Right before break, I hooked up with a girl in my dorm. It was a one-time thing. Since then, I found out I have an S.T.I. But we used a condom during sex. Do I still have to tell her about possible exposure?

ANONYMOUS

I know this ranks high among awkward calls, but you still have to make it. Intercourse is not the only way that S.T.I.s are transmitted. (I hope you know that.) Even if it's unlikely that your partner was exposed, you have a duty to tell her so she can be tested. Who knows? She may be the person who transmitted the S.T.I. to you.

For help with your awkward situation, send a question to [*SocialQ@nytimes.com*](mailto:SocialQ@nytimes.com), to Philip Galanes on Facebook or @SocialQPhilip on Twitter.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/02/style/dad-secret-relationship-social-qs.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/02/style/dad-secret-relationship-social-qs.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Miguel Porlan FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 5, 2021

**End of Document**



[***From Streets to Rallies, Truckers and Supporters Weigh Conservative Candidates***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65FH-H791-JBG3-6010-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 14, 2022 Saturday 14:12 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; canada

**Length:** 1235 words

**Byline:** Ian Austen

**Highlight:** In his bid for the Conservative Party leadership Pierre Poilievre is wooing supporters of the blockade that shut down Ottawa and closed border points.

**Body**

In his bid for the Conservative Party leadership Pierre Poilievre is wooing supporters of the blockade that shut down Ottawa and closed border points.

To the relief of many in Ottawa, the large crowds expected to descend on the city this weekend will be admiring tulips rather than blocking streets, honking truck horns and protesting pandemic restrictions and vaccine mandates.

But that doesn’t mean that February’s blockades and occupations of Ottawa and various border crossings with the United States have entirely faded away. An independent inquiry is being established to look into the government’s use of the Emergencies Act to clear the protests, and a joint committee of the Senate and House of Commons has been holding its own hearings. Ottawa has yet to permanently replace its police chief after the force was overwhelmed by the truckers, and Peter Sloly, who had been brought in from Toronto to lead the force, quit. The street in front of Parliament remains barricaded and will most likely be closed to traffic forever. And the courts have yet to deal with the criminal charges laid against four men arrested after a large cache of arms was found at the border protest in Coutts, Alberta.

Then there’s the perhaps surprising influence the blockade and its supporters have had in the campaign to find a new leader for the Conservative Party. I’ve been looking into that particular issue recently. My findings were published this week.

[Read: [*Long After Blockade, Canada’s Truckers Have a Political Champion*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/11/world/canada/trucker-convoy-protest-conservatives.html)]

As always, there wasn’t room for all my reporting in the article. One of the things that didn’t make the cut was my follow-up reporting with people who participated in the blockade that shut down downtown Ottawa.

I note in my article that Pierre Poilievre, the front-runner for the now vacant party leadership, regularly evokes the blockade in his campaign appearances and echoes the protesters’ relentless call for a restoration of what they claim are Canadians’ lost freedoms.

“Freedom, freedom, freedom is our nationality,” Mr. Poilievre chanted to cheers at a rally I attended near Ottawa’s airport. (By coincidence, the campaign rally was in a small convention hall that in February was used by police brought in from across Canada as a staging center before they finally broke up the blockade.)

Many in the crowd were the sort of people I’ve often seen at urban Conservative rallies in the past: well-dressed couples who had arrived in luxury SUVs. But around the edges were several men wearing high-visibility jackets, steel-toed work boots and worn baseball caps — the unofficial uniform of truckers.

Some of them weren’t interested in speaking with me. Many of them said they still feared being arrested after participating in the blockade in February.

One of them, who declined to provide his last name, Jon, told me that he went down to the protests every night after work. He also said that it was the first time that he had attended a Conservative Party meeting of any kind. In recent elections he has voted for the People’s Party of Canada.

He was at the rally, he told me over the din of a DJ, to see if Mr. Poilievre genuinely shared his views.

“I want to know more about what Pierre stands for — I want to know if I can trust him,” Jon told me.

Later, when Mr. Poilievre gave a shout-out to the truckers who opposed mandatory vaccination, Jon cheered, pumping both fists in the air.

Nick Belanger, who said he was a vaccinated trucker who had participated in the February protests on weekends, firmly supports Mr. Poilievre, saying his candidacy was a turning point for the Conservative Party.

“This is the conservative uprising,” Mr. Belanger said while waiting for the candidate to appear, adding: “Ten years ago, what do you think of the Conservative Party? It was crusty old, rich white people. I’m looking around the crowd right now and I see a lot of young people, ***working-class*** people.”

Not all Conservatives approve of Mr. Poilievre’s embrace of the protests.

When a much smaller protest by motorcyclists rolled into Ottawa recently, it drew several people who said that they had been out regularly to join the truckers in February.

But Mark Davidson, a retired public servant and Conservative Party member, walked over from his nearby house to condemn the rally. Like Mr. Jean Charest, the former Quebec premier also running for leader, Mr. Davidson said he believed that catering to the truckers and people who identified with their blockade would be fraught for the party.

“I find it really dangerous and scary,” Mr. Davidson said, in reference to Mr. Poilievre’s support for the truckers. “But obviously he’s got support and he’s got a lot of enthusiastic supporters.”

Trans Canada

* Echoing Canada’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission, a report released this week by the United States Department of the Interior [*described the abuse of Indigenous children*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/11/us/politics/native-american-children-schools-abuse.html) at government-run schools, with instances of beatings, withholding of food and solitary confinement. It also identified burial sites at more than 50 of the former schools, and said that “approximately 19 federal Indian boarding schools accounted for over 500 American Indian, Alaska Native and Native Hawaiian child deaths.”

1. A website that has shaped youth hockey in the United States and Canada in part by ranking thousands of teams across both countries has announced that it will stop the practice at the youngest levels of competition. Neil Lodin, the founder of MYHockey Rankings, [*described the practice as potentially harmful.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/13/sports/hockey/myhockey-youth-rankings.html)Also in hockey, David Waldstein, my colleague on the Sports desk, has written a great profile of Louis Domingue of Mont-St.-Hilaire, Quebec. Once the Penguins’ third-string goalie and now its starter, he has [*become a cult hero in Pittsburgh*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/09/sports/hockey/louis-domingue-penguins-nhl-playoffs.html)during the current playoffs.
2. The first Italian Open for Bianca Andreescu, [*the 21-year-old tennis star from Mississauga whose career has been hampered by injuries,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/13/sports/tennis/bianca-andreescu.html) came to its end during the tournament’s quarterfinals. But Christopher Clarey, The Times’s tennis expert, writes that “three tournaments into her latest comeback, Andreescu is clearly in a better place and will head into the French Open with momentum on the red clay that suits her varied game.”
3. Martha Wainwright, [*the singer-songwriter from Montreal,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/12/style/martha-wainwright-memoir.html) has a new memoir, in which the member of the famous musical family says she is happy to be “letting go of this story of being No. 4 on the totem pole.”
4. In The New York Times Book Review, the critic Nathaniel Rich writes that the latest book by Vaclav Smil, a polymath and professor at the University of Manitoba, “[*is at its essence a plea for agnosticism,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/11/books/review/how-the-world-really-works-vaclev-smil.html) and, believe it or not, humility — the rarest earth metal of all. His most valuable declarations concern the impossibility of acting with perfect foresight.”

A native of Windsor, Ontario, Ian Austen was educated in Toronto, lives in Ottawa and has reported about Canada for The New York Times for the past 16 years. Follow him on Twitter at @ianrausten.

How are we doing?

We’re eager to have your thoughts about this newsletter and events in Canada in general. Please send them to [*nytcanada@nytimes.com*](mailto:nytcanada@nytimes.com?%20subject=Canada%20Letter%20Newsletter%20Feedback).

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PHOTO: Pierre Poilievre, a candidate for the leadership of the Conservative Party, frequently invokes the rhetoric of February’s protesters. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Blair Gable/Reuters FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 14, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The ‘Hard Yakka’ of Defining Australian English’s Many Quirks***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65R7-P901-DXY4-X516-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 19, 2022 Sunday 12:37 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; australia

**Length:** 1393 words

**Byline:** Damien Cave

**Highlight:** It took a while for Australians to appreciate their linguistic distinctiveness. The editors at the Australian National Dictionary Center work to document it.

**Body**

It took a while for Australians to appreciate their linguistic distinctiveness. The editors at the Australian National Dictionary Center work to document it.

CANBERRA, Australia — Amanda Laugesen scrolled through the spreadsheet of 7,000 words and idioms being considered for the next edition of the Australian National Dictionary, but no matter how hard she looked, she just couldn’t find the phrase.

“Few bricks short of a pallet” was there. So was “face like a bucket of smashed crabs.”

But where was “face like a half-sucked mango?”

Spinning quickly from the screen, she got up and walked down the hall to ask Mark Gwynn. They’d been working together at the Australian National Dictionary Center in Canberra for more than a decade, and they had both seen phrases go missing in drafts of what a colleague had called their “herbarium of words.”

Mr. Gwynn, a former poetry student, was also stumped by the disappearance. “Well, we know we’ve got ‘face like a twisted sand shoe,’” he said, recalling similar entries in their database. “It’s not under ‘mango’ or ‘sucked’?”

Dr. Laugesen shook her head. The author of a book about Australia’s penchant for off-color language, with a Ph.D in American history, she looked almost as [*mad as a cut snake*](https://slll.cass.anu.edu.au/centres/andc/meanings-origins/m#:~:text=X%20Y%20Z-,M,crazy'%20and%20'angry'.).

“This is the problem,” she said, lamenting the lost mango insult. “Sometimes you get stuck.”

Clearly, updating a dictionary of Australian English on a shoestring budget is a special kind of hard work — or “hard yakka,” for those who speak the local language. The Australian National Dictionary includes only words and phrases that have originated in Australia, that have a greater currency in the country, or that have a special significance in Australian history. And the process is a bit like panning for gold.

Sometimes the job requires sifting through the muck of politics, collecting Australianized phrases like “loose unit,” which is how Prime Minister Scott Morrison described Anthony Albanese, the eventual victor in last month’s national election, after Mr. Albanese made an economic proposal.

Sometimes it means scanning Twitter or reading memoir after memoir, looking for phrases that have become more valuable among Indigenous Australians, like “story custodian,” or new communities of Australians — like “ABC,” for Australian-born Chinese.

It can also mean paying close attention to how words change. Australians have a long history of turning some abbreviations or seemingly innocuous phrases into slurs, based on race, gender or country of origin. And they also tend to shine up, or “ameliorate,” others, taking “bloody” or “bastard” and making them part of the more commonly accepted vernacular, often long before Britain.

All of this work, the forensics of national dictionary research, is relatively new in Australia.

The Oxford English Dictionary emerged gradually [*from 1884 to 1928*](https://public.oed.com/history/). Noah Webster published “An American Dictionary of the English Language” in 1828. But the first serious look at the Australian language, by Sidney Baker, a New Zealander, came out in 1945. And the first edition of the Australian National Dictionary — a partnership between the Oxford English Dictionary and the Australian National University — hit libraries only in 1988.

The delay reflected what the dictionary itself sought to fix, an accepted disrespect from inside the country and beyond for how Australians talked. It took Australians themselves a long time to recognize that the way they spoke and wrote reflected a unique place and culture, more than just a distant colony thought to be butchering the Queen’s English.

Bruce Moore, a former medieval English scholar who was the director of the National Dictionary Center from 1994 to 2011, noted that a lot of words and sayings that captured “Australian qualities” were looked down upon among educated elites.

Words like “battler” (a person who works doggedly and with little reward) or the admonition to never “dob in your mates” (inform on your friends) or “rort the system” (cheat or engage in fraud) were all there in Australian English, “but they were not recognized in the traditional ‘public square,’” Dr. Moore said. “It’s only the 1970s when these terms come into the forefront of Australian English and are recognized and people start, for a change, being proud of the fact that this was their language.”

The first edition of the dictionary had 10,000 entries. The second, which came out in 2016, held 16,000, including words [*borrowed*](https://slll.cass.anu.edu.au/centres/andc/borrowings-aboriginal-languages) from more than 100 Indigenous Australian languages — [*billabong*](https://australiannationaldictionary.com.au/oupnewindex1.php), [*kangaroo*](https://australiannationaldictionary.com.au/oupnewindex1.php) and [*yabby*](https://australiannationaldictionary.com.au/oupnewindex1.php), to name a few.

Most of the entries started out on handwritten index cards, with citations to where the earliest use could be found.

It was the same process employed for the original Oxford English Dictionary, and it means that there is a tangible archive. At the Australian Dictionary Center, which sits inside a musty humanities building on the campus of the Australian National University, photos of O.E.D. editors with long beards stand near wide, squat filing cabinets with cards containing Australian phrases included and discarded.

Open a drawer, catch the ruddy smell of dry rubber bands breaking free from stacks of old paper, and you might find a rough gem that never made it in and might be lost forever, like “beero” or “Antonio de Fat Pizza,” which appeared to be linked to [*a television show*](https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0244357/) in 2003.

Also among the rejects is “selfie,” the one word that Dr. Moore still finds himself mulling over. He said he knew that the Oxford English Dictionary had found the earliest evidence for the word in an Australian newsgroup online, but within weeks, selfie was everywhere.

“I asked myself, ‘Is there enough proof to say ‘that’s an Australian invention’?” he said. “And I thought, I’m not convinced. And then as soon as the dictionary came out, I thought bugger it. I’m going to be known for this moral failing.”

Even now, selfie’s origins are unresolved. Dr. Laugesen is also not convinced that Australia deserves the credit or blame.

The phrases she can’t stop thinking about now are the ones that might reflect Australia’s growing ambivalence — or self-deprecating sense of humor — about the country’s gentrified taste after a long run of mining- and real-estate-driven economic growth.

Some people, for example, are said to be part of the “goat’s cheese set” or to live “behind the quinoa curtain” or the “latte line.” Dr. Laugesen said it was hard to tell if the early citations would point to a grass-roots critique or a more politicized campaign. But the trend seemed to be connected to the evolution of another extremely Australian word — “bogan.”

In the 1980s, it referred to “a boorish and uncouth person,” typically from Sydney’s ***working-class*** western suburbs. Now it seems to be used as a badge of honor. Dr. Laugesen noted that “fauxgan,” or fake bogan, was becoming the bigger insult, while finding your “inner bogan” was an honorable goal, suggesting Australians were eager to reclaim their more unsophisticated past.

Even that half-sucked mango spoke to the theme, as became clear when Dr. Laugesen solved the mystery of its disappearance. Eventually, she found it in the “H” words, noting that there was evidence for three iterations: “head like a half-sucked mango; face like a half-sucked mango” and “hair like a half-sucked mango.”

At least one of those appeared in a memoir by Nick Cummins, a former professional rugby player, nicknamed “the Honey Badger,” who rose to prominence after starring on the sixth season of Australia’s version of “The Bachelor.” His mop of unruly hair seemed to be a source, but it was far from the only reference Dr. Laugesen found.

“I’m not sure how we’ll organize these kinds of idioms at this stage, especially the head, face being somewhat interchangeable,” she said.

Like “latte line,” the phrase seemed destined for inclusion in next year’s new online edition.

“It needs to tell some kind of story about Australia,” Dr. Laugesen said. “The story might not be totally evident from the entry, but it has to be there.”

PHOTOS: Amanda Laugesen, above, worked on updates at the Australian National Dictionary Center, below left, in Canberra. The dictionary has sought to change an accepted disrespect for how Australians talk. Most of the thousands of entries started on index cards, with citations to where the earliest use could be found. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ISABELLA MOORE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 21, 2022

**End of Document**



[***From Royalty To Lying Grifter***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65R6-W371-DXY4-X4FC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 19, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section AR; Column 0; Arts and Leisure Desk; Pg. 14

**Length:** 1356 words

**Byline:** By Simran Hans

**Body**

LONDON -- After playing Princess Anne in two seasons of ''The Crown,'' Erin Doherty realized that people assumed she had a similar -- if not quite as regal -- background.

Nina Gold, who scouted Doherty for ''The Crown,'' had long thought that ''playing a whole different kind of social class is one of the most difficult things to do convincingly,'' she said, until ''Erin really blew that theory of mine.''

The actress, 29, actually grew up in Crawley, a town in south England whose most famous landmark is Gatwick Airport. But it took some time to ''not be seen as this upper class actor,'' she said in a recent interview. When she read the script for ''Chloe,'' a tense six-part noir about a ***working class*** con woman, she signed up immediately.

In the limited series, which comes to Amazon Prime Video on June 24, she plays Becky, an office temp worker, who becomes obsessed with the life and death of Chloe (Poppy Gilbert), a wealthy and glamorous redhead she used to know. In order to investigate what happened to Chloe, Becky poses as Sasha, who speaks with the right upper crust accent and wears the right designer clothes to be accepted by Chloe's friends. Like the narrator in Daphne du Maurier's novel ''Rebecca,'' the specter of Chloe becomes a fixation whose reality, it turns out, Becky knew nothing about.

Doherty plays Becky's escape from a drab life caring for her mother, who suffers from early onset dementia, into a seemingly better life as Sasha with equal parts guilt and relish.

Becky, a compulsive liar with a severe Instagram addiction from southwest England, is the ''polar opposite to Anne,'' Doherty said. After her role on ''The Crown,'' period pieces about blue bloods kept landing in her inbox, but ''Chloe'' is Doherty's first television role since playing the princess.

Growing up in Crawley, ''I was always like, 'Right. How am I gonna get out, then?''' Doherty said. Her acting ambitions were sparked by films like ''Kramer vs. Kramer,'' which her father showed her when she was a child. He made her a syllabus of classic films, and encouraged her to study performers like Dustin Hoffman and Robert DeNiro.

On weekends, her father would ferry her between drama club and soccer practice. ''Women's football is massive now,'' she said, but it didn't feel like a career option at the time. She recalled the former England captain Faye White presenting an award at her football club. The teenage Doherty was star-struck, but was dismayed when White explained that playing professional football wasn't her full-time job. Doherty decided to pursue acting instead.

When she left high school, Doherty auditioned for a number of drama schools, and didn't get into any of them. After an acting foundation year, she was accepted into the Bristol Old Vic Theater School, whose alumni include the Oscar winners Daniel Day-Lewis, Jeremy Irons and Doherty's ''The Crown'' co-star Olivia Colman. But ''I didn't really know anything about the legacy,'' she said.

Prestigious London theater schools, like the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art, seemed ''massively intimidating,'' she said. ''There was a vibe I felt hugely uncomfortable with.'' Nestled in a leafy suburb, the Bristol Old Vic was like a school inside a big house. Its cozier atmosphere suited her better.

Although Doherty had spent countless weekends and summer holidays performing, when she was 19 it suddenly struck her that she had never seen a play. ''So, I booked my ticket,'' she said, to see a play by Mike Bartlett at the National Theater.

''Where I came from, it wasn't a casual thing,'' Doherty said. But at the theater, ''there were people there in jeans and a T-shirt.'' Since then, ''there's something about plays and theater that just shakes me a different way,'' she said. In September, Doherty will play Abigail Williams in Arthur Miller's ''The Crucible'' at the National.

''We're all dealing with whether or not we feel worthy of things, like me going into the theater,'' Doherty said. British class anxiety, which Doherty said she still experiences, is at the heart of ''Chloe.''

Alice Seabright, the show's creator and writer, spent part of her childhood in France, and said that she was interested by how, ''In the U.K., people are just so attuned to where people are from and people's backgrounds.'' As Becky hides her real accent and background, her deception exposes the ''world she's entering as being full of fictions -- also full of lies,'' Seabright, 32, said.

With her tendency toward self-loathing, Becky might be dismissed as unlikable. When she was casting the role, Seabright remembered something the filmmaker Mike Nichols once said: Go with the person your character becomes by the end of the film. ''There's a warm energy to Erin that is the opposite of who Becky is when you meet her,'' she said. ''But it's who she is underneath.'' After casting Doherty in ''The Crown,'' Gold also chose Doherty for a role in the upcoming period feature ''Firebrand.''

Doherty is drawn to material with a serious side. ''I really, really care about why people's stories need to be told,'' she said. ''Whenever I go home, my dad is always like, 'Are you gonna do anything funny?''' She developed this quiet intensity at drama school, she said, where she was ''very, very serious'' about her studies. ''I was the person who didn't go out at all,'' she said. ''I didn't have a relationship. I didn't really have many friends. The friends that I had were people who I admired.''

''Chloe'' also explores the intensity of female friendship. Doherty never had many friends growing up, she said. But in a coffee shop overlooking the River Thames, she was effervescent company with an impish sense of humor; it was difficult to imagine her as a loner.

''I love people, but I think I get overwhelmed by how much of an impact they can have on your life,'' she said. Her last best friend was in elementary school, and when they were then sent to different subsequent schools, ''I remember being really, really heartbroken by it,'' Doherty said. ''Honestly, I've not had a best friend since.''

Through the characters of Becky and Chloe, Seabright interrogates what happens when young women put one another on a pedestal, and feel ''like that person is throwing back an image of you that makes you feel bad about yourself,'' she said.

To viewers who grew up online, that dynamic might feel familiar. ''The image of someone can loom over your life, even if you've never met them, or very rarely meet them,'' Seabright said.

Doherty described the parasocial relationship between Becky and Chloe, conducted via Becky's obsessive scrolling of Chloe's social media, as relatable, and said she understood how an obsession can swallow you. ''I think it's really easy to become hooked on things, on people, on outlooks,'' she said, despite people having ''an inner world that is so different'' from what they present to the world.

With a relatively modest (for a ''Crown'' actor) 113,000 followers on Instagram, Doherty's fans likely have their own parasocial relationships with her. She is ambivalent about social media.

''There are things that I do want to be a part of. Being a visible gay woman is really important to me, and I really want people to know that,'' she said. Doherty met her girlfriend, the actress Sophie Melville, while they were doing a play together called ''The Divide'' in 2017. Two years into their relationship, Doherty posted a photo of the pair holding hands on the red carpet to Instagram.

She finds that public aspect of being an actor ''jarring,'' she said. Dressing up for red carpet events is ''like a little ticket,'' she said. ''As long as you're wearing that outfit, you're allowed to be here.'' But the person inside the designer outfit still wonders what's going on, Doherty said: ''The extravagance of it is quite unnerving.''

However much her job requires Doherty to shape shift and enter rooms that might be more familiar to Sasha than Becky, you can still hear the actress's hometown in her lively, frank way of speaking.

''Thankfully, my accent is one that people feel at ease around,'' she said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/17/arts/television/erin-doherty-chloe.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/17/arts/television/erin-doherty-chloe.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Erin Doherty, right, played Princess Anne in ''The Crown,'' below. After that show, she says, it took some time to ''not be seen as this upper-class actor.'' Bottom, Doherty plays the con woman Becky Green in ''Chloe,'' a new limited series on Amazon Prime Video. British class anxiety is at the heart of the show. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY AMY LOMBARD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

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**Load-Date:** June 19, 2022

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[***An Accident in the Laguna***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:629N-XSX1-JBG3-62BB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 28, 2021 Sunday

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 14; FICTION

**Length:** 595 words

**Byline:** By Marilyn Stasio

**Body**

TRANSIENT DESIRESBy Donna Leon

The city of Venice is such a beguiling presence in Donna Leon's mysteries, it can eclipse the serious crimes that drive her modern-day plots. Over the course of 30 novels featuring her compassionate police detective, Commissario Guido Brunetti, the American-born author has seized on fundamental Venetian plagues like government corruption, illegal immigration and badly behaved tourists. Which is not to overlook such scourges as bureaucratic inertia, rampant nepotism and rising seas.

In ''Transient Desires,'' Brunetti raises a judgmental eyebrow at the follies of youth, who tend to get rowdy on warm Saturday nights in Campo Santa Margherita. Two young local men pick up a couple of American girls there and -- after an accident in the laguna -- abandon them on a dock outside the hospital.

Marcello Vio and his best friend, Filiberto Duso, claim that the romantic midnight boat tour came to an unhappy end when they plowed into an underwater pylon. ''Water came over the sides and prow and soaked us,'' Filiberto remembers. ''The boat just stopped, the way you can walk into a wall when there's caigo,'' or dense fog. Now Marcello is in deep trouble for damaging the powerful motorboat he borrowed from his uncle, who uses it in his clandestine smuggling operation, and both men have been identified by security tapes from the hospital. But why did they dump the badly injured Americans and flee into the night? As Brunetti teases out the connections between the accident and Marcello's uncle, dramatic scenes play out in the dark and on the water with combat troops from the Guardia Costiera, who snake through the canals where traffickers in small boats with whisper-soft engines can access the mainland. Slipping untaxed goods like cigarettes into the city is an old smuggling tradition, to be sure, but in a new twist, some shipments contain human cargo.

The action in ''Transient Desires'' takes place largely on the water and focuses on the many manual jobs -- and those lucky enough to work at them -- that keep this ancient city running. Reflecting on the current state of ''the country of Dante, Michelangelo, Leonardo, Galileo and Columbus,'' Brunetti notes that 2,000 men -- most of them college graduates -- recently applied for three open jobs as garbage collectors. In the course of his investigation, the commissario interviews one of the garbagemen, or spazzini, from whom he gleans a damning piece of evidence. In order to do so, Brunetti is forced to speak the local vernacular, Veneziano, ''almost choking on the thickness'' of it.

Leon has a lot to say in this book about prejudices, many of which declare themselves through accents. Veneziano may be protectively incomprehensible to outsiders, but as Brunetti ponders a Neapolitan colleague and the way that city's inflections of ''amiability, flattery, joviality, deceit'' have charmed centuries of would-be invaders, he realizes, ''It was too easy to read history as you pleased, to see what you chose to see in the actions of people and cultures long gone.'' Still, he reveals his own biases once again when the case leads him to the ***working-class*** district of Giudecca. ''For me, going to the Giudecca is like going on an Arctic expedition,'' he admits.

Needless to say, by venturing outside the comfort zone of his own prejudices, this deeply simpatico detective learns a lot about his city, his countrymen and himself. And so do we.Marilyn Stasio, who wrote the Crime column for decades, continues to review mysteries and true crime for the Book Review.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/24/books/review/donna-leon-transient-desires.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/24/books/review/donna-leon-transient-desires.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Isip Xin FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 28, 2021

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[***As Latino Men Tilt to Right, Democrats Ask Why***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6250-D2V1-DXY4-X50Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 6, 2021 Saturday

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 2080 words

**Byline:** By Jennifer Medina

**Body**

Several voters said values like individual responsibility and providing for one's family, and a desire for lower taxes and financial stability, led them to reject a party embraced by their parents.

Erik Ortiz, a 41-year-old hip-hop music producer in Florida, grew up poor in the South Bronx, and spent much of his time as a young adult trying to establish himself financially. Now he considers himself rich. And he believes shaking off the politics of his youth had something to do with it.

''Everybody was a liberal Democrat -- in my neighborhood, in the Bronx, in the local government,'' said Mr. Ortiz, whose family is Black and from Puerto Rico. ''The welfare state was bad for our people -- the state became the father in the Black and brown household and that was a bad, bad mistake.'' Mr. Ortiz became a Republican, drawn to messages of individual responsibility and lower taxes. To him, generations of poor people have stayed loyal to a Democratic Party that has failed to transform their lives.

''Why would I want to be stuck in that mentality?'' he said.

While Democrats won the vast majority of Hispanic voters in the 2020 presidential race, the results also showed Republicans making inroads with this demographic, the largest nonwhite voting group -- and particularly among Latino men. According to exit polls, 36 percent of Latino men voted for Donald J. Trump in 2020, up from 32 percent in 2016. These voters also helped Republicans win several House seats in racially diverse districts that Democrats thought were winnable, particularly in Texas and Florida. Both parties see winning more Hispanic votes as critical in future elections.

Yet a question still lingers from the most recent one, especially for Democrats who have long believed they had a major edge: What is driving the political views of Latino men?

For decades, Democratic candidates worked with the assumption that if Latinos voted in higher numbers, the party was more likely to win. But interviews with dozens of Hispanic men from across the country who voted Republican last year showed deep frustration with such presumptions, and rejected the idea that Latino men would instinctively support liberal candidates. These men challenged the notion that they were part of a minority ethnic group or demographic reliant on Democrats; many of them grew up in areas where Hispanics are the majority and are represented in government. And they said many Democrats did not understand how much Latino men identified with being a provider -- earning enough money to support their families is central to the way they view both themselves and the political world.

Like any voter, these men are also driven by their opinions on a variety of issues: Many mention their anti-abortion views, support for gun rights and strict immigration policies. They have watched their friends and relatives go to western Texas to work the oil fields, and worry that new environmental regulations will wipe out the industry there. Still, most say their favorable view of Republicans stems from economic concerns, a desire for low taxes and few regulations. They say they want to support the party they believe will allow them to work and become wealthy.

Public polling has long showed political divides within the Latino electorate -- Cuban-Americans have favored Republicans far more than have Mexican-Americans, for example. During the 2020 election, precincts with large numbers of Colombian and Venezuelan immigrants swung considerably toward Mr. Trump. Surveys conducted last year by Equis Research, which studies Latino voters, showed a striking gender gap, with Latino men far more inclined than Latina women to support Republicans.

And researchers believe that Mexican-American men under the age of 50 are perhaps the demographic that should most concern Democrats, because they are more likely to drift toward conservative candidates. According to a precinct-level analysis by OpenLabs, a liberal research group, Hispanic support for Democrats dropped by as much as 9 percent in last year's election, and far more in parts of Florida and South Texas.

Winning over Latino men is in some ways a decades-old challenge for Democrats -- a nagging reminder that the party has never had a forceful grip on this demographic. Still, some strategists on the left are increasingly alarmed that the party is not doing enough to reach men whose top priorities are based on economics, rather than racial justice or equality. And they warn that Hispanic men are likely to provide crucial swing votes in future races for control of Congress in the midterm elections, as well as who governs from the White House.

''Democrats have lots of real reasons they should be worried,'' said Joshua Ulibarri, a Democratic strategist who has researched Hispanic men for years. ''We haven't figured out a way to speak to them, to say that we have something for them, that we understand them. They look at us and say: We believe we work harder, we want the opportunity to build something of our own, and why should we punish people who do well?''

Jose Aguilar grew up in McAllen, Texas, in the 1960s, raised by parents who had limited means for buying food and clothing. They were hard workers, and instilled in him that ''if you apply yourself, you will get what you deserve.'' His family welcomed relatives from Mexico who stayed for a short time and then returned across the border; some managed to immigrate legally and become citizens, and he believes that's how anyone else should do so.

Still, Mr. Aguilar did benefit from an affirmative action-style program that recruited Hispanic students from South Texas to enter an engineering program.

''They were trying to fill quotas to hire Hispanic people in their company,'' he said. ''The first I ever got on was on a paid ticket to interview for a job, so I did. I saw that as a good opportunity for me to take advantage of, this was my chance, to take that opportunity and run.''

Mr. Aguilar, who now lives near Houston, said he saw Mr. Trump as a model of prosperity in the United States.

''I'm an American, I can take advantage of whatever opportunities just as Anglo people did,'' he added. ''There's really no secret to success -- it's really that if you apply yourself, then things will work out.''

Sergio Arellano of Phoenix, Ariz., said he had a story he liked to tell about the moment he registered as a Republican. When he was an 18-year-old Army infantryman on home leave, he went to a July 4 event and spotted the voter registration table. He asked the woman sitting there: What's the difference between Republicans and Democrats?

Democrats, he recalled her saying, are for the poor. Republicans are for the rich.

''Well that made it easy -- I didn't want to be poor, I wanted to be rich, so I chose Republican,'' Mr. Arellano said. ''Obviously she figured I would identify with the poor. There's an assumption that you're starting out in this country, you don't have any money, you will identify with the poor. But what I wanted was to make my own money.''

Last fall, Mr. Arellano campaigned for Mr. Trump in Arizona, and this year, he narrowly lost his bid for chairman of the state Republican Party. Still, he does not fit the Trumpian conservative mold, often urging politicians to soften their political rhetoric against immigrants.

''Trump is not the party, the party is what we make it -- a pro-business, pro-family values,'' he said. ''People who understand we want to make it as something here.''

All of this sounds familiar to Mike Madrid, a Republican strategist who is deeply critical of the party under Mr. Trump, and who has worked for decades to push the party to do more to attract Hispanic voters.

''Paying rent is more important than fighting social injustice in their minds,'' Mr. Madrid said. ''The Democratic Party has always been proud to be a ***working-class*** party, but they do not have a ***working-class*** message. The central question is going to be, Who can convince these voters their concerns are being heard?''

Ricardo Portillo has contempt for most politicians, but has been inclined to vote for Republicans for most of his life. The owner of a jewelry store in McAllen, Texas, for the past 20 years, Mr. Portillo prides himself on his business acumen. And from his point of view, both he and his customers did well under a Trump administration. Though he describes most politicians as ''terrible'' -- Republicans, he said, ''at least let me keep more of my money, and are for the government doing less and allowing me for doing more for myself.''

In the last year, Mr. Portillo, 45, has seen business dip as fewer Mexican citizens are crossing the border to shop at his store. Before the coronavirus pandemic, business was brisk with customers from both sides of the border.

A sense of economic security is a shift for Mr. Portillo, who grew up often struggling.

''We were brought up the old-school way, that men are men, they have to provide, that there's no excuses and there's no crying. If you don't make it, it's because you're a pendejo,'' he said, using a Spanish term for idiot. ''Maybe that's not nice, but it breeds strong men, mentally strong men.''

The question now, he said, is ''what am I going to be able to do for myself and for my family? We don't feel entitled to much, but we're entitled to the fruit of our labor.''

As a child in New Mexico, Valentin Cortez, 46, was raised by two parents who voted as Democrats, but were personally conservative. Mr. Cortez was around ''a lot of cowboys and a lot of farmers'' who were also Hispanic, but he never felt as though he was part of a minority and said he never personally experienced any racism.

Like so many other men interviewed, he views politics as hopelessly divisive now: ''You can't have an opinion without being attacked.''

Though a handful of friends have blocked him on social media when he expressed conservative views, he said, he does not feel silenced in his own life.

Mr. Cortez occasionally resents being seen as a minority -- he grew up around other Hispanics in New Mexico and believes he has the same kinds of opportunities as his white counterparts. The bigger problem, as he sees it, is the lack of willingness to disagree: ''I've got friends, they think that I hate my own culture. I have been shut down personally, but I am comfortable with who I am.''

Like other men interviewed, Mr. Cortez, a registered independent, said he voted for Mr. Trump in large part because he believed he had done better financially under his administration and worried that a government run by President Biden would raise taxes and support policies that would favor the elite.

Some of the frustrations voiced by Hispanic Republican men are stoked by misinformation, including conspiracy theories claiming that the ''deep state'' took over during the Trump administration and a belief that Black Lives Matter protests caused widespread violence.

In interviews, many cite their support for law enforcement and the military as reasons they favor the Republican Party.

For Chuck Rocha, a Democratic strategist who helped run Senator Bernie Sanders's presidential campaign last year, the warning signs about losing Latino men were there for months. In focus groups conducted in North Carolina, Nevada and Arizona, Hispanic men spoke of deep disillusionment with politics broadly, saying that most political officials offer nothing more than empty promises, spurring apathy among many would-be voters.

''We're not speaking to the rage and the inequality that they feel,'' he said. ''They just wanted their lives to get better, they just wanted somebody to explain to them how their lives would get better under a President Biden.''

To Mr. Rocha, the skepticism of Democrats is a sign of political maturity in some ways.

''We're coming-of-age, we're getting older, and now it's no longer just survival, now you need prosperity,'' he said. ''But when you start to feel like you just can't get ahead, you're going to have the same kind of rage we've long seen with white ***working-class*** voters.''

For some Latino men who favor Republicans, they simply want the government to stay out of their way and not impede their chances of success.

''You can't legislate equality, you can't legislate work ethic and you can't legislate being a good person,'' Mr. Ortiz said. ''I am not perfect and nobody is perfect, but for me it starts with individual responsibility.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/05/us/politics/latino-voters-democrats.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/05/us/politics/latino-voters-democrats.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: JOSE AGUILAR, who said his family emphasized hard work. (PHOTOGRAPH BY GO NAKAMURA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

VALENTIN CORTEZ, who said friends blocked him on social media. (PHOTOGRAPH BY AUDRA MELTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A17)

**Load-Date:** March 6, 2021

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[***Democrats See Ohio as Way to Pad Majority***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6256-PH11-JBG3-64BP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Byline:** By Jonathan Martin

**Body**

The retirement of a Republican senator and recent conservative infighting have raised Democratic ambitions in the state, a longtime political bellwether that is increasingly tilting red.

COLUMBUS, Ohio -- For Democrats of late, winning in Ohio has been a bit like Lucy and the football.

First, Hillary Clinton made a late push there in 2016, returning to the state on the weekend before the election with no less a local celebrity than LeBron James, even though she had stayed away for much of the fall. Then, in the 2018 governor's race, Democrats were optimistic about Richard Cordray, the wonky former head of the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. And in November, it was President Biden who made an 11th-hour stop in Ohio, even though his campaign was also skeptical about its chances there.

Each candidate lost, and for the two presidential hopefuls, it was not even close.

But Ohio Democrats are getting their hopes up again, aiming to capitalize on Senator Rob Portman's surprise announcement last month that he was retiring and on Republican infighting after more than a decade of G.O.P. dominance at the state level.

''I think people will look for something different,'' Senator Sherrod Brown, the only remaining Democrat in statewide office, said of his party's chances to pick up the Portman seat in 2022. ''There's a whole lot of people whose lives have gotten worse in the last five to 10 years.''

If Democrats are to increase their Senate seats significantly beyond the 50 they now hold, with the party relying on Vice President Kamala Harris as a tiebreaker in the event of a 50-50 deadlock, states like Ohio are essential. They owe their narrow advantage to the fast-growing South and West, having picked up Republican-held seats in three states -- Georgia, Arizona and Colorado -- that Mr. Biden also carried in November.

Yet the president's recent challenges with some of his appointments and coronavirus relief legislation make the limitations of such fragile Senate control vividly clear: To claim something larger than what's effectively a Joe Manchin majority, in which appointments and the shape of legislation can be determined by a single red-state senator, Democrats will have to go on the offensive next year in a part of the country that has proved far more fickle for them: the industrial Midwest.

Mr. Biden's hopes for working with a more expansive majority will hinge on whether his party can capture a cluster of Republican-held seats across the Big Ten region: in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Wisconsin and Iowa. Former President Barack Obama won all of those states both times he ran, but they have become more forbidding for Democrats, or at least more competitive, as ***working-class*** white voters have become more reliable Republicans since the rise of former President Donald J. Trump.

''If we're going to have a real majority for Biden, we've got to figure out how we can get up to 52 to 53 seats, and that means Pennsylvania, Ohio and Wisconsin,'' said Doug Thornell, a Democratic strategist. (Iowa, which has been as difficult for Democrats as Ohio in recent years, may be competitive as a Senate battleground, but only if its longtime Senator Charles E. Grassley, 87, retires.)

Beyond the question of the Senate majority, how these states behave in 2022 could carry profound implications. If they revert to a more Democratic orientation in the aftermath of the Trump era, it would suggest that the rightward shift of ***working-class*** white voters in recent years was driven by affection for one outsize figure. If Republicans win across the region, though, it may portend a more enduring realignment and raise sobering questions for Democrats about the Senate and presidential maps.

And few states, in the Midwest or beyond, have the symbolic resonance of Ohio, which for decades served as a political bellwether and swing-state proving ground. Now, however, even the most optimistic Ohio Democrats acknowledge that they reside in a Republican-leaning state and must take lessons on how to compete from their ideological counterparts in other precincts of red-state America.

''We should look at how Democrats won in Montana and Kansas,'' said Mayor Nan Whaley of Dayton, who is planning a run for governor next year. ''That's a new place for us to look because we've always been a battleground, but national messages don't fit right into Ohio.''

One of the most consequential questions for Ohio Democrats is out of their hands: What direction will Republicans take in the Biden era? ''Where they land is going to be a big deal,'' Ms. Whaley said.

Had Mr. Portman run for re-election, this would have been a far less weighty question in Ohio. He and Gov. Mike DeWine, another establishment-aligned and well-known incumbent, would have campaigned on their own political brands, never confronting Mr. Trump but also never embracing him, either.

Now, though, the open Senate seat is thrusting the loyalty-obsessed former president to the forefront of his party's nascent primary, as the announced candidates compete to see who can hug Mr. Trump tightest.

Josh Mandel, a former state treasurer who twice ran against Mr. Brown before withdrawing from the 2018 race and disappearing from public view, has resurfaced as an ardent MAGA man. In interviews and tweets since entering the race to succeed Mr. Portman, he has claimed that Mr. Trump's second impeachment prompted him to run -- never mind his previous two bids -- and vowed to advance Mr. Trump's ''America First Agenda.''

Perhaps more striking, though, is the maneuvering by Jane Timken, who was elevated to the chair of the Ohio Republican Party in 2017 in part because Mr. Trump took the extraordinary step as president-elect to make calls to party activists on her behalf.

Mr. Portman, hinting where his eventual preferences may lie, has praised Ms. Timken, saying that ''over the last couple of years, she has somehow managed through her communications and her organizing to keep all wings of the party moving in the same direction.''

Yet Ms. Timken's conduct since the start of this year illustrates the high-wire act Mr. Trump may force Republicans to execute in next year's election.

The weekend after the Jan. 6 attack on the Capitol, Ms. Timken, then still the state party chair, sent an email to Republicans urging them to ''remember that whether it comes to our country or our party, our shared progress and prosperity is never about one person, one candidate or one government official.''

A few weeks later, addressing a question about the decision by Representative Anthony Gonzalez of Ohio to vote to impeach Mr. Trump, Ms. Timken said she was not sure she would have made the same choice but added that he had ''a rational reason'' for his vote. She called him ''an effective legislator.''

Ms. Timken changed her tune, however, just hours before quitting her state party post last month as she prepared to enter the Senate race.

''Anthony Gonzalez made the wrong decision on impeachment and I disagree with his vote,'' she said. ''This sham impeachment is illegal and unconstitutional.''

And then, just this week, Ms. Timken, under pressure to show her fealty to Mr. Trump, issued a statement demanding that Mr. Gonzalez resign from his seat. Her campaign, seeing private polling that showed an overwhelming majority of Ohio Republicans wanted to oust Mr. Gonzalez, realized it needed to put the issue to bed, according to one adviser.

A number of Ohio Republicans were struck by the speed of her shift, including one who may also enter the Senate race: Representative Steve Stivers, the former chair of the House G.O.P. campaign arm.

''Wait till you quit before you attack somebody,'' Mr. Stivers said of Ms. Timken's broadside on Mr. Gonzalez.

While he has yet to announce his intentions, Mr. Stivers, who has said he would prefer Mr. Trump to enjoy a quiet retirement à la George W. Bush, believes the competition to cozy up to the former president could leave an opening in the primary.

''My lane is looking pretty empty,'' he said. ''I should be able to go about 180 miles per hour in it.''

Though it's uncertain how strong Mr. Trump's political standing will be next year, particularly if he were to be indicted in one of the criminal investigations he faces, many veterans of Ohio politics believe the only path to the Republican Senate nomination is through the former president.

''Jane would be honored to have the president's endorsement,'' said Corry Bliss, who ran Mr. Portman's 2016 campaign and is advising Ms. Timken. He made sure to note that she had been Mr. Trump's ''handpicked chair.''

To a number of Ohio Republicans, the importance of their eventual nominee pales in comparison to what they believe is the fundamental political math of a state that absorbs the Rust Belt and Appalachia. ''Our suburban losses are dwarfed by their losses among ***working-class*** whites,'' said Nick Everhart, a Columbus-based G.O.P. strategist.

Ohio Democrats don't deny that they are underdogs -- or that to win, they may need the Republican Party to remain fractured.

They point to the scandal-plagued Statehouse, where former House speaker Larry Householder is under federal indictment on corruption charges, as well as tensions between Trumpian legislators and the mild-mannered Mr. DeWine. Then there's Mr. Trump and the widening gap between how he's viewed by Republican activists and the broader electorate.

''I don't know if I'd call it a prerequisite for us to win, but their chaos is our opportunity,'' said Liz Walters, the newly elected Ohio Democratic state chair.

But Ohio Democrats may have their own drama.

While Representative Tim Ryan, a veteran Youngstown-area lawmaker, has been clear about his intent to run for Mr. Portman's seat, he may face a primary that would highlight some of the tensions in the Democratic coalition.

Lamenting how Mr. Trump had tapped into the ''angst, anger and frustration'' of onetime Ohio Democrats, longtime Representative Marcy Kaptur said that Mr. Ryan, who like her represents one of the most low-income, predominantly white districts in the country, would ''be able to reach people'' the party has lost.

A handful of other Democrats are considering entering the Senate race. They include Amy Acton, the former director of the state health department; Emilia Strong Sykes, the state House minority leader; and Kevin Boyce, a local official in Columbus who previously served in the state House. Ms. Sykes said the party's turnout efforts in Ohio's cities had been ''awful'' and called for a new approach.

''Recreating Sherrod Brown -- that doesn't work because Sherrod Brown is Sherrod Brown,'' she said, a barely veiled reference to Mr. Ryan's attempt to pitch himself as a white populist. ''We're going to have to find a candidate who's exciting and can appeal to women and people of color.''

Ms. Sykes, who is Black, said she had been encouraged to run for the Senate by a handful of progressive advocacy groups and was assessing the landscape.

She spoke for a number of Ohio Democrats when she said that Mr. Portman's surprise retirement had prompted an otherwise depressed party to again place hope over history.

''Had he not done that, it would've been a lost cause,'' she said of the senator's exit. ''But now there's new energy and we have to at least try.''

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Ohio served as a political bellwether and swing-state proving ground for years, but has recently been dominated by Republicans. Richard Cordray, a Democrat, lost the race for governor in 2018. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Senator Rob Portman of Ohio announced he would not seek re-election in 2022. Jane Timken, the Trump-selected state party chair, has quit and is expected to begin a campaign for his seat. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANNA MONEYMAKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

AARON DOSTER/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

Tim Ryan, a Democrat who represents a district in northeastern Ohio in Congress, is considering a run for Senate in the state. So is Emilia Strong Sykes, the state House minority leader. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ERIC THAYER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

PAUL VERNON/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

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[***Democrats Want a Stronger Edge in the Senate. Ohio Could Be Crucial.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6250-5J71-JBG3-62J2-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** The retirement of a Republican senator and recent conservative infighting have raised Democratic ambitions in the state, a longtime political bellwether that is increasingly tilting red.

**Body**

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First, Hillary Clinton made a late push there in 2016, returning to the state on the weekend before the election with no less a local celebrity than LeBron James, even though she had stayed away for much of the fall. Then, in the 2018 governor’s race, Democrats were optimistic about Richard Cordray, the wonky former head of the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. And in November, it was President Biden who made an 11th-hour stop in Ohio, even though his campaign was also skeptical about its chances there.

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But Ohio Democrats are getting their hopes up again, aiming to capitalize on Senator Rob Portman’s [*surprise announcement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/25/us/politics/rob-portman-ohio-senate-republicans.html) last month that he was retiring and on [*Republican*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/12/us/politics/rob-portman-infrastructure-republicans.html) infighting after more than a decade of G.O.P. dominance at the state level.

“I think people will look for something different,” Senator Sherrod Brown, the only remaining Democrat in statewide office, said of his party’s chances to pick up the Portman seat in 2022. “There’s a whole lot of people whose lives have gotten worse in the last five to 10 years.”

If Democrats are to increase their Senate seats significantly beyond the 50 they now hold, with the party relying on Vice President Kamala Harris as a tiebreaker in the event of a 50-50 deadlock, states like Ohio are essential. They owe their narrow advantage to the fast-growing South and West, having picked up Republican-held seats in three states — Georgia, Arizona and Colorado — that Mr. Biden also carried in November.

Yet the president’s recent challenges with [*some of his appointments*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/02/us/politics/neera-tanden-nomination.html) and [*coronavirus relief legislation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/03/us/politics/stimulus-checks-income-cap-biden.html) make the limitations of such fragile Senate control vividly clear: To claim something larger than what’s effectively [*a Joe Manchin majority*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/21/us/politics/biden-agenda-democrats.html), in which appointments and the shape of legislation can be determined by a single red-state senator, Democrats will have to go on the offensive next year in a part of the country that has proved far more fickle for them: the industrial Midwest.

Mr. Biden’s hopes for working with a more expansive majority will hinge on whether his party can capture a cluster of Republican-held seats across [*the Big Ten region*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/17/sports/ncaafootball/covid-big-ten-football-return.html): in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Wisconsin and Iowa. Former President Barack Obama won all of those states both times he ran, but they have become more forbidding for Democrats, or at least more competitive, as ***working-class*** white voters have become more reliable Republicans since the rise of former President Donald J. Trump.

“If we’re going to have a real majority for Biden, we’ve got to figure out how we can get up to 52 to 53 seats, and that means Pennsylvania, Ohio and Wisconsin,” said Doug Thornell, a Democratic strategist. (Iowa, which has been as difficult for Democrats as Ohio in recent years, may be competitive as a Senate battleground, but only if its longtime Senator Charles E. Grassley, 87, retires.)

Beyond the question of the Senate majority, how these states behave in 2022 could carry profound implications. If they revert to a more Democratic orientation in the aftermath of the Trump era, it would suggest that the rightward shift of ***working-class*** white voters in recent years was driven by affection for one outsize figure. If Republicans win across the region, though, it may portend a more enduring realignment and raise sobering questions for Democrats about the Senate and presidential maps.

And few states, in the Midwest or beyond, have the symbolic resonance of Ohio, which for decades served as a political bellwether and swing-state proving ground. Now, however, even the most optimistic Ohio Democrats acknowledge that they reside in a Republican-leaning state and must take lessons on how to compete from their ideological counterparts in other precincts of red-state America.

“We should look at how Democrats won in Montana and Kansas,” said [*Mayor Nan Whaley of Dayton*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/26/us/politics/nan-whaley-rob-portman-senate.html), who is planning a run for governor next year. “That’s a new place for us to look because we’ve always been a battleground, but national messages don’t fit right into Ohio.”

One of the most consequential questions for Ohio Democrats is out of their hands: What direction will Republicans take in the Biden era? “Where they land is going to be a big deal,” Ms. Whaley said.

Had Mr. Portman run for re-election, this would have been a far less weighty question in Ohio. He and Gov. Mike DeWine, another establishment-aligned and well-known incumbent, would have campaigned on their own political brands, never confronting Mr. Trump but also never embracing him, either.

Now, though, the open Senate seat is thrusting the loyalty-obsessed former president to the forefront of his party’s nascent primary, as the announced candidates compete to see who can hug Mr. Trump tightest.

Josh Mandel, a former state treasurer who twice ran against Mr. Brown before withdrawing from the 2018 race and disappearing from public view, has resurfaced as an ardent MAGA man. In interviews and tweets since entering the race to succeed Mr. Portman, he has claimed that Mr. Trump’s second impeachment prompted him to run — never mind his previous two bids — and vowed to advance Mr. Trump’s “America First Agenda.”

Perhaps more striking, though, is the maneuvering by Jane Timken, who was elevated to the chair of the Ohio Republican Party in 2017 in part because Mr. Trump took the extraordinary step as president-elect to make calls to party activists on her behalf.

Mr. Portman, hinting where his eventual preferences may lie, has praised Ms. Timken, saying that “over the last couple of years, she has somehow managed through her communications and her organizing to keep all wings of the party moving in the same direction.”

Yet Ms. Timken’s conduct since the start of this year illustrates the high-wire act Mr. Trump may force Republicans to execute in next year’s election.

The weekend after the Jan. 6 attack on the Capitol, Ms. Timken, then still the state party chair, sent an email to Republicans urging them to “remember that whether it comes to our country or our party, our shared progress and prosperity is never about one person, one candidate or one government official.”

A few weeks later, addressing a question about the decision by [*Representative Anthony Gonzalez of Ohio*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/16/us/politics/anthony-gonzalez-ohio-trump.html) to vote to impeach Mr. Trump, Ms. Timken said she was not sure she would have made the same choice but added that he had “a rational reason” for his vote. She called him “an effective legislator.”

Ms. Timken changed her tune, however, just hours before quitting her state party post last month as she prepared to enter the Senate race.

“Anthony Gonzalez made the wrong decision on impeachment and I disagree with his vote,” she said. “This sham impeachment is illegal and unconstitutional.”

And then, just this week, Ms. Timken, under pressure to show her fealty to Mr. Trump, issued a statement demanding that Mr. Gonzalez resign from his seat. Her campaign, seeing private polling that showed an overwhelming majority of Ohio Republicans wanted to oust Mr. Gonzalez, realized it needed to put the issue to bed, according to one adviser.

A number of Ohio Republicans were struck by the speed of her shift, including one who may also enter the Senate race: Representative Steve Stivers, the former chair of the House G.O.P. campaign arm.

“Wait till you quit before you attack somebody,” Mr. Stivers said of Ms. Timken’s broadside on Mr. Gonzalez.

While he has yet to announce his intentions, Mr. Stivers, who has said he would prefer Mr. Trump to enjoy a quiet retirement à la George W. Bush, believes the competition to cozy up to the former president could leave an opening in the primary.

“My lane is looking pretty empty,” he said. “I should be able to go about 180 miles per hour in it.”

Though it’s uncertain how strong Mr. Trump’s political standing will be next year, particularly if he were to be indicted in one of the [*criminal investigations*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/01/nyregion/trump-vance-investigation.html) he faces, many veterans of Ohio politics believe the only path to the Republican Senate nomination is through the former president.

“Jane would be honored to have the president’s endorsement,” said Corry Bliss, who ran Mr. Portman’s 2016 campaign and is advising Ms. Timken. He made sure to note that she had been Mr. Trump’s “handpicked chair.”

To a number of Ohio Republicans, the importance of their eventual nominee pales in comparison to what they believe is the fundamental political math of a state that absorbs the Rust Belt and Appalachia. “Our suburban losses are dwarfed by their losses among ***working-class*** whites,” said Nick Everhart, a Columbus-based G.O.P. strategist.

Ohio Democrats don’t deny that they are underdogs — or that to win, they may need the Republican Party to remain fractured.

They point to the scandal-plagued Statehouse, where former House speaker [*Larry Householder*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/16/us/larry-householder-expelled-ohio-house.html) is under federal indictment on corruption charges, as well as tensions between Trumpian legislators and the mild-mannered Mr. DeWine. Then there’s Mr. Trump and the widening gap between how he’s viewed by Republican activists and the broader electorate.

“I don’t know if I’d call it a prerequisite for us to win, but their chaos is our opportunity,” said Liz Walters, the newly elected Ohio Democratic state chair.

But Ohio Democrats may have their own drama.

While Representative Tim Ryan, a veteran Youngstown-area lawmaker, has been clear about [*his intent to run for Mr. Portman’s seat*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/01/us/politics/tim-ryan-ohio-senate.html), he may face a primary that would highlight some of the tensions in the Democratic coalition.

Lamenting how Mr. Trump had tapped into the “angst, anger and frustration” of onetime Ohio Democrats, longtime Representative Marcy Kaptur said that Mr. Ryan, who like her represents one of the most low-income, predominantly white districts in the country, would “be able to reach people” the party has lost.

A handful of other Democrats are considering entering the Senate race. They include Amy Acton, the former director of the state health department; Emilia Strong Sykes, the state House minority leader; and Kevin Boyce, a local official in Columbus who previously served in the state House. Ms. Sykes said the party’s turnout efforts in Ohio’s cities had been “awful” and called for a new approach.

“Recreating Sherrod Brown — that doesn’t work because Sherrod Brown is Sherrod Brown,” she said, a barely veiled reference to Mr. Ryan’s attempt to pitch himself as a white populist. “We’re going to have to find a candidate who’s exciting and can appeal to women and people of color.”

Ms. Sykes, who is Black, said she had been encouraged to run for the Senate by a handful of progressive advocacy groups and was assessing the landscape.

She spoke for a number of Ohio Democrats when she said that Mr. Portman’s surprise retirement had prompted an otherwise depressed party to again place hope over history.

“Had he not done that, it would’ve been a lost cause,” she said of the senator’s exit. “But now there’s new energy and we have to at least try.”

PHOTOS: Ohio served as a political bellwether and swing-state proving ground for years, but has recently been dominated by Republicans. Richard Cordray, a Democrat, lost the race for governor in 2018. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Senator Rob Portman of Ohio announced he would not seek re-election in 2022. Jane Timken, the Trump-selected state party chair, has quit and is expected to begin a campaign for his seat. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANNA MONEYMAKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; AARON DOSTER/ASSOCIATED PRESS); Tim Ryan, a Democrat who represents a district in northeastern Ohio in Congress, is considering a run for Senate in the state. So is Emilia Strong Sykes, the state House minority leader. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ERIC THAYER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; PAUL VERNON/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

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[***A Vexing Question for Democrats: What Drives Latino Men to Republicans?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:624T-MGD1-JBG3-6242-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** Several voters said values like individual responsibility and providing for one’s family, and a desire for lower taxes and financial stability, led them to reject a party embraced by their parents.

**Body**

Several voters said values like individual responsibility and providing for one’s family, and a desire for lower taxes and financial stability, led them to reject a party embraced by their parents.

Erik Ortiz, a 41-year-old hip-hop music producer in Florida, grew up poor in the South Bronx, and spent much of his time as a young adult trying to establish himself financially. Now he considers himself rich. And he believes shaking off the politics of his youth had something to do with it.

“Everybody was a liberal Democrat — in my neighborhood, in the Bronx, in the local government,” said Mr. Ortiz, whose family is Black and from Puerto Rico. “The welfare state was bad for our people — the state became the father in the Black and brown household and that was a bad, bad mistake.” Mr. Ortiz became a Republican, drawn to messages of individual responsibility and lower taxes. To him, generations of poor people have stayed loyal to a Democratic Party that has failed to transform their lives.

“Why would I want to be stuck in that mentality?” he said.

While Democrats won the vast majority of [*Hispanic voters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/27/us/politics/latino-voters-biden-democrats.html) in the 2020 presidential race, the results also showed Republicans making inroads with this demographic, the largest nonwhite voting group — and particularly among [*Latino*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/07/us/latinos-california-recall-election.html) men. According to exit polls, 36 percent of Latino men voted for [*Donald J. Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/02/us/politics/trump-latino-voters-2020.html) in 2020, up from 32 percent in 2016. These voters also helped Republicans win several House seats in racially diverse districts that Democrats thought were winnable, particularly in Texas and Florida. Both parties see winning more Hispanic votes as critical in future elections.

Yet a question still lingers from the most recent one, especially for Democrats who have long believed they had a major edge: What is driving the political views of Latino men?

For decades, Democratic candidates worked with the assumption that if Latinos voted in higher numbers, the party was more likely to win. But interviews with dozens of Hispanic men from across the country who voted Republican last year showed deep frustration with such presumptions, and rejected the idea that Latino men would instinctively support liberal candidates. These men challenged the notion that they were part of a minority ethnic group or demographic reliant on Democrats; many of them grew up in areas where Hispanics are the majority and are represented in government. And they said many Democrats did not understand how much Latino men identified with being a provider — earning enough money to support their families is central to the way they view both themselves and the political world.

Like any voter, these men are also driven by their opinions on a variety of issues: Many mention their anti-abortion views, support for gun rights and strict immigration policies. They have watched their friends and relatives go to western Texas to work the oil fields, and worry that new environmental regulations will wipe out the industry there. Still, most say their favorable view of Republicans stems from economic concerns, a desire for low taxes and few regulations. They say they want to support the party they believe will allow them to work and become wealthy.

Public polling has long showed political divides within the Latino electorate — Cuban-Americans have favored Republicans far more than have Mexican-Americans, for example. During the 2020 election, precincts with large numbers of Colombian and Venezuelan immigrants swung considerably toward Mr. [*Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/08/insider/jennifer-medina-trump-latino-voters.html). Surveys conducted last year by Equis Research, which studies [*Latino voters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/08/insider/jennifer-medina-trump-latino-voters.html), [*showed a striking gender gap*](https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5d30982b599bde00016db472/t/5dfa5a9dcda8467a3e889820/1576688288258/Solving+for+X_+Latina+Voters+in+2020.pdf), with Latino men far more inclined than Latina women to support Republicans.

And researchers believe that Mexican-American men under the age of 50 are perhaps the demographic that should most concern Democrats, because they are more likely to drift toward conservative candidates. According to a precinct-level analysis by OpenLabs, a liberal research group, Hispanic support for Democrats dropped by as much as 9 percent in last year’s election, and far more in parts of Florida and South Texas.

Winning over Latino men is in some ways a decades-old challenge for Democrats — a nagging reminder that the party has never had a forceful grip on this demographic. Still, some strategists on the left are increasingly alarmed that the party is not doing enough to reach men whose top priorities are based on economics, rather than racial justice or equality. And they warn that Hispanic men are likely to provide crucial swing votes in future races for control of Congress in the midterm elections, as well as who governs from the White House.

“Democrats have lots of real reasons they should be worried,” said Joshua Ulibarri, a Democratic strategist who has researched Hispanic men for years. “We haven’t figured out a way to speak to them, to say that we have something for them, that we understand them. They look at us and say: We believe we work harder, we want the opportunity to build something of our own, and why should we punish people who do well?”

Jose Aguilar grew up in McAllen, Texas, in the 1960s, raised by parents who had limited means for buying food and clothing. They were hard workers, and instilled in him that “if you apply yourself, you will get what you deserve.” His family welcomed relatives from Mexico who stayed for a short time and then returned across the border; some managed to immigrate legally and become citizens, and he believes that’s how anyone else should do so.

Still, Mr. Aguilar did benefit from an affirmative action-style program that recruited Hispanic students from South Texas to enter an engineering program.

“They were trying to fill quotas to hire Hispanic people in their company,” he said. “The first I ever got on was on a paid ticket to interview for a job, so I did. I saw that as a good opportunity for me to take advantage of, this was my chance, to take that opportunity and run.”

Mr. Aguilar, who now lives near Houston, said he saw Mr. [*Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/08/insider/jennifer-medina-trump-latino-voters.html) as a model of prosperity in the United States.

“I’m an American, I can take advantage of whatever opportunities just as Anglo people did,” he added. “There’s really no secret to success — it’s really that if you apply yourself, then things will work out.”

Sergio Arellano of Phoenix, Ariz., said he had a story he liked to tell about the moment he registered as a Republican. When he was an 18-year-old Army infantryman on home leave, he went to a July 4 event and spotted the voter registration table. He asked the woman sitting there: What’s the difference between Republicans and Democrats?

Democrats, he recalled her saying, are for the poor. Republicans are for the rich.

“Well that made it easy — I didn’t want to be poor, I wanted to be rich, so I chose Republican,” Mr. Arellano said. “Obviously she figured I would identify with the poor. There’s an assumption that you’re starting out in this country, you don’t have any money, you will identify with the poor. But what I wanted was to make my own money.”

Last fall, Mr. Arellano campaigned for Mr. Trump in Arizona, and this year, he narrowly lost his bid for chairman of the state Republican Party. Still, he does not fit the Trumpian conservative mold, often urging politicians to soften their political rhetoric against immigrants.

“Trump is not the party, the party is what we make it — a pro-business, pro-family values,” he said. “People who understand we want to make it as something here.”

All of this sounds familiar to Mike Madrid, a Republican strategist who is deeply critical of the party under Mr. Trump, and who has worked for decades to push the party to do more to attract Hispanic voters.

“Paying rent is more important than fighting social injustice in their minds,” Mr. Madrid said. “The Democratic Party has always been proud to be a ***working-class*** party, but they do not have a ***working-class*** message. The central question is going to be, Who can convince these voters their concerns are being heard?”

Ricardo Portillo has contempt for most politicians, but has been inclined to vote for Republicans for most of his life. The owner of a jewelry store in McAllen, Texas, for the past 20 years, Mr. Portillo prides himself on his business acumen. And from his point of view, both he and his customers did well under a Trump administration. Though he describes most politicians as “terrible” — Republicans, he said, “at least let me keep more of my money, and are for the government doing less and allowing me for doing more for myself.”

In the last year, Mr. Portillo, 45, has seen business dip as fewer Mexican citizens are crossing the border to shop at his store. Before the coronavirus pandemic, business was brisk with customers from both sides of the border.

A sense of economic security is a shift for Mr. Portillo, who grew up often struggling.

“We were brought up the old-school way, that men are men, they have to provide, that there’s no excuses and there’s no crying. If you don’t make it, it’s because you’re a pendejo,” he said, using a Spanish term for idiot. “Maybe that’s not nice, but it breeds strong men, mentally strong men.”

The question now, he said, is “what am I going to be able to do for myself and for my family? We don’t feel entitled to much, but we’re entitled to the fruit of our labor.”

As a child in New Mexico, Valentin Cortez, 46, was raised by two parents who voted as Democrats, but were personally conservative. Mr. Cortez was around “a lot of cowboys and a lot of farmers” who were also Hispanic, but he never felt as though he was part of a minority and said he never personally experienced any racism.

Like so many other men interviewed, he views politics as hopelessly divisive now: “You can’t have an opinion without being attacked.”

Though a handful of friends have blocked him on social media when he expressed conservative views, he said, he does not feel silenced in his own life.

Mr. Cortez occasionally resents being seen as a minority — he grew up around other Hispanics in New Mexico and believes he has the same kinds of opportunities as his white counterparts. The bigger problem, as he sees it, is the lack of willingness to disagree: “I’ve got friends, they think that I hate my own culture. I have been shut down personally, but I am comfortable with who I am.”

Like other men interviewed, Mr. Cortez, a registered independent, said he voted for Mr. Trump in large part because he believed he had done better financially under his administration and worried that a government run by President Biden would raise taxes and support policies that would favor the elite.

Some of the frustrations voiced by Hispanic Republican men are stoked by misinformation, including conspiracy theories claiming that the “deep state” took over during the Trump administration and a belief that Black Lives Matter protests caused widespread violence.

In interviews, many cite their support for law enforcement and the military as reasons they favor the Republican Party.

For Chuck Rocha, a Democratic strategist who helped run Senator Bernie Sanders’s presidential campaign last year, the warning signs about losing Latino men were there for months. In focus groups conducted in North Carolina, Nevada and Arizona, Hispanic men spoke of deep disillusionment with politics broadly, saying that most political officials offer nothing more than empty promises, spurring apathy among many would-be voters.

“We’re not speaking to the rage and the inequality that they feel,” he said. “They just wanted their lives to get better, they just wanted somebody to explain to them how their lives would get better under a President Biden.”

To Mr. Rocha, the skepticism of Democrats is a sign of political maturity in some ways.

“We’re coming-of-age, we’re getting older, and now it’s no longer just survival, now you need prosperity,” he said. “But when you start to feel like you just can’t get ahead, you’re going to have the same kind of rage we’ve long seen with white ***working-class*** voters.”

For some Latino men who favor Republicans, they simply want the government to stay out of their way and not impede their chances of success.

“You can’t legislate equality, you can’t legislate work ethic and you can’t legislate being a good person,” Mr. Ortiz said. “I am not perfect and nobody is perfect, but for me it starts with individual responsibility.”

PHOTOS: JOSE AGUILAR, who said his family emphasized hard work. (PHOTOGRAPH BY GO NAKAMURA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); VALENTIN CORTEZ, who said friends blocked him on social media. (PHOTOGRAPH BY AUDRA MELTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A17)

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[***Egypt’s Female Lion Tamers Show the Men How to Do It; Egypt Dispatch***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YJ2-H471-JBG3-60XN-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** The broader struggle for women’s equality may be lagging in Egypt, but six women dominate the field of lion taming in the country.

**Body**

The broader struggle for women’s equality may be lagging in Egypt, but six women dominate the field of lion taming in the country.

GAMASA, Egypt — At her apartment in a seaside town, Luba el-Helw, a working Egyptian mother, faced multiple demands. She juggled business calls, prepared a chicken dish and parried the demands of her three sons, aged 4 to 8, who were stretched out before the TV.

By her own admission, she can be pushy. That was a factor in her divorce, when her second husband complained that she treated him “like a circus lion.” He meant it literally.

Hours later, Ms. el-Helw strode into a circus ring wearing a leopard skin body suit and black boots. Music boomed. Children cheered. [*Lions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/13/science/lions-south-africa-wildlife-parks.html) and tigers trooped out behind her.

Ms. el-Helw (pronounced hell-OU) strolled up to a perched tiger and nonchalantly stroked its face, drawing a roar. She made a theatrical grimace.

“Ladies and gentlemen,” announced a voice. “The dangerous and exciting parts are about to begin!”

The struggle for women’s equality is lagging badly in Egypt, where only 25 percent of women are in the labor force. Egypt ranks 134 out of 153 in the Global Gender Gap, an index published by the World Economic Forum. But in one field, Egyptian women are dominant.

Ms. el-Helw is one of six working female lion tamers in Egypt, mostly from the same extended family, whose old-fashioned shows draw, and delight, legions of Egyptians every year. Wearing spangled outfits, and using stage names like “The Queen of Lions,” they coax big cats through rings of fire or allow them to stroll over their bodies.

Some have become minor celebrities. Others have survived attacks. None has a man in their acts.

“I feed them myself,” said Ms. el-Helw, between shows, as she dropped a side of donkey meat into a small cage occupied by Hairem, a 6-year-old lion. “And they look on me as their mother.”

Lions have always been symbols of prestige and power in Egypt. In ancient times, Pharaohs hunted the big cats along the Nile. The Great Sphinx guarding the pyramids at Giza, which features a human head on a lion’s body, is one of Egypt’s enduring emblems.

For Ms. el-Helw, though, lions are a family business. Her grandmother Mahassen was the Arab world’s first female lion tamer, and her father, Ibrahim, was a star of Egypt’s state-run National Circus during its heyday in the 1980s.

Her father, who married three times, had seven daughters but, try as he might, no sons. So he passed his skills, and his passion, to his daughters.

Two followed him into the ring: Ms. el-Helw, 38, who succeeded her father as a lion tamer at the National Circus, and her sister Ousa, 35, who performs at a private circus. Their aunt, [*Faten*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/13/science/lions-south-africa-wildlife-parks.html), and two of their [*cousins*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/13/science/lions-south-africa-wildlife-parks.html) are also in the business, as is a sixth woman not part of the family.

“Wild animal tamer” reads the professional description on Ms el-Helw’s passport.

The once-proud National Circus, founded in 1966, has fallen on hard times. Based at a shabby tent by the Nile in Cairo, it sells tickets for $1.80 to $3.50, and draws mostly school groups and ***working-class*** families.

Its act — clowns, jugglers, snake charmers — has a tired feel, and performers complain about a lack of investment. Wealthier Egyptians prefer more innovative, expensive shows like Cirque du Soleil.

Like much else, Egypt’s circuses have closed as part of efforts to stem the spread of the coronavirus. Last summer, though, a giant image of Ms. el-Helw adorned the entrance to a traveling edition of the National Circus, which had come to Gamasa, a ***working-class*** resort on Egypt’s north coast where women lounge on the beach in all-covering cloaks.

Egyptians are not used to seeing a woman in charge. According to the World Economic Forum, women occupy just 7 percent of managerial roles in Egypt.

But in her performances, Ms. el-Helw leaves no doubt about who’s the boss. She projects a macho persona, speaking in a booming voice and wielding batons or whips. “People expect to see a man with a potbelly and high boots,” she said.

That swaggering stage presence is mostly for show, not to intimidate the animals. In fact, she said, she induces the lions to obey her with affection and morsels of meat. When she has to scold them, it’s with a soft whack of her flip-flop, as an Egyptian mother might an errant son.

Still, the dangers are real. Ms. el-Helw produced a photo of her grandfather, Mohammed el-Helw, who was mauled to death at the end of a show in 1972. The photo showed a man in a gleaming suit, sitting proudly astride Sultan, the lion who killed him.

Family lore has it that Sultan so regretted the attack he refused to eat and died two weeks later. But at least seven more attacks by other lions followed, wounding family members and lion-taming colleagues.

In 2015, Ms. el-Helw’s aunt, Faten, suffered a [*vicious mauling*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/13/science/lions-south-africa-wildlife-parks.html) that left her with a broken pelvis. A year later, a male lion tamer at a park in Alexandria was killed.

Ms. El-Helw brushed off concerns about her safety. “Lions can be easier to deal with than people,” she said.

She also dismissed accusations that such old-fashioned circuses are cruel to the animals.

In between shows at Gamasa, her lions and tigers were confined to small cages, and doused with water to cool them during hot weather. After one nightly performance, Ms. el-Helw leaned over a 6-month-old white lion cub with a painful-looking heat rash on its chest, gingerly daubing it with a cream.

Her 8-year old son, whom she is training to succeed her, watched intently. The cub waved a paw, growling softly.

In Europe, several countries have introduced restrictions on using animals in popular entertainment.

But Ms. el-Helw, who was raised alongside lion cubs at their family home, insisted that she loved her charges “like my children,” and said she could not even bear to watch animals attack one another in wildlife documentaries. “I look away,” she said.

The family’s circus story started in the Mediterranean port of Damietta, Egypt, over a century ago, she said. Her great-great-grandfather was so enthralled by the Italian acrobats that performed for passengers on passing ships that he learned their tricks and passed them to his sons.

The family acquired its first lions in the 1930s. In the 1960s, they joined the National Circus.

That Ms. el-Helw comes from a long line of circus performers shows as soon as she steps into the ring.

“Sleep!” she commanded, as a tiger dropped to the floor.

Then, as the speakers blared the theme from “Jaws,” Ms. el-Helw balanced a skewer with meat between her teeth, and presented it to a lion who snacked on it, licked his lips and strolled away.

Ms. el-Helw’s younger sister, Ousa, who performed at a circus in Suez this winter, had a narrow scrape recently; a tiger clawed her neck during a performance. She didn’t take it personally.

“It was an accident; the tiger didn’t mean it,” Ousa said with a shrug.

Before lion taming, the younger Ms. el-Helw tried a more conventional career at a marketing firm in Cairo. But after a manager reprimanded her over her conduct, she saw red.

“‘Do you think you’re in a circus?’” he recalled him asking. “So, I hit him.”

“Head butted, actually,” she added. “That was the end of the job.”

As the coronavirus closed in on Egypt in recent weeks, Ousa el-Helw transported her eight lions and two tigers to a desert compound outside Cairo, where they will wait for the show to resume.

A far bigger blow, both sisters said, was the death this year of their father, Ibrahim, 74. He taught them how to love lions, how to punish them, and the importance of treating them with respect.

“Animals remember,” Ousa el-Helw said. “Whatever happens, they remember.”

Nada Rashwan contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: Luba el-Helw is one of six female lion tamers working in Egypt. Despite reports of vicious maulings, she brushes off concerns about her safety. “Lions can be easier to deal with than people,” she said.; The National Circus, founded in 1966, draws mostly school groups and ***working-class*** families. At left, Ms. el-Helw lets her children play and shower with the lion Kiara. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HEBA KHAMIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***These Days, Female Lion Tamers Crack the Whip***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YJ2-J2W1-DXY4-X4G0-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Declan Walsh

**Body**

The broader struggle for women's equality may be lagging in Egypt, but six women dominate the field of lion taming in the country.

GAMASA, Egypt -- At her apartment in a seaside town, Luba el-Helw, a working Egyptian mother, faced multiple demands. She juggled business calls, prepared a chicken dish and parried the demands of her three sons, aged 4 to 8, who were stretched out before the TV.

By her own admission, she can be pushy. That was a factor in her divorce, when her second husband complained that she treated him ''like a circus lion.'' He meant it literally.

Hours later, Ms. el-Helw strode into a circus ring wearing a leopard skin body suit and black boots. Music boomed. Children cheered. Lions and tigers trooped out behind her.

Ms. el-Helw (pronounced hell-OU) strolled up to a perched tiger and nonchalantly stroked its face, drawing a roar. She made a theatrical grimace.

''Ladies and gentlemen,'' announced a voice. ''The dangerous and exciting parts are about to begin!''

The struggle for women's equality is lagging badly in Egypt, where only 25 percent of women are in the labor force. Egypt ranks 134 out of 153 in the Global Gender Gap, an index published by the World Economic Forum. But in one field, Egyptian women are dominant.

Ms. el-Helw is one of six working female lion tamers in Egypt, mostly from the same extended family, whose old-fashioned shows draw, and delight, legions of Egyptians every year. Wearing spangled outfits, and using stage names like ''The Queen of Lions,'' they coax big cats through rings of fire or allow them to stroll over their bodies.

Some have become minor celebrities. Others have survived attacks. None has a man in their acts.

''I feed them myself,'' said Ms. el-Helw, between shows, as she dropped a side of donkey meat into a small cage occupied by Hairem, a 6-year-old lion. ''And they look on me as their mother.''

Lions have always been symbols of prestige and power in Egypt. In ancient times, Pharaohs hunted the big cats along the Nile. The Great Sphinx guarding the pyramids at Giza, which features a human head on a lion's body, is one of Egypt's enduring emblems.

For Ms. el-Helw, though, lions are a family business. Her grandmother Mahassen was the Arab world's first female lion tamer, and her father, Ibrahim, was a star of Egypt's state-run National Circus during its heyday in the 1980s.

Her father, who married three times, had seven daughters but, try as he might, no sons. So he passed his skills, and his passion, to his daughters.

Two followed him into the ring: Ms. el-Helw, 38, who succeeded her father as a lion tamer at the National Circus, and her sister Ousa, 35, who performs at a private circus. Their aunt, Faten, and two of their cousins are also in the business, as is a sixth woman not part of the family.

''Wild animal tamer'' reads the professional description on Ms el-Helw's passport.

The once-proud National Circus, founded in 1966, has fallen on hard times. Based at a shabby tent by the Nile in Cairo, it sells tickets for $1.80 to $3.50, and draws mostly school groups and ***working-class*** families.

Its act -- clowns, jugglers, snake charmers -- has a tired feel, and performers complain about a lack of investment. Wealthier Egyptians prefer more innovative, expensive shows like Cirque du Soleil.

Like much else, Egypt's circuses have closed as part of efforts to stem the spread of the coronavirus. Last summer, though, a giant image of Ms. el-Helw adorned the entrance to a traveling edition of the National Circus, which had come to Gamasa, a ***working-class*** resort on Egypt's north coast where women lounge on the beach in all-covering cloaks.

Egyptians are not used to seeing a woman in charge. According to the World Economic Forum, women occupy just 7 percent of managerial roles in Egypt.

But in her performances, Ms. el-Helw leaves no doubt about who's the boss. She projects a macho persona, speaking in a booming voice and wielding batons or whips. ''People expect to see a man with a potbelly and high boots,'' she said.

That swaggering stage presence is mostly for show, not to intimidate the animals. In fact, she said, she induces the lions to obey her with affection and morsels of meat. When she has to scold them, it's with a soft whack of her flip-flop, as an Egyptian mother might an errant son.

Still, the dangers are real. Ms. el-Helw produced a photo of her grandfather, Mohammed el-Helw, who was mauled to death at the end of a show in 1972. The photo showed a man in a gleaming suit, sitting proudly astride Sultan, the lion who killed him.

Family lore has it that Sultan so regretted the attack he refused to eat and died two weeks later. But at least seven more attacks by other lions followed, wounding family members and lion-taming colleagues.

In 2015, Ms. el-Helw's aunt, Faten, suffered a vicious mauling that left her with a broken pelvis. A year later, a male lion tamer at a park in Alexandria was killed.

Ms. El-Helw brushed off concerns about her safety. ''Lions can be easier to deal with than people,'' she said.

She also dismissed accusations that such old-fashioned circuses are cruel to the animals.

In between shows at Gamasa, her lions and tigers were confined to small cages, and doused with water to cool them during hot weather. After one nightly performance, Ms. el-Helw leaned over a 6-month-old white lion cub with a painful-looking heat rash on its chest, gingerly daubing it with a cream.

Her 8-year old son, whom she is training to succeed her, watched intently. The cub waved a paw, growling softly.

In Europe, several countries have introduced restrictions on using animals in popular entertainment.

But Ms. el-Helw, who was raised alongside lion cubs at their family home, insisted that she loved her charges ''like my children,'' and said she could not even bear to watch animals attack one another in wildlife documentaries. ''I look away,'' she said.

The family's circus story started in the Mediterranean port of Damietta, Egypt, over a century ago, she said. Her great-great-grandfather was so enthralled by the Italian acrobats that performed for passengers on passing ships that he learned their tricks and passed them to his sons.

The family acquired its first lions in the 1930s. In the 1960s, they joined the National Circus.

That Ms. el-Helw comes from a long line of circus performers shows as soon as she steps into the ring.

''Sleep!'' she commanded, as a tiger dropped to the floor.

Then, as the speakers blared the theme from ''Jaws,'' Ms. el-Helw balanced a skewer with meat between her teeth, and presented it to a lion who snacked on it, licked his lips and strolled away.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/29/world/middleeast/egypt-circuses-lions-women.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/29/world/middleeast/egypt-circuses-lions-women.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Luba el-Helw is one of six female lion tamers working in Egypt. Despite reports of vicious maulings, she brushes off concerns about her safety. ''Lions can be easier to deal with than people,'' she said.

The National Circus, founded in 1966, draws mostly school groups and ***working-class*** families. At left, Ms. el-Helw lets her children play and shower with the lion Kiara. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HEBA KHAMIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 29, 2020

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[***The 25 Most Influential Works of Postwar Queer Literature***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68HN-M0F1-DXY4-X02J-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 10659 words

**Byline:** Kurt Soller, Liz Brown, Rose Courteau, Kate Guadagnino, Sara Holdren, Brian Keith Jackson, Evan Moffitt, Miguel Morales, Tomi Obaro, Coco Romack, Michael Snyder and June Thomas Kurt Soller is the deputy editor of T: The New York Times Style magazine. Coco Romack is the assistant managing editor of T: The New York Times Style Magazine.

**Highlight:** Six opinionated writers debate — and define — the state of L.G.B.T.Q. writing in order to make a list of the most essential works of fiction, poetry and drama right now.

**Body**

If there’s no single definition of what it means to be queer — a word whose meaning seems to shape-shift constantly, just like the culture around it — then there’s perhaps no consensus on what defines queer literature as a genre either. Still, one thing many queer people share is that we first discovered ourselves on the page. Often furtively, we read novels or recited poems or watched plays that seemed not only to speak exclusively to us, but also showed us a way of speaking about ourselves to others.

But among those works we sought out in school libraries or online, which have been the most influential in making and furthering queer culture? That was the question we posed to six writers — the essayist and novelist [*Roxane Gay*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html), the playwright and educator [*James Ijames*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html), the playwright and actor [*Lisa Kron*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html), the journalist and TV writer [*Thomas Page McBee*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html), the novelist [*Neel Mukherjee*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html) and the fiction and nonfiction writer [*Edmund White*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html) — who gathered over Zoom in early May for the latest installment of our T 25 list. Ahead of time, I’d asked everyone to nominate 10 or so works that we could discuss when we met, and we also exchanged some messages about the assignment’s parameters: We’d focus only on English-language literature (not in translation) that came out after the end of World War II, as queer life became less coded and began to flourish in the West, and we’d exclusively discuss novels, plays and poems (as opposed to, say, memoir or biography or other types of nonfiction — though this rule incited a whole debate within the debate). The writers also agreed not to select works by one another.

There was little agreement beyond all that — no surprise for a group of six spirited queers — and the shared desire to create a list that was less white, less male, less cis than those that’ve come before. Poetry, as it always does, spoke to different people in different ways, although everyone had concluded, by the end of the three-hour conversation, that they wanted to include a lot of it: Each panelist seemed to have a favorite collection, which they passionately persuaded the others to read or revisit. Trailblazers like [*James Baldwin*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html) and the butch icon [*Leslie Feinberg*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html) proved to be unignorable. So too was the underlying seriousness of this exercise (even if the disagreements themselves were lots of fun): In an era of new [*book bans*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html) and [*anti-L.G.B.T.Q. legislation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html), the works chosen below, which are presented more or less in the order they came up, and not ranked, are proof of queer folks’ endurance. Like previous generations, younger people might escape to these books to find joy and sorrow, sex and death, fuller knowledge of themselves and the history they share. — Kurt Soller

This conversation has been edited and condensed.

Soller: Many of you sent me notes about how you framed your nomination lists, so I thought we could start by talking about what queer literature even is right now.

Lisa Kron: One thing that’s striking is that there’s so much to choose from. I don’t know what it means to say “most influential” — particularly in queer culture, where things come from the bottom up. I started with, “Who were the people and what were the works that ignited my creative imagination and revolutionized my thinking?” As I did that, I realized, “Oh, these are all people working inside what I consider dyke culture.”

James Ijames: I was interested in literature that either showed me myself or that had values that felt particularly queer: care and tenderness, stuff like that. Also: Writers who’ve impacted my politics. [James] Baldwin and [Tony] Kushner immediately came to mind. Essex Hemphill. The literature of the AIDS era has been fortifying for me — to read how people survived.

Thomas Page McBee: I might be unique to this group in that I’ve lived multiple queer identities. I was excited to see “Stone Butch Blues” on [others’] lists because that book spoke to me in two bodies across time.

1. “Stone Butch Blues” by Leslie Feinberg, 1993

A lifelong political activist, Leslie Feinberg (who used the pronoun hir) devoted most of hir writing to exploring the complexities of gender. Hir first novel, “Stone Butch Blues,” which Feinberg made free to download from hir [*website*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html) before hir death in 2014, drew from hir experiences growing up in a Jewish ***working-class*** family in Buffalo. The book’s narrator, Jess Goldberg, who confounds her parents as a “child who couldn’t be cataloged by Sears,” runs away from home as a teenager, then finds refuge in the gay bars of Buffalo. She learns from the [*butches*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html) and femmes who safeguard those establishments, endures multiple sexual assaults during police raids, acquires and loses jobs in factories, goes on and off hormones and struggles with the loss of history she feels when passing as a man. Eventually, Jess returns to the question that shapes much of her life: “Woman or man?” The distinction, she discovers, is not always so clear. — Coco Romack

Roxane Gay: I read “Stone Butch Blues” when I was 17, and it was the first time I saw anything resembling butch identity. As a girl from Omaha — where I simply didn’t see anything queer — I just thought, “Wow.”

McBee: I thought a lot about works that have both a timelessness and a queerness to them. Although I feel like “queer" has come to mean something different today than what I once understood it to mean. To me, the old definition of “queer” was about resistance to assimilation. Today, it can still mean that, but it’s also a catchall term for the entire community.

Neel Mukherjee: I feel a bit of regret and some grief that the words “gay" and “lesbian” have fallen off the map, although “queer” is more expansive. I also feel nostalgic about the fact that an underworld used to exist and doesn’t anymore. That’s the trade-off between the growing acceptance of queer culture and queer culture being a subculture in the past (although it still remains sub- in a lot of places).

Gay: I was thinking about books that reflect the evolution of queerness and what has become possible. With someone like Audre Lorde, “Sister Outsider” was the book where I found out, “Oh, there are other Black lesbians. It’s not just me.” To see, both in her poetry and in her prose, that she was comfortable talking about anger, that she was comfortable talking about holding white women in particular to account — that was incredibly risky in her day. Frankly, it still is. That she was willing to take those chances is emblematic of what a lot of the best queer literature does: You see a writer doing something that might not work out in their favor, but they do it anyway.

Soller: Thomas, you chose Lorde’s “Zami: A New Spelling of My Name” (1982), which she calls her “biomythography.”

McBee: I picked what struck me as the most fictional, just to fit the parameters of the project, but I defer to Roxane here.

Gay: You could pick her cancer journals [she died in 1992], or any of her poetry collections, or any of the compendiums of her work. But “Sister Outsider” presents her worldview in her own words without any external analysis.

2. “Sister Outsider” by Audre Lorde, 1984

“Sister Outsider” is essentially [*Audre Lorde*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html)’s thesis statement, an amalgam of essays, speeches and interview text. The central tenets by which the poet, writer and activist sought to live her life — calling out the greed of a for-profit economy and the need for social justice — are laid out here in her precise, metaphor-rich language. In “Uses of the Erotic: The Erotic as Power,” she compares that erotic knowledge to a “tiny, intense pellet of yellow coloring perched like a topaz,” a kernel that she “would knead … gently back and forth.” As she notes in an interview with the poet Adrienne Rich, “When someone said to me, ‘How do you feel?’ or ‘What do you think?’ … I would recite a poem, and somewhere in that poem would be the feeling, the vital piece of information.” Lorde repeatedly stresses the importance, and the beauty, of her disparate identities as a Black lesbian poet and how the feminist and civil rights movements must acknowledge such differences in order to succeed. To read this book is to be reminded that questions about privilege and intersectionality are not new and that almost every conversation about them owes something to Lorde, who wrote in her poem “[*Who Said It Was Simple*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html)” (1973), “But I who am bound by my mirror / as well as my bed / see causes in colour / as well as sex / and sit here wondering / which me will survive / all these liberations.” — Tomi Obaro

Soller: We have to discuss these hybrid forms. Many of you emailed me various thoughts about memoir and autofiction. Roxane, I’m curious how you would characterize a book like “Sister Outsider,” because it’s many different things, most of which we’d consider nonfiction. For this list, we’re focusing on fiction, poetry, plays, performance. But how do you all feel about those constraints? What do you think queer literature specifically has to say with its hybrid forms?

Gay: I don’t think you can overlook nonfiction in talking about queer literature. Nonfiction was where we were first allowed to articulate our realities. It’s fundamental. Frankly, it’s more important than fiction and poetry. Nonfiction, hybrid forms, memoirs — these are the ways we were able to write ourselves into public consciousness.

Edmund White: I thoroughly agree. You know, what they call autofiction … Certainly, all the great gay French writers, like [Marcel] Proust and André Gide, they all were writing autobiographical fiction of some sort. Maybe they were disguising themselves, but still, they oftentimes used the word “I.” Once, on a debate stage, I was talking about [Ernest] Hemingway’s [1927] story “Hills Like White Elephants,” and I was saying that a heterosexual writer could assume that the reader had the same values as he did, and so he could use indirectness — it’s about abortion, yet Hemingway never uses that word — but that a gay writer like Proust had such unusual ideas that he had to spell them out for the general public.

Kron: This brings up the interesting idea of who writers are writing for. Are people writing to be apprehended by a mainstream audience, or are they writing within the subculture? To me, the greatest gift of being a lesbian is where it exists outside of things like patriarchy, capitalism, white supremacy: where it’s not knocking on the door, asking for admission, but firmly standing somewhere else, articulating what it sees. So while I think the term “queer” is appealing in its capaciousness, I always feel slightly wary of it because it’s so easily marketed and commodified.

McBee: With trans people, there’s a desire for our stories that’s often othering and salacious. I see a market demand for that [kind of] nonfiction because, so often, we’re hard to even imagine. Queer and trans people have, amazingly, taken that demand and subverted it, and that’s why those kinds of stories are so important.

Mukherjee: When did autobiographical become autofictional? Also, Roxane, the point you were making about how some of the greatest truths of queer culture and activism have been done in nonfiction … Oddly enough, queer fiction writers have long hidden behind persona and character to write about queer culture and about themselves. Ed was talking about Proust and Gide —

White: Willa Cather is a good example, too.

Mukherjee: Same with Damon Galgut. Ed put “In a Strange Room” on his list. Its three narratives are united by a first-person narrator called Damon, who is the central character. I remember interviewing Galgut once and saying, “Your character Damon” — and he stopped me and said, “No, that’s not a character, that’s me.” I thought to myself, “I’m trying to protect you here,” which is a very quaint protectiveness on my part. But it’s a very, very intense book — a masterpiece, actually.

3. “In a Strange Room” by Damon Galgut, 2010

Three ill-fated trips fill Damon Galgut’s short novel, the South African writer’s seventh. Its protagonist, Damon, wanders around Greece, southeastern Africa and India at three different stages of adulthood, endlessly fleeing home. Like its gay narrator, who recounts his itinerant journeys in a blend of first and third person — almost as though he were a stranger to himself — Galgut’s book resists easy categorization but is defined, above all, by Damon’s inability to connect with others. His first voyage, in which a chance meeting between strangers turns into a trek through Lesotho’s countryside, runs off course when Damon storms away from his companion, a German who fascinates and then frustrates. Damon’s second trip brings him close to Jerome, a Swiss beauty who’s constantly, comically chaperoned by his traveling companions. Partly thanks to fate, but mostly owing to indecision, the two fail to consummate their attraction: “I am writing about myself alone, it’s all I know, and for this reason I have always failed in every love.” (Fittingly for a novel about thwarted desire, there are no sex scenes.) The book closes with the protagonist looking after a suicidal friend in Goa: One moment, she is the charmer from their Cape Town days; the next, “the dark stranger has waxed to the full … the one who wants her dead.” She has locked herself inside the strange room of her mind, where Damon cannot step foot, despite his best efforts at intimacy. — Miguel Morales

Soller: Three of you nominated three different works by James Baldwin. Was that about, “I need to make sure I have James Baldwin on my list,” or were you thinking about the books themselves?

White: Well, “Giovanni’s Room” is about two white men, whereas “Just Above My Head” [1979], which I picked, has some of the most tender and beautiful sex scenes between Black men I’ve ever read.

Mukherjee: And yet “Giovanni’s Room” was a very daring book for a Black American exile to have written. It’s the first of its kind in some ways, and it holds that historical value, which makes it important.

Ijames: I always like when people of color write about white people — we know white people better than they know themselves.

White: Neel, you used the word “historical,” which is something we have to look at. There are entirely different periods: Before Stonewall [in 1969], queer writers were writing for a straight audience; after, we began to dare to write directly to gay readers. That’s the Rubicon that divides everything.

Ijames: In terms of Baldwin, I picked “[*Go Tell It on the Mountain*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html)” [1952]. When I read that book, I wasn’t yet aware of what my sexual identity was. But, my God, that scene where he talks about the piano player and how he could see the muscles of his legs through the fabric — that was something I knew I wasn’t supposed to have access to. It’s always stayed with me.

Mukherjee: I think we’ve all had that moment at a particular time in life — in adolescence — when we read about same-sex desire on the page and couldn’t get enough of it. Those scenes made us, I think. And the Baldwin book for me at that age was “Giovanni’s Room.” I mean, there were trashier books as well.

4. “Giovanni’s Room” by James Baldwin, 1956

In 1948, James Baldwin traded [*New York for Paris*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html). When we meet David, the narrator of the author’s second novel, he’s done the same. Baldwin hoped that the move might offer him space to write and a reprieve from American racism; David, a closeted white man, is trying to escape himself. One night while his soon-to-be fiancée, Hella, is away, he meets a handsome Italian barman, Giovanni, and, after an evening of furtive flirting and a shared breakfast of white wine and oysters, goes home with him. “Life in that room seemed to be occurring beneath the sea. Time flowed past indifferently above us; hours and days had no meaning,” David tells us of the beginning of their affair. Eventually, though, reality catches up with the couple, and the room starts to feel like a prison, at least to David, whose shame clouds his thinking and propels the novel to its tragic close. Yet for the reader, the book is clearly a cautionary tale about the cost of self-deception and the senselessness of shrinking from love. As one character tells David when he sees him holding back, “Love him … love him and let him love you. Do you think anything else under heaven really matters?” — Kate Guadagnino

Soller: Was there any impulse not to choose books that you felt were, for lack of a better word, obvious? “Giovanni’s Room” is a classic, no doubt.

McBee: Definitely. First, because I thought other people would pick them. But also because we’ve replicated all the structural dynamics that exist outside of L.G.B.T.Q. culture within it: In terms of the canon, we think about very white cis gay men primarily. That’s not Baldwin, whose inclusion in the canon is rare as a Black man. I’m also especially mindful of trans people — elevating the things we’re doing and keeping us in this conversation feels incredibly urgent to me.

Mukherjee: The canon’s necessarily backward-looking because some time must have passed for a book to have made it in. But it also should be forward-looking so it’s never closed off, making space for books like, say, “Nevada,” which I read only recently. Why didn’t people tell me about this book in 2013, when it first came out?

5. “Nevada” by Imogen Binnie, 2013

“Nevada” is that rare thing — a book that was published by an indie press (the erstwhile Topside) and reissued by an imprint of a major house (MCD x FSG Originals) just under a decade later, in 2022. Its snarky, cerebral heroine, Maria Griffiths, who is as likely to opine on James Joyce as she is on the New Jersey punk band the Bouncing Souls, and feels freest while dodging New York City traffic on her bike, decides that she’s “really good at being trans” but less adept at being emotionally present. After getting dumped by her girlfriend and fired from her job at a Manhattan bookstore that sounds a lot like the Strand, she heads west in search of self-knowledge. On her way through Star City, Nev., the almost-30-year-old Maria develops a fast if slightly uneasy friendship with James, a 20-year-old who reminds her of herself at that age. She’s not automatically taken up as the mentor she hopes to be, but the novel itself was embraced by readers — and writers — for being among the first to center the experience of a trans woman. “I felt invisible to the world at large and also invisible to the [queer] demimonde,” [*Imogen Binnie*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html) writes in her 2022 afterword, “so it was kind of a shout that I, and therefore we, exist.” — K.G.

McBee: I think any trans writer working today has read that book and been affected by it.

Mukherjee: It’s very smart, very funny. I wanted to ask those of you who’ve read it: What do you think is going on in that book?

McBee: She’s writing about being trans, right? And there is a kind of looping quality: You start to take a leap and then you pull back. We meet two characters who are trying to figure out who they are. Sometimes we see each other and we don’t feel reflected back. It captures such an ineffable, almost indescribable nuance of a certain kind of experience that’s so hard, I think, for people to understand who haven’t experienced it. That’s what good fiction does.

Soller: One of the things you’re also implying, Neel, is that it’s entertaining. Roxane, you had mentioned something similar at the beginning …

Gay: Often when we’re talking about literature, people treat it with a capital “L”: It has to be ponderous. But I think fiction has to be both enlightening and entertaining. It doesn’t always have to be funny. But we have seen throughout history that, often, people expect queer narratives to be grounded in misery, and that’s not always the case. We do know joy as much as we know suffering. I like narratives, like “Manhunt,” that reflect that.

6. “Manhunt” by Gretchen Felker-Martin, 2022

Men are monsters, infected by the T. rex virus, which turns anything with enough testosterone into a vicious, brain-dead killing machine. In what remains of New Hampshire and Massachusetts, Beth and Fran, two old friends and trans women, are forced to pick off the changed men in order to harvest their testicles, the best supply of estrogen around and their only means to keep from joining the plague of men. Gretchen Felker-Martin uses the horror genre to sharpen the life-or-death stakes for trans people, although, it turns out, the murderous men are the least of Beth and Fran’s worries. After having taken over the state of Maryland, hundreds of TERFs (trans-exclusionary radical feminists) are marching north to solidify their hold on the Eastern Seaboard. With men indisposed, TERFs take up the mantle of policing women’s bodies, forcing the protagonists to seek refuge in an elaborate bunker that doubles as a rich brat’s pleasure palace. Capitalism, unsurprisingly, has survived the end of the world, and here some folks are sold into forced labor — or thrown to the proverbial wolves. Early in the book, one character thinks of the new men, “Maybe this world is the one they’d always wanted,” but the same could apply to the cis women who now find themselves atop the postapocalyptic food chain, fatally mistaking comfort for safety. — M.M.

Gay: “Manhunt” is not cheerful. It’s a gory book set in the near future where the world has basically collapsed and trans people have to find ways of getting the hormones they need, even though there’s no longer a pharmaceutical industry. This is the kind of book that queer writers have been desperate to write forever and are rarely given the opportunity to because publishing is insistent upon narratives that fit its preconceived notions about what queer writing should look like. In that way, it’s like “Detransition, Baby.” I loved seeing that on other people’s lists because, you know, Torrey Peters, she went there. It was just irreverent, [referencing] so many things that queer people don’t necessarily want to talk about. And she made a story out of it instead of sitting and making the discomfort the only story.

7. “Detransition, Baby” by Torrey Peters, 2021

In [*Torrey Peters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html)’s debut novel, the main character, Reese — a white trans woman in her 30s with a “genius” for romantic drama — has nearly lost hope of being a mother when her ex, a man named Ames, invites her to co-parent the child he’s expecting with his new girlfriend, Katrina (who also happens to be his boss). The triangular will-they-or-won’t-they story that follows excavates the lives of Reese and Ames — who was once himself a trans woman, Amy — and, to a lesser extent, Katrina, whose experience as an Asian American cis woman leads her to reflect on the various ways that “women are made to feel that they don’t deserve to be mothers.” Together, these characters try to solve what Reese calls the “Sex and the City Problem,” a set of zero-sum life choices embodied by the television show’s four female protagonists that, “for every generation of trans women prior to Reese’s … was an aspirational problem.” The resulting story addresses discrimination and the ways in which individuals choose to care for one another when biology — and straight culture — fails them. At one point, a young trans woman whom Reese has “mothered” tells her to stop feeling so morose. “This, Reese reflects, is the other reason to be a mother — in whatever fashion motherhood comes your way — so when you’re old and alone and feeling sorry for yourself, your daughter will roll her eyes at your theatrics and bring you in from the cold.” — Rose Courteau

Mukherjee: I love Lisa’s inclusion of Alison Bechdel’s “Dykes to Watch Out For.” It’s funny and pokes fun at itself — and at lesbians — and there’s an element of play, whereas “Fun Home” [Bechdel’s graphic memoir, adapted by Kron and Jeanine Tesori into a 2013 musical] is such a bleak book in some ways.

Kron: Alison wrote “D.T.W.F.” for [more than] 20 years. It’s inarguably influential: She was one of the main drivers of creating a visible lesbian cultural presence. And she wrote it specifically for a lesbian audience.

8. “Dykes to Watch Out For” by Alison Bechdel, 1986

[*Alison Bechdel*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html)’s long-running comic “Dykes to Watch Out For” amassed a cult following soon after it was published in the feminist newspaper WomaNews in 1983, then syndicated as a biweekly strip. In 1986, Firebrand Books released the first book edition, offering a home for Bechdel’s cast of lesbian characters: friends who braid each other’s armpit hair at music festivals, amorous nuns with little hope of salvation and gloriously mulleted butches, rings of keys jangling from their back pockets. The satirical scenes call to mind soap operas — a strip titled “The Roommates: Part One” zeros in on the friendship between Flo and Jean, forged over a mutual passion for Audre Lorde and herbology, just as it begins to sour. “Tune in next time for more spine-tingling confrontations,” it teases. So nuanced are the depictions of lesbians, and women in general, that, in 1985, the comic gave rise to the Bechdel test, now a metric for measuring the representation of female characters onscreen. And though Bechdel put the series on hiatus in 2008, its influence has hardly diminished: This month, Audible began airing an [*audio adaptation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html) that features the voices of Carrie Brownstein, Roberta Colindrez and Roxane Gay. — C.R.

Soller: You’re talking in a way about pioneers, Lisa. There’s obviously lots of great contemporary work that’s built on the backs of people who’ve been doing this for decades.

Mukherjee: Such as Ed. He was a game-changer and I just want to acknowledge that.

White: Thanks. I wrote the first review in the Times of London of Alan Hollinghurst’s “The Swimming-Pool Library,” and I said, “This is the greatest gay novel by an Englishman.” But my favorite one by him is “The Folding Star” [1994]. We’re all so used to reading stories about tutors who fall in love with their students, like Henry James’s “The Pupil” [1891]. In this one, they actually have sex! And it’s very, very hot sex. But to me, the greatest gay comic novel is written by a straight man: [Vladimir] Nabokov’s “Pale Fire” [1962].

Mukherjee: It wouldn’t be a queer panel at all if we didn’t devote at least half our time to talking about hot sex. I give you that “The Folding Star” is the more beautiful book, especially the middle pastoral section. Hollinghurst’s such a great prose stylist. Very few people put together an English sentence like he does. But when “The Swimming-Pool Library” came out, it was like a thunderclap. The sex scenes are extended, numerous, graphic and stunningly done, with literary prose that never crosses over into the purple. That’s very difficult to do. He’s also uncovering something darker about the history of homosexuality in England and its eventual liberalization.

9. “The Swimming-Pool Library” by Alan Hollinghurst, 1988

By the time [*Alan Hollinghurst*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html)’s first novel was published, AIDS had devastated London, but the book is set just before the disease had taken hold in the city and therefore possesses, like one of the turn-of-the-20th-century Ronald Firbank novels favored by its narrator, the moneyed and myopic Will Beckwith, the “faint smell of lost time.” All of Will’s haunts, from Kensington Gardens to the Corinthian Club, a gym where men take gleeful stock of one another between sets and laps, teem with the possibility of sex to be had freely and without fear. Will’s attentions are diverted when Charles Nantwich, an older man who happens to have the remains of a Roman bath in his basement, asks him to be his biographer. Thus Will delves into an earlier period of gay life, one in which secrecy often acted as an aphrodisiac, via Charles’s diaries detailing his priapic days as a student at Winchester College and then Oxford, as a government official in Sudan and beyond. The pair turn out to have much in common, including upper-class backgrounds that ultimately fail to offer them full protection from prejudice and, less sympathetically, a tendency to fetishize men of color. Still, the book remains a richly wrought celebration of male pleasure, even as it emphasizes the importance of familiarizing oneself with the pain of those who came before. — K.G.

Kron: The idea of lesbians is that we’re sexless — that we’re just over here whispering to each other in French. [All laugh.] That’s one of the reasons I put [Patricia Highsmith’s] “The Price of Salt” [1952] and [Ann Bannon’s 1950s] Beebo Brinker novels on my list. Those books could be published because they were pulp. Lesbian sex could appear for male consumption, even though they weren’t actually for male consumption: That’s how they could get in under the wire and get published.

Mukherjee: Lesbian sex was never freighted with the kind of sex-equals-death thinking that became a default for gay men because of AIDS, of course. Hollinghurst gets away from that; he writes about sex as pure desire. But — and this might be a question for you, Thomas — where’s the hot trans sex?

McBee: Well, in the broadest sense of the trans umbrella, for those of us who picked “Paul Takes the Form of a Mortal Girl,” that’s a great example. That’s one of the queerest books, in both the classic and the modern sense. It’s very erotic. And the protagonist, we don’t really understand what their gender identity is (we might think of them as gender nonconforming). That’s actually part of what’s hot about the book.

10. “Paul Takes the Form of a Mortal Girl,” by Andrea Lawlor, 2017

Like a punk Ovid, [*Andrea Lawlor*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html), in their debut novel, writes of bodies changed into other forms. Paul, an undergraduate layabout and scrappy bartender at the only gay club in Iowa City, changes his body and his gender at will as he pursues paramours of every imaginable type. “He was an omnivore, an orange-hanky flagger, an aficionado of all-you-can-eat buffets,” Lawlor writes of their shape-shifting protagonist. The book’s movable feast follows Paul on his trail of peccadilloes, as he cruises the coffee shops, punk bars and libraries of his cozy college town, then on to a feminist music festival and finally on a trip across AIDS-era America in 1993. The book has many wry descriptions of the queer characters who seek one another out in small towns all over the country, but mostly it’s an account of the kind of hooking up that’s possible when desire gets unglued from fixed gender or sexual identities. Paul can become whoever he wants simply by thinking about it. Lawlor wants us to know that we can, too. — Evan Moffitt

Gay: As our understanding of gender expands, so do the possibilities for our sexuality. People of my generation and earlier often worried about disrupting the status quo — the work could seem a bit neutered because a lot of us thought, “They already think we’re a bunch of sex addicts.” It’s so important to see the sex part of our sexuality acknowledged, to do away with certain respectability politics and to [write about] the range of things we find hot. That can take many different forms because our understanding of sexuality is increasingly expansive. Every day I’m learning about a new sort of sexual expression and I’m like, “Oh, I’m so old.” But literature that reflects that is useful.

Soller: Should we talk about H.I.V./AIDS? James, you were the only one who picked “Angels in America.”

Ijames: I know! Maybe I’m gauche? [Laughs.] Being a playwright, you’re always looking for folks who’re doing what you want to do. Kushner — in addition to the politics and the queerness of his story — is just ambitious. It’s inspiring how big the world is, how expansive, how many different kinds of people there are in the play. No, it’s not very diverse in terms of race. There’s just Belize. But there’s this whole Mormon story that’s wild and very American. And there’s just something about the mysticism of the play and how it’s written and its scale that feels important to me. I don’t know if it’s the most important play written by a queer writer.

Kron: But definitely influential.

Ijames: There’s some genuinely beautiful writing and some slightly flawed politics in it. But I think that’s true of a lot of queer literature.

11. “Angels in America” by Tony Kushner, 1991

Practically from the moment it first appeared onstage in 1991, [*Tony Kushner*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html)’s two-part, 7.5-hour epic seemed destined to claim a prominent place in the American theatrical canon. Set primarily in 1985 and ’86, as H.I.V. ravaged New York’s gay community, Kushner’s play follows its lead characters on their intertwined, often hallucinatory journeys through grim apartments, hospital wards, Antarctic dreamscapes, a Mormon Visitors’ Center and a crumbling bureaucratic office in heaven, “a City Much Like San Francisco.” Unafraid of melodrama and camp, the play raged and philosophized with operatic wit and pathos. It was, as The New York Times theater critic Frank Rich wrote in 1993, “the most thrilling American play in years.” As ambitious in scale as in subject matter, “Angels in America” not only gave universal themes of hope, loss, progress and redemption an explicitly queer context, it put queerness itself at the center of the American story. — Michael Snyder

Gay: A lot of the writing around H.I.V. doesn’t age well. In the ’90s, when we were all in ACT UP, I don’t know that any of us thought the disease was going to be possible to overcome. Of course, the gay men in the conversation can speak more aptly to that. But all we did was go to funerals; it did feel like there was no hope and that the only way out was perhaps to engage in more respectability politics. It was so bad — I think the next generation has no idea how bad it actually was — and the literature reflects that.

Kron: I just remembered that one of the first things I thought I was going to put on my list was “The Normal Heart” [1985]. It was almost like Larry Kramer was a better playwright than he even had control over, in the way that he was able to see himself and his own limitations. One thing he captures is urgency, the acute sense of trying to get a response to the fact that your community is dying and the powers that be will not respond. I thought about that a little earlier when we were talking about Baldwin and Lorde, and then there’s the Zoe Leonard poem that I put on my list. These are writers who have resurfaced in the past several years because they’re speaking to where we are right now, culturally and politically.

12. “I Want a President” by Zoe Leonard, 1992

The New York artist [*Zoe Leonard*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html) devoted much of her artwork to the H.I.V./AIDS crisis, often lamenting the government’s seeming indifference to it. In the lead-up to the 1992 presidential election, after her friend, the poet Eileen Myles, announced a write-in campaign against the incumbent George H.W. Bush, Leonard composed the prose poem “I Want a President,” a wish list of character traits for the nation’s next leader. “I want a dyke for president,” it begins, followed by dozens of other attributes: a president who has experienced prejudice, illness and violence; “someone with bad teeth” who has eaten hospital food; “a president who has stood on line at the clinic, at the dmv, at the welfare office …” At first, the poem circulated among friends on loose-leaf photocopies; eventually, the art journal “LTTR” printed it on postcards. But it would gain even wider recognition years later thanks to another presidential election — days before the 2016 presidential election, Leonard wheat-pasted a 30-foot-tall copy of the text at the foot of Manhattan’s High Line. At an event hosted by the park, Leonard said she was both gratified and “utterly horrified” that two decades after she wrote the poem, it still had such relevance. “It’s a real call and a metaphoric one,” she told the audience, for “someone intelligent, experienced and compassionate.” But beyond that, she added, it demands us to rethink how we govern ourselves. — C.R.

McBee: I see Zoe’s poem on Instagram all the time — it’s something that people still rally around.

Kron: Our progress — and I say this with such pain — was based largely on assimilation: on the fight for gay marriage, on being recognized by corporations. But now we’re seeing all of that was built largely on sand. It’s so painful, right? It’s so painful. So who are the writers that are coming back up now? The ones who have an analysis and a worldview that we didn’t listen to in the ’80s, the ’90s, the 2000s.

Mukherjee: Ed, you were at the front line [of the AIDS crisis].

White: Well, I was late to [write about] AIDS, but I did eventually. I think it handed gay writers a great subject because it was about death and love. To go from Stonewall to the outbreak is a very fast cycle for a whole culture — being oppressed, then liberated, then exalted, then killed off is pretty dramatic.

Soller: Do you want to talk about the Thom Gunn collection you chose?

White: He was a great poet, but he seldom wrote about gay life until AIDS came along. He was quite a cool, analytic and distant writer, and then suddenly destiny gave him this tremendous subject matter. In the end, I think “The Man With Night Sweats” is his best book and one of the deepest feeling.

13. “The Man With Night Sweats” by Thom Gunn, 1992

The rhyming couplets and iambic pentameter within this volume might recall Ben Jonson or John Donne — both major influences on Thom Gunn — were it not for the verses’ unbridled eroticism. Greek mythology enabled Gunn, an English poet who was closeted until midlife, to meditate on the joys and heartbreaks of queer intimacy, such as in “Philemon and Baucis”: “Truly each other’s, they have embraced so long / Their barks have met and wedded in one flow / Blanketing both.” Even poems about zoo animals seethe with sex, like “The Life of the Otter,” in which the title creature’s genitals are described as “neat / As a stone acorn with two oak leaves / Carved in a French cathedral porch,” their “Potency / set in fur / like an ornament.” The book’s title poem, among its most haunting, describes a man dying of AIDS, soaking his bedsheets as life seeps out of him. The speaker laments how his pursuit of physical closeness — a fundamental aspect of his maturation — became the thing that would kill him: “I grew as I explored / The body I could trust / Even while I adored / The risk that made robust, / A world of wonders in / Each challenge to the skin.” Gunn makes that irony even plainer with another poem, “In Time of Plague,” delivering some of his most potent lines: “I am confused / confused to be attracted / by, in effect, my own annihilation.” — E.M.

Ijames: Hemphill’s poems saved my life. And you can’t find his book anywhere: It’s not in print. I somehow got my hands on a copy and then someone stole it, and I’ve just been working off a PDF of it for years.

14. “Ceremonies” by Essex Hemphill, 1992

Raunchy, raw and direct, the poems in [*Essex Hemphill*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html)’s “Ceremonies” represent an impatient call to action. As a Black gay man who had already lost several friends and comrades to AIDS, Hemphill knew he had no time to waste. “My life seems to be / marked down / for quick removal / from the shelf,” he wrote in “Heavy Breathing.” He dismissed polite petitioning for rights and desperate attempts to cling to respectability as distractions from the urgent work at hand. Eulogizing the Black writer and activist Joseph Beam in “When My Brother Fell,” he lashed out at the impractical sentimentality of feel-good projects like the AIDS quilt: “sewing quilts / will not bring you back / nor save us.” Hemphill’s poetry was written to be performed, as memorialized in Marlon Riggs’s film “[*Tongues Untied*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html)” (1989), but even on the page, the frequent pattern of hook, slow buildup, rapid intensification and climactic release is recognizably sexual. There are bodies in these poems, bodies the narrator appreciates, lusts after, enjoys and cherishes — “Ceremonies” is a declaration of love and, in spite of everything, hope. In “American Wedding,” he writes, “They don’t know / We are becoming powerful. / Every time we kiss / we confirm the new world coming.” The poem ends, “Long may we live / to free this dream.” Hemphill died of complications from AIDS at 38, three years after the book’s publication. — June Thomas

Mukherjee: I was surprised not to see W.H. Auden on anyone’s list but overjoyed when I saw James Merrill there. I kept thinking there’s something about Auden and Merrill — they’re both formalists, actually, and their formal range is dazzling. I agree with Ed that Gunn was the poet of the AIDS generation, but we forget that Merrill died of [complications from] AIDS, and the poems in his final volume, “A Scattering of Salts,” become very moving.

15. “A Scattering of Salts” by James Merrill, 1995

In 1995, one month after [*James Merrill*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html)’s death, came the publication of his valedictory volume, a “A Scattering of Salts,” arguably the greatest accomplishment of the poet’s five-decade career. Born into immense wealth (his father was a co-founder of Merrill Lynch), the writer infused his early poetry with a formal sophistication and then later, starting in the 1970s, an esoteric mysticism. In “A Scattering of Salts,” which is elegiac yet tactile, Merrill describes the thrill of meeting other men (“A stranger’s idle glance could be the match / That sends us all to blazes”); the indignities of hospitalization as a gay man in the ’90s (“Pills washed down with ouzo hadn’t worked. / Now while the whole street buzzed and lurked / The paramedics left you there, / Returning costumed for a walk in Space.”); the sensuality of light bulbs (“Feel for what it shone from, / Ribbed clay each night anew / Hardened to its mission: / Light for the likes of you.”); and the fleshy beauty of alabaster (“flamboyant, vaguely lewd / Honey-pink volumes flounced with lard / Like Parma ham, like the blown-up / Varnished nipple of a Titian nude.”). These poems are neither radical nor experimental — their queerness is subtextual as often as it is explicit — but those quiet currents of loss and desire only deepen the sense of recognition, like a stranger’s idle glance, sending every page to blazes. — M.S.

White: He was a tremendous influence on my life in every way — he gave me lots of money [through a foundation] that I survived on in the 1970s.

Ijames: Jericho Brown’s “The Tradition” is another that stays with me. He’s audacious in the sense that he’s always trying to manage and invent form. I don’t know a ton about poetry: I read it, but I don’t know how to talk very deeply about it. I know when it moves me, and that book I find very moving.

16. “The Tradition” by Jericho Brown, 2019

[*Jericho Brown*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html) often refers to himself as a love poet, and indeed, his third poetry collection, “The Tradition,” includes verses about ecstasy and longing. In “I Know What I Love,” he writes, “Some- / Times what I love just / Doesn’t show up at all. / It can hurt me if it / Means to … because / That’s what in love / Means.” But the book’s sweeping scope also encompasses themes of racism, sexual violence, H.I.V. and police brutality. Throughout, the Louisiana-born poet draws on mythology and history to dissect a world that often devalues the voices of Black gay men. As if trying to find a fresh way to be heard, Brown reveals a new form for five poems in the collection — his own invention, which he’s called “gutting a sonnet.” Simply titled “Duplex,” each one contains 14 lines in seven couplets and several repeated lines. “My last love drove a burgundy car. / My first love drove a burgundy car. / He was fast and awful, tall as my father. / Steadfast and awful, my tall father.” The format, which simulates the call-and-response familiar from blues and other Southern Black music traditions, lets each poem offer up several points-of-view at once. “I wanted a form that in my head was Black and queer and Southern,” Brown wrote shortly after the book was published. “Since I am carrying these truths in this body as one, how do I get a form that is many forms?” — Brian Keith Jackson

McBee: If anyone hasn’t read “Feeld,” it’s one of the most formally inventive and amazing books of poetry. It’s by a trans woman, Jos Charles, who wrote it entirely in [a kind of] Chaucerian English. You have to read it out loud to understand it. The fact that she’s trans and she’s working with these medieval structures, it’s obviously so subversive, this insistence within history to include us formally. There’s something provocative and exciting about that.

Mukherjee: I wish my nodding could be neon.

17. “Feeld” by Jos Charles, 2018

Trans women, Jos Charles has said, are often viewed as “technological, new, invented.” They aren’t, of course, but the language around them can be. The 60 poems in “Feeld” demonstrate this, reflecting on the experience of a transgender woman by using metaphors largely taken from the garden and the field (or “feeld”). Such naturalistic imagery is of a piece with the Middle English poetry this work invokes, as in the opening lines of its first poem, which finds the speaker browsing clothes at a shopping mall and navigating its women’s bathroom: “thees wite skirtes / &amp; orang sweters / i wont / inn the feedynge marte / wile mye vegetable partes bloome / inn the commen waye / a grackel inn the guarden rooste / the tall wymon wasching handes.” The anachronistic phrasing seems like Chaucer (the Wife of Bath in “The Canterbury Tales” [1387] provides an “anteseedynt” for “feeld’s” speaker) but is largely of Charles’s own design — inflected with internet and text speak, often phonetic, full of dropped letters in some places and extra ones in others. In blending old (or “aynchent”) traditions with newer ones, Charles revises a literary tradition that, indeed, has largely ignored the existence of that “grackel inn the guarden rooste.” — R.C.

Gay: Danez [Smith] is also just such an inventive poet. They have written so many outstanding poems that speak not only to queerness but to the Black condition, to what it means to be Black and alive and H.I.V. positive, to be all of those things in a world where Black life is increasingly endangered. There’s also this amazing thing they do [in their latest collection] where there are two titles — one for Black people, one for non-Black people. I think it’s reflective of what only queer poetry can accomplish.

18. “Homie” by Danez Smith, 2020

Chosen family — for queer people, often more of an imperative than a choice — is the central preoccupation of the poet [*Danez Smith*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html)’s “Homie,” an intention made clear from its title, etched in bubble gum letters on a lime-green cover. But that title is also a feint. “This book was titled homie because I don’t want non-Black people to say my nig out loud,” writes Smith in an introductory note. “This book is really titled my nig.” A diminutive form of that most potent of words, and a term of endearment among Black friends, it’s an apt title for this paean to friendship, the “first &amp; cleanest love.” In poems funny (“my man is more a concept than anything.”), mournful (“i miss them. all the dead. how young. how silly / to miss what you will become.”) and galvanizing, the speaker reflects on their loved ones and their losses, their romantic life, the realities of living with H.I.V., the shadow of depression, the temptation of suicide. With an ear for the subtleties of the language used to describe friendship — one poem employs different meanings of the word “dog” to tragic effect — Smith creates a powerful portrait of the Black queer community and the ways it saves itself again and again. The book was published in January 2020, just before the isolation of the pandemic would reinforce the need for such connection: “at the end of the world, let there be you,” writes Smith in “acknowledgments,” the collection’s last poem. “My world.” — T.O.

Soller: We could talk about poetry all afternoon, but I also feel like everyone keeps surfacing this idea of rediscovery. That seemed like a real animating spirit of your long lists.

White: There’s a book I’ve kept bringing up [over the years], but no one’s reprinted it [in recent decades] or seems to care about it. It’s Terry Andrews’s “The Story of Harold.” He was a children’s book writer, and this was written under a pseudonym because it’s such dangerous material. It’s about a bisexual sadist who has a part-time affair with a kind of crazy man who wants to be burned alive. The sadist also writes children’s books. It’s a book written in the early 1970s that would be forbidden today: He tells the whole story of his transgressive life in attractive terms to this child. It’s fascinating.

19. “The Story of Harold” by Terry Andrews, 1974

“We will have a lot of sex”: So the narrator promises in this orchestral saga of a bisexual children’s book writer with a boundless carnal appetite. Autofiction before the term was coined, the novel is by a man named Terry Andrews, who’s also its protagonist. Or is it pseudo-autofiction? Andrews was a pen name for [*George Selden*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html), best known for the children’s book “The Cricket in Times Square” (1960). This is not a children’s book. It’s a feverishly horny stepsibling to chimerical New York novels like Renata Adler’s “Speedboat” (1976): Terry’s adventures include flogging a married surgeon, seducing a Dubonnet-drinking widow and taking B.D.S.M. scenes with a suicidal welfare worker close to the point of no return. There is tenderness. It comes from the writer’s effort to console a lonely little boy with stories of a tiny man named Harold who has a limited supply of magic to fix people’s problems and from Terry’s love for the sacred and profane New York City — the baths, the Frick, the subway. Calling the novel “exceptional,” a New York Times reviewer also noted that it isn’t interested in “the crude irony of children’s book writer as ‘pervert.’ Terry isn’t a child molester”: “Once we get used to Terry … we see him as, if not ‘just another human being,’ a human being it would not be all that hard to be.” But the paperback, with illustrations by Edward Gorey, promptly went out of print. Somewhere between “The Phantom Tollbooth” and the Marquis de Sade, this isn’t a straight book, yet Terry, one of the “limbo people,” probably wouldn’t call it gay either. — Liz Brown

Gay: For my part, I think Robert Jones Jr.’s “The Prophets” is undersung. When I read it, I gasped many times. It’s about two gay men who have a loving and generous relationship during the slavery era. It’s one of the only books I’ve read about enslavement where the enslaved people not only hated their circumstances but were openly defiant — poisoning their enslavers, vengeful in ways that I think all of us understand and would love to see more of. Nobody’s just like, “I’ll get through it,” the way you see in a lot of enslavement narratives.

20. “The Prophets” by Robert Jones Jr., 2021

Same-sex love assumes grave risk in [*Robert Jones Jr.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html)’s first novel, set on a cotton plantation in Mississippi nicknamed Empty. There, two enslaved teenagers, Samuel and Isaiah, go about “working, eating, sleeping, playing” and making love “on purpose.” This last qualifier is remarkable within the sexual economy of Empty, where men and women are forced to propagate for the benefit of their master’s work force and, frequently, for his personal pleasure. When a fellow enslaved person — seeking to protect his wife from such brutality by currying favor with the owner — begins sermonizing the Christian gospel, he draws attention to Samuel and Isaiah, who in the eyes of others blend “into one blue-black mass, defined by the mistaken belief that it was a broken manhood coating their skin.” Taking many of its chapter names from books of the Bible (Deuteronomy, Judges, Psalms), the novel rotates among several perspectives, including that of a woman named Sarah, who remembers her birthplace “deep in the bush” of Africa, where gender was chosen and names assigned based on “how your soul manifested.” These overlapping narratives portray a system in which “everything that was learned had to be transmitted by circling the thing rather than uncovering it” and love becomes an act of resistance. — R.C.

White: I reviewed that book — it’s great.

Gay: He works in the vein of Baldwin, but also in a vein that’s all his own. I think it’s important to emphasize that we shouldn’t necessarily be looking for people to step into the shoes of other queer writers.

White: Bryan Washington, who wrote “Memorial,” is a good example of somebody who’s writing in an entirely new way. In bringing Japanese and Black characters together and exploring that whole theme, the language is incomparable.

21. “Memorial” by Bryan Washington, 2020

[*Bryan Washington*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html)’s debut novel is set up like a sitcom: Mike’s Japanese mother comes to stay with him and his boyfriend, Benson, who is Black. But the next day Mike has to fly to Osaka to visit his estranged, ailing father, leaving Benson and Mitsuko to fend for (and feed) themselves. Their prickly silence gives way to a hesitant alliance once Mitsuko enlists Benson’s help in the kitchen, preparing Japanese dishes like curry rice and katsu. Benson narrates the first and last sections of the novel while Mike takes the middle stretch; the baton-pass storytelling allows Washington to depict a relationship in its final throes, where neither party deserves blame for letting love run its course. “You shouldn’t make a home out of other people,” Mike tells an acquaintance, a notion the book complicates by showing how the couple’s romantic fallout allows their affection to flourish in other directions — proving all the possibilities that can come after heartbreak. — M.M.

Mukherjee: What do we even mean when we say something like “In a Strange Room” or “Memorial” is influential? They haven’t had time to be influential.

White: I would definitely plump for Bryan Washington because I think he’s an extraordinary writer, but Neel, as you say, maybe he’s too new to be “influential” …

Gay: New work can be just as influential as older work, especially when it comes to queer work, where so many voices were overlooked for so long. It’s important to include contemporary voices.

Mukherjee: These are all very young writers writing. The question of being overlooked doesn’t arise for them.

Gay: That’s not necessarily true. Young writers get overlooked all the time.

Mukherjee: But perhaps not for reasons of queerness. Or I would maybe idealistically like to think that.

Soller: James, you chose more plays than other people, which I appreciated.

Ijames: Taylor Mac’s “Hir” is just wonderful — he’s one of the most important contemporary theater makers right now.

22. “Hir” by Taylor Mac, 2015

The theater artist [*Taylor Mac*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html) (who prefers the pronoun “judy,” and you should read about [*why*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html)) structures “Hir” around a Great American Premise: a house disintegrating, a family at a boiling point, a prodigal son returned to find that the home he remembers no longer exists. The ghosts of Eugene O’Neill and Sam Shepard lurk in the corners of the dilapidated California starter house that belongs to the Connor family, but Mac has given the patriarchy glitter wigs. “Paradigm shift!” Paige Connor sings ecstatically as her son, Isaac, just back from military duty, reels: Max, the sibling he’d known as his sister, has come out as transgender (pronouns: ze/hir — pronounced, meaningfully, here), and his authoritarian father is now post-stroke, catatonic, and, courtesy of Paige, wearing lingerie and drinking estrogen milkshakes. Meanwhile, Paige herself — with her gleeful, brutal, world-building-and-world-destroying energy — is systematically deconstructing the house that’s done her so much harm (a house that, like all houses-that-will-not-stand in the American theater, is the country itself). “Don’t you pity him,” Paige snarls about the sad clown that was once her abusive husband. “We will not rewrite his history with pity.” But Paige’s tragedy is that, for all her reforming zeal, she’s too wrathful to write the future. That’s where Max comes in. When, at the play’s end, ze approaches hir helpless father with a gesture of care, “Hir” dares to hope that truly radical change may yet walk hand in hand with tenderness. Revolution is not revenge, but rather the everyday act of deciding who you want to be. — Sara Holdren

Kron: Taylor is a dazzling performer, but it’s been amazing to see the depth of his writing. (I use he, but Taylor uses a number of pronouns, including judy.) “Hir” is extraordinary because it’s about the wages of patriarchy on families, but particularly on men. I mean, talk about the scope of its ambition: It’s showing how inevitably the patriarchy is going to collapse, and it’s acknowledging what the cost is going to be to these men.

Mukherjee: Can we talk about whether queer literature needs to be written by queer people? Because I nominated a work — Anne Carson’s “Autobiography of Red” [1998] — that I feel is a very queer work written by a straight person. How does everyone feel about this? In a time of increasing debates about appropriation, I think the queer community has been remarkably liberal and expansive about welcoming nonqueer people who write about them.

Gay: I think that anybody can write about anything and oftentimes they can do so well.

Mukherjee: I’m so glad you said that.

Gay: The idea of appropriation only comes up when it’s glaring: You are not of us and you are trying to write about us. That said, I think if we’re going to make a list of the 25 most important queer works, straight people literally have everything else. They have enough. They’re good. We don’t need to die on this hill.

McBee: We don’t gate-keep; we’re queer people. But there is something important about naming the specific aesthetic that comes out of our communities.

Soller: Do queer works also need to be about queer people?

Ijames: That makes me think of Lorraine Hansberry, whose plays are not necessarily explicitly about queer people, but I feel there’s a queer lens to them. Now, I didn’t pick a Hansberry play for that reason.

Kron: I think that’s right about her lens. She’s vast, I couldn’t pick one play over another.

McBee: Not to put aside Lorraine Hansberry, but similarly, I thought a lot about putting [Truman Capote’s] “In Cold Blood” [1965] on my list, and I didn’t.

Soller: Is there anyone else whom people feel they’ll be thinking about all day if we don’t talk about it now?

Kron: There’s no Adrienne Rich on here either.

Mukherjee: What about Elizabeth Bishop?

White: She didn’t want to be called a feminist writer, much less a lesbian. She was like Susan Sontag in that way: Sontag didn’t want to be thought of as a lesbian writer because she thought that was second-class. She just wanted to be a writer.

Kron: Adrienne Rich and Susan Sontag started in the same circles. Rich claimed her lesbianism and Sontag didn’t, and we know the effect that had on their careers. I’m team Rich.

23. “Diving Into the Wreck” by Adrienne Rich, 1973

“Diving Into the Wreck” is a threshold book. During the years she worked on the collection, [*Adrienne Rich*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html), then in her early 40s, was immersed in feminist politics and had started to think about living as a lesbian, but she hadn’t yet slept with a woman. The book is full of doors, ladders and journeys, including the title poem’s strange descent into the depths, where “there is no one / to tell me when the ocean / will begin.” Three years later, in “Twenty-One Love Poems” (1976), she would write explicitly about lesbian sex, but here she is still preparing for the new world to come. In “Incipience,” she describes “imagining the existence / of something uncreated,” and in “From a Survivor” experiences life as “a succession of brief, amazing movements / each one making possible the next.” Not that it’s an entirely peaceful transformation. In “Waking in the Dark” she writes, “The tragedy of sex / lies around us, a woodlot / the axes are sharpened for.” Rich came to be revered by feminists, especially for her influential prose writing on topics such as motherhood and “compulsory heterosexuality,” without losing the support of the poetry establishment. — J.T.

McBee: Can I go to the mat for someone else’s pick? Roxane chose “Written on the Body,” by Jeanette Winterson, which I almost put on my list. The book is spellbinding, but Winterson herself has been an ongoing force.

24. “Written on the Body” by Jeanette Winterson, 1992

The narrator of [*Jeanette Winterson*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html)’s “Written on the Body,” whose name and gender are never disclosed, sees the hollow clichés of romance everywhere. A serial seducer of married women who “used to think of marriage as a plate-glass window just begging for a brick,” they are addicted to the exhilarating early stages of a relationship, at which point they typically pull the plug. That is, until they fall for Louise, whose red hair is as wild and entrancing as a swarm of butterflies. Suddenly, the habitual window smasher is desperate to gather up all the bricks. A cancer diagnosis causes an abrupt tonal shift in the book’s second half, when the narrator makes the ultimate romantic sacrifice, abandoning pleasure and comfort — and London — in a desperate attempt to save Louise. The fragmentary style of the novel is the literary equivalent of pointillism: examined close up, some of the dots seem random, misplaced, perhaps even ugly, but take a broader view and the effect is as mysterious as being in love. — J.T.

Soller: And where did we end up on “The Price of Salt”? It’s the oldest book anyone nominated.

Kron: Back then, there wasn’t [really] anything else out there. There was so little lesbian literature published for so long.

25. “The Price of Salt” by Patricia Highsmith, 1952

A year after it was first published — under the pen name Claire Morgan — “The Price of Salt” came out as a mass-market paperback with [*a deliciously pulpy cover*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html): A glamorous woman rests her hand on the shoulder of a younger one who lounges, improbably, on a chartreuse sofa perched in front of a rocky outcropping as a menacing-looking man looms in the background. Therein lies the love triangle at the heart of the novel, between Carol, a New Jersey housewife; her conniving husband, Harge; and Therese, a dreamy 19-year-old who longs to upend her boring city life. Therese is working at the doll counter of Frankenberg’s department store in Manhattan when she catches Carol’s gray eyes — “dominant as light or fire” — and is instantly drawn to her. As in Todd Haynes’s 2015 film adaptation, “Carol,” the two embark on a transformative affair, one that is complicated by Harge’s getting wise. For Carol, whom [*Patricia Highsmith*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/t-magazine/roxane-gay-tomato-soup-grilled-cheese.html) partly based on a former lover of hers, choosing to be true to herself means losing not just social ease but custody of her daughter. According to Highsmith, the fact that Carol chooses it anyway, relinquishing Harge for good, is what gives the book its power. — K.G.

White: That’s not a great book! I like Highsmith, but it’s not her best.

Kron: But it’s an influential book. Are we talking about books that we love or books that are important to the development of queer culture?

White: It should be both.

Gay: It’s a great book for many, many lesbians.

At top: JEB (Joan E. Biren) “Gloria and Charmaine” (1979) from “Eye to Eye: Portraits of Lesbians” (Anthology Editions); Clifford Prince King’s “Safe Space” (2020); Crawford Wayne Barton collection (1993-2011), Courtesy of the GLBT Historical Society; © Maika Elan; Lyle Ashton Harris’s “M. Lamar, Yerba Buena Center for the Arts, San Francisco, 1993” (2015), courtesy of the artist and Salon 94; Reynaldo Rivera’s “Girls, El Conquistador” (1997), courtesy of the artist and Reena Spaulings L.A./N.Y.; Melody Melamed’s “Gabe and Paul” (2017).

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[***Review: 'Song of Solomon,' by Toni Morrison***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63XF-TMY1-JBG3-63PN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Body**

SONG OF SOLOMON by Toni Morrison | Review first published Sept. 11, 1977

Toni Morrison's first two books -- ''The Bluest Eye'' with the purity of its terrors and ''Sula'' with its dense poetry and the depth of its probing into a small circle of lives -- were strong novels. Yet, firm as they both were in achievement and promise, they didn't fully forecast her new book, ''Song of Solomon.'' Here the depths of the younger work are still evident, but now they thrust outward, into wider fields, for longer intervals, encompassing many more lives. The result is a long prose tale that surveys nearly a century of American history as it impinges upon a single family. In short, this is a full novel -- rich, slow enough to impress itself upon us like a love affair or a sickness -- not the two-hour penny dreadful which is again in vogue nor one of the airless cat's cradles custom-woven for the delight and job-assistance of graduate students of all ages.

''Song of Solomon'' isn't, however, cast in the basically realistic mode of most family novels. In fact, its negotiations with fantasy, fable, song and allegory are so organic, continuous and unpredictable as to make any summary of its plot sound absurd; but absurdity is neither Morrison's strategy nor purpose. The purpose seems to be communication of painfully discovered and powerfully held convictions about the possibility of transcendence within human life, on the time-scale of a single life. The strategies are multiple and depend upon the actions of a large cast of black Americans, most of them related by blood. But after the loving, comical and demanding polyphony of the early chapters (set in Michigan in the early 1930s), the theme begins to settle on one character and to develop around and out of him.

His name is Macon Dead, called ''Milkman'' because his mother nursed him well past infancy. He is the son of an upper middle-class Northern black mother and a father with obscure ***working-class*** Southern origins. These origins, which Milkman's father is intent on concealing, fuel him in a merciless drive toward money and safety -- over and past the happiness of wife and daughters and son. So the son grows up into chaos and genuine danger -- the homicidal intentions of a woman he spurned after years of love, and an accidental involvement with a secret ring of lifelong acquaintances who are sworn to avenge white violence, eye for eye.

Near midpoint in the book -- when we may begin to wonder if the spectacle of Milkman's apparently thwarted life is sufficient to hold our attention much longer -- there is an abrupt shift. Through his involvement with his father's sister, the bizarre and anarchic Pilate (whose dedication to life and feeling is directly opposed to her brother's methodical acquisition of things), and with Guitar, one of the black avengers, Milkman is flung out of his private maelstrom. He is forced to discover, explore, comprehend and accept a world more dangerous than the Blood Bank (the ghetto neighborhood of idle eccentrics, whores, bullies and lunatics, which he visited as a boy). But this world is also rewarding, as it opens into the larger, freer sphere of time and human contingency and reveals the possibility of knowing one's origins and of realizing the potential found in the lives, failures and victories of one's ancestors.

Although it begins as a hungry hunt for a cache of gold that his father and Pilate left in a cave in Virginia, Milkman's search is finally a search for family history. As he travels through Pennsylvania and Virginia, acquiring the jagged pieces of a story that he slowly assembles into a long pattern of courage and literal transcendence of tragedy, he is strengthened to face the mortal threat that rises from his own careless past to meet him at the end.

The end is unresolved. Does Milkman survive to use his new knowledge, or does he die at the hands of a hateful friend? The hint is that he lives -- in which case Toni Morrison has her next novel ready and waiting: Milkman's real manhood, the means he invents for transmitting or squandering the legacy he has discovered.

But that very uncertainty is one more sign of the book's larger truthfulness (no big, good novel has ever really ended; and none can, until it authoritatively describes the extinction from the universe of all human life); and while there are problems (occasional abortive pursuits of a character who vanishes, occasional luxuriant pauses on detail and the understandable but weakening omission of active white characters), ''Song of Solomon'' easily lifts above them on the wide slow wings of human sympathy, well-informed wit and the rare plain power to speak wisdom to other human beings. A long story, then, and better than good. Toni Morrison has earned attention and praise. Few Americans know, and can say, more than she has in this wise and spacious novel.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/21/books/review/song-of-solomon-toni-morrison.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/21/books/review/song-of-solomon-toni-morrison.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY PS Spencer FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***In Upset, Dickens Is Elected Atlanta Mayor in Runoff***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:646H-YTY1-JBG3-624B-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Richard Fausset

**Body**

Mr. Dickens and Felicia Moore had advanced to the runoff election by beating former Mayor Kasim Reed.

ATLANTA -- Andre Dickens, a veteran City Council member, was elected mayor of Atlanta in an upset on Tuesday night after promising voters that he would help guide the city in a more equitable direction.

Mr. Dickens, 47, will step into one of the most high-profile political positions in the South after defeating Felicia Moore, 60, the City Council president, in Tuesday's runoff election.

In a first round of voting, Ms. Moore had bested Mr. Dickens by more than 17 percentage points. But on Tuesday, Mr. Dickens had about 62 percent of the vote when The Associated Press declared him the winner at about 10:30 p.m.

Mr. Dickens, a church deacon, delivered an upbeat, roof-raising victory speech to supporters, noting his humble upbringing in the ***working-class*** neighborhood of Adamsville, his engineering degree from Georgia Tech and the daunting problems he has promised to tackle.

''We are facing some generational problems in our city,'' he said. ''Atlanta is growing in population and in wealth. Businesses are flocking to the city, yet we still have people living on our streets. We have people working at our airport just to meet last month's rent. People are still fighting to stay in their homes in the city that they love.''

But if there was ''any city in the world'' that could face these issues, he added, ''it's Atlanta.''

The mayor's race unfolded at a time of promise and peril for Atlanta. The city's population grew 17 percent in the past decade, to about 499,000 people, and a number of major technology companies are expanding their footprint in the city in hopes of increasing diversity, given that nearly half of city residents are Black.

But like many U.S. cities, Atlanta has been struggling with spikes in a number of violent crime categories, including murder. In May, the city's political future was thrown into doubt when Mayor Keisha Lance Bottoms announced she would not run for re-election after a first term in which she was forced to deal with the coronavirus pandemic, a high-profile police shooting of a Black man, Rayshard Brooks, and racial justice protests that occasionally became violent.

As other killings rocked the city, public safety emerged as the key issue in the mayor's race, giving an early boost to former Mayor Kasim Reed, who argued that his experience made him uniquely qualified to solve the crime problem. But Mr. Reed, who left office in 2018, also brought significant political baggage, with numerous members of his administration convicted or indicted on federal corruption-related charges.

Mr. Reed's complicated past was a likely factor in the surprise outcome in the initial balloting, when Mr. Dickens nudged out the better-known Mr. Reed to secure a spot in the runoff against the first-place finisher, Ms. Moore.

Since then, Mr. Dickens and Ms. Moore endeavored to distinguish themselves in the nonpartisan race, despite the fact they are both liberal Democrats who share many of the same policy goals.

Both supported hiring more police officers, encouraging the reform of police culture and increasing Atlanta's stock of affordable housing.

Both candidates also opposed a controversial effort to allow Buckhead, an upscale, majority-white neighborhood, to secede from Atlanta, taking with it a substantial chunk of the city's tax base. This potential divorce, which has been fueled by crime concerns, would require approval by the Republican-dominated State Legislature and a subsequent vote by the neighborhood's residents. To derail the plan, the next mayor will need to deploy the bully pulpit and engage in nimble and strategic lobbying of Republicans who control the Statehouse.

During the campaign, Ms. Moore, a real estate agent, leaned into her reputation as a thorn in the side of previous mayors, including Mr. Reed. Before he left office, she argued that he should be held accountable for the corruption on his watch. She reminded voters that she backed legislation creating a new inspector general for City Hall as well as an independent compliance office, both in reaction to the scandals that dogged the Reed administration.

''I am actually like the outsider that's on the inside, fighting against corruption, fighting against the status quo, sometimes fighting the established order of things,'' Ms. Moore told a recent audience at a mayoral forum.

Mr. Dickens is the chief development officer at TechBridge, a nonprofit organization that uses technology to help amplify the work of other nonprofits. During the campaign he emphasized his role in increasing the minimum wage for city employees, as well as spearheading the creation of a city transportation department. Mr. Dickens, who was endorsed by Mayor Bottoms and former Mayor Shirley Franklin, argued in recent weeks that Ms. Moore had spent more time criticizing others than racking up her own achievements over the course of her long career.

''She does nothing and I do a lot,'' Mr. Dickens said in a recent interview.

Both Ms. Moore and Mr. Dickens are Black. Tuesday's election extends a streak of Black mayors in Atlanta since the election of Maynard Jackson in 1973 despite a recent influx of white residents that caused the share of Black residents to decline from a slight majority to 47 percent of the population, according to an analysis of 2020 Census figures.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/30/us/andre-dickens-atlanta-mayor-election.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/30/us/andre-dickens-atlanta-mayor-election.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Andre Dickens, a City Council member, was endorsed by the current mayor. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Nicole Craine for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***‘Philadelphia Freedom’ Isn’t Just a Gay Anthem. It’s a Pride Anthem.; Letter of Recommendation***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64FT-99R1-DXY4-X30B-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** Elton John’s song from 1975 resonates with me more than ever.

**Body**

Elton John’s song from 1975 resonates with me more than ever.

When most people think of [*“Philadelphia Freedom,”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SRYsWS5cJJs&amp;ab_channel=EltonJohnVEVO) a single refrain comes to mind: “I lo-o-ove you/Yes I do!” They’re hard-pressed to remember the rest of the words, because as with many of Elton John’s songs, the lyrics are kind of oblique. He wrote the song with Bernie Taupin in 1975 for [*Billie Jean King*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/17/books/review/all-in-billie-jean-king.html), drawing inspiration from her pioneering mixed-gender tennis team, the Philadelphia Freedoms, with a melody that nodded to the great Philly soul sounds of Gamble and Huff. But it took me decades to understand that the song wasn’t really about tennis, or Philadelphia — which is why it came to resonate so much more with me.

I was a 6-year-old ***working-class*** tomboy when I first heard “Philadelphia Freedom.” It figured prominently into the city’s 1976 Bicentennial celebration, then later at parades, sporting events, pretty much every occasion that called for civic pride. Yes, there are over-the-top flutes, horns and strings. Yes, the man singing about how freedom “took him knee-high to a man” wears glittery suits, sequined hats and bedazzled eyewear — and calls himself Captain Fantastic. But if you noticed any of that, someone would inevitably call you out: “What are you — gay?”

Throughout my teens, the same rule applied to Queen, Culture Club, Judas Priest and Frankie Goes to Hollywood. High school was an exercise in camouflage and self-erasure. The unspoken code was “don’t ask, don’t tell.” Then came AIDS and the outing of closeted musicians, movie stars and politicians. Outing was the opposite of pride, but at least the closet doors began to budge.

After I graduated, I landed at Hampshire College, a tiny experimental school in western Massachusetts that felt like an upside-down world. There it was so cool to be queer that even the straight kids tried it. We took classes in gender theory, queer cinema and representations of AIDS. Busloads of us went to D.C. for the 1993 March on Washington, where we were joined by a million leather daddies, drag queens, dykes on bikes, teachers, farmers, parents and kids. We joined AIDS activists for a “die-in” in front of the White House to memorialize those lost to the government’s inaction on the pandemic. We held hands, danced and flirted with strangers. Elton had come out. Billie Jean was taking ownership of her identity. I started to hear “Philadelphia Freedom” differently, letting myself experience the song as the wink it was intended to be.

Within the space of a few years, the world appeared to be catching up. Celebrities became self-declared queer icons. “Gayborhoods” sprang up in cities and towns across America. In 1999, my girlfriend and I had a commitment ceremony in Washington, then a Massachusetts marriage in 2004 and a Connecticut civil union in 2007, which was eventually recognized as marriage in every state. Rainbow flags went mainstream, even corporate. It seemed like progress — but when we had kids, things changed.

My wife is cisgender. I’m genderqueer. Strangers would often stop us on the street to tell us how cute our kids were, then look at me and ask quizzically, “Are you the … ? ” Things only got worse when we moved to a short-term rental in a suburb in Westchester County, N.Y., where we were the only visible two-mom family. The problem wasn’t that I didn’t look like my kids’ mom — it was that I didn’t look like anyone’s mom.

An athleisure army of other mothers stared me down at school visits, tracking my movements en route to parent-teacher conferences and classroom celebrations. Sometimes they asked me what my husband did. More often they smiled tensely, as it wasn’t clear if I had one or was one. I discovered that visibility is complicated — it’s not only what you reveal but what others are willing to see.

So when my son’s second-grade teacher sent out an email to parents asking for volunteers to give presentations about our hometowns, I said yes. Standing in front of a classroom filled with 6- and 7-year-olds, I started clicking through slides of Independence Hall, the Liberty Bell and “Rocky.” The kids weren’t connecting; they just sat there fidgeting. But then I pulled up a photo of Billie Jean King and Elton John and started blasting “Philadelphia Freedom” from my laptop.

When the first bars rang out and Elton sang, “I used to be a rolling stone, you know/If the cause was right,” I didn’t know what would happen next. But the kids started dancing. So did the teacher. Of course, no one caught the rest of the words, but Billie Jean was right when she said it’s the feeling of freedom people hear in the song that matters most.

Without Billie Jean King, there is no [*Megan Rapinoe*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/07/29/magazine/megan-rapinoe-sports-politics.html). Without Elton John, there is no [*Lil Nas X.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/07/magazine/lil-nas-x.html) We still have a lot of work to do, but equality isn’t achieved simply by playing the game. It’s done by showing up, even when the court isn’t ready for us. That is why I see “Philadelphia Freedom” not simply as a gay anthem, but a pride anthem. It’s a song about what it feels like when we manifest our truest, fullest and freest selves.

The first time I heard it, I was the same age as these kids. Maybe some of them will grow up to be queer or genderqueer, and in some hazy way, maybe they’ll remember the day at school when they experienced a tiny flicker of affirmation. Others will just remember the music and the pretzels I handed out at the end. That’s OK, too.

Allyson McCabe is a music journalist based in New York.

PHOTO: A musical education in equality and acceptance. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JUSTINE KURLAND; HIGHER PICTURES GENERATION)

**Load-Date:** January 12, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Andre Dickens, a Veteran City Council Member, Is Elected Mayor of Atlanta***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:646H-8CK1-DXY4-X0S6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 30, 2021 Tuesday 08:33 EST

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 922 words

**Byline:** Richard Fausset

**Highlight:** Mr. Dickens and Felicia Moore had advanced to the runoff election by beating former Mayor Kasim Reed.

**Body**

Mr. Dickens and Felicia Moore had advanced to the runoff election by beating former Mayor Kasim Reed.

ATLANTA — Andre Dickens, a veteran City Council member, was elected mayor of Atlanta in an upset on Tuesday night after promising voters that he would help guide the city in a more equitable direction.

Mr. Dickens, 47, will step into one of the most high-profile political positions in the South after defeating Felicia Moore, 60, the City Council president, in Tuesday’s runoff election.

[*In a first round of voting*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/04/us/politics/atlanta-mayor-runoff-felicia-moore.html), Ms. Moore had bested Mr. Dickens by more than 17 percentage points. But on Tuesday, Mr. Dickens had about 62 percent of the vote when The Associated Press declared him the winner at about 10:30 p.m.

Mr. Dickens, a church deacon, delivered an upbeat, roof-raising victory speech to supporters, noting his humble upbringing in the ***working-class*** neighborhood of Adamsville, his engineering degree from Georgia Tech and the daunting problems he has promised to tackle.

“We are facing some generational problems in our city,” he said. “Atlanta is growing in population and in wealth. Businesses are flocking to the city, yet we still have people living on our streets. We have people working at our airport just to meet last month’s rent. People are still fighting to stay in their homes in the city that they love.”

But if there was “any city in the world” that could face these issues, he added, “it’s Atlanta.”

The mayor’s race unfolded at a time of promise and peril for Atlanta. The city’s population grew 17 percent in the past decade, to about 499,000 people, and a number of major technology companies are expanding their footprint in the city in hopes of increasing diversity, given that nearly half of city residents are Black.

But like many U.S. cities, Atlanta has been struggling with spikes in a number of [*violent crime categories*](https://www.atlantapd.org/home/showpublisheddocument/4468/637728270506230000), including murder. In May, the city’s political future was thrown into doubt when Mayor Keisha Lance Bottoms [*announced she would not run for re-election*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/06/us/keisha-lance-bottoms-atlanta-mayor.html) after a first term in which she was forced to deal with the coronavirus pandemic, [*a high-profile police shooting of a Black man*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/rayshard-brooks-what-we-know.html), Rayshard Brooks, and racial justice protests that occasionally became violent.

As other killings rocked the city, [*public safety emerged as the key issue*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/28/us/atlanta-mayoral-election-kasim-reed.html) in the mayor’s race, giving an early boost to former Mayor Kasim Reed, who argued that his experience made him uniquely qualified to [*solve the crime problem*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/07/us/covid-crime-keisha-lance-bottoms.html). But Mr. Reed, who left office in 2018, also brought significant political baggage, with numerous members of his administration convicted or indicted on federal corruption-related charges.

Mr. Reed’s complicated past was a likely factor in [*the surprise outcome in the initial balloting*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/11/02/us/elections/results-atlanta-mayor.html), when Mr. Dickens nudged out the better-known Mr. Reed to secure a spot in the runoff against the first-place finisher, Ms. Moore.

Since then, Mr. Dickens and Ms. Moore endeavored to distinguish themselves in the nonpartisan race, despite the fact they are both liberal Democrats who share many of the same policy goals.

Both supported hiring more police officers, encouraging the reform of police culture and increasing Atlanta’s stock of affordable housing.

Both candidates also opposed a controversial effort to allow Buckhead, an upscale, majority-white neighborhood, to secede from Atlanta, taking with it a substantial chunk of the city’s tax base. This potential divorce, which has been fueled by crime concerns, would require approval by the Republican-dominated State Legislature and a subsequent vote by the neighborhood’s residents. To derail the plan, the next mayor will need to deploy the bully pulpit and engage in nimble and strategic lobbying of Republicans who control the Statehouse.

During the campaign, Ms. Moore, a real estate agent, leaned into her reputation as a thorn in the side of previous mayors, including Mr. Reed. Before he left office, she argued that he should be held accountable for the corruption on his watch. She reminded voters that she backed legislation creating a new inspector general for City Hall as well as an independent compliance office, both in reaction to the scandals that dogged the Reed administration.

“I am actually like the outsider that’s on the inside, fighting against corruption, fighting against the status quo, sometimes fighting the established order of things,” Ms. Moore told a recent audience at a mayoral forum.

Mr. Dickens is the chief development officer at TechBridge, a nonprofit organization that uses technology to help amplify the work of other nonprofits. During the campaign he emphasized his role in increasing the minimum wage for city employees, as well as spearheading the creation of a city transportation department. Mr. Dickens, who was endorsed by Mayor Bottoms and former Mayor Shirley Franklin, argued in recent weeks that Ms. Moore had spent more time criticizing others than racking up her own achievements over the course of her long career.

“She does nothing and I do a lot,” Mr. Dickens said in a recent interview.

Both Ms. Moore and Mr. Dickens are Black. Tuesday’s election extends a streak of Black mayors in Atlanta since the [*election of Maynard Jackson*](https://www.todayingeorgiahistory.org/tih-georgia-day/maynard-jackson-elected/#:~:text=In%201973%20he%20took%20on,He%20would%20serve%20three%20terms.) in 1973 despite a recent influx of white residents that caused the share of Black residents to decline from a slight majority to 47 percent of the population, [*according to an analysis*](https://www.11alive.com/article/news/local/census-no-more-black-majority-in-atlanta/85-645bed51-b9bd-4263-bbd3-40c1a97ded61) of 2020 Census figures.

PHOTO: Andre Dickens, a City Council member, was endorsed by the current mayor. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Nicole Craine for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 1, 2021

**End of Document**



[***With Few Able and Fewer Willing, Forces Lack Recruits***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65Y6-2841-DXY4-X32B-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 17, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 14

**Length:** 1427 words

**Byline:** By Dave Philipps

**Body**

Fighting headwinds from the pandemic, the tight labor market and demographic shifts, the armed forces may fall further short of enlistment quotas this year than they have in decades.

FOUNTAIN, Colo. -- The local Army recruiting station was empty. The normally reliable recruiting grounds at the nearby Walmart were a bust. With the Army still thousands of soldiers short of its recruiting goal, the station commander, Sgt. First Class James Pulliam, dressed head to toe in camouflage, scanned a strip-mall parking lot for targets.

He spotted a young woman getting out of a car, and put on his best salesman smile.

''Hey, how'd you know I was going to be here today!'' the sergeant said with an affable Carolina drawl, as if greeting an old friend. ''I'm going to help put you in the Army!''

These are tough times for military recruiting. Almost across the board, the armed forces are experiencing large shortfalls in enlistments this year -- a deficit of thousands of entry-level troops that is on pace to be worse than any since just after the Vietnam War. It threatens to throw a wrench into the military's machinery, leaving critical jobs unfilled and some platoons with too few people to function.

Covid-19 is part of the problem. Lockdowns during the pandemic have limited recruiters' ability to forge bonds face to face with prospects. And the military's vaccine mandate has kept some would-be troops away.

The current white-hot labor market, with many more jobs available than people to fill them, is also a factor, as rising civilian wages and benefits make military service less enticing.

But longer-term demographic trends are also taking a toll. Less than a quarter of young American adults are physically fit to enlist and have no disqualifying criminal record, a proportion that has shrunk steadily in recent years. And shifting attitudes toward military service mean that now only about one in 10 young people say they would even consider it.

To try to counter those forces, the military has pushed enlistment bonuses as high as $50,000, and is offering ''quick ship'' cash of up to $35,000 for certain recruits who can leave for basic training in 30 days. To broaden the recruiting pool, the service branches have loosened their restrictions on neck tattoos and other standards. In June, the Army even briefly dropped its requirement for a high school diploma, before deciding that was a bad move and rescinding the change.

The Army is the largest of the armed forces, and the recruiting shortfall is hitting it the hardest. As of late June, it had recruited only about 40 percent of the roughly 57,000 new soldiers it wants to put in boots by Sept. 30, the end of the fiscal year.

So Sergeant Pulliam, 41, a helicopter mechanic who turned to recruiting five years ago, was hunting for anyone who might want to join, even if they did not know it yet.

Like many soldiers who make recruiting their career, he believed in what he was selling because he knew what Army service had done for him. Before he enlisted in 2012, he was a 31-year-old warehouse worker in North Carolina, working extra shifts to support his three children. A year later, he was working on AH-64 Apaches, with his housing and education paid for by the Army.

''It changed my entire life,'' he said. ''And that's the gift I have to give to other people. You just have to find the people that need it.'' He chuckled and added, ''That ain't always easy.''

The young woman in the strip-mall parking lot was on her way to get a pizza, and looked confused when the tall man in green began pitching her on the benefits of serving her country. She eventually apologized politely and said she could not join up, gesturing to an insulin pump clipped to her shorts.

The sergeant made a mental note: diabetic, not fit to serve. But he did not give up.

''OK, well, just give me a name -- one number I can call, right now,'' he pressed. ''You've got to know someone who might want to join. One number, and I'll leave you alone.''

Seconds later, he was on the phone with one of the woman's friends. ''She says you want to join the Army,'' the sergeant said, as if he were announcing the winning Powerball numbers. ''Where you work? I can meet you when you get done.''

The sergeant paused, turned and said, ''Dude just hung up on me!''

Moments later, the friend was calling the woman's cellphone. Sergeant Pulliam smiled and leaned toward her conspiratorially. ''Wouldn't it be weird if I answered?'' he said. ''It'd be like I was a Jedi recruiter. Let me take this one.''

The woman giggled as the sergeant held her phone up and announced that he was ready to give the friend a second chance. The friend hung up again.

The other branches are not having any easier of a time. The Navy and Marine Corps do not release recruiting figures before the end of the fiscal year, a spokesman said, but both have acknowledged that it will be hard for them to meet quotas this year.

Even the Air Force, which has rarely had trouble attracting talent in the past, is about 4,000 recruits short of the level it typically reaches by midsummer.

''Bottom line, up front, we are in a week-to-week dogfight,'' said Maj. Gen. Edward Thomas Jr., commander of the Air Force Recruiting Service. ''We are growing hopeful that we may be able to barely make this year's mission, but it's uncertain.''

General Thomas said the short-term problem of Covid-19 kept recruiters away from county fairs, street festivals and their most productive hunting grounds, high schools. The relationships that recruiters were not able to cultivate face to face during the pandemic's early stages, he said, mean there is now a drought of graduates signing on the dotted line.

A modest recruiting bump from snappy ads the service ran before screenings of ''Top Gun: Maverick'' helped a bit, he said. But the general pointed to larger, longer-term concerns about the shrinking pool of young Americans who are both able and willing to serve. In recent years, the Pentagon has found that about 76 percent of adults ages 17 to 24 are either too obese to qualify or have other medical issues or criminal histories that would make them ineligible to serve without a waiver.

And what the military calls propensity -- the share of young adults who would consider serving -- has fallen steadily for several years. It stood at 13 percent before the pandemic began, General Thomas said, but is now 9 percent.

''There are just lower levels of trust with the U.S. government and the military,'' he said.

Of course, maintaining one of the world's largest militaries entirely with volunteers has never been easy, and this is not the first time in the 49 years since the United States ended the draft that recruitment has fallen short.

When civilian jobs are plentiful, as they are now, the military tries to compete using two tactics: Sweetening the deal with signing bonuses, better pay and other enticements, and lowering standards a bit to enlist people who might not otherwise qualify.

The military has also adapted by downsizing. The number of active-duty service members is now about half of what it was in the 1980s, and is projected to keep decreasing.

That makes for smaller, easier-to-meet quotas, recruiters say, but it also diminishes the military's most reliable advertising tool: its people. Research has repeatedly shown that young adults who know someone who has served -- a parent, a coach, a teacher -- are more likely to enlist than those who do not.

That pattern has made the armed forces something of a family business, and led to some communities, many of them in the Southeast, supplying a disproportionate share of recruits. But even in those kinds of communities, recruiting has been tough this year.

The city of Fountain, a few miles from Fort Carson, is a patchwork of ***working-class*** neighborhoods with strong military ties. But the recruiting station here has not met its goals for three months.

On a recent evening, Sergeant Pulliam met with six prospective recruits at a park for a weekly workout of push-ups and situps. In the group were three recent high school graduates who had been planning for years to join; a young woman trying to get away from a home life she did not want to talk about; and a 26-year-old man named Francisco Borja, whose father had been in the Army.

Mr. Borja had tried to join up before but was rejected because of poor eyesight. He was hoping the Army would take him this time around.

''I want to do it for my family, my kids,'' he said. ''To better our lives.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/14/us/us-military-recruiting-enlistment.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/14/us/us-military-recruiting-enlistment.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Army recruiters in a Walmart in Colorado. Recruiters visit shopping centers to look for young people who might enlist.

Juniper Cristan, left, and Melody Orman were working at a sandwich shop when Army recruiters spoke to them.

When Kailee Alvarado, right, turned out to be ineligible to enlist, Sgt. First Class James Pulliam tried cold-calling her friend.

The Army's Future Soldier Training program allows recruits to enlist in the Army and test for different occupations before starting basic training.

Sergeant Pulliam held a meeting with recruiters before they went out into the community searching for prospects. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MICHAEL CIAGLO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 17, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Let’s Have Fewer Cancellations. Let People Take Their Lumps, Then Move On.; John McWhorter***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:664T-4XC1-JBG3-64J3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 12, 2022 Friday 09:17 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1683 words

**Byline:** John McWhorter

**Highlight:** The default should be forbearance for those who’ve breached woke etiquette.

**Body**

Paul Laurence Dunbar was perhaps the pre-eminent Black poet of the era after Reconstruction. In a new [*biography*](https://www.amazon.com/Paul-Laurence-Dunbar-8211-First/dp/0691150524/ref=asc_df_0691150524/?tag=hyprod-20&amp;linkCode=df0&amp;hvadid=564755881819&amp;hvpos=&amp;hvnetw=g&amp;hvrand=2562221654291624846&amp;hvpone=&amp;hvptwo=&amp;hvqmt=&amp;hvdev=c&amp;hvdvcmdl=&amp;hvlocint=&amp;hvlocphy=9004283&amp;hvtargid=pla-1598397394507&amp;psc=1), the Princeton University English professor Gene Andrew Jarrett takes Dunbar’s rather glum, shortish life and pulls off a book that pulls you along like an open bag of potato chips; for the first 100 or so pages, I could barely put it down. But there’s one thing that jars like a wrong note every time it comes up: Dunbar regularly and casually referred to Black people of a lower social class than his with the N-word. An example: “I dressed at the hall dressing room in all clean linen, but had to send a [N-word] out for a standing collar because mine were all lay-downs.”

Sadly, this wasn’t atypical for more fortunate Black people of the era. Dunbar’s erudite and accomplished wife, Alice Dunbar Nelson, also used the word freely in their letters. The mother of the late-19th- and early-20th-century Black composer and conductor Will Marion Cook [*used the word*](https://books.google.com/books?id=Gxl2BgAAQBAJ&amp;pg=PA106&amp;lpg=PA106&amp;dq=%22will+marion%22+mother+nigger&amp;source=bl&amp;ots=Scds6fnxCi&amp;sig=ACfU3U1pS9NWfsNoNGygjdOcRq2XqoncRg&amp;hl=en&amp;sa=X&amp;ved=2ahUKEwjG1KaRl7X5AhVkElkFHdlkAcwQ6AF6BAgSEAM#v=onepage&amp;q=%22will%20marion%22%20mother%20nigger&amp;f=false) in dismay at her classically trained son’s pursuing popular music with sometimes salty lyrics.

That kind of open classism — particularly when directed by middle- and upper-class Black people of the Victorian era toward ***working-class*** Black people — can be startling for contemporary readers. Today, for a well-heeled Black person to denigrate a less well-off Black person in this way would be deemed malicious at worst or elitist respectability politics at best.

Knowing this about Dunbar might sour someone’s opinion of him as an individual, but his use of the N-word and the sentiment behind it are unlikely to reduce his stature as a literary figure. And almost no one would consider this as grounds for a retroactive reckoning, reconsideration or, yes, cancellation of the kind to which the legacies of various historical figures are now subject. If for no other reason, then probably because his is a case of intra-Black offense being given.

One can quibble about what being canceled really means; the answer probably lies somewhere between Woodrow Wilson’s name being [*removed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/27/nyregion/princeton-university-woodrow-wilson.html) from Princeton’s public policy school and Gina Carano being [*dropped*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/11/arts/television/gina-carano-lucasfilm.html) from the cast of “The Mandalorian.” But with Dunbar, it’s hard to imagine anyone kicking up much dust or writing, let’s say, a think-piece asking us to affix his condescension toward fellow Black people to him like a Homeric epithet, nullifying or adulterating his intellectual contributions.

That’s a good thing. We should be able to evaluate various figures, past and present, by noting their indecorous or hateful views and continuing to appreciate, even celebrate, their achievements without making them candidates for cancellation. And Dunbar’s case gets me thinking about people with less immediately dismissible stains on their records for whom the almost recreational hostility of cancel culture has held off.

Being Black and a woman seems to discourage the mob, for example. And my point, to be very clear, isn’t that Black women wrongly benefit from some kind of special pleading. It’s that, on the contrary, the forbearance that’s been extended to a number of prominent Black women in recent times should be the norm.

The Pulitzer Prize-winning novelist Alice Walker has produced writing and made statements that are readily interpreted as [*antisemitic*](https://www.vox.com/culture/2018/12/20/18146628/alice-walker-david-icke-anti-semitic-new-york-times), and while there have been a few protests and disinvitations and criticism aplenty, [*no real movement has arisen*](https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2022/04/alice-walker-anti-semitism-new-yorker-essay/629711/) to demand that her artistic achievements be viewed through this prism. As The Atlantic’s Caitlin Flanagan [*argued*](https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2022/04/alice-walker-anti-semitism-new-yorker-essay/629711/), Walker has been treated rather “gently” about this issue, specifically in a New Yorker article written this past spring, whereas few could imagine similarly gentle treatment of J.K. Rowling for views many interpret as transphobic. Flanagan notes that in contrast, in 2020 The New Yorker asked, about another literary figure, “How Racist Was Flannery O’Connor?”

A few weeks after apologizing for her anti-Israel “[*Benjamins*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2019/02/11/its-all-about-benjamins-baby-ilhan-omar-again-accused-anti-semitism-over-tweets/)” tweet in 2019, Representative Ilhan Omar of Minnesota got the chance, in the pages of The Washington Post, to [*clarify her stance*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/ilhan-omar-we-must-apply-our-universal-values-to-all-nations-only-then-will-we-achieve-peace/2019/03/17/0e2d66fc-4757-11e9-aaf8-4512a6fe3439_story.html) on the Israel-Palestinian conflict and remains a hero to many on the political left; this week, she won her Democratic primary.

In 2015 the actress Phylicia Rashad said of her former co-star Bill Cosby’s accusers, “[*Forget these women*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/life/people/2015/01/07/phylicia-rashad-on-cosby-abuse-claims-forget-these-women/21376131/).” Last year, when Cosby’s sexual assault conviction was overturned, she tweeted, “FINALLY!!!!” before deleting it, [*tweeting a walk-back*](https://twitter.com/PhyliciaRashad/status/1410336268995776518) and [*apologizing*](https://www.cnn.com/2021/07/02/us/phylicia-rashad-howard-letter/index.html) to the Howard University community. She remains the dean of Howard’s college of fine arts.

The MSNBC host Joy Reid was revealed to have written homophobic blog posts in the aughts, and her later attempts to explain them away [*weren’t terribly convincing*](https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-43936042). This blotted her record, but after a brief outcry, her career as a progressive oracle on prime-time TV remains intact.

Contrast Reid’s situation to the Emmy-winning actress Roseanne Barr being fired from the sitcom she starred in [*because of a racially demeaning tweet*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/29/business/media/roseanne-barr-offensive-tweets.html) about the former White House adviser Valerie Jarrett. Try to imagine a white male university official getting so smooth a ride as Rashad after caping for Cosby. Ponder the stock response of Democratic voters to a white male member of Congress accused of antisemitism.

Is there a sense on the left — where it seems the canceling impulse is strongest — that Black women should get more of a pass on transgressions of social justice etiquette because of the double burden of being female and Black? I’m not sure.

But whatever our verdict on that, I am sure that this measure of forbearance should be the default for public or historical figures. Of course, it’s fair, maybe necessary in some instances, to chastise these figures. Of course, sometimes there will be transgressions so widely condemned that the transgressors are irredeemable. But most of the time, emphasizing people’s contributions despite their flaws — seeing them in totality and not boiling down their lives to their specific missteps — is just civilized rationality. The idea that an isolated breach of social justice etiquette should derail a career is calisthenic. So when we see that happening, we should hesitate and, in most cases, root for outcomes where people get criticized, perhaps, for their wrongthink but not shoved out of the public square.

I recommend Walker’s “The Temple of My Familiar,” a book that left me ashamed of being a man and yet wanting to read it again. Reid’s career as a broadcaster outweighs any parochial views about gay people she now disavows. I’d happily see Rashad in acting roles forever, despite my disappointment in her take on Cosby. I, frankly, wouldn’t vote for Omar but accept that voters in her district see things differently.

We know, certainly, there are situations where people other than Black women have avoided cancellation. Dave Chappelle comes to mind. My point, again, is that some degree of grace is called for in most cases — for the college professor who says something impolitic in class and the historical figure whose words are appalling now but were consistent with his times.

We need to rethink the entire practice of treating unpretty sentiments as if they summed up anyone’s life or work, whether you’re talking about a political titan or a contemporary celebrity. That Thomas Jefferson was an enslaver and [*thought of Black people as inferior*](https://www.monticello.org/thomas-jefferson/jefferson-slavery/jefferson-s-attitudes-toward-slavery/) is a sad aspect of his totality, and his hypocrisy on race should be noted. But it doesn’t negate all else he accomplished, including drafting the Declaration of Independence, a document that guides and governs our very way of life.

Back to O’Connor and the racism that has caused some to reconsider her work. Yes, she used the N-word freely in letters and wrote, “About the Negroes, the kind I don’t like is the philosophizing prophesying pontificating kind, the James Baldwin kind. Very ignorant but never silent.” It reflects a bigotry and a parochialism not unlike Dunbar’s. (And she’s just wrong about Baldwin.) But that doesn’t dilute the brilliance or literary value of a story such as her “Parker’s Back.” And it won’t work to claim that the difference between O’Connor and Dunbar is that his objectionable remarks were intra-Black. By today’s woke standards, wouldn’t classism tinged with racism be an intersectional double whammy? If there’s room to look beyond his flaws, O’Connor should get the same treatment.

One more: The biologist E.O. Wilson, who died last year, [*faced accusations of racism*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/27/science/eo-wilson-dead.html), a charge that [*continues to be explored*](https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/the-complicated-legacy-of-e-o-wilson/). One article describes an epistolary [*cordiality*](https://science.thewire.in/society/history/new-letters-questions-edward-o-wilson-racism-philippe-rushton/) with the Canadian psychologist J. Philippe Rushton, who had openly racist views about Black people. In one such letter, Wilson reportedly praised Rushton’s paper arguing that “Black and non-Black people pursue different reproductive strategies.” That’s far from ideal, but even less ideal is any sense that this aspect of Wilson must be ongoingly considered amid our assessment of his pioneering genius. I was knocked out by his book “Consilience: The Unity of Knowledge,” about the progress of our understanding of the world, and considering how he may have felt about Black people would have been quite irrelevant to the experience.

Whether we’re talking about the past or the present, the idea that being insufficiently progressive or sensitive can wind up being the measure of a person’s worth is a call to disavow intelligent assessment in favor of gut-level impulses. It’s an all-or-nothing kind of thinking that, in the guise of insight, teaches a form of dimness. We seem to spontaneously understand this in some instances. We need to extend that basic common sense, that basic ability to make distinctions and see the whole picture, when evaluating trespasses by people of all walks of life and across time.

Have feedback? Send a note to [*McWhorter-newsletter@nytimes.com*](mailto:McWhorter-newsletter@nytimes.com).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Delcan and Co. FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 13, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Win Projected For Hard Right In Italy Election***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66G9-3CN1-JBG3-6016-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 26, 2022 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1959 words

**Byline:** By Jason Horowitz

**Body**

Early results suggested her nationalist party would be the top vote-getter, leaving Ms. Meloni poised to be Italy's first female prime minister and the first with post-Fascist roots.

ROME -- Italy appeared to turn a page of European history on Sunday by electing a hard-right coalition led by Giorgia Meloni, whose long record of bashing the European Union, international bankers and migrants has sown concern about the nation's reliability in the Western alliance.

Early projections based on a narrow sampling of precincts, as well as exit polls, on Sunday night suggested that Ms. Meloni, the leader of the nationalist Brothers of Italy, a party descended from the remnants of fascism, had led a right-wing coalition to a majority in Parliament, defeating a fractured left and a resurgent anti-establishment movement.

The final results would not be clear until Monday, and it will still be weeks before the new Italian parliament is seated and a new government is formed, leaving plenty of time for political machinations. But Ms. Meloni's strong showing, with about 25 percent of the vote, the highest of any single party, makes her the prohibitive favorite to become the country's first female prime minister.

While she is a strong supporter of Ukraine, her coalition partners deeply admire Russia's president, Vladimir V. Putin, and have criticized sanctions against Russia.

''From the Italians has arrived a clear indication,'' Ms. Meloni, known for her crescendoing rhetoric and cult of personality, said in a measured victory speech at nearly 3 a.m., ''for the center-right to guide Italy.''

After saying she had suffered through a ''violent electoral campaign'' filled with unfair attacks, Ms. Meloni spoke about ''reciprocal respect'' and recreating ''trust in the institutions.'' She posed flashing a victory sign. ''We are at the starting point,'' she said, adding, ''Italy chose us, and we will never betray it.''

The victory, in an election with lower turnout than usual, comes as formerly taboo and marginalized parties with Nazi or fascist heritages are entering the mainstream -- and winning elections -- across Europe.

This month, a hard-right group founded by neo-Nazis and skinheads became the largest party in Sweden's likely governing coalition. In France this year, the far-right leader Marine Le Pen -- for a second consecutive time -- reached the final round of presidential elections. In Spain, the hard-right Vox, a party closely aligned with Ms. Meloni, is surging.

But it is Italy, the birthplace of fascism and a founding member of the European Union, that has sent the strongest shock wave across the continent after a period of European-centric stability led by Prime Minister Mario Draghi, who directed hundreds of billions of euros in recovery funds to modernize Italy and helped lead Europe's strong response to Russia.

''This is a sad day for the country,'' Debora Serracchiani, a leader of the Democratic Party, which will now lead the opposition, said in a statement early Monday morning.

Ms. Meloni's victory showed that the allure of nationalism -- of which she is a strong advocate -- remained undimmed, despite the breakthroughs by E.U. nations in coming together to pool sovereignty and resources in recent years, first to combat the coronavirus pandemic and then Mr. Putin's initiation of the largest conflict in Europe since World War II.

How, and how deeply, a right-wing coalition in Italy led by Ms. Meloni could threaten that cohesion is now the foremost concern of the European establishment.

Ms. Meloni has staunchly, and consistently, supported Ukraine and its right to defend itself against Russian aggression. But her coalition partners -- Matteo Salvini, the firebrand leader of the League, and the former prime minister Silvio Berlusconi -- have clearly aligned themselves with Mr. Putin, questioning sanctions and echoing his propaganda.

That fracture, and the bitter competition between the right-wing leaders, could prove fatal for the coalition, leading to a short-lived government. But some political analysts say Ms. Meloni, having attained power, may be tempted to soften her support for sanctions, which are unpopular in much of Italy.

If she does, there is concern that Italy could be the weak link that breaks the European Union's strong united position against Russia.

Ms. Meloni had spent the campaign seeking to reassure an international audience that her support of Ukraine was unwavering. She sought to allay concerns by condemning Mussolini, whom she once admired, and Italy's Fascist past. She also made more supportive noises about Italy's place in the European Union and distanced herself from Ms. Le Pen and Prime Minister Viktor Orban of Hungary, whom she had previously emulated.

But that pivoting was more for international markets than Italian voters, who didn't much care about her past, or even her affinity for illiberal democracies. The Italian electorate had not moved to the right, political scientists said, but instead again resorted to a perennial desire for a new leader who could possibly, and providentially, solve all its ills.

Ms. Meloni found herself in the right place at the right time. Hers was virtually the only major party to remain outside Mr. Draghi's national unity government, allowing her to soak up an increasing share of the opposition. Her support surged from 4 percent to nearly about 25 percent.

After a revolt by a party in Mr. Draghi's broad unity government in July, the right-wing parties, eager to go to elections they were favored to win, sensed opportunity and bolted, with Ms. Meloni in the pole position.

There is little concern in the Italian establishment that she will undermine Italian democracy -- she has been a consistent advocate for elections during unelected technocratic governments and has long served in Parliament.

There is also a widespread belief that Italy's dependence on hundreds of billions of euros in relief funds from the European Union will force Ms. Meloni and her government to follow the spending plans, reforms and overall blueprint established by Mr. Draghi. The money comes in tranches and the plans have to meet strict criteria. If she reverses course, Italy could lose out on billions of essentially free euros as rising energy prices and inflation -- much of it stemming from the sanctions against Russia -- are expected to worsen in coming months.

But there is concern about Ms. Meloni's lack of experience and her party's lack of technical expertise, especially in running the eurozone's third-largest economy, and Mr. Draghi has kept in close touch with her, both to ensure her support for Ukraine and, insiders say, to help find someone who can provide economic continuity.

Nevertheless, Ms. Meloni represents a historic break at the top of Italian government.

She came of political age in a post-Fascist, hard right that sought to redefine itself by seizing on new symbols and texts, especially ''The Lord of the Rings'' and other works by the British writer J.R.R. Tolkien, to distance itself from the taboos of Fascism.

She grew up with a single mother in a ***working-class*** area of Rome, and being a woman, and mother, has been central to her political identity. She once ran for mayor while pregnant because she said powerful men had told her she couldn't. Her most famous speech includes the refrain ''I am a woman. I am a mother.''

Being a woman has also distinguished her, and marked a major shift, from her coalition partners, especially Mr. Berlusconi, the subject of endless sex scandals.

But Ms. Meloni, Mr. Berlusconi and Mr. Salvini share a hard-right vision for the country. Ms. Meloni has called for a naval blockade against migrants and spread fears about a ''great replacement'' of native Italians. The three share populist proposals for deep tax cuts that economists fear would inflate Italy's already enormous debt, and a traditionalist view of the family that liberals worry will at least freeze in place gay rights and which could, in practice, roll back abortion rights.

Despite the constraints of an Italian Constitution that is explicitly anti-Fascist and designed to stymie the rise of another Mussolini, many liberals are now worried that the right-wing coalition will erode the country's norms. There was concern that if the coalition were to win two-thirds of the seats in Parliament, it would have the ability to change the Constitution to increase government powers.

On Thursday, during one of Ms. Meloni's final rallies before the election, she exclaimed that ''if the Italians give us the numbers to do it, we will.''

But the coalition appeared not to hit that mark.

The main party of the left, the Democratic Party, all but guaranteed its defeat by failing to heal its differences with other liberal and centrist parties, including a new group of moderates. The moderates, backed by former Prime Minister Matteo Renzi, and attracting some former leaders of Mr. Berlusconi's party, who were disillusioned with his following of the hard right, did better than expected, but still seemed to remain in the single digits.

What really held the right back from a landslide were their former governing partners, the Five Star Movement, the once anti-establishment movement that triggered the collapse of Mr. Draghi's government when it revolted in July.

In 2018, the party's burn-down-the-elite rhetoric led it to become the country's most popular party and largest force in Parliament. Years of governing -- first with the hard-right Mr. Salvini, and then with the Democratic Party, and then under Mr. Draghi -- exposed its incompetence and infighting and it imploded. It seemed on the brink of extinction. But during the campaign, led by former Prime Minister Giuseppe Conte, the party surged in the country's underserved south.

That development was mainly because Five Star passed a broad unemployment benefit known as the ''citizen's income,'' which though roundly criticized by moderates and the right as a handout to the lazy and a disincentive to work, has become a cherished benefit.

As a result, Five Star appeared to be becoming the party of the south.

''This is what is emerging,'' said Angelo Tofalo, himself a southerner and a leader in the party, as he cheered Mr. Conte, at a rally in Rome on Friday. He said the party had laid down deep roots in the south, but acknowledged, ''the citizen's income is a factor.''

That unexpected strength ate into Ms. Meloni's support, while she devoured the backing of the League party of Mr. Salvini. Only years ago he was the country's most popular populist. Now he appeared to sink to single digits. Mr. Berlusconi, once the hinge upon which the coalition turned, and who legitimized the marginalized post-Fascists and secessionist League in the 1990s, also registered a modest result.

But together they had enough to govern and Ms. Meloni had the clearest claim on the office of prime minister during negotiations and consultations with Italy's president, Sergio Mattarella, which will take place over the next month. The new government is likely to be seated in late October or early November.

But the message of the end of a period of European taboos, and of new change, has already been sent.

Ms. Meloni said in one of her last interviews before the election that her victory would be ''a redemption'' for all the people who ''for decades had to keep their heads down'' and who had an ''alternative vision from the mainstream of the system of power.''

Elisabetta Povoledo in Rome, Gaia Pianigiani in Florence and Emma Bubola in Verona contributed reporting.Elisabetta Povoledo in Rome, Gaia Pianigiani in Florence and Emma Bubola in Verona contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/25/world/europe/italy-appears-poised-to-shift-to-the-far-right-as-voters-head-to-the-polls-today.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/25/world/europe/italy-appears-poised-to-shift-to-the-far-right-as-voters-head-to-the-polls-today.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Giorgia Meloni is poised to be Italy's next prime minister. (A1)

Giorgia Meloni after voting Sunday. The European establishment will keep a cautious eye on the impact of her right-wing coalition. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY GIANNI CIPRIANO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A6)

**Load-Date:** September 26, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The Apartment Is Affordable, but the Neighborhood Sure Isn’t; renters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65DF-GR71-JBG3-62Y8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 9, 2022 Monday 20:47 EST

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**Section:** REALESTATE

**Length:** 1189 words

**Byline:** D.W. Gibson

**Highlight:** A woman had a low-enough income to qualify for a HUD-sponsored apartment in Southampton, but then she went to the grocery store.

**Body**

A woman had a low-enough income to qualify for a HUD-sponsored apartment in Southampton, but then she went to the grocery store.

“Nothing like living next to some of the most beautiful beaches in the world,” Liza Coppola said. One in particular, Coopers Beach, is often included on lists of the top 10 beaches in the country. “Only problem is, I’m not allowed to go there.”

Coopers Beach, she explained, is a Southampton village beach, not to be confused with a beach in the larger town of Southampton. If you want a parking permit for the village beaches you have to live in the village. Ms. Coppola does not. She lives in a section of Southampton called Tuckahoe. “Had to learn that the hard way,” she said, “with a parking ticket.”

She could pay the $250 annual fee for non-permit holders, but that’s too steep, so she finds other ways to get to the sought-after seascape. “I can park near the town beach and walk along the sand to Coopers — it’s only a couple of miles.”

Like Coopers Beach, there is very little about the village of Southampton that feels easily accessible to Ms. Coppola. “It’s not for me,” she said. “I have to leave here to do my shopping — even the supermarkets are too expensive.” The drive takes at least a half-hour, but the savings make it worth it.

She works as a housing assistant on the nearby Shinnecock Reservation, helping direct funding from U.S. Housing and Urban Development, or HUD, to rehabilitate homes. “Some of these houses are so deteriorated,” she said, “you wouldn’t want to live in them.”

She says most of the people she knows in the Shinnecock community face a similar dynamic of being priced out of the place they live. “They go to the Stop &amp; Shop in Hampton Bays because it’s cheaper than the one in Southampton — by a third, easily.”

The prices at farm stands are out of reach for her, too. “If I want to go to one, it’s insane,” she said. “And I’m not having it. I’ve been coming to farm stands out here for 30 years — I’m not paying $15 for a quart of strawberries. Not doing it.”

At 63, Ms. Coppola is a rare breed in Southampton: a full-time renter. “I have a Ph.D. in the school of hard knocks,” she said. “Never been rich, but I’ve always found my way.”

Ms. Coppola was a homeowner on the North Fork for 22 years, but when the housing crisis hit, she found herself upside-down in her mortgage. She managed to hang on for a while, but eventually had to give it up in 2019 in a short sale.

She rented a place in Mattituck on the North Fork for a few months before she moved into her current apartment in November of 2019.

“So that’s the story of how I became a renter,” she said.

She liked living in Mattituck and wasn’t looking to leave, but when her landlord told her that he needed the garage apartment back so he could use it for extended family, she had to look for options.

$1,094 | Southampton

Liza Coppola, 63

Occupation: Housing assistant and musician

On the Summer Vibe: Ms. Coppola said that Covid has colored the way summer visitors spend their time in the Hamptons. “When people come out,” she said, “they rent a beautiful home, keep 50 people in there, and they don’t go out all that much.”

On Her Song Book: Ms. Coppola has performed music for 15 years, playing mostly acoustic rock covers — a lot of ballads and songs with a folk soul. “I’m a troubadour girl,” she says. “I like reminding people of the songs they love.”

Because she’s spent years working on housing issues — first at a nonprofit in Greenport and now with the Shinnecock community — Ms. Coppola knew she would qualify for HUD developments projects intended for people making less than the area median income of $100,722.

There were a few such apartment buildings in the nearby town of Riverhead, but the waiting lists were long. She looked at the open market, too, but didn’t see many listings. “There are very few available apartments — and that’s a problem.”

One agent told me that many Hamptons landlords are altogether reluctant to lease their apartments and homes to full-time tenants like Ms. Coppola because they can make more money renting at a premium during the summer months.

Seeking more options, still, Ms. Coppola searched a 40-mile radius. That’s when she unexpectedly found a possibility in Southampton: Construction on the Sandy Hollow Cove Apartments, a HUD development, was complete and the management was accepting applications from households with 80 percent or less of the area median income.

Ms. Coppola put in an application and, three weeks later, she was notified that one of the 28 new apartments was hers. “Which never happens,” she said. “These places have waiting lists for years — I’ve seen it through my work.”

She guesses that the development wasn’t overwhelmed by applications because there was very little trumpeting of the project — as far as she could tell. “You know how Southampton can be,” she said, “God forbid you have affordable housing. So it was almost like this big secret. Nobody really knew about it.”

But she did — thanks to a mention at [*27east.com*](https://www.27east.com/), an online aggregator of local newspapers. “This place is just perfect for me.”

Her alcove studio is filled with plants. “It’s apartment living,” she said. “You can’t have a garden so you have to bring the garden inside.”

She shares the apartment with Layla, her 11-year-old Pekingese, who, unfortunately, does not share Ms. Coppola’s affinity for the beach: “The minute she gets sand between her toes she wants to leave.”

Most of Ms. Coppola’s neighbors, like her, are ***working class*** — a librarian, a paralegal. “The parking lot is cleared out by 9:30 because everyone’s at work.”

It hasn’t been so easy making friends in Southampton. She has a few family members a short drive away, and a lot of people back in Queens where she grew up. “I miss Queens people,” she said. “They’re just really down to earth and not afraid to talk. They start up conversations easily.”

She joined a Presbyterian church in Water Mill, another hamlet of Southampton, and it’s become one of the few places where she feels a sense of belonging.

Otherwise, she still spends a lot of her time on the North Fork. “It just feels like home,” she said. She plays music gigs, and she likes to “hit up all the old joints.”

Ms. Coppola is able to cover her rent and living expenses with a combination of income from her gigs and the day job on the Shinnecock Reservation, which she’s had for the past six years. She isn’t a member of the community, but she’s grateful for the opportunity to work with the people, and she admires how they look out for each other.

She gets gratification from her job, and more recently, Covid relief funds have made it possible to help with each rehabilitation case that’s been brought to her office. “When you help people,” she said, “you always feel better.”

For weekly email updates on residential real estate news, [*sign up here*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/realestate/). Follow us on Twitter: [*@nytrealestate*](https://twitter.com/nytrealestate).

PHOTOS: Top, Liza Coppola chilling out with her dog, Layla, in their alcove studio in Southampton. She has filled the place with plants: “You can’t have a garden, so you have to bring the garden inside.” (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDY RYAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 12, 2022

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[***Review: ‘Song of Solomon,’ by Toni Morrison; from the book review archives***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63WV-9H21-DXY4-X1FJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 21, 2021 Thursday 15:31 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 818 words

**Byline:** Reynolds Price

**Highlight:** In the deep, sprawling 1977 story of Milkman Dead, the reviewer Reynolds Price found evidence for “the possibility of transcendence within human life.”

**Body**

SONG OF SOLOMON by Toni Morrison | Review first published Sept. 11, 1977

Toni Morrison’s first two books — “The Bluest Eye” with the purity of its terrors and “Sula” with its dense poetry and the depth of its probing into a small circle of lives — were strong novels. Yet, firm as they both were in achievement and promise, they didn’t fully forecast her new book, “Song of Solomon.” Here the depths of the younger work are still evident, but now they thrust outward, into wider fields, for longer intervals, encompassing many more lives. The result is a long prose tale that surveys nearly a century of American history as it impinges upon a single family. In short, this is a full novel — rich, slow enough to impress itself upon us like a love affair or a sickness — not the two-hour penny dreadful which is again in vogue nor one of the airless cat’s cradles custom-woven for the delight and job-assistance of graduate students of all ages.

“Song of Solomon” isn’t, however, cast in the basically realistic mode of most family novels. In fact, its negotiations with fantasy, fable, song and allegory are so organic, continuous and unpredictable as to make any summary of its plot sound absurd; but absurdity is neither Morrison’s strategy nor purpose. The purpose seems to be communication of painfully discovered and powerfully held convictions about the possibility of transcendence within human life, on the time-scale of a single life. The strategies are multiple and depend upon the actions of a large cast of black Americans, most of them related by blood. But after the loving, comical and demanding polyphony of the early chapters (set in Michigan in the early 1930s), the theme begins to settle on one character and to develop around and out of him.

His name is Macon Dead, called “Milkman” because his mother nursed him well past infancy. He is the son of an upper middle-class Northern black mother and a father with obscure ***working-class*** Southern origins. These origins, which Milkman’s father is intent on concealing, fuel him in a merciless drive toward money and safety — over and past the happiness of wife and daughters and son. So the son grows up into chaos and genuine danger — the homicidal intentions of a woman he spurned after years of love, and an accidental involvement with a secret ring of lifelong acquaintances who are sworn to avenge white violence, eye for eye.

Near midpoint in the book — when we may begin to wonder if the spectacle of Milkman’s apparently thwarted life is sufficient to hold our attention much longer — there is an abrupt shift. Through his involvement with his father’s sister, the bizarre and anarchic Pilate (whose dedication to life and feeling is directly opposed to her brother’s methodical acquisition of things), and with Guitar, one of the black avengers, Milkman is flung out of his private maelstrom. He is forced to discover, explore, comprehend and accept a world more dangerous than the Blood Bank (the ghetto neighborhood of idle eccentrics, whores, bullies and lunatics, which he visited as a boy). But this world is also rewarding, as it opens into the larger, freer sphere of time and human contingency and reveals the possibility of knowing one’s origins and of realizing the potential found in the lives, failures and victories of one’s ancestors.

Although it begins as a hungry hunt for a cache of gold that his father and Pilate left in a cave in Virginia, Milkman’s search is finally a search for family history. As he travels through Pennsylvania and Virginia, acquiring the jagged pieces of a story that he slowly assembles into a long pattern of courage and literal transcendence of tragedy, he is strengthened to face the mortal threat that rises from his own careless past to meet him at the end.

The end is unresolved. Does Milkman survive to use his new knowledge, or does he die at the hands of a hateful friend? The hint is that he lives — in which case Toni Morrison has her next novel ready and waiting: Milkman’s real manhood, the means he invents for transmitting or squandering the legacy he has discovered.

But that very uncertainty is one more sign of the book’s larger truthfulness (no big, good novel has ever really ended; and none can, until it authoritatively describes the extinction from the universe of all human life); and while there are problems (occasional abortive pursuits of a character who vanishes, occasional luxuriant pauses on detail and the understandable but weakening omission of active white characters), “Song of Solomon” easily lifts above them on the wide slow wings of human sympathy, well-informed wit and the rare plain power to speak wisdom to other human beings. A long story, then, and better than good. Toni Morrison has earned attention and praise. Few Americans know, and can say, more than she has in this wise and spacious novel.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY PS Spencer FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 26, 2021

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[***Town After Town, Residents Are Fighting Affordable Housing in Connecticut***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:669M-KBB1-JBG3-64XF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 4, 2022 Sunday 21:56 EST

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**Section:** REALESTATE

**Length:** 1911 words

**Byline:** Lisa Prevost

**Highlight:** Local residents and elected officials are seeking to block large housing projects, warning that increased density could change the character of their towns.

**Body**

Local residents and elected officials are seeking to block large housing projects, warning that increased density could change the character of their towns.

In the town of Fairfield, Conn., nearly 2,400 residents have signed a petition opposing a project proposed for downtown that could bring 19 units of affordable housing.

In nearby New Canaan, homeowners have raised about $84,000 for a [*legal fund*](https://www.gofundme.com/f/SaveWeedSt) to fight a proposed apartment complex downtown on Weed Street that would include 31 rent-restricted units for households with moderate incomes.

And in Greenwich, a developer recently withdrew an application to build a project that would include 58 apartments priced below market rate, after residents living in nearby luxury condominiums objected and said the buildings that would be demolished were historically significant.

Throughout Fairfield County, Conn., local residents and elected officials are seeking to block large housing projects that include units affordable to low- and moderate-income households, warning that the increased density could change the character of their towns. The 32-year-old law that enables such projects has always generated some pushback, but the opposition has grown more fierce as the number of proposals has increased in recent years.

The fervent campaigns against housing applications reflect a battle that has engulfed the state, town by town. Last week, a group led by the Open Communities Alliance announced that it would file a civil rights lawsuit against the town of Woodbridge, saying that the town’s zoning regulations, which sharply restrict multifamily housing, violated the state Fair Housing Act, state zoning laws and the state Constitution.

The restrictive zoning “disparately harms Black and Latino households, and deepens economic and racial segregation in the area,” said Erin Boggs, the alliance’s executive director, in a statement.

The suit will be closely watched by towns around Connecticut, especially in Fairfield County, a hotbed of backlash to the law known as [*Section 8-30g*](https://law.justia.com/codes/connecticut/2012/title-8/chapter-126a/section-8-30g), which was intended to help reverse decades of housing discrimination and segregation, much of it accomplished through restrictive zoning. The statute allows developers to exceed local restrictions on density if they include units priced below market rate.

“Right now, it is the political hot button in Fairfield County,” said Arnold Karp, the president of Karp Associates, the developer of the proposed Weed Street complex in New Canaan.

Developers have a special right of appeal if a town rejects a proposal in which at least 30 percent of the units are made affordable to households earning 60 to 80 percent of state or area median income (whichever is less). For example, a two-person household earning roughly $54,000 to $72,000 annually would qualify in Fairfield.

A town must justify a rejection by proving that it is necessary to protect public health, safety, wetlands or certain other matters.

Many more developers are taking advantage of the law because soaring rents have made it more economically feasible for them to cover the cost of complexes, even with nearly a third of apartments below market rate.

For example, Greenwich has received 11 housing applications citing the law in the last few years, after having received only seven in the preceding 30 years, said Katie DeLuca, the director of planning and zoning.

“We can build both market-rate and affordable housing with no government funds or tax incentives required. The density allows the math to work,” said Peter Cabrera, the vice president of acquisitions and development for Eagle Ventures, the developer that pulled its application in Greenwich.

Some local Republicans are calling for the law to be repealed.

Fred Camillo, a first selectman in Greenwich and a Republican, argues that towns, not the state, should decide whether and where they want more housing. “These applications have the very real potential to change the look and feel of our town,” he said. “It’s a one-size-fits-all mandate coming down from Hartford.”

That sort of suburban antipathy to density has contributed to a severe housing shortage in Connecticut, especially at the low- to moderate-income range, said Kiley Gosselin, the executive director of the Partnership for Strong Communities, an affordable housing advocacy organization.

“In Connecticut there’s always been a sense that, we want to keep our towns looking a certain way and avoid most types of density,” she said. “That’s resulted in large house lot sizes and less and less multifamily housing starts.”

In New Canaan, where residents have raised money for a legal fund to fight the apartment building proposal, signs reading “Save Weed Street” are displayed on the front lawns of multimillion-dollar homes. “If they destroy Weed Street, they could come for your neighborhood next. Every Soviet-era housing project that they erect gives them the money and influence to build the next one, and the one after that and the one after that, until there is nothing left of the town you once knew,” warned [*a flier*](https://myemail.constantcontact.com/Stop-Karp---Save-New-Canaan-.html?soid=1128811614076&amp;aid=r_mPgrAc4f0)circulated by Chris DeMuth Jr., a resident.

But many people who work in the towns cannot afford to live in them, said Mr. Karp, the developer.

“I already have a list of 20-plus people who work in town who would love to live here in a building that they could afford,” he said. “My view is, people who work in town deserve to be able to live in town.”

Mr. Karp has a second 8-30g application pending in New Canaan as well. That one is a smaller, adaptive reuse of a historic building. He is preparing a third.

His push for high-density, lower-cost development makes him unpopular in a town predominantly zoned for single-family homes on large lots.

“There is a vitriolic reaction when New Canaanites hear the term ‘affordable housing,’” said Mr. Karp, who used to live in town and still maintains an office there. “I have told other developers: ‘You have to have the stomach for this. Because you will walk out of meetings where you will hear, you are ruining the town.’”

Communities in which at least 10 percent of residences meet the state’s definition of affordable are exempt from the statute. Currently, 31 of the state’s 169 municipalities meet that threshold. Towns may also obtain four-year [*moratoriums*](https://www.pschousing.org/sites/default/files/8-30g%20Moratorium%20fact%20sheet.pdf) from the law, if they can show progress toward generating more affordable housing, as calculated by a point system.

Both Fairfield and New Canaan have gained enough affordable units in recent years that they are close to obtaining the temporary reprieve. That achievement is likely contributing to the increase in applications, as developers try to beat the cutoff, said Mark Barnhart, the director of the Office of Community and Economic Development in Fairfield.

In Greenwich, the 192-unit apartment building that Eagle Ventures proposed would include 58 below-market-rate units that would rent from around $1,100 for a one-bedroom to $2,200 for a three-bedroom, depending on income level, Mr. Cabrera said.

It was to be built on a downtown site cobbled together from 11 properties, including several late-19th-century homes that have been carved into apartments, four small single-family rentals, a couple of small commercial buildings and a restaurant.

But opponents pointed out that the crumbling structures were part of the historic Fourth Ward, an area that became home to Irish immigrants. The name “Fourth Ward” comes from the neighborhood in Lower Manhattan of the same name that drew ***working-class*** Irish immigrants in the late 1800s and early 1900s.

The Fourth Ward in Greenwich is listed on the National Register of Historic Places for having developed between 1836 and 1929 “as the most visible moderate-income neighborhood in a town otherwise characterized by affluence of national renown.”

The area is not formally protected as a local historic district. The moderate-income aspect has long since faded away: Homes recently listed for sale online in the Fourth Ward ranged from $1 million to $2.2 million. Rents averaged around $4,000 over the last five years, according to multiple listing service data.

Residents of the luxury condo complex Town and Country started the process of challenging the development under the state’s [*Environmental Protection Act*](https://portal.ct.gov/DECD/Content/Historic-Preservation/01_Programs_Services/Environmental-Review/CT-Environmental-Protection-Act), which, unusually, authorizes the state attorney general or anybody else to sue to prevent the “unreasonable destruction” of historic structures on the National Register.

“Multifamily housing can be developed elsewhere in town; historic structures and landmarks, however, cannot simply be rebuilt,” Mario Coppola, a lawyer for the condo owners, said in a letter to the planning and zoning commission.

Mr. Cabrera described the objection — a formal challenge that threatened to stretch into a lengthy legal battle — as disingenuous. The buildings that had been slated for demolition are not of high quality and are on the outskirts of the Fourth Ward, he said. At least 18 other structures in the area have been demolished in the district to make way for luxury homes or condominiums without major public outcry, he added.

But faced with the prospect of litigation, Eagle Ventures withdrew its application last month. Mr. Cabrera said he was considering what to do next.

Matthew Skaarup, chief executive officer of the local YMCA, wrote a letter in support of the project, saying it “has incredible potential to provide much needed housing for those who are standing fixtures in our community, but are precluded from living here due to a near absence of available market-rate rentals and a severe lack of affordable housing.”

The Reverend Felix-Gerard Delatour, pastor of the Little Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church, the town’s first African American church, also wrote a letter, calling for “a higher standard of compassion and understanding” around the housing needs “of those having average salaries.”

Nick Abbott, a Greenwich native and Harvard Law student who has worked with groups promoting more inclusive zoning policies, said he didn’t buy the arguments for historic preservation in this case.

“The very reason that this neighborhood achieved a historic designation was meant to honor that this was historically home to a racially and economically mixed population,” he said. “The way to honor that history would be to build mixed-income housing, rather than preserving in amber housing that is no longer affordable to people.”

Affordability is a major deterrent to the many teachers in Greenwich who would like to live in town, said Aaron Hull, a longtime educator in town. Mr. Hull, who lives in Norwalk, said he and his wife had periodically contemplated moving their family to Greenwich, which he views as a “phenomenal community,” but couldn’t find anything within their price range.

His daily commute on Interstate 95, while only 14 miles, “can take anywhere from 45 to 90 minutes,” he said. “That seat time takes its toll.”

For weekly email updates on residential real estate news, [*sign up here*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/realestate/).

PHOTOS: From top, homeowners are battling a proposed apartment complex on Weed Street in New Canaan, Conn.; in Greenwich, Conn., residents objected to plans to tear down some homes in a historic district; the developer Arnold Karp says New Canaan residents sometimes have a “vitriolic reaction” to hearing about proposals for “affordable housing.” Above left, Fred Camillo, a first selectman in Greenwich, says towns, not state officials, should decide whether and where they want more housing. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JANE BEILES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 15, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Making the Man in the Mirror Resemble the King of Pop***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66FW-1F51-DXY4-X0PS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 24, 2022 Saturday

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 4; THE SATURDAY PROFILE

**Length:** 1826 words

**Byline:** By Jack Nicas and Anita Pouchard Serra

**Body**

Two imitators of the King of Pop in Buenos Aires offer a study in contrasts, reflective of Argentina's deep economic divide. One man financed 13 surgeries, while the other draws on his sideburns.

BUENOS AIRES -- Alan Garcia starts each work day on a cracked plastic stool, hunched over a small vanity mirror, caking on makeup to lighten his skin.

He draws on sideburns. He pencils a cleft into his chin. And he pinches and lifts his nose with a thin strip of tape. After nearly three hours, his new face is instantly recognizable: Michael Jackson.

Then Mr. Garcia trudges to work.

Carrying a tattered suitcase stuffed with fedoras, a sequined jacket and one bedazzled glove, he boards a commuter train from his ***working-class*** suburb to downtown Buenos Aires, a two-hour trip.

Five days a week, he dances for tips on a busy pedestrian intersection -- the same choreography to the same three songs. ''Smooth Criminal.'' ''Thriller.'' ''Billie Jean.'' Repeat. He takes home 3,000 pesos on a good day, or about $10.

Elsewhere in Argentina's capital, Leo Blanco rehearses with four backup dancers for his Michael Jackson impersonation spectacular. The half-hour show features lights, smoke, eight songs, five outfit changes and a pair of trick shoes that enable him to tilt his body 45 degrees for Mr. Jackson's ''anti-gravity lean.'' Mr. Blanco performs for weddings, quinceañeras and corporate events for 80,000 to 100,000 pesos, or $280 to $350.

Someone else usually does Mr. Blanco's makeup, but he doesn't need much. He has undergone 13 surgeries to help bring his appearance closer to his idol's. He tattooed on sideburns and eyebrows, constructed a new silicone chin and is now on his seventh nose job.

Mr. Garcia, 33, and Mr. Blanco, 26, have both dedicated their lives to transforming themselves into the same pop star. But for all the surface similarities, the two men's lives are otherwise a study in sharp contrasts.

Mr. Garcia's father was a bus driver. Mr. Blanco's was a banker.

Mr. Garcia sleeps on a mattress on the floor surrounded by Michael Jackson posters in a ground-floor apartment he shares with five other people. Mr. Blanco lives with his parents in a home with two walk-in closets for his outfits and a dance room for his rehearsals.

Mr. Garcia's teeth are a bit crooked. Mr. Blanco's are shiny, white and porcelain.

They both date Michael Jackson super fans they met on Facebook. Mr. Garcia's girlfriend is a 41-year-old single mother with four children and 15 dogs. Mr. Blanco's is a 26-year-old contortionist with 155,000 followers on TikTok.

After dancing for hours on the street each night, Mr. Garcia walks to a nearby McDonald's, orders a hamburger and scrubs off his makeup in the bathroom. ''Through makeup, I can build a character,'' he said. ''And then I can have my own separate life.''

Mr. Blanco is looking into a 14th surgery, to extend his jawline. ''I don't go home and say, 'I'm done,''' Mr. Blanco said. ''I never finish.''

''To me, it's not a job. It's a lifestyle,'' he added. ''And in this way, life becomes a show.''

Hooked Since Childhood

Mr. Garcia and Mr. Blanco have been obsessed with Mr. Jackson since childhood.

When Mr. Garcia was 3, the pop star's 1991 album ''Dangerous'' became his alarm clock, waking him each morning as the song boomed from his uncle's house next door.

For his 5th birthday, his uncle gave him a fedora, and later a VHS recording of Mr. Jackson in concert. He memorized nearly every move, and his parents cheered him on.

He kept dancing, through school, and then jobs working at a factory and delivering pizzas. At 22, he got a makeup tutorial and was struck by his resemblance to Mr. Jackson. He started dancing for money.

At first, he struggled and fought with hecklers. Then a brief TV appearance led to a slew of private gigs. ''For two years, it was nonstop,'' he said.

But in 2014, with his family in financial crisis and forced to leave their home, Mr. Garcia felt his impersonator business wasn't bringing in enough cash.

For the next seven years, Mr. Garcia drove a taxi, a freight truck and then a bus like his father. ''Seven years sitting,'' he said. ''Seven years without dancing.''

Late last year, Mr. Garcia lost his freight job. Another dancer urged him to return to the streets, but he had sold his outfits and forgotten the moves. ''I felt like that stage was over and done,'' he said.

Days later, he called his friend back. ''He put the music on, I heard the people clapping and then I remembered everything,'' he said.

Struggles With Self-Confidence

Mr. Blanco discovered his idol later in his childhood, at 11, on YouTube.

''Like all fans, the first time we see him, we fell in love,'' Mr. Blanco said. ''And if that didn't happen to you, it probably won't happen later.''

By 15, he was taking dance classes and getting surgery.

His first operation was to reduce the size of his ears. ''I lost half an ear,'' he said, pulling back his long, dyed-black locks to reveal an ear missing its top half -- an operational mishap. ''You would think that would stop me from wanting more surgeries.''

His first gig was a First Communion.

He has since performed in seven countries, including at a bar in Miami and a stint in Milan. He appeared on Argentine talk shows, amassed 675,000 followers on Instagram and got a new chin on a 2019 episode of a BBC reality show.

For all his success, Mr. Blanco said that he has struggled with self-confidence and that his surgeries have been his way to become the image of himself that he has in his head -- not to transform himself into Mr. Jackson.

Mr. Blanco appeared conflicted over his ties to the pop star, who died in 2009. He stressed that he wanted to be seen as an artist, not an impersonator, despite always being dressed as Mr. Jackson in each interview.

When he wanted to show work he was proud of, it was images from a photo shoot he had directed for an Argentine magazine, not footage of him dancing. He claimed that sometimes he looked more like Sandra Bullock, or perhaps Edward Scissorhands. And he clarified that his style is simply based on Mr. Jackson's, not replicating it. ''He was more Louis XV,'' he said. ''I am much more futuristic.''

Impersonating a Black Artist

At his apartment on a recent Saturday, Mr. Garcia was sipping mate from a glittering gourd when he rose from his stool to point to a poster of Mr. Jackson. ''I'm white,'' he said. ''But because of his illness, he was whiter.'' He sat back down and began lightening his skin.

Mr. Garcia and Mr. Blanco are two light-skinned Latinos impersonating a Black man. While Mr. Garcia said no one had ever asked him about race in relation to his work, Mr. Blanco was confronted in 2020 on Instagram by Dean Morrow, a Black Michael Jackson impersonator from Philadelphia.

Mr. Morrow accused Mr. Blanco of exploiting Mr. Jackson. Amid Black Lives Matter protests in the United States, Mr. Blanco continued to post selfies on Instagram, but never mentioned the killing of George Floyd.

''My thing was: You're getting your fame off Black artists and you're not standing up for Black issues,'' Mr. Morrow said.

Mr. Blanco said he was confused and hurt. ''I cried,'' he said. ''Why does skin color matter so much if we're talking about art?''

Mr. Morrow said that because of Mr. Jackson's shifting skin color, which was at least partly caused by the skin disease vitiligo, almost anyone could imitate him. But as a result, he said, many tribute artists disregard Mr. Jackson's Black heritage. ''They look at Michael Jackson as a white man,'' he said.

Mr. Morrow often asks other white imitators, '''If Michael Jackson never turned white, would you still be a tribute Michael Jackson?''' he said. ''It offends them because they know they wouldn't.''

Imitating the King of Pop poses tricky questions. First, he faced numerous allegations that he molested young boys. He was acquitted of such charges in 2005, but more people have leveled accusations since.

Then there are the questions about race.

Margo Jefferson, a former critic for The New York Times who has written extensively about Black American culture, including a book on Michael Jackson, said that Mr. Jackson has long been impersonated by people of all ethnic backgrounds.

Mr. Jackson's ''performative legacies, the racial and gender crossovers, are available to a vast global culture,'' she said. Whether imitators are doing something distasteful, however, boils down to whether they are impersonating the man well.

''Impersonation remains a somewhat mysterious and charged mode of performance,'' she said.

Showtime

On a recent Friday around sundown, Mr. Garcia arrived at his office, a patch of pavement in a busy pedestrian area downtown. He greeted his co-workers, three hip-hop dancers with a speaker plugged into an idling moped.

When there was enough of a crowd, the distinct bass line of ''Smooth Criminal'' sent Mr. Garcia and his backup dancers sashaying across the concrete. They danced for the next four hours. Mr. Garcia periodically made the rounds, collecting bills in his fedora.

''The street is the most difficult stage,'' he said, noting he has dealt with drunks, hecklers and the police. But he is also regularly swarmed for selfies. ''You generate something in people,'' he said. ''And what's better than that as an artist?''

Mr. Blanco has never performed on the street. He said he admires Mr. Garcia. ''Perhaps what I lack is the ability to face the public without everything I put into my show: the lights, makeup, costumes, dancers, scenery,'' he said. ''That way I feel safe, I feel contained. You put me on the street, and I'm ashamed.''

As Mr. Garcia ate at McDonald's following his street show, Mr. Blanco was headed to a 1980s party across town, at one of Buenos Aires's biggest clubs. ''They didn't hire me, but somehow I'll probably end up working,'' he said. ''That's the price of having such a famous person's face.''

At 1 a.m., in sunglasses and a white jacket heavy with sequins, he walked to the V.I.P. entrance, past a long queue, turning heads along the way.

Inside, Mr. Blanco and his girlfriend canoodled in an exclusive section overlooking the crowd. Around 4:30 a.m., they decided to leave. Yet instead of taking a staircase to the exit, he headed down different stairs into the heart of the crowd.

As he pushed through, he was stopped by group after group for photos. One woman appeared visibly shaken. ''Michael Jackson!'' she screamed. To that point, the club still hadn't played any of Mr. Jackson's songs.

Then, right as Mr. Blanco arrived at the coat check, there was the loud creak of a door followed by footsteps across an empty room. It was ''Thriller.''

Mr. Blanco looked at the pulsing crowd yards away. Then he retreated to a nearby secluded area with his girlfriend.

Didn't he want to join the crowd and show off his moves? ''No,'' he replied. Tonight, he was going to dance in private.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/22/world/americas/michael-jackson-impersonators-buenos-aires.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/22/world/americas/michael-jackson-impersonators-buenos-aires.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Above left, Alan Garcia performing in Buenos Aires. Right, Leo Blanco working at a quinceañera in the city. Both men make a living as Michael Jackson impersonators.

Left, Mr. Garcia applying makeup for his street show. Right, Mr. Blanco holding a plaster mold of his face. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANITA POUCHARD SERRA)

**Load-Date:** September 24, 2022

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[***5 Months Into Term, Adams Turns to Fund-Raising***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65NX-4SS1-DXY4-X128-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 1425 words

**Byline:** By Emma G. Fitzsimmons and Dana Rubinstein

**Body**

The mayor has kicked off a cross-country fund-raising blitz for re-election, taking his tour to Chicago and Beverly Hills, even as he confronts major challenges in New York City.

Not long after celebrating his first 100 days as mayor this spring, Eric Adams was poolside in Beverly Hills, Calif., already thinking about the future.

Wearing a crisp blue suit and fuchsia tie, Mr. Adams spoke to a crowd of vegan enthusiasts about his allegiance to a plant-based diet in an event at the midcentury home of Naren Shankar, a Hollywood showrunner and producer of ''CSI: Crime Scene Investigation.''

The underlying motivation, however, was about another passion: raising money for his re-election campaign in 2025.

The fund-raising event was hastily organized while Mr. Adams was in town to speak on a technology panel at the Milken Institute Global Conference -- part of a three-day trip in May where he also socialized with the comedian Dave Chappelle and the heiress Paris Hilton.

Even as Mr. Adams has struggled to address a series of pressing challenges in New York, he has launched an unusually early fund-raising blitz to secure a second term, a feat that no Black mayor of New York City has achieved.

The fund-raisers coincide with Mr. Adams's efforts to establish a national profile. In March, the mayor held an event in Chicago at the home of Desirée Rogers, the former White House social secretary for President Barack Obama, which was attended by Robert Blackwell Jr., an entrepreneur and Obama ally.

Sometime this summer, Charles Phillips, the managing partner of Recognize, a technology investment firm, is planning to hold a fund-raiser for Mr. Adams -- probably ''out east,'' in the Hamptons, he said in an interview.

The mayor's team is hoping he will max out his fund-raising by the end of the summer, according to a Democratic consultant who was briefed on the campaign's plans. A $2 million haul, coupled with the city's generous matching funds program, could enable him to hit the $7.9 million spending cap for the 2025 mayoral primary. Collecting a huge war chest now could fend off potential competitors and capitalize on what remains of the mayor's honeymoon period, when he is still relatively popular and donors are eager to get his attention.

''You want to raise money as a show of strength,'' said Chris Coffey, a chief executive of Tusk Strategies and a manager of Andrew Yang's campaign for mayor. ''You don't want to spend your last year running around doing fund-raisers.''

There is little precedent for such an early push. Bill de Blasio, in his first year as mayor, focused on raising money for candidates for the State Senate and for the Campaign for One New York, a nonprofit group that supported his agenda -- both of which became part of federal and state investigations into his fund-raising. Michael R. Bloomberg did not have to bother with fund-raising; he used his own fortune to run for a second term, then wielded his personal philanthropy to gain support to overturn term limits in 2008, spending a record $102 million on a third term.

There are also political risks to Mr. Adams's fund-raising strategy, which could potentially cast him as an absentee leader unduly focused on politics.

When the mayor was in Beverly Hills, the risk level for coronavirus cases had just increased in New York City, raising fresh concerns about the city's economic recovery. Federal officials were weighing a takeover of the troubled Rikers Island jail in response to rising violence and inmate deaths there. A police officer was slashed in Brooklyn by a man carrying a 16-inch knife.

And when his return flight from California was abruptly canceled, Mr. Adams had to scrap most of his events for the day, including a rally at City Hall to put pressure on the State Legislature to extend mayoral control of city schools.

Mr. Adams has already seen his approval rating drop as he faces growing pressure to address rising crime and an affordable housing crisis. Only 29 percent of New Yorkers said his performance was good or excellent, and 56 percent said the city was headed in the wrong direction, according to a recent poll by NY1 and Siena College.

Mr. Adams defended his polling numbers, arguing that New Yorkers were tough graders and that many had given him a ''fair'' rating, which he considered a C grade.

''Listen, a C is not an A, but a C is not an F,'' Mr. Adams told reporters.

The mayor has proved to be a prolific fund-raiser. He raised more than $9 million for the Democratic primary and the general election last year and another $10 million in matching funds. Mr. Adams spent much of last summer traveling to the Hamptons and Martha's Vineyard to court wealthy donors who favored his brand of centrism, attending as many as five fund-raisers a day.

Mr. Adams, a former state senator and Brooklyn borough president, has at times tested the boundaries of campaign-finance and ethics laws. He was investigated for his role in backing a video lottery terminal bidder for the Aqueduct Racetrack and has been criticized for taking money from developers who were lobbying him to support crucial zoning changes.

As a mayoral candidate, Mr. Adams raised money from a wide array of donors, including real estate developers, billionaires, cannabis investors, hedge fund executives, Republicans and ***working-class*** New Yorkers. He raised more than $2.8 million from donors outside New York City, and a super PAC supporting his campaign raised about $7 million.

Now as mayor, Mr. Adams has again embraced fund-raising with vigor. On June 3, after delivering a commencement speech in Queens, Mr. Adams attended a fund-raiser at a construction company's offices in Midtown Manhattan, hosted by the Bravo Group chief executive, Ehab Shehata. At the middle-of-the-workday event, Mr. Adams told the crowd that the city could only rebound if crime levels dropped and that he was the man for the job, according to a person who attended the event.

Mr. Shehata did not respond to requests for comment. But he is hardly the only local executive eager to curry favor with the mayor.

Marc Holliday, chief executive of SL Green Realty Corp., which co-owns the new One Vanderbilt skyscraper near Grand Central Terminal, reached out to fellow real estate executives in April on behalf of Mr. Adams's 2025 campaign. The tower has been home to at least two mayoral appearances, including the Wells Fargo product launch in April where the mayor partied with the model and actress Cara Delevingne, earning himself a spread in the gossip pages.

''At a time when NYC needed it the most, Eric has stepped into the mayoralty and has quickly become the face and driving force behind New York's recovery,'' Mr. Holliday wrote in an email. ''Anything you can do would be very much appreciated.''

The first public disclosures for the 2025 mayor's race are due next month and will provide a clearer picture of the donors Mr. Adams is relying on.

Barry Gosin, the chief executive officer of Newmark Group, a commercial real estate firm, is hosting a fund-raiser for Mr. Adams on Wednesday on the fifth floor of a skyscraper near Grand Central Terminal. Attendees are requested to donate between $400 and $2,000 apiece.

''This is an opportunity to support a great, authentic mayor,'' Mr. Gosin said. ''He's working his butt off, and I think the things he's doing are the things that should be done. But that's my opinion.''

In his trip to Chicago in March, Mr. Adams also held a news conference with Mayor Lori Lightfoot to discuss gang violence. Mr. Adams invited himself to Mr. Lightfoot's office in City Hall and announced the appearance before Ms. Lightfoot could alert the local press, The Chicago Sun-Times reported.

The Chicago fund-raiser was attended by Mr. Blackwell, the leader of a table tennis company who donated $400 to Mr. Adams's mayoral campaign last year. It was co-hosted by Ms. Rogers and Carol Adams, the former president of the DuSable Museum of African American History.

''To run for office, it takes money -- expensive city, expensive ad market,'' Mr. Phillips said. ''And you have to tell your story before someone else does.''

Another fund-raiser in May at the Kimberly Hotel in Midtown Manhattan was attended by Taj Gibson, the New York Knicks forward, and Jean Shafiroff, a fixture on the charity circuit who attended a soiree for Mr. Adams in the Hamptons last summer.

''We have to give him a chance,'' she said. ''I like what he stands for. It's really not fair to judge anyone after three months.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/12/nyregion/eric-adams-fundraising-mayor.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/12/nyregion/eric-adams-fundraising-mayor.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Mayor Eric Adams at a Memorial Day parade on Staten Island. His next race would be in 2025. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SPENCER PLATT/GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** June 13, 2022

**End of Document**



[***A Party Hopes It Has Rebuilt The 'Blue Wall'***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6175-VD31-JBG3-61XB-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Lisa Lerer

**Body**

From the beginning of his campaign until the end, Joseph R. Biden Jr. concentrated on winning back Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin, rather than becoming overly distracted by red states.

For Joe Biden, it has always been about Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin.

From the start of his presidential campaign until the final day of the race on Tuesday, the self-described ''scrappy kid from Scranton'' believed that rebuilding the Democratic ''blue wall'' in those states would not only be his strongest path to the White House but also critical for a party that long drew strength from ***working-class*** and middle-class voters in the region.

Now, with Mr. Biden edging ahead of Mr. Trump in a nail-biter of an election, the former vice president's disciplined approach to winning back those Northern industrial states -- rather than getting distracted by Democratic dreams of a blue Texas -- appears to be paying off. Wisconsin and Michigan flipped back to the Democrats on Wednesday, moving Mr. Biden closer to winning 270 Electoral College votes.

His path to victory could well go through Pennsylvania, which Democrats lost in 2016 for the first time in a quarter century and Mr. Biden, a native son, seemed most determined to claim. But his victories in Wisconsin and Michigan also give him the latitude to take the White House with wins in Arizona and Nevada, where he was ahead in the vote counts on Wednesday night.

Georgia, another state where Mr. Biden and Mr. Trump are running closely, has been a tantalizing target for Democrats in recent years, fueled by fast-changing suburbs. Mr. Biden made a real play for the state, with advertising and visits by former President Barack Obama and others, but he did not spend a lot of time there at the cost of the blue-wall states.

''It was critical to his success to win those three back, not only for his presidency but also for the party,'' said former Mayor Michael Nutter of Philadelphia. ''We can continue to try to make gains in Florida, we can continue to push Texas and Arizona and Georgia down the line. But those three are key Democratic strongholds.''

Mr. Trump campaigned aggressively in Michigan, Wisconsin and especially Pennsylvania. But Mr. Biden's focus was notable: Many presidential nominees take their eyes off their most critical states, but Mr. Biden never lost sight of trying to win back voters in those three states who abandoned the party four years ago.

''If I'm going to beat Donald Trump in 2020, it's going to happen here,'' Mr. Biden, the former vice president, told voters in Pittsburgh during the first address of his primary campaign in April 2019.

After midnight on Wednesday, he declared to supporters, ''It's going to take time to count the votes, but we're going to win Pennsylvania.''

His discipline is relatively rare in presidential politics -- candidates, often times Democrats, usually get swept up with a big map conquest, like Hillary Clinton's intense focus on Florida in 2016 and even her dalliances with Arizona and Utah.

But this race was no ordinary contest: Like voters, activists and officials in his party, Mr. Biden was haunted by the narrow loss in 2016 of 80,000 votes in the three traditionally Democratic states that cost the party the White House that year.

In the last days of the election, Mr. Biden's campaign and allies privately maintained that he could win battleground states across the country, including places like North Carolina, Arizona and Georgia. But, they argued, the trifecta represented their easiest -- though perhaps not fastest -- path to the presidency. Final returns in all three states are expected to take days, and Mr. Trump tried early Wednesday to set the narrative that Democrats were trying to ''steal the election'' -- a groundless assertion.

But the Biden camp wasn't about to take the bait.

''We believe that we are well positioned in Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin,'' Jennifer O'Malley Dillon, Mr. Biden's campaign manager, said on Monday in a briefing about election night. ''We know those states in particular are coming in later, but we think we're going to win those states. That is our clearest path to victory.''

Although Mr. Biden visited Arizona and Georgia, his campaign had declined to spend a lot of precious time and money in those states -- despite repeated pleas from local Democrats. And when two Democratic billionaires, Dustin Moskovitz and Michael R. Bloomberg, poured money into Texas in the 11th hour, Mr. Biden dispatched only Senator Kamala Harris of California, his running mate, to the state.

Even that was more attention than Democrats were accustomed to getting from the national party in the traditionally conservative Western states. In Arizona, a state that Mr. Biden visited just once as the party's nominee, officials said they were satisfied with the campaign's approach to the state.

''They spent a lot of time here; they put in a lot of energy and attention, more than previous campaigns,'' said Representative Ruben Gallego, who represents the fast-growing Phoenix area. ''And if we win, it doesn't matter.''

In total, Mr. Biden spent $57.8 million on advertising in Texas and Arizona. He spent nearly three times as much -- $169.2 million -- in Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin.

The decision to focus on the industrial trio was driven by the practicalities of political math. Mrs. Clinton lost those states by tight margins, making them fertile ground for Democrats to begin a comeback. Just winning those three states, along with holding all of the traditionally Democratic strongholds won by Mrs. Clinton, would capture the presidency for Mr. Biden.

But it was also a calculation born of cultural affinity. Despite his decades in Washington, Mr. Biden sees himself as a ***working-class*** son, just another ''middle class Joe'' taking the train to work like any other commuter.

''Joe, people like him, they don't dislike him,'' Representative Debbie Dingell of Michigan said in an interview this fall. ''Hillary Clinton's my friend, but she never walked into a union hall.''

Mr. Biden has particularly close ties to Pennsylvania, often jokingly referred to as the ''third senator'' from the state during his time in Congress, Mr. Nutter said.

''He knows the state. He's comfortable in the state,'' he said. ''For him, campaigning in Pennsylvania was almost like going home.''

Shortly after Mrs. Clinton's loss in 2016, Mr. Biden recalled feeling disturbed when seeing Mr. Trump strike a chord with voters at a rally in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., near his childhood Scranton home.

''Son of a gun -- we may lose this election,'' Mr. Biden recounted thinking in an interview in December 2016 with The Los Angeles Times.

Mr. Biden crafted his own approach, determined not to repeat what he saw as Mrs. Clinton's mistakes. Not only did Mr. Biden start and end his campaign in Pennsylvania, he also visited the state more than any other during the campaign. Just a little more than 10 miles from his home in Wilmington, Del., and sharing a common media market, Pennsylvania was a second political home for Mr. Biden long before he started his third presidential bid.

''From the time I started as a U.S. senator, Philadelphia has brought me to the dance!'' Mr. Biden, a former senator from Delaware, told cheering supporters in the northern part of the city during his last event before polls closed on Tuesday evening.

Mr. Biden and some of his allies see the ***working-class*** and middle-class moderate voters of the Midwest as his natural base, and they tried to build a coalition that was made up of more white voters than the base that elected former President Barack Obama and that Mrs. Clinton tried to replicate in 2016.

''Biden is from a manufacturing town, and he's of the right age, demographic and financial background,'' said Aaron Stearns, the Democratic chairman in Warren County in northwestern Pennsylvania. ''People can relate to him in a way that they could not relate to Hillary Clinton.''

Some Democrats say it was Mr. Biden's willingness to focus on the Northern states, devoting his limited in-person campaign stops to showing up even as coronavirus cases surged across the region, that gave him a chance of winning the states back.

''A lot of the problem was that Hillary Clinton was not here enough in some of the suburban areas that we lost to Trump,'' said Jay Costa, the Democratic leader in the Pennsylvania State Senate. ''The former vice president did a very good job of not falling into that trap another time.''

In the final days of his campaign, Mr. Biden did add a stop in Ohio, a state that many Democrats believe has shifted -- perhaps permanently -- away from their party. They were proved right Tuesday night, when Mr. Trump won the state.

Some Democrats attributed the stop in Cleveland to scheduling around events in Pennsylvania. Getting across the country to Arizona would simply take too many precious hours in the final days, given how many stops Mr. Biden's campaign had planned in the Keystone State.

But others ascribed the visit to Mr. Biden's dogged belief that the Democratic path to the White House still runs through the Midwest.

The Biden campaign, unlike the campaigns of Mr. Obama and Mrs. Clinton, did not impose a central strategy on state Democratic parties, said officials in the three states. Instead, the campaign integrated with voter outreach programs that each state had been building since the parties' losses in 2016.

''The big gamble for state parties was, would the presidential campaign push all the dishes off the table and start over, or integrate with what we had been building?'' said Ben Wikler, the chairman of the Democratic Party of Wisconsin. ''They didn't impose a one-size-fits-all model.''

Mr. Wikler said he had been in regular contact with Biden campaign officials beginning last summer to brief them on the program that the state party was building.

After Mrs. Clinton failed to visit Wisconsin during her 2016 campaign, Mr. Biden made three visits to the state, which was set to host the Democratic National Convention before it became an all-virtual event because of the coronavirus pandemic, which is worse in Wisconsin than it is in any other battleground state.

Mr. Wikler said the three visits, along with myriad other virtual events that Mr. Biden and his surrogates hosted for local supporters, were sufficient enough to maintain a presence for Wisconsin voters.

''Biden has made clear all along that Wisconsin is a top priority,'' he said.

It may still be some time before the nation knows whether it was enough.

Jennifer Medina, Reid Epstein and Nick Corasaniti contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/04/us/politics/biden-polls.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/04/us/politics/biden-polls.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Joseph R. Biden Jr. speaking at an election night drive-in event in Wilmington, Del. He devoted much time and energy to campaigning in neighboring Pennsylvania. (PHOTOGRAPH BY RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (P4)

**Load-Date:** November 5, 2020

**End of Document**



[***With Few Able and Fewer Willing, U.S. Military Can’t Find Recruits***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65XJ-CSR1-JBG3-606G-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** Fighting headwinds from the pandemic, the tight labor market and demographic shifts, the armed forces may fall further short of enlistment quotas this year than they have in decades.

**Body**

Fighting headwinds from the pandemic, the tight labor market and demographic shifts, the armed forces may fall further short of enlistment quotas this year than they have in decades.

FOUNTAIN, Colo. — The local Army recruiting station was empty. The normally reliable recruiting grounds at the nearby Walmart were a bust. With the Army still thousands of soldiers short of its recruiting goal, the station commander, Sgt. First Class James Pulliam, dressed head to toe in camouflage, scanned a strip-mall parking lot for targets.

He spotted a young woman getting out of a car, and put on his best salesman smile.

“Hey, how’d you know I was going to be here today!” the sergeant said with an affable Carolina drawl, as if greeting an old friend. “I’m going to help put you in the Army!”

These are tough times for military recruiting. Almost across the board, the armed forces are experiencing large shortfalls in enlistments this year — a deficit of thousands of entry-level troops that is on pace to be worse than any since just after the Vietnam War. It threatens to throw a wrench into the military’s machinery, leaving critical jobs unfilled and some platoons with too few people to function.

Covid-19 is part of the problem. Lockdowns during the pandemic have limited recruiters’ ability to forge bonds face to face with prospects. And the military’s vaccine mandate has kept some would-be troops away.

The current white-hot labor market, with many more jobs available than people to fill them, is also a factor, as rising civilian wages and benefits make military service less enticing.

But longer-term demographic trends are also taking a toll. Less than a quarter of young American adults are physically fit to enlist and have no disqualifying criminal record, a proportion that has shrunk steadily in recent years. And shifting attitudes toward military service mean that now only about one in 10 young people say they would even consider it.

To try to counter those forces, the military has pushed enlistment bonuses as high as $50,000, and is offering “quick ship” cash of up to $35,000 for certain recruits who can leave for basic training in 30 days. To broaden the recruiting pool, the service branches have loosened their restrictions on neck tattoos and other standards. In June, the Army even briefly [*dropped its requirement*](https://www.military.com/daily-news/2022/06/24/army-drops-requirement-high-school-diploma-amid-recruiting-crisis.html) for a high school diploma, before deciding that was a bad move and rescinding the change.

The Army is the largest of the armed forces, and the recruiting shortfall is hitting it the hardest. As of late June, it had recruited only about 40 percent of the roughly 57,000 new soldiers it wants to put in boots by Sept. 30, the end of the fiscal year.

So Sergeant Pulliam, 41, a helicopter mechanic who turned to recruiting five years ago, was hunting for anyone who might want to join, even if they did not know it yet.

Like many soldiers who make recruiting their career, he believed in what he was selling because he knew what Army service had done for him. Before he enlisted in 2012, he was a 31-year-old warehouse worker in North Carolina, working extra shifts to support his three children. A year later, he was working on AH-64 Apaches, with his housing and education paid for by the Army.

“It changed my entire life,” he said. “And that’s the gift I have to give to other people. You just have to find the people that need it.” He chuckled and added, “That ain’t always easy.”

The young woman in the strip-mall parking lot was on her way to get a pizza, and looked confused when the tall man in green began pitching her on the benefits of serving her country. She eventually apologized politely and said she could not join up, gesturing to an insulin pump clipped to her shorts.

The sergeant made a mental note: diabetic, not fit to serve. But he did not give up.

“OK, well, just give me a name — one number I can call, right now,” he pressed. “You’ve got to know someone who might want to join. One number, and I’ll leave you alone.”

Seconds later, he was on the phone with one of the woman’s friends. “She says you want to join the Army,” the sergeant said, as if he were announcing the winning Powerball numbers. “Where you work? I can meet you when you get done.”

The sergeant paused, turned and said, “Dude just hung up on me!”

Moments later, the friend was calling the woman’s cellphone. Sergeant Pulliam smiled and leaned toward her conspiratorially. “Wouldn’t it be weird if I answered?” he said. “It’d be like I was a Jedi recruiter. Let me take this one.”

The woman giggled as the sergeant held her phone up and announced that he was ready to give the friend a second chance. The friend hung up again.

The other branches are not having any easier of a time. The Navy and Marine Corps do not release recruiting figures before the end of the fiscal year, a spokesman said, but both have acknowledged that it will be hard for them to meet quotas this year.

Even the Air Force, which has rarely had trouble attracting talent in the past, is about 4,000 recruits short of the level it typically reaches by midsummer.

“Bottom line, up front, we are in a week-to-week dogfight,” said Maj. Gen. Edward Thomas Jr., commander of the Air Force Recruiting Service. “We are growing hopeful that we may be able to barely make this year’s mission, but it’s uncertain.”

General Thomas said the short-term problem of Covid-19 kept recruiters away from county fairs, street festivals and their most productive hunting grounds, high schools. The relationships that recruiters were not able to cultivate face to face during the pandemic’s early stages, he said, mean there is now a drought of graduates signing on the dotted line.

A modest recruiting bump from [*snappy ads*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LbNP0FUItjI) the service ran before screenings of “Top Gun: Maverick” helped a bit, he said. But the general pointed to larger, longer-term concerns about the shrinking pool of young Americans who are both able and willing to serve. In recent years, the Pentagon has found that about 76 percent of adults ages 17 to 24 are either too obese to qualify or have other medical issues or criminal histories that would make them ineligible to serve without a waiver.

And what the military calls propensity — the share of young adults who would consider serving — has fallen steadily for several years. It stood at 13 percent before the pandemic began, General Thomas said, but is now 9 percent.

“There are just lower levels of trust with the U.S. government and the military,” he said.

Of course, maintaining one of the world’s largest militaries entirely with volunteers has never been easy, and this is not the first time in the 49 years since the United States [*ended the draft*](https://www.nytimes.com/1973/01/28/archives/nation-ends-draft-turns-to-volunteers-message-from-laird-hopes.html) that recruitment has fallen short.

When civilian jobs are plentiful, as they are now, the military tries to compete using two tactics: Sweetening the deal with signing bonuses, better pay and other enticements, and lowering standards a bit to enlist people who might not otherwise qualify.

The military has also adapted by downsizing. The number of active-duty service members is now about half of what it was in the 1980s, and is projected to keep decreasing.

That makes for smaller, easier-to-meet quotas, recruiters say, but it also diminishes the military’s most reliable advertising tool: its people. Research has repeatedly shown that young adults who know someone who has served — a parent, a coach, a teacher — are more likely to enlist than those who do not.

That pattern has made the armed forces something of [*a family business*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/10/us/military-enlistment.html), and led to some communities, many of them in the Southeast, supplying a disproportionate share of recruits. But even in those kinds of communities, recruiting has been tough this year.

The city of Fountain, a few miles from Fort Carson, is a patchwork of ***working-class*** neighborhoods with strong military ties. But the recruiting station here has not met its goals for three months.

On a recent evening, Sergeant Pulliam met with six prospective recruits at a park for a weekly workout of push-ups and situps. In the group were three recent high school graduates who had been planning for years to join; a young woman trying to get away from a home life she did not want to talk about; and a 26-year-old man named Francisco Borja, whose father had been in the Army.

Mr. Borja had tried to join up before but was rejected because of poor eyesight. He was hoping the Army would take him this time around.

“I want to do it for my family, my kids,” he said. “To better our lives.”

PHOTOS: Army recruiters in a Walmart in Colorado. Recruiters visit shopping centers to look for young people who might enlist.; Juniper Cristan, left, and Melody Orman were working at a sandwich shop when Army recruiters spoke to them.; When Kailee Alvarado, right, turned out to be ineligible to enlist, Sgt. First Class James Pulliam tried cold-calling her friend.; The Army’s Future Soldier Training program allows recruits to enlist in the Army and test for different occupations before starting basic training.; Sergeant Pulliam held a meeting with recruiters before they went out into the community searching for prospects. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MICHAEL CIAGLO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 17, 2022

**End of Document**



[***A Gritty River Town Being Transformed***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65NR-2S61-DXY4-X051-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Dave Caldwell

**Body**

For more than a decade, this historic city has been a refuge for those who want more real estate for their money, along with lower property taxes.

Rachel Zanders probably would never have opened a candle shop in the historic district of Easton, Pa., if her older brother, Steven Zanders, hadn't moved to the city from Allentown a decade ago while helping to open a diner there.

When Mr. Zanders, now 47, first rented a place in Easton, he thought he had made a mistake. The city, which sits on the Pennsylvania-New Jersey border at the junction of the Delaware and Lehigh Rivers, felt weather-beaten and downtrodden. But he soon discovered that the city of 27,000 in Northampton County was in the midst of a dramatic transformation.

So in December 2014, he paid $90,000 for a two-bedroom, one-and-a-half-bath rowhouse in the West Ward, a ***working-class*** neighborhood. When friends asked him why he bought there, he told them that he believed in what people in Easton were doing.

''I feel like Easton is a little Manhattan,'' said Mr. Zanders, who refinanced his home last year. ''It's like one of the blocks of Manhattan fell off into Easton.''

The city, about 75 miles west of Manhattan, now has a revitalized downtown, with new shops and restaurants flanking restored historic homes. ''There's a lot of life. You see people you know, and everybody says hi,'' said Ms. Zanders, 34. ''You can tell they really value the history that's here.''

A former Brooklyn resident, Ms. Zanders has grown her business, Easton Candle Co., from an online wholesale company to include a brick-and-mortar store. And while she is still renting the spaces in Easton where she lives and works, she is thinking seriously about buying.

For more than a decade, Easton has been a refuge for New York and New Jersey expatriates who want more real estate for their money, along with a lower property tax bill. Elizabeth Slevin and her husband, Gene Ciccone, who moved to Easton from Maplewood, N.J., in 2014, are typical: Both retirees, they discovered that they could buy a four-bedroom house in Easton for about the same price as their three-bedroom house in Maplewood, which meant they would have a guest room for their grandchildren, who lived nearby. And the tax bill was about a third of what they paid in Jersey.

''As I said to my husband, 'We can sit in the yard and watch the roses grow in Maplewood, or find a less expensive area and use our extra cash for fun things like traveling,''' said Ms. Slevin, a former speech-language pathologist.

So she and Mr. Ciccone, a former Newark public school administrator, paid $388,000 for a 2003 house in Easton's Old Orchard neighborhood. He can still teach part-time at Montclair State University, and their community-theater friends in Maplewood are only an hour away.

And if they choose to volunteer their time, there are plenty of opportunities. Megan McBride, of the Greater Easton Development Partnership, a nonprofit that oversees a popular public market and farmers' market, said that newcomers often become volunteers: ''They love feeling like they're part of the action.''

What You'll Find

Interstate 78 sweeps south of Easton and winds its way east to New York, a journey that residents say takes about an hour and a half. But the city is also roughly an hour from the Poconos and an hour and a half from Philadelphia and the Jersey Shore.

Easton was founded in 1752, later becoming a city of foundries and a hub for transporting steel, and many of the buildings and bridges are remnants of those days. But by the time Crayola Experience -- one of the main catalysts of Easton's recent turnaround -- opened 20 years ago in Centre Square, not far from the company's headquarters in Forks Township, the city had seen better days. Students from stately Lafayette College, in the College Hill neighborhood, were advised not to venture into the nearby downtown, said Salvatore J. Panto Jr., a Democrat in his fourth consecutive term as Easton's mayor (he also served as mayor from 1984 to 1992). When Mr. Panto began his second mayoral stint in 2008, he beefed up the city's police force, he said, and people started to rediscover the city, with its riverside parks, walking trails and historic charm.

Crayola Experience now welcomes more than 400,000 visitors a year, primarily family day-trippers. ''It put Easton on people's radar,'' said Kim Kmetz, the manager of Easton Main Street Initiative, a nonprofit group promoting the city's central business district.

What You'll Pay

At the end of May, there were 84 properties with an Easton mailing address listed for sale, according to data from Greater Lehigh Valley Realtors. That included homes in the city, as well as in the boroughs of Wilson, West Easton and Glendon, and in the townships of Williams, Forks and Palmer. Prices ranged from $110,000 for a two-bedroom, two-bath West Ward rowhouse to $4.5 million for a five-bedroom, three-bath townhouse in the historic district.

Thus far in 2022, sales are down and prices are up. Through the end of May, 382 properties sold for an average price of $314,947, with an average time on the market of 16 days. By contrast, the first five months of 2021 saw 418 properties sell for an average of $274,027 -- about 13 percent lower -- and an average of 26 days on the market.

The Vibe

Looming over Scott Park, close to where the swift Lehigh River meets the deep Delaware, is a statue of a boxer launching a left jab. The figure represented is Larry Holmes, known as the Easton Assassin, who grew up in the city and held the World Boxing Council heavyweight title from 1978 to 1983.

Easton, it seems, is reluctant to shrug off its days as a brawny river town. The grit adds to its aura. But the historic district is a big draw, too. Today, it has become so exclusive that potential buyers are willing to consider homes in the West Ward and South Side neighborhoods. One of Mr. Panto's challenges as mayor, he said, is to ensure that longtime residents of those areas aren't pushed out. Creating more affordable housing is another challenge.

Old-timers sometimes complain that Easton is not what it used to be, Mr. Panto said, but he believes that newcomers have made the city stronger. Those recent transplants are often referred to as ''front-platers,'' said Jonathan A. Miller, an agent with RE/MAX Real Estate based in Bethlehem, because New York and New Jersey drivers need license plates on the front of their cars, and Pennsylvania drivers don't.

''But we have stuff here now,'' said Mr. Miller, acknowledging that the city has grown. ''Now you don't have to drive to New York or Philly anymore.''

The Schools

The Easton Area School District, which serves students in the city of Easton and all or part of three surrounding townships, includes seven elementary schools, a cyber academy, a middle school and a high school. As of August 2021, 44.2 percent of the district's 8,300 students identified as white, 17 percent as Black or African-American, 28.1 percent as Hispanic or Latino, 5.4 percent as Asian and 5.1 percent as two or more races.

According to the state's Department of Education, Easton-area students taking the SATs in 2019 averaged 512 in math and 537 in reading and writing, compared with state averages of 537 and 545.

The Commute

Trans-Bridge Lines offers daily bus service from the Intermodal Transit Center in downtown Easton to the Port Authority Bus Terminal in New York. With one exception, Easton is the next-to-last stop en route to New York and the second stop on the way back.

Seven buses depart for New York between 4:20 a.m. and 8:10 a.m. on weekdays, and there are three or four daily buses on weekends. The trip takes between an hour and 35 minutes and nearly two hours. The round-trip fare is $82.55; a book of 40 one-way tickets is about $672.

The History

Every Thanksgiving, Fisher Stadium at Lafayette College plays host to one of the fiercest high school football rivalries in the nation: the Easton Red Rovers versus the Phillipsburg Stateliners. The series dates to 1905, has drawn sellout crowds of more than 20,000 and has been broadcast several times on national television. In 2021, the Red Rovers scored a last-minute touchdown to win the game.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/08/realestate/easton-pa-a-gritty-river-town-being-transformed.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/08/realestate/easton-pa-a-gritty-river-town-being-transformed.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: ''I feel like Easton is a little Manhattan,'' said Steven Zanders, who moved to the city in 2014. ''It's like one of the blocks of Manhattan fell off into Easton.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY TONY CENICOLA/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 12, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The Transformative Power of Vulnerability***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62H6-D141-DXY4-X1F2-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; Movies, Performing Arts/Weekend Desk; Pg. 8; CRITIC'S PICK

**Length:** 1405 words

**Byline:** By Holland Cotter

**Body**

A powerful voice for marginalized groups, Laura Aguilar frankly and poetically portrayed Latino and lesbian communities.

It feels good -- a relief -- to know that the photographer Laura Aguilar, who died in 2018, lived long enough to see her fine career survey, which opened a year earlier in her hometown Los Angeles, and has now, at last, landed in New York.

It's a movingly, sometimes discomfortingly intimate show. To know Aguilar's art is, to an unusual degree, to know her, and to care about her, and to care about what she cared about: under-the-radar, under-threat social communities and hard-won personal survival.

Titled ''Laura Aguilar: Show and Tell,'' the retrospective was part of ''Pacific Standard Time: LA/LA,'' the Getty Foundation-sponsored extravaganza in 2017 of more than 70 concurrent exhibitions in and around Los Angeles that together demonstrated the influence of Latin America and Latino art on the city. A few of the bigger, splashier entries traveled, without delay, from Los Angeles to New York, one to the Met, another to the Brooklyn Museum. It would have made sense for the Aguilar show to head East too, to the Whitney maybe, or the New Museum. But it's only getting here now, four years late, half its initial size and hosted by a small, punchy, queer-positive outlier institution, the Leslie-Lohman Museum of Art in Soho.

Actually, it's a natural berth for Aguilar, who was a born outlier to the mainstream art world, and knew it. (She once photographed herself as a scruffy panhandler standing outside a gallery holding a hand-scrawled sign reading ''Artist Will Work for Axcess.'') By the establishment standards of a few decades ago, she was of the wrong social class and ethnicity, the wrong gender and sexual persuasion, and the wrong physical shape and size -- ''fat'' was her own descriptor. Plus, she had difficulties -- dyslexia, depression -- that set her apart from easy integration into any kind of mainstream at all.

Talent, courage, brains and curiosity carried her. She was able to turn potential liabilities into creative assets, in part by making herself -- a large-bodied, disabled, ***working-class*** Latina lesbian -- a primary subject of her art. Today, when queerness in its many layered meanings, including its embodiment in the gender-neutral term Latinx, is acknowledged and valorized, she stands as a figure who was shaping a future that is our present.

She was born in 1959 in San Gabriel, in Los Angeles County. Her father, a welder, was Mexican American; her mother's background was native Californio and Irish. The assimilationist family wanted nothing to do with El Movimiento, the Chicano civil rights movement of the 1960s and '70s, and she herself, although brown-skinned, did not grow up speaking Spanish. In general, due to auditory dyslexia, undiagnosed until she was in her 20s, she had lifelong difficulties with communication, a handicap that led to an early sense of isolation.

She was introduced to photography by her older brother and was largely self-taught, though as a student at East Los Angeles College she found encouraging mentors. In college she also took consciousness-raising courses in Chicano studies. Sybil Venegas, the curator of the current retrospective, was one of her teachers and introduced her to the vivacious local Chicano art scene. Aguilar's developing sense of a Chicana identity is evident in the earliest works here.

For a photographic series begun in 1984, she documented the fantastic costumes cooked up by young East Los Angeles artists to celebrate the annual Day of the Dead. A 1990 series called ''How Mexican is Mexican,'' consists of photo portraits of Chicanas, including herself, annotated with handwritten statements. Hers reads: ''My mother told me whatever you do in life, all people will see is the color of your skin. I spent 20 years feeling ashamed, but that was then.''

Despite her words, she was uncomfortable with a one-track identity. From 1990 also comes what is probably Aguilar's best-known work, the triptych titled ''Three Eagles Flying.'' In its central panel the artist stands, nude to the waist, her head hooded in a Mexican national flag, her lower body wrapped in the United States stars-and-stripes. A thick rope snakes around her neck like a noose and ties her hands. She's held captive by political allegiances and their binding, smothering power.

In the 1980s, Aguilar came out as gay. In 1986, she began another portrait-and-text series, ''Latina Lesbians,'' which reads a bit like a cultural anthropology project. In 1992, she dove directly into the gay community with on-site portraits of the clientele of a local ***working-class*** lesbian bar called the Plush Pony. The good-humored rapport among her subjects, most of them Latina, comes through. But in a catalog essay, the scholar James Estrella, who had access to Aguilar's letters and diaries, suggests that, for various reasons, she felt emotionally conflicted about her relation to the scene. Surely her struggle with depression was a factor.

Aguilar made powerful videos about this experience. In a short 1995 piece titled ''Talking About Depression 2,'' she does exactly that. She addresses the camera and speaks -- gently but bluntly -- about her chronic feeling of despair, of waking up in the morning furious with God for keeping her alive. In a second video -- hard to watch -- she teases the blade of a knife against her hand while musing on an urge toward self-destruction. And in a set of photographic self-portraits titled ''Don't Tell Her Art Can't Hurt'' she puts the barrel of a gun in her mouth.

Such displays of psychological exposure could easily feel self-aggrandizing. In Aguilar's hands, they don't. Emotional nakedness -- what another catalog writer, Amelia Jones, refers to as ''radical vulnerability'' -- becomes, for her, a means of self-acceptance. And she translates it into literal, bodily nakedness in her late work, much of which is a form of self-portraiture.

Aguilar suffered a life of body-shaming and self-shaming, which she gradually addressed and confronted through art. In one of her earliest and most widely reproduced self-portraits, titled ''In Sandy's Room'' from 1989, we see her nude and half-reclining in an easy chair, facing an electric fan. It's a great, witty and, by now, classic image: a new-style Venus -- related maybe to the Willendorf Venus -- relaxing, drink in hand, on a sultry Southern California day off.

She once noted that the only time she was truly comfortable with her body was when she felt it touched by a breeze or warmed by the sun outdoors, in nature. And that's where her late nude self-images are set, many in the deserts of New Mexico and Texas, terrain associated, as now seems clear, with immigration and border-crossings.

Sometimes Aguilar poses with other women, but in the best of these pictures, meaning the most moving ones, she's alone, her face often hidden, her prone body aligned with and echoing landscape contours and rock formations. The latest of the solo series, ''Grounded'' from 2006, brought color into her work, which until then had been primarily black-and-white. Also, there's an element of sensuality -- light and shadow on flesh -- that hadn't been evident before. And there's an air of harmony, even peace. This isn't a portrait of self-effacement exactly, but where her presence in her art had always been essentially about being apart-from, here it's about being part-of.

Aguilar, who scrambled over the years to stay financially solvent and lived alone in a small house passed down through her family, died of diabetes and renal failure at 58. By that point, although she had sold little, she had had many shows, culminating in this one, which was organized by the Vincent Price Art Museum at East Los Angeles College in collaboration with the U.C.L.A. Chicano Studies Research Center.

In 2017 in Los Angeles, her retrospective was a popular hit. As American cultural demographics change, she's entering the history books. But she still stands outside the mainstream, and probably always will. When the art world forms its pantheons, it usually goes for glam of a standard, starry kind. Aguilar doesn't give us that. She gives us honesty, imperfection, generosity, herself. So much better.

Laura Aguilar: Show and Tell

Through June 27. Leslie-Lohman Museum of Art, 26 Wooster Street, Manhattan. 212-431-2609; leslielohman.org.

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Works by Laura Aguilar, clockwise from top left: ''Xerox Collage #2'' (1983)

''Grounded #111'' (2006), a self-portrait

''Plush Pony #15'' (1992)

''In Sandy's Room'' (1989), another self-portrait

and ''At Home With the Nortes'' (1990). (PHOTOGRAPHS BY LAURA AGUILAR/LAURA AGUILAR TRUST

UCLA CHICANO STUDIES RESEARCH CENTER

LAURA AGUILAR/LAURA AGUILAR TRUST

VINCENT PRICE ART MUSEUM FOUNDATION AND THE LOS ANGELES COUNTY MUSEUM OF ART

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**Load-Date:** April 27, 2021

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[***Apocalypse. Now What?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66VJ-RTV1-DXY4-X1BS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Length:** 2286 words

**Byline:** By Matthew Thompson

**Body**

The era we are now in the midst of might be defined, most notably, by the omnipresence of disaster. Plagues, droughts, floods, toxic air and water, wars, massacres, famines, earthquakes, heat waves, wildfires, recessions, dust storms, despotism -- slow-motion nightmares are crashing into fast-moving catastrophes, each one amplifying the next.

I live in California's East Bay, where disaster is a constant threat. In some cities, houses are succumbing to lengthening wildfire seasons, while people living in tents breathe air poisoned by the flames. Seasons of drought are starting to blur into one long era of aridification. Tectonic plates rumble frequently, reminding us that the Hayward fault underneath us is due to cause a major earthquake. Elsewhere, mere weeks after unprecedented heat waves scorched the country this spring, apocalyptic floods began engulfing Pakistan and are ongoing. Tropical hurricanes continue to reshape coastlines in the Gulf of Mexico, their names lingering like ghosts long after their winds have quieted: Katrina, Harvey, Maria. A virulent combination of governmental corruption and the debt traps of the global finance system have contributed heavily to starvation-level food shortages in Sri Lanka. Authoritarian leaders have unleashed mass state violence against protesters in Iran, while far-right extremists clamor violently against democracy in the United States. Disaster is so ubiquitous that the idea of an aftermath has started to lose its meaning. Covid's brutal, blurry slide from pandemic to endemic is an example that underscores one defining truth of our reality: Our disasters don't exactly end; they evolve. And if we are to outlast them, so must we.

In one respect, we already have: Knowing that hellish dangers lie around every corner has made us better at anticipating and bracing for them. We can detect the warning signs earlier, and as a global society we've improved at mobilizing in response. But the world we knew -- where ''100-year floods'' happened roughly once a century -- is ending.

I lead the Headway team at The New York Times, which explores global challenges through the lens of progress. We wanted to understand how people around the world approach rebuilding in this state of continuous disaster. Everywhere we looked, long-simmering crises had reached breaking points: For example, a hurricane that on its own would be an emergency hits a brittle food system misshapen by colonialism, sparking a crisis. These ruptures carry both the threat and possibility of broader transformations. Disasters compress time, and in a world besieged by them, dramatic shifts occur: For planners and architects and officials, whose work typically unfolds over years, disaster recovery requires and enables otherwise-unthinkable haste. For survivors, unfathomable loss creates what the psychologist William James called an ''awful discontinuity of past and future.'' This essay is part of a special issue of The New York Times Magazine about rebuilding. In creating it, we found ourselves widening the lens, from singular dislocations caused by disaster to the wider possibilities for change that emerge as society seesaws between creeping calamities and sudden shocks.

To recognize the power of these frenzied moments to transform is not to glorify chaos. Grasping at possibility doesn't begin to ease the struggle of the present. But the steady breakage of the world around us is an omen that another world is coming, and we may have a chance to shape it.

Beginning to cope with disaster is a process of trying to turn chaos into order. While Russian troops were still in their city, the people of Irpin were already turning the senselessness of the trauma into monuments of loss and survival, as Linda Kinstler reports. Consider a list of items left on the streets of Irpin after Russian soldiers tore the Ukrainian city apart: children's strollers, a T-shirt, a backpack, a bicycle, an overturned van. Are these sacred objects, or debris, or both? Whether they go to a landfill or to a museum can be a matter of who finds them, what they stand to gain, what they have to carry.

But apocalypses, rock bottoms of various kinds, can also be endings and beginnings at once. And when those apocalypses recur, new beginnings may suggest themselves. The fire that engulfed Brazil's National Museum in 2018 obliterated the cultural artifacts of scores of the country's Indigenous peoples, as Mariana Lenharo and Meghie Rodrigues recount, turning irreplaceable works to ashes. But the next incarnation of the museum, now under construction, will give some Indigenous residents the opportunity to shape their own stories -- and curators a chance to rethink who they empower to shape our collective memory of history and the lessons we find in it.

Reaching to the past to reframe the present makes clear that even the existence of these manifold disasters is in part a consequence of the vast -- and sometimes reckless -- scale in which we've remade the world for centuries. In the decades after the floods of 1914 and 1938 devastated Los Angeles, as Michael Kimmelman writes, the miles-long river coursing through the city was refashioned into a narrow channel to prevent future flooding. Whole communities were cleaved, wedged between highways, railroads and the river that was now a giant concrete scar. While the channel has protected the city from major flooding, it has also worsened the effects of segregation, and so effaced the river that many Angelenos might no longer know it was ever there. The desire to restore residents' access to green spaces has led to a project nearly as bold as the creation of the channel, but one that will need to be executed with far greater care than its predecessor for the people who live alongside it.

These human-caused and ''natural'' disasters take turns with each other to create a vicious cycle that widens inequities around the globe: Wealthy countries, shielded from the worst consequences of their actions, in turn worsen humankind's shared exposure to risks such as new pathogens and rising seas. Devastated infrastructure and pressing human needs draw lenders and profiteers whose assistance comes with heavy costs. Displacement and deprivation fuel conflict, spurring more of the same. One site of many of those interlocking challenges is Puerto Rico. Moises Velasquez-Manoff transports us to a farm there, planted months before Hurricane Maria destroyed not only crops but also critical roads and disrupted food imports, leaving many hungry. As the farmer in charge of the land prepares at last to plant another farm, Fiona hits.

Was the disaster the first hurricane? The second? Was it a food system, once largely self-sufficient, now dependent on canned produce shipped from the mainland? Was it soil made loose by years of destructive farming? Rebuilding over and over in the face of such interconnected struggles requires trying to strike at all of them at once. In our stories of a world under constant reconstruction, these themes recur. Small beginnings nourish large hopes. Grand visions vie with practical compromises. Imagining another world, as difficult as that is, is still far easier than actually bringing it about.

Disasters offer evidence of what humankind is capable of, and that record stretches in many directions -- hubris, cruelty and shortsightedness; imagination, generosity and courage. Learning to live with constant disaster means more than preparing an emergency kit and practicing where to brace when the tremors hit. It means considering how to steer the vast transformations that disaster makes both necessary and possible. It means rebuilding and reimagining at once -- acknowledging our wounds and still fashioning new visions not just of who we are, or were, but of who we could be.

Human beings' most foundational resource for coping with crises is the network of people around us. At every level, from households to governments, the breadth and strength of the bonds among its members can be what determine a community's ability to repair or reimagine itself. Each catastrophe is a test of what kind of society we've built. And each recovery offers a chance, however fleeting, to build another.

''A power struggle often takes place in disaster,'' Rebecca Solnit writes in her book ''A Paradise Built in Hell.'' ''Real political and social change can result, from that struggle or from the new sense of self and society that emerges.'' Such a spirit seemed to take hold in the Mano neighborhood in Kobe, Japan, according to Etsuko Yasui, a scholar of disaster at Brandon University. In the 1960s, Mano was rapidly growing into a heavily polluted industrial district. While in other neighborhoods protests led to factories leaving the community, Mano's residents, many of whom worked in nearby factories, pressed for better, cleaner production practices. When a major earthquake struck Kobe in 1995, Mano's residents had already developed the necessary muscles. They organized themselves into amateur firefighting teams. They were not deterred when the water pressure in a fire hydrant proved too low to douse the flames. Someone remembered that one of the local factories had a machine that could increase water pressure; it was retrieved, and the hose was made to work again. Neighbors formed a bucket brigade to move water from a nearby river. Four hours after it began, the fire was out.

Mano suggests that a community bound together by its response to one crisis is better prepared for the next. Residents had not only an intimate grasp of the resources their neighborhood contained, but enough social glue that they could demonstrate collective leadership. They offer a vision of one way our communities can evolve to meet an era of constant disaster.

For a glimpse at how a different world might take root even in the middle of a system shock, consider the case of West Street Recovery. In the days after Houston was flooded by Hurricane Harvey, Andrew Barley responded to a Facebook post calling for help with water rescues. Soon enough, he had joined a small crew of volunteers. ''Water rescue turned into passing out hot meals, turned into muck and guts -- which is cleaning out houses after the storm -- turned into passing out clean clothes and cleaning supplies,'' Barley says. The crush of disaster meant there was little time at first for deliberation and bureaucracy. Even in the crucible of calamity, they managed to articulate a set of shared values and an agreement: Decisions would be made by consensus, but one voice could not overrule an otherwise unanimous choice. Before long, the volunteer operation had become a formal nonprofit.

Many such efforts emerge in the immediate aftermath of disaster, then dissipate as the recovery reaches its limits and compassion fatigue sets in. ''The real question is not why this brief paradise of mutual aid and altruism appears, but rather why it is ordinarily overwhelmed by another world order,'' Solnit writes in her book. But five years after Harvey, West Street Recovery has not only continued ongoing disaster response, but spawned a spinoff effort that's also focused on organizing residents around political aims. Perpetual disaster has been the context for that work. ''From our perspective, it was Harvey; and then from Harvey, there was a tropical storm two years after,'' Barley reflected. ''And from that, there was the pandemic; and then from the pandemic, there was social uprising. And then from social uprising, there was winter storm Uri. From winter storm Uri to now, we're facing levels of inflation that our ***working-class*** communities haven't seen, or their generation hasn't seen, in years.'' Ben Hirsch, West Street co-director, shares the group's fundamental philosophy: ''We're trying to imagine the world that we want, and act and run our organization in that way.''

This is not the kind of effort poised to scale into a large organization. For the first four years, Hirsch said, they worked in four ZIP codes. Now they work in five. The ideal future for West Street, Barley imagines, is that the community that gave rise to it builds the capacity in itself to carry on the work, and he goes on to share the knowledge he's built with other people in other places. In this community, struck by disaster after disaster, they've found ways to move through both the recurring shocks and the systemic ills that give rise to them at once. What would change about the ways we live in this age of disaster if we invested in that kind of localized mutual aid all over the globe?

The stealthiest danger in a world shaken by ongoing calamities might be that calamity becomes ordinary. We learn to cope with it from day to day, but lose the ability to imagine beyond it. I hope the articles in this special issue about rebuilding are an antidote to that danger. Disaster may be our present and future, but may the certainty of a vastly changing world keep us also alert to its vast possibility.

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Matthew Thompson is the editor of the Headway team at The Times. He serves on the board for The Texas Tribune and Capital B, and the steering committee for the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/10/magazine/natural-disaster-rebuild.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/10/magazine/natural-disaster-rebuild.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMIE CHUNG

CONCEPT BY PABLO DELCAN) (MM11)

The Caldor Fire in California burned more than 200,000 acres of land and destroyed hundreds of homes in 2021. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MAX WHITTAKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (MM12)

Polluted floodwater from Hurricane Harvey surrounding homes in Beaumont, Texas, in August 2017. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ALYSSA SCHUKAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (MM13)

Fighters from the Tigray Defense Forces surveying the wreckage of an Ethiopian Air Force plane downed by the rebels south of Mekelle, Ethiopia, in June 2021. (PHOTOGRAPH BY FINBARR O'REILLY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

police used tear gas to disperse protesters at a demonstration against the military coup in Yangon, Myanmar, in February 2021. (PHOTOGRAPH BY YE AUNG THU/AFP, VIA GETTY IMAGES) (MM14)

The Hanshin Expressway in Kobe, Japan, after the Great Hanshin Earthquake in January 1995. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KYODO, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS)

The Hanshin Expressway in 2005, after it was rebuilt. (PHOTOGRAPH BY EVERETT KENNEDY BROWN/EPA/SHUTTERSTOCK) (MM16) This article appeared in print on page MM11, MM12, MM13, MM14, MM16.

**Load-Date:** November 13, 2022

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[***How Biden’s Discipline on Rebuilding the ‘Blue Wall’ Moved Him Close to Victory***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:616Y-G9T1-JBG3-63HB-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** US; politics

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**Byline:** Lisa Lerer

**Highlight:** From the beginning of his campaign until the end, Joseph R. Biden Jr. concentrated on winning back Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin, rather than becoming overly distracted by red states.

**Body**

From the beginning of his campaign until the end, Joseph R. Biden Jr. concentrated on winning back Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin, rather than becoming overly distracted by red states.

[Read more on [*Joe Biden’s president-elect acceptance speech*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-acceptance-speech.html).]

For [*Joe Biden*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-acceptance-speech.html), it has always been about [*Michigan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-acceptance-speech.html), [*Pennsylvania*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-acceptance-speech.html) and [*Wisconsin*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-acceptance-speech.html).

From the start of his presidential campaign until the final day of the race on Tuesday, the self-described “scrappy kid from Scranton” believed that rebuilding the Democratic “blue wall” in those states would not only be his strongest path to the White House but also critical for a party that long drew strength from ***working-class*** and middle-class voters in the region.

Now, with Mr. Biden edging ahead of Mr. Trump in a nail-biter of an election, the former vice president’s disciplined approach to winning back those Northern industrial states — rather than getting distracted by Democratic dreams of a blue Texas — appears to be paying off. Wisconsin and Michigan flipped back to the Democrats on Wednesday, moving Mr. Biden closer to winning 270 Electoral College votes.

His path to victory could well go through Pennsylvania, which Democrats lost in 2016 for the first time in a quarter century and Mr. Biden, a native son, seemed most determined to claim. But his victories in Wisconsin and Michigan also give him the latitude to take the White House with wins in Arizona and Nevada, where he was ahead in the vote counts on Wednesday night.

[*Georgia*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-acceptance-speech.html), another state where Mr. Biden and Mr. Trump are running closely, has been a tantalizing target for Democrats in recent years, fueled by fast-changing suburbs. Mr. Biden made a real play for the state, with advertising and visits by former President Barack Obama and others, but he did not spend a lot of time there at the cost of the blue-wall states.

“It was critical to his success to win those three back, not only for his presidency but also for the party,” said former Mayor Michael Nutter of Philadelphia. “We can continue to try to make gains in Florida, we can continue to push Texas and Arizona and Georgia down the line. But those three are key Democratic strongholds.”

Mr. Trump campaigned aggressively in Michigan, Wisconsin and especially Pennsylvania. But Mr. Biden’s focus was notable: Many presidential nominees take their eyes off their most critical states, but Mr. Biden never lost sight of trying to win back voters in those three states who abandoned the party four years ago.

“If I’m going to beat [*Donald Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-acceptance-speech.html) in 2020, it’s going to happen here,” Mr. Biden, the former vice president, told voters in Pittsburgh during the first address of his primary campaign in April 2019.

After midnight on Wednesday, he declared to supporters, “It’s going to take time to count the votes, but we’re going to win Pennsylvania.”

His discipline is relatively rare in presidential politics — candidates, often times Democrats, usually get swept up with a big map conquest, like Hillary Clinton’s intense focus on Florida in 2016 and even her dalliances with Arizona and Utah.

But this race was no ordinary contest: Like voters, activists and officials in his party, Mr. Biden was haunted by the [*narrow loss in 2016*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-acceptance-speech.html) of 80,000 votes in the three traditionally Democratic states that cost the party the White House that year.

In the last days of the election, Mr. Biden’s campaign and allies privately maintained that he could win battleground states across the country, including places like North Carolina, Arizona and Georgia. But, they argued, the trifecta represented their easiest — though perhaps not fastest — path to the presidency. Final returns in all three states are expected to take days, and Mr. Trump tried early Wednesday to set the narrative that Democrats were trying to “steal the election” — a groundless assertion.

But the Biden camp wasn’t about to take the bait.

“We believe that we are well positioned in Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin,” Jennifer O’Malley Dillon, Mr. Biden’s campaign manager, said on Monday in a briefing about election night. “We know those states in particular are coming in later, but we think we’re going to win those states. That is our clearest path to victory.”

Although Mr. Biden visited Arizona and Georgia, his campaign had declined to spend a lot of precious time and money in those states — despite repeated pleas from local Democrats. And when two Democratic billionaires, Dustin Moskovitz and Michael R. Bloomberg, poured money into Texas in the 11th hour, Mr. Biden dispatched only Senator Kamala Harris of California, his running mate, to the state.

Even that was more attention than Democrats were accustomed to getting from the national party in the traditionally conservative Western states. In Arizona, a state that Mr. Biden visited just once as the party’s nominee, officials said they were satisfied with the campaign’s approach to the state.

“They spent a lot of time here; they put in a lot of energy and attention, more than previous campaigns,” said Representative Ruben Gallego, who represents the fast-growing Phoenix area. “And if we win, it doesn’t matter.”

In total, Mr. Biden spent $57.8 million on advertising in Texas and Arizona. He spent nearly three times as much — $169.2 million — in [*Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/07/us/politics/biden-acceptance-speech.html).

The decision to focus on the industrial trio was driven by the practicalities of political math. Mrs. Clinton lost those states by tight margins, making them fertile ground for Democrats to begin a comeback. Just winning those three states, along with holding all of the traditionally Democratic strongholds won by Mrs. Clinton, would capture the presidency for Mr. Biden.

But it was also a calculation born of cultural affinity. Despite his decades in Washington, Mr. Biden sees himself as a ***working-class*** son, just another “middle class Joe” taking the train to work like any other commuter.

“Joe, people like him, they don’t dislike him,” Representative Debbie Dingell of Michigan said in an interview this fall. “Hillary Clinton’s my friend, but she never walked into a union hall.”

Mr. Biden has particularly close ties to Pennsylvania, often jokingly referred to as the “third senator” from the state during his time in Congress, Mr. Nutter said.

“He knows the state. He’s comfortable in the state,” he said. “For him, campaigning in Pennsylvania was almost like going home.”

Shortly after Mrs. Clinton’s loss in 2016, Mr. Biden recalled feeling disturbed when seeing Mr. Trump strike a chord with voters at a rally in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., near his childhood Scranton home.

“Son of a gun — we may lose this election,” Mr. Biden recounted thinking in an interview in December 2016 with The Los Angeles Times.

Mr. Biden crafted his own approach, determined not to repeat what he saw as Mrs. Clinton’s mistakes. Not only did Mr. Biden start and end his campaign in Pennsylvania, he also visited the state more than any other during the campaign. Just a little more than 10 miles from his home in Wilmington, Del., and sharing a common media market, Pennsylvania was a second political home for Mr. Biden long before he started his third presidential bid.

“From the time I started as a U.S. senator, Philadelphia has brought me to the dance!” Mr. Biden, a former senator from Delaware, told cheering supporters in the northern part of the city during his last event before polls closed on Tuesday evening.

Mr. Biden and some of his allies see the ***working-class*** and middle-class moderate voters of the Midwest as his natural base, and they tried to build a coalition that was made up of more white voters than the base that elected former President Barack Obama and that Mrs. Clinton tried to replicate in 2016.

“Biden is from a manufacturing town, and he’s of the right age, demographic and financial background,” said Aaron Stearns, the Democratic chairman in Warren County in northwestern Pennsylvania. “People can relate to him in a way that they could not relate to Hillary Clinton.”

Some Democrats say it was Mr. Biden’s willingness to focus on the Northern states, devoting his limited in-person campaign stops to showing up even as coronavirus cases surged across the region, that gave him a chance of winning the states back.

“A lot of the problem was that Hillary Clinton was not here enough in some of the suburban areas that we lost to Trump,” said Jay Costa, the Democratic leader in the Pennsylvania State Senate. “The former vice president did a very good job of not falling into that trap another time.”

In the final days of his campaign, Mr. Biden did add a stop in Ohio, a state that many Democrats believe has shifted — perhaps permanently — away from their party. They were proved right Tuesday night, when Mr. Trump won the state.

Some Democrats attributed the stop in Cleveland to scheduling around events in Pennsylvania. Getting across the country to Arizona would simply take too many precious hours in the final days, given how many stops Mr. Biden’s campaign had planned in the Keystone State.

But others ascribed the visit to Mr. Biden’s dogged belief that the Democratic path to the White House still runs through the Midwest.

The Biden campaign, unlike the campaigns of Mr. Obama and Mrs. Clinton, did not impose a central strategy on state Democratic parties, said officials in the three states. Instead, the campaign integrated with voter outreach programs that each state had been building since the parties’ losses in 2016.

“The big gamble for state parties was, would the presidential campaign push all the dishes off the table and start over, or integrate with what we had been building?” said Ben Wikler, the chairman of the Democratic Party of Wisconsin. “They didn’t impose a one-size-fits-all model.”

Mr. Wikler said he had been in regular contact with Biden campaign officials beginning last summer to brief them on the program that the state party was building.

After Mrs. Clinton failed to visit Wisconsin during her 2016 campaign, Mr. Biden made three visits to the state, which was set to host the Democratic National Convention before it became an all-virtual event because of the coronavirus pandemic, which is worse in Wisconsin than it is in any other battleground state.

Mr. Wikler said the three visits, along with myriad other virtual events that Mr. Biden and his surrogates hosted for local supporters, were sufficient enough to maintain a presence for Wisconsin voters.

“Biden has made clear all along that Wisconsin is a top priority,” he said.

It may still be some time before the nation knows whether it was enough.

Jennifer Medina, Reid Epstein and Nick Corasaniti contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Joseph R. Biden Jr. speaking at an election night drive-in event in Wilmington, Del. He devoted much time and energy to campaigning in neighboring Pennsylvania. (PHOTOGRAPH BY RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (P4)

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[***She Made Her Name by Drawing Out Its Syllables***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64NC-41R1-DXY4-X49N-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Body**

Drawing out the syllables of her name with an exaggerated flair became Ms. Vega's trademark and helped establish her as a New York institution.

''I'm Yo-LAHNNN-da Vega!''

That distinctive introduction is how Yolanda Vega, the face of the New York Lottery's on-air drawings for over three decades, made, well, a name for herself.

But Ms. Vega, 66, is calling it quits as the evening diva of the state's numbers drawings. The lottery announced her retirement this week on Twitter.

Drawing out the syllables with an exaggerated flair became Ms. Vega's trademark and helped establish her as a New York institution. Anchors of news programs began imitating the pronunciation in introducing the lottery drawings, syndicated to television stations statewide. And in a brief appearance on The Oprah Winfrey Show in 1994, even Ms. Winfrey introduced her in Ms. Vega's trademark fashion.

She has likely presented billions in winnings over the years. It was invariably Ms. Vega who presented on-air the familiar oversized ceremonial checks for oversized amounts to stunned winners of the Mega Millions, Powerball and other games run by the New York Lottery, which calls itself the largest and most profitable in the nation.

But it was the way she pronounced her name, as much as her role, that gained her the affection of millions. ''It just took so hard,'' Ms. Vega said on Wednesday. ''I believe it helped promote me, helped blow me up.''

''It's melodic and it's fun,'' she added. ''I've had numerous women tell me that the first words out of their children's mouths were Yolanda Vega.''

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

Brad Maione, a spokesman for the New York State Gaming Commission, which operates the lottery, said, ''Her ebullient nature, coupled with her playful personality, made Yolanda a national icon.''

''There will never be another personality associated with the lottery like Yolanda Vega,'' he said.

Ms. Vega became part of an evening ritual for millions of lottery players and a staple at promotional events and lottery news conferences.

In her first decade on the air, she began gaining a cult following. At one point, the lottery held ''I Want To Be Yolanda Vega'' promotional contests across the state that featured fans dressing up like Ms. Vega and imitating her.

As customer giveaways, the lottery made Yolanda Vega bobblehead figures with a recorded voice announcing her name.

Over the years, as fashions and hairstyles changed, Ms. Vega's changed with them. But her cheerful on-air style remained a constant as she stood amid canisters of dancing balls ready to be spit out into winning number combinations.

Ms. Vega said she began exaggerating the pronunciation of her name almost as soon as she began appearing on television for the lottery. One morning, she spontaneously did it when she was ''hopped up on some espresso,'' and a program director warned her that ''stretching your name is sucking up seconds of valuable time.''

''I said, 'I'm proud of who I am,' and I continued to be true to myself and I continued to do it.''

Ms. Vega became known statewide, from Buffalo to Long Island, a staple at lottery presentations from county fairs to minor league baseball stadiums to the New Year's Eve ball drop in Times Square.

She was constantly greeted by fans delivering their own attempts at her distinctive name pronunciation, said Margaret R. DeFrancisco, director of the New York Lottery from 1999 to 2004.

''People would imitate it or test it out with her -- if she ever got tired of it, it never showed,'' Ms. DeFrancisco said, adding that when sporting events occasionally pre-empted the lottery drawings, ''we would get phone calls from people saying, 'How dare you pre-empt Yolanda.'''

On Wednesday, one Twitter user, @JoeRashbaum, called Ms. Vega ''as iconic a part of NYC as the subways, bagels, the Garden and everything else'' and thanked her for ''making the drawings 'Must Watch T.V.'''

She could be presenting a $400 million check to a truck driver from Brooklyn, or $7 million in scratch-off winnings to a Staten Island construction worker.

She was there jumping in jubilation in Madison Square Garden with the guy who swished a long shot shot in 2002 to win $1 million in the Mega Millions, and atop the Empire State Building in 2005 for the King Kong Millions jackpot for $55 million.

Born Yolanda Antequera, Ms. Vega said she grew up one of six daughters of Puerto Rican parents in public housing in Red Hook, Brooklyn.

She attended public schools including Hunter College in the city university system and began working as a bookkeeper, eventually moving to the Albany area.

In 1990, on a lark, she auditioned to be a television personality for the state lottery. At age 34, with no relevant experience, she had no real hope of landing the job, ''so I was just being my old Brooklyn self,'' she said. She was hired.

Ms. Vega said she turned down job offers from television news networks to remain the face of the lottery. In a 2019 appearance on The Wendy Williams Show, Ms. Vega said she did not want to retire. But after weathering the pandemic, she said on Wednesday that she was eager to spend more time with her husband.

She added that she recently ''hit the jackpot'' with the birth of her first grandchild, a 5-month-old boy named Isaiah.

''He was the final straw'' in her decision, she said.

Ms. Vega said her upbringing as a New Yorker may have helped prepare her to relate to many lottery winners on the cusp of going from ***working class*** people to multimillionaires.

Before the cameras began rolling, she said, she would pull them aside.

''I would say, 'Look at me, baby, look at me, mama -- it's going to be OK,''' she said. ''I made them feel comfortable and they ended up talking to me and connecting with me.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/27/nyregion/yolanda-vega-ny-lottery.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/27/nyregion/yolanda-vega-ny-lottery.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: From left: Yolanda Vega presenting a ceremonial check to Harold and Carol Diamond in 2015

and announcing the winning numbers for a Mega Millions jackpot in 2007. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JOHN DESANTO/TIMES HERALD-RECORD, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

SHIHO FUKADA/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

**Load-Date:** January 30, 2022

**End of Document**



[***She Turned Her Audacious Lens on Herself, and Shaped the Future; Critic’s Pick***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62H1-W1V1-JBG3-61G5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 22, 2021 Thursday 19:08 EST

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**Section:** ARTS; design

**Length:** 1465 words

**Byline:** Holland Cotter

**Highlight:** A powerful voice for marginalized groups, Laura Aguilar frankly and poetically portrayed Latino and lesbian communities.

**Body**

A powerful voice for marginalized groups, Laura Aguilar frankly and poetically portrayed Latino and lesbian communities.

It feels good — a relief — to know that the photographer Laura Aguilar, who died in 2018, lived long enough to see her fine career survey, which opened a year earlier in her hometown Los Angeles, and has now, at last, landed in New York.

It’s a movingly, sometimes discomfortingly intimate show. To know Aguilar’s art is, to an unusual degree, to know her, and to care about her, and to care about what she cared about: under-the-radar, under-threat social communities and hard-won personal survival.

Titled “Laura Aguilar: Show and Tell,” the retrospective was part of [*“Pacific Standard Time: LA/LA,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/21/arts/design/a-head-spinning-hope-inspiring-showcase-of-art.html) the Getty Foundation-sponsored extravaganza in 2017 of more than 70 concurrent exhibitions in and around Los Angeles that together demonstrated the influence of Latin America and Latino art on the city. A few of the bigger, splashier entries traveled, without delay, from Los Angeles to New York, one to the Met, another to the Brooklyn Museum. It would have made sense for the Aguilar show to head East too, to the Whitney maybe, or the New Museum. But it’s only getting here now, four years late, half its initial size and hosted by a small, punchy, queer-positive outlier institution, [*the Leslie-Lohman Museum of Art in Soho*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/21/arts/design/a-head-spinning-hope-inspiring-showcase-of-art.html).

Actually, it’s a natural berth for Aguilar, who was a born outlier to the mainstream art world, and knew it. (She once photographed herself as a scruffy panhandler standing outside a gallery holding a hand-scrawled sign reading “Artist Will Work for Axcess.”) By the establishment standards of a few decades ago, she was of the wrong social class and ethnicity, the wrong gender and sexual persuasion, and the wrong physical shape and size — “fat” was her own descriptor. Plus, she had difficulties — dyslexia, depression — that set her apart from easy integration into any kind of mainstream at all.

Talent, courage, brains and curiosity carried her. She was able to turn potential liabilities into creative assets, in part by making herself — a large-bodied, disabled, ***working-class*** Latina lesbian — a primary subject of her art. Today, when queerness in its many layered meanings, including its embodiment in the gender-neutral term Latinx, is acknowledged and valorized, she stands as a figure who was shaping a future that is our present.

She was born in 1959 in San Gabriel, in Los Angeles County. Her father, a welder, was Mexican American; her mother’s background was native Californio and Irish. The assimilationist family wanted nothing to do with El Movimiento, the Chicano civil rights movement of the 1960s and ’70s, and she herself, although brown-skinned, did not grow up speaking Spanish. In general, due to auditory dyslexia, undiagnosed until she was in her 20s, she had lifelong difficulties with communication, a handicap that led to an early sense of isolation.

She was introduced to photography by her older brother and was largely self-taught, though as a student at East Los Angeles College she found encouraging mentors. In college she also took consciousness-raising courses in Chicano studies. Sybil Venegas, the curator of the current retrospective, was one of her teachers and introduced her to the vivacious local Chicano art scene. Aguilar’s developing sense of a Chicana identity is evident in the earliest works here.

For a photographic series begun in 1984, she documented the fantastic costumes cooked up by young East Los Angeles artists to celebrate the annual Day of the Dead. A 1990 series called “How Mexican is Mexican,” consists of photo portraits of Chicanas, including herself, annotated with handwritten statements. Hers reads: “My mother told me whatever you do in life, all people will see is the color of your skin. I spent 20 years feeling ashamed, but that was then.”

Despite her words, she was uncomfortable with a one-track identity. From 1990 also comes what is probably Aguilar’s best-known work, the triptych titled[*“Three Eagles Flying.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/21/arts/design/a-head-spinning-hope-inspiring-showcase-of-art.html)In its central panel the artist stands, nude to the waist, her head hooded in a Mexican national flag, her lower body wrapped in the United States stars-and-stripes. A thick rope snakes around her neck like a noose and ties her hands. She’s held captive by political allegiances and their binding, smothering power.

In the 1980s, Aguilar came out as gay. In 1986, she began another portrait-and-text series, “Latina Lesbians,” which reads a bit like a cultural anthropology project. In 1992, she dove directly into the gay community with on-site portraits of the clientele of a local ***working-class*** lesbian bar called the Plush Pony. The good-humored rapport among her subjects, most of them Latina, comes through. But in a catalog essay, the scholar James Estrella, who had access to Aguilar’s letters and diaries, suggests that, for various reasons, she felt emotionally conflicted about her relation to the scene. Surely her struggle with depression was a factor.

Aguilar made powerful videos about this experience. In a short 1995 piece titled “Talking About Depression 2,” she does exactly that. She addresses the camera and speaks — gently but bluntly — about her chronic feeling of despair, of waking up in the morning furious with God for keeping her alive. In a second video — hard to watch — she teases the blade of a knife against her hand while musing on an urge toward self-destruction. And in a set of photographic self-portraits titled “Don’t Tell Her Art Can’t Hurt” she puts the barrel of a gun in her mouth.

Such displays of psychological exposure could easily feel self-aggrandizing. In Aguilar’s hands, they don’t. Emotional nakedness — what another catalog writer, [*Amelia Jones*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/21/arts/design/a-head-spinning-hope-inspiring-showcase-of-art.html), refers to as “radical vulnerability” — becomes, for her, a means of self-acceptance. And she translates it into literal, bodily nakedness in her late work, much of which is a form of self-portraiture.

Aguilar suffered a life of body-shaming and self-shaming, which she gradually addressed and confronted through art. In one of her earliest and most widely reproduced self-portraits, titled “In Sandy’s Room” from 1989, we see her nude and half-reclining in an easy chair, facing an electric fan. It’s a great, witty and, by now, classic image: a new-style Venus — related maybe to the Willendorf Venus — relaxing, drink in hand, on a sultry Southern California day off.

She once noted that the only time she was truly comfortable with her body was when she felt it touched by a breeze or warmed by the sun outdoors, in nature. And that’s where her late nude self-images are set, many in the deserts of New Mexico and Texas, terrain associated, as now seems clear, with immigration and border-crossings.

Sometimes Aguilar poses with other women, but in the best of these pictures, meaning the most moving ones, she’s alone, her face often hidden, her prone body aligned with and echoing landscape contours and rock formations. The latest of the solo series, “Grounded” from 2006, brought color into her work, which until then had been primarily black-and-white. Also, there’s an element of sensuality — light and shadow on flesh — that hadn’t been evident before. And there’s an air of harmony, even peace. This isn’t a portrait of self-effacement exactly, but where her presence in her art had always been essentially about being apart-from, here it’s about being part-of.

Aguilar, who scrambled over the years to stay financially solvent and lived alone in a small house passed down through her family, died of diabetes and renal failure at 58. By that point, although she had sold little, she had had many shows, culminating in this one, which was organized by the [*Vincent Price Art Museum at East Los Angeles College*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/21/arts/design/a-head-spinning-hope-inspiring-showcase-of-art.html) in collaboration with the[*U.C.L.A. Chicano Studies Research Center.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/21/arts/design/a-head-spinning-hope-inspiring-showcase-of-art.html)

In 2017 in Los Angeles, her retrospective was a popular hit. As American cultural demographics change, she’s entering the history books. But she still stands outside the mainstream, and probably always will. When the art world forms its pantheons, it usually goes for glam of a standard, starry kind. Aguilar doesn’t give us that. She gives us honesty, imperfection, generosity, herself. So much better.

Laura Aguilar: Show and Tell

Through June 26. Leslie-Lohman Museum of Art, 26 Wooster Street, Manhattan. 212-431-2609; [*leslielohman.org*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/21/arts/design/a-head-spinning-hope-inspiring-showcase-of-art.html).

PHOTOS: Works by Laura Aguilar, clockwise from top left: “Xerox Collage #2” (1983); “Grounded #111” (2006), a self-portrait; “Plush Pony #15” (1992); “In Sandy’s Room” (1989), another self-portrait; and “At Home With the Nortes” (1990). (PHOTOGRAPHS BY LAURA AGUILAR/LAURA AGUILAR TRUST; UCLA CHICANO STUDIES RESEARCH CENTER; LAURA AGUILAR/LAURA AGUILAR TRUST; VINCENT PRICE ART MUSEUM FOUNDATION AND THE LOS ANGELES COUNTY MUSEUM OF ART;)

**Load-Date:** May 13, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Trump Holds Enduring Grip in Ohio's G.O.P. Primaries***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65CK-8J91-DXY4-X0V2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 5, 2022 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 12

**Length:** 1252 words

**Byline:** By Jonathan Weisman and Maggie Haberman

**Body**

Donald Trump showed his enduring grip over Republican primaries for Senate, and establishment Democrats won a House rematch against a progressive challenger.

It was an early night in Ohio.

Despite questions about turnout amid bad weather, the results of the state's primary elections on Tuesday didn't produce many surprises.

In the night's biggest race, J.D. Vance, the ''Hillbilly Elegy'' author who remade himself as a die-hard supporter of Donald J. Trump, won the closely watched Republican Senate primary after his struggling campaign was lifted by a crucial endorsement from the former president last month.

Here are a few key takeaways from one of the first major primary nights of the 2022 midterm cycle:

It was a good night for Donald Trump, and not just because of Vance.

Mr. Vance's victory over a crowded field, in which he consolidated support the day of the vote, was unequivocally good news for Mr. Trump. The former president's endorsement on April 15 came when Mr. Vance had been all but left for dead. Instead, with help from Mr. Trump and allies including Donald Trump Jr., Mr. Vance turned his campaign around.

''If Trump supports Vance, then we know he will be good,'' said Kurt Oster, 59, a voter in Eaton, Ohio.

Trailing Mr. Vance by a relatively wide margin were Josh Mandel, a former Ohio treasurer who had run as a hard-right Trump loyalist -- and, like Mr. Vance, faced criticism for contorting himself in doing so -- and Matt Dolan, a state senator who sought more moderate voters. Mr. Dolan had seemed to gain ground during early voting, and other campaigns had closely monitored his apparent rise.

But the fact that Mr. Vance and Mr. Mandel received more than 50 percent of the vote combined running as pro-Trump candidates spoke to the former president's enduring grip over certain races -- particularly Senate primary elections, in which voters are sending people to fight for them in Washington as opposed to run their states.

In the general election, Mr. Vance, who improved as a campaigner over the course of the primary, will face Representative Tim Ryan, a moderate Democrat who also claims to understand the concerns of Ohio's white ***working class***. Part of Mr. Trump's rationale in endorsing Mr. Vance was his belief that Mr. Ryan would be a strong candidate, and that Mr. Vance was best positioned to take him on, according to a Republican briefed on the endorsement.

It's not clear how much Mr. Vance's message will change for the general election in a state that has become increasingly hostile for Democrats. Mr. Ryan, who is trying to win back blue-collar workers for his party, has signaled that he will try to paint Mr. Vance, a Yale Law School graduate and venture capitalist, as a creature of the cocktail party circuit and Silicon Valley. But he faces an uphill battle in Ohio.

For governor, Republican voters in Ohio preferred a familiar face.

The night did not completely belong to Mr. Trump and Trumpism.

Gov. Mike DeWine easily won the Republican nomination for another term despite angering many in the Trump wing of the party for what they saw as his heavy hand in controlling the pandemic. Last month, Mr. DeWine said that he could not attend a Trump rally in his state because he was committed to celebrating Ulysses S. Grant's 200th birthday.

His main opponent, Jim Renacci, sought out Mr. Trump's endorsement but did not secure it, in large part because he was never a serious threat. Mr. Renacci's ''Ohio First'' campaign was clearly an echo of Mr. Trump's presidential bids, yet he never gained traction.

A Trump ally rose, as a Republican who backed impeachment departs.

One of Mr. Trump's other victories in Ohio was that of Max Miller, a young former aide who worked for him in the White House.

With Mr. Trump's encouragement, Mr. Miller ran for Congress in a state where his family has deep ties, initially as an attempt to take out a House Republican who had voted to impeach Mr. Trump after the Capitol riot. That congressman, Anthony Gonzalez, dropped out. But when the seats were redrawn during redistricting, Mr. Miller ran in a different district, and won his primary on Tuesday night.

Despite some ugly headlines -- Mr. Miller was accused of domestic violence by an ex-girlfriend, Stephanie Grisham, one of Mr. Trump's press secretaries, an allegation that he denied before suing for defamation -- he is expected to carry the safely conservative district easily in November.

And if he does win, another House member whose candidacy began as a vengeance play will owe his political rise to the former president.

It's better to be the only Trump acolyte than the only establishment Republican in a race.

Splitting the pro-Trump vote didn't save Mr. Dolan's candidacy in the Senate primary, but splitting the establishment Republican vote handed a pro-Trump candidate a surprising victory in Northwest Ohio's Ninth Congressional District.

J.R. Majewski, a burly businessman who painted his vast back lawn into one huge Trump sign in 2020, earned the right to challenge Representative Marcy Kaptur, a Democrat who has served in Congress for decades. Her district was redrawn by the state's Republican-controlled Legislature to try to thwart her bid for a 21st term.

The new boundaries attracted two G.O.P. state lawmakers, State Senator Theresa Gavarone and State Representative Craig Riedel, to enter the primary. Then, almost as an afterthought, came Mr. Majewski, who ran ads showing him carrying an assault-style rifle, posted a ''Let's Go Brandon'' rap on his website and earned a somewhat incoherent acknowledgment from Mr. Trump at an Ohio rally.

The battle between Ms. Gavarone and Mr. Riedel, however, appeared to let Mr. Majewski squeeze through -- though Ms. Kaptur may get the last laugh.

Ohio Democrats showed little appetite for adding a new 'squad' member.

Last August, Shontel Brown, a little-known chairwoman of the Cuyahoga County Democratic Party, seemingly came from nowhere to win a House special election in Cleveland against Nina Turner, a former co-chair of Senator Bernie Sanders's presidential campaign and a hero of the activist left.

In Washington, the Democratic establishment had dearly wanted to keep Ms. Turner away from the House. She had made something of a career of bashing centrist Democrats, and planned to be a brash voice in the expanding ''squad'' of progressive members of Congress. Ms. Brown was seen by many on the left as the establishment's creation.

Ms. Turner surprised no one when she challenged Ms. Brown to a rematch in this year's Democratic primary.

Her pitch was that this year would be different. Crossover Republicans from the Cleveland suburbs who had helped Ms. Brown in the special election would not be available this time, because they would be voting in the Republican primary. A redrawn district, still overwhelmingly Democratic, was more concentrated in and around Cleveland, Ms. Turner's home base.

But Ms. Brown ran this year not as an unknown but as an incumbent, who could point to her vote for the bipartisan infrastructure law. The Congressional Progressive Caucus endorsed her, blunting any boost Ms. Turner might have received from Mr. Sanders's endorsement and late support from Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York.

And in a disheartening blow for Ms. Turner and the activist left, Ms. Brown easily won the rematch.

Kevin Williams contributed reporting from Eaton, Ohio.Kevin Williams contributed reporting from Eaton, Ohio.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/04/us/elections/ohio-indiana-primary-elections-takeaways.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/04/us/elections/ohio-indiana-primary-elections-takeaways.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Supporters of J.D. Vance celebrating his Republican Senate primary victory. Mr. Vance turned his campaign around with help from Donald J. Trump and allies. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Josh Mandel conceding on Tuesday night in Cleveland. He ran for the Senate as a Trump loyalist, and he and Mr. Vance got over 50 percent of the vote. (PHOTOGRAPH BY BRIAN KAISER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Left, Gov. Mike DeWine and his wife, Fran, after voting on Tuesday in Cedarville, Ohio. He easily won the Republican nomination for another term. Representative Shontel Brown, right, won a rematch against Nina Turner. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY PAUL VERNON/ASSOCIATED PRESS

JOHN KUNTZ/CLEVELAND.COM, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS)

**Load-Date:** May 5, 2022

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[***It Appears Roe Will Fall. It's Time to Rage.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65CK-8J91-DXY4-X0S5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 5, 2022 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 27; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 1224 words

**Byline:** By Roxane Gay

**Body**

My wife's stepfather began raping her when she was 11 years old. The abuse went on for years, and as Debbie got older, she was constantly terrified that she was pregnant. She had no one to talk to and nowhere to turn.

Her stepfather often threatened to kill her younger brother and her mother if Debbie told anyone, so when the fear of pregnancy became too consuming, she told her mother she was assaulted at school. Her mother took Debbie to a doctor, who said that because of her scar tissue, she was sexually active and must have a boyfriend. It was the early 1970s.

A pregnancy would have, in Debbie's words, ruined her life. Today, she is 60 years old. She is still dealing with the repercussions of that trauma. It is unfathomable to consider how a forced pregnancy would have further altered the trajectory of her life.

I was sexually assaulted by several young men when I was 12. I have told the story and am tired of telling it, and the story is not the point. I had not yet had my first period. And still, in the weeks and months after, of course I worried I was pregnant. I worried I would not know who the father was.

If I had been pregnant, I don't know what I would have done. I was Catholic. Abortion was a sin. But a 12-year-old is not equipped for childbirth or parenthood. The trauma I endured would have only been compounded by a forced pregnancy. And the trajectory of my life, too, would have been further altered.

It is stunning that a draft of a Supreme Court ruling that would overturn Roe v. Wade was leaked before the justices planned to announce their decision, likely next month. It is also telling. Whoever leaked it wanted people to understand the fate awaiting us.

At least, that is what I am telling myself. And thank God somebody did, so we know. So we can prepare. So we can rage.

We should not live in a world where sexual violence exists, but we do. Given that unfortunate reality, we should not live in a world where someone who is raped is forced to carry a pregnancy to term because a minority of Americans believe the unborn are more important than the people who give birth to them.

And we should defend abortion access not only in cases of sexual violence. All those who want an abortion should be able to avail themselves of that medical procedure. Their reasons are no one's business. People should not have to demonstrate their virtue to justify a personal decision about how to handle a life-altering circumstance.

We should not live in a country where bodily autonomy can be granted or taken away by nine political appointees, most of whom are men and cannot become pregnant. Any civil right contingent upon political whims is not actually a civil right.

Without the right to abortion, women are forced to make terrible choices. These burdens disproportionately fall upon poor and ***working-class*** women without the means to travel across state lines to receive the care they need. Despite promises from the anti-abortion movement to support pregnant women and children, the ''pro-life'' lobby appears to be invested only in the unborn. The same mostly male politicians who oppose abortion so often do everything in their power to oppose rights to paid parental leave, subsidized child care, single-payer health care or any kind of social safety net that could improve family life.

The leaked document is a draft. Abortion is still legal, though it is largely inaccessible in parts of the country. The Supreme Court has issued a statement emphasizing that the draft, while authentic, may still change. Still, it is a harbinger of terrible things to come. As many as 25 states are poised to ban abortion the moment Roe v. Wade is overturned.

And there are other disturbing considerations in the draft decision, written by Justice Samuel Alito. Some have expressed the concern that by extending Justice Alito's reasoning, other hard-won rights -- such as the rights to contraception and marriage equality -- could be struck down too. That is to say, this decision is opening the door for social progress and civil rights to be systematically dismantled on the most absurd of pretexts.

And this is not a theoretical threat. We are already seeing how several states are trying to legislate trans people out of existence with laws banning gender-affirming health care for children, and in Missouri, a proposed law could extend that denial to adults.

I do not know where this retraction of civil rights will end, but I do know it will go down as a milestone in a decades-long conservative campaign to force a country of 330 million people to abide by a bigoted set of ideologies. This movement seeks to rule by hollow theocracy, despite our constitutional separation of church and state. The people behind this campaign do not represent the majority of this country, and they know it, so they consistently try to undermine the democratic process. They attack voting rights, gerrymander voting districts and shove unpopular legislation through so that they can live in a world of their choosing and hoard as much power and wealth as possible.

Where do we go from here? To protect women's bodily autonomy, the right to abortion must be codified in federal law. But the possibility of that seems very distant. In their joint statement, issued after the Supreme Court leak, the Senate majority leader, Chuck Schumer, and the House speaker, Nancy Pelosi, did not use the word ''abortion'' even once. President Biden has barely uttered it during his presidency. It's hard to believe they are as committed as they need to be to protecting a right whose name they dare not speak. Until the Democrats stop lounging in the middle of the political aisle -- where no one is coming to meet them -- nothing will change.

The possibility of so many civil rights being rolled back is terrifying. Millions of Americans now wonder which of our rights could be stripped away from us, our friends and family, our communities. The sky is falling, and a great many of us are desperately trying to hold it up.

As Debbie and I discuss the strong likelihood of Roe v. Wade being overturned, we have started worrying about potential legal consequences for our very happy marriage. In June, we will celebrate our second wedding anniversary.

When we exchanged our vows, everything changed. We were already committed, but our commitment deepened. There was a new and satisfying gravity to our relationship. In an instant, I understood that marriage is far more than a piece of paper -- but that having that paper mattered.

We have each worked very hard to overcome the traumas we endured as children, to allow ourselves to love and be loved wholly. This life we share would not be possible had we ended up pregnant far too young and against our will, with no recourse. This life we have made together isn't political. It is deeply personal. And yet our lives and our bodies remain subject to political debate. In one way or another, they always have.

How are we free, under these circumstances? How can any of us be free?

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/03/opinion/roxane-gay-roe-v-wade.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/03/opinion/roxane-gay-roe-v-wade.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ALEX BRANDON/AP AND BOB KORN, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK)

**Load-Date:** May 5, 2022

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[***Retracing Walt Whitman’s Steps Through Brooklyn and Manhattan; T Book Club***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:671P-V4N1-JBG3-6323-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 7, 2022 Wednesday 12:39 EST

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**Section:** T-MAGAZINE

**Length:** 2552 words

**Byline:** Miguel Morales

**Highlight:** The poet wandered for himself and for his various day jobs with New York City newspapers. Some of his haunts are still standing; most have been swept away with time.

**Body**

Walt Whitman resided in Brooklyn for more than 28 years, longer than he lived any other place. He was almost four when, in 1823, his family moved to the borough-to-be, which, with its dirt roads, outlying croplands and farm animals sniffing about, looked more like an overgrown village than a small city. It hardly seemed destined for a bright metropolitan future, and the same might have been said about the easygoing young man who would go on to change the face of American poetry. When Whitman’s former teacher B.B. Hallock learned of his pupil’s acclaim, he responded, “We need never be discouraged over anyone.”

The writer got his real education in journalism. In his teens, twenties and beyond, he wrote more than a thousand articles that run the gamut from an essay on opera to a piece encouraging young and eligible men to get married. He went to plays, he wandered, he chatted up people of all classes. If anything, Whitman preferred the stage-drivers, the longshoremen, the builders. These were the ones the city neglected, and he strove to represent them and others in his verse. “I am the poet of the woman the same as the man,” he wrote. In fact, Whitman saw “Leaves of Grass,” the poetry collection he first published (on his own dime) in 1855 and spent the rest of his days revising and expanding, as a great equalizer, a bridge between North and South and a place to sing not only of white folks but of Black Americans, too. His radical inclusivity has inspired poets from John Ashbery to June Jordan, and continues to shape literature to this day.

“Remember,” Whitman said, “the book arose out of my life in Brooklyn and New York.” With that in mind, it’s fun to imagine the poet, whom a character in Michael Cunningham’s novel “Specimen Days” (2005), which is something of an ode to the bard, calls “the last of the great ones,” prowling the city streets. Here, a list of some of the places that lent shape to book and life both.

The Fulton Ferry Landing

Whitman first rode the Brooklyn ferry to Manhattan as a boy, when horses still powered some of the boats. The experience sparked in him a lifelong love of jaunts across the water. As an adult, he immortalized the East River passage in one of his most celebrated poems, “Crossing Brooklyn Ferry,” which first appeared in the second edition of “Leaves of Grass” (1856) under the title “Sun-Down Poem.” A praise song for a city in its adolescent phase, during which it morphed from agrarian village to global metropolis, the poem depicts Gotham from a remove. Whitman looks across the glittering harbor and speaks not of the hogs rooting in the trash heaps left to fester in the dust-choked streets of neighborhoods like Five Points, convulsed by poverty, disease and crime. Instead, rejecting the apathy that can seep into those struggling to get by in New York, he writes of a city united by shared waters and invites future generations to behold its splendor. His vision was prescient: In 1898, Brooklyn officially became part of New York City, and what the poet saw as two beacons of mankind were joined as one.

Fort Greene Park

Writing for the Brooklyn Daily Eagle in the mid-1840s, Whitman lobbied for the remnants of Fort Greene, used during the Revolutionary War, when it was known as Fort Putnam, to be made a public memorial and park. In the Battle of Brooklyn, outmanned and overmatched by the British, the American troops encamped at Fort Greene were forced to retreat. The fighting was personal for Whitman, as his great-uncle is thought to have died in the encounter, and what the British did after their victory stayed with him, too: In Wallabout Bay, they moored some sixteen rotting barges, on which around 11,500 American prisoners suffered and died. As a child playing on the sands of the bay, Whitman found some of their bones, swept in with the tides. Thanks in no small part to his efforts, the Prison Ship Martyrs’ Monument, a 149-foot-tall Doric column dedicated in 1908, crowns the crypt holding the prisoners’ remains in the center of Fort Greene Park.

Pfaff’s

This beer cellar at 689 Broadway, right off Bleecker Street, was in the mid-19th century a favorite watering hole for New York City creative types. The crew of regulars included the actresses Adah Isaacs Menken and Ada Clare, known for scandalizing the upper crust; Fitz Hugh Ludlow, the author of the autobiographical proto-druggie self-portrait “The Hasheesh Eater” (1857); the celebrated short-story writer Fitz-James O’Brien; and Henry Clapp Jr., editor of The Saturday Press and known to most in attendance as the King of Bohemia. Whitman, too, held court at Pfaff’s, where he’d sometimes rehearse one of his poems in progress. He read a draft of “Beat! Beat! Drums!,” written shortly after the disaster at Bull Run, the first full-scale battle of the Civil War, aloud here, though more often than not he simply let himself be swept up by the crowd. “My own greatest pleasure at Pfaff’s,” Whitman recounted, “was to look on — to see, talk little, absorb.” It’s been said that the bar was also a place for gay men of the era to cruise. Whitman wrote an unpublished poem about the oasis, “The Two Vaults,” an elegy for a way of life that perished, along with many of its practitioners, with the upheaval of the war — Menken, Clare, Ludlow, O’Brien and Clapp were all dead by 1875.

The Whitman Residence

In true New Yorker fashion, the Whitman clan moved many times within the city, particularly in the 1820s, when the family left Long Island to chase the Brooklyn housing boom. Their stay at a house at 99 Ryerson Street marked a happy spell for Whitman, at least as it related to his work. Despite the recession of 1854 and his father’s decline following a stroke, it was here that the 30-something put the finishing touches on the first edition of “Leaves of Grass.” Whitman, who’d worked as a printer’s apprentice, subsequently spent much of the spring of 1855 overseeing the print run at a hired Cranberry Street press, and even set the type for 10 of the book’s 95 pages himself. The fact that 99 Ryerson is the only New York City home of Whitman’s still standing speaks to the fires and real estate development that swept in waves through the city in those days.

Taylor’s Saloon

Taylor’s Saloon, which sat at the corner of Broadway and Franklin Street, was called by one magazine “the largest and most elegant restaurant in the world,” but Whitman might not have appreciated the venue or his dinner company when he went there with the reformist educator and Transcendentalist Bronson Alcott (father of Louisa May) in December 1856. Alcott, along with Henry David Thoreau, had visited the poet the month before. The “Walden” (1854) author remained mostly silent, seemingly wary of the man who sang with a “barbaric yawp” and what he might say or do. Alcott could at least hold a conversation with Whitman, and over dinner they discussed Ralph Waldo Emerson, whom they both admired, and politics. From one of the most rarefied settings in New York, Whitman denounced the political elite. It seems likely, then, that the gilded environs could have made him uneasy — he much preferred riding the Broadway omnibuses to fancy outings — and he would later dub his seatmate a “specialist” and a “department man.”

The Phrenological Cabinet

The New York publishing house Fowler and Wells distributed the first edition of “Leaves of Grass” and published the second. Founded by the brothers Lorenzo and Orson Fowler and their brother-in-law Samuel R. Wells, the firm specialized in scientific texts, which at the time included those pertaining to fad pseudosciences such as galvanism, phrenology and mesmerism. Essentially, these were early self-help books, their authors eager to stuff meaning into readers’ lives. Whitman ran a bookstore out of his home between 1849 to 1852 and sold a wide range of Fowler and Wells titles, and “Leaves of Grass” is peppered with ideas from these movements, such as the concept that the human body is sacred. The Phrenological Cabinet that the Fowlers assembled and operated at 286 Broadway’s Clinton Hall became a New York sensation. Inside were plaster casts of the skulls of murderers and celebrities. Whitman had his skull measured there by Lorenzo, and he liked the results so much he published them on four separate occasions. Despite or perhaps because of phrenology’s racist underpinnings — its system of lumping groups of people together according to meaningless bumps on their skulls and consigning Black people to the lowest rung on the ladder of humanity — Whitman was far from the only boldface name to fall under its sway: Horace Greeley, Edgar Allan Poe, Mark Twain and Brigham Young also submitted their heads for analysis.

Eagle Warehouse &amp; Storage Company

For much of his adult life, Whitman struggled to achieve mainstream success but got by as a reporter, essayist and editor for the legions of newspapers that cropped up in Brooklyn and Manhattan as the steam press gained ascendancy, with the Brooklyn Daily Eagle — its former locale now the site of trendy Dumbo lofts — providing his longest stint as a daily journalist. In this role, he cast his eye on many of what he viewed as New York City’s goods and ills, from singing families on the one hand to prostitution on the other. His sensitive treatment of social issues in his poetry surely stems from this facet of his career. Additionally, the Daily Eagle saw its circulation increase under Whitman’s eventual editorship; the budding author even introduced a literary section to the paper, publishing 11 of his own stories alongside the work of better-known European and American writers. At the time, many newspapers served as unofficial party organs, and from its conception, the Daily Eagle aligned itself with the Democrats. When Whitman took a stand against the expansion of slavery vis-à-vis his vocal support of the Wilmot Proviso, he was fired for doing so.

Egyptian Museum

Whitman admired ancient Egyptian culture and theology, and with each visit to the collector Dr. Henry Abbott’s private museum at 659 Broadway, where the poet was hurtled thousands of years into the past with the help of mummies, relics, tablets and scrolls, his appreciation grew. He saw his abiding love for nature reflected in the way the Egyptians honored the sun and the animal kingdom, and felt, he wrote, that “[Egyptian theology] respected truth and justice above all other attributes of man.” “Leaves of Grass” echoes classical Egyptian cosmogony in its acceptance of life and death as corresponding sides of man’s eternal soul: “To die is different from what any one supposed, and luckier.” Abbott, who struggled to entice other visitors to his museum, received an assist from Whitman in selling his treasures by way of a sympathetic feature in Life Illustrated. The New-York Historical Society eventually acquired Abbott’s collection and in 1937 transferred it to the Brooklyn Museum, where, every year, droves of visitors now see the treasures that so moved the poet.

Firemen’s Hall

Emerson, also known as the Sage of Concord, reportedly paid Whitman a visit shortly after writing to him, in July 1855, “I am not blind to the worth of the wonderful gift of ‘Leaves of Grass.’ I find it the most extraordinary piece of wit and wisdom that America has yet contributed.” National pride was important to Emerson, who for years exhorted American artists to step out from Europe’s shadow and develop their own modes of expression. In Whitman, with his unabashed free verse that roved from coast to coast, Emerson saw a fresh-laid path for homegrown poetics. For their meeting, Whitman chose Firemen’s Hall, a rowdy club at 155 Mercer that played up his Everyman cred, and where he would have probably needed to shout over the crowd to order his beer. Ever the savvy self-promoter, Whitman made sure the press got wind of Emerson’s appreciation for his work, but he didn’t stop there. Reportedly without Emerson’s blessing, he included the letter in full with the second edition of “Leaves of Grass,” and had a glowing excerpt — “I greet you at the beginning of a great career” — printed on its spine, thus almost single-handedly inventing the modern book blurb.

Printing House Square and Newspaper Row

Whitman first glimpsed Abraham Lincoln, who made a brief appearance in New York before traveling on to the inauguration of 1861 — this was right before the start of the Civil War, when many in the city distrusted him — the president-elect was standing across the street from downtown Manhattan’s colonial-era St. Paul’s Chapel. Before a tense crowd, in which Whitman was sure “many an assassin’s knife and pistol lurk’d,” he saw Lincoln stop to scan the masses, seemingly quieting them with a single glance before heading inside the Astor House hotel. Whitman’s account has the ring of hagiography, but clearly the encounter heightened his esteem for Lincoln, whom he celebrates in two of his most enduring poems, “When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom’d” and “O Captain! My Captain!,” the latter the only one of his works to be anthologized during his lifetime. Whitman was often in the area, as Printing House Square and Newspaper Row (now Park Row), which together formed the vibrant locus of many of the Democrat-aligned papers, were only a short walk away. At the publications’ height, more than 250,000 copies a day of Park Row papers were printed, though, by the turn of the century, prominent broadsheets were beginning to migrate uptown.

The Brooklyn Navy Yard

A few of the houses the Whitmans lived in, especially the one on Ryerson Street, were near this shipyard and industrial complex, established in 1801 on the edge of Wallabout Bay. When Whitman was 10, the steam frigate Fulton exploded in the yard, killing more than 24 sailors: The tragedy stayed with the poet for the rest of his life. Still, Whitman, a flâneur before the term was widely known, regularly walked in the vicinity of the Navy Yard, and his brother Jesse worked for a time at the docks as a loader. On one of Whitman’s nightly peregrinations during the war, a couple of months before he came across his brother George’s name listed as among the wounded in the paper and left Brooklyn to find him, he met David Wilson, a blacksmith who worked at the yard. Whitman would over the years form attachments with a number of young ***working-class*** men. A few of these friendships, like those the poet developed with Fred Vaughan in the 1850s and Peter Doyle after the war, proved enduring. Men at that time openly expressed their affection for one another, and it was not uncommon for them to sleep in the same bed. Even chance encounters like the one with Wilson were important enough to Whitman for him to document them in his notebooks. Later, when Whitman had become the Good Gray Poet of Camden, N.J., he recalled the faces and personalities of some of the soldiers he had comforted and attended to at the Armory Square Hospital in Washington, D.C. In “Specimen Days &amp; Collect” (1882), assembled and published toward the end of his life, he describes the bravery of these men and their stoicism in the face of death.

PHOTO: The entrance to the Eagle Warehouse &amp; Storage Co. in Brooklyn, circa 1975. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Edmund Vincent Gillon/Museum of the City of New York FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 11, 2022

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[***2 Michael Jackson Impersonators Look Identical. The Resemblance Ends There.; The Saturday Profile***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66FG-H7V1-JBG3-62NJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Byline:** Jack Nicas and Anita Pouchard Serra

**Highlight:** Two imitators of the King of Pop in Buenos Aires offer a study in contrasts, reflective of Argentina’s deep economic divide. One man financed 13 surgeries, while the other draws on his sideburns.

**Body**

Two imitators of the King of Pop in Buenos Aires offer a study in contrasts, reflective of Argentina’s deep economic divide. One man financed 13 surgeries, while the other draws on his sideburns.

BUENOS AIRES — Alan Garcia starts each work day on a cracked plastic stool, hunched over a small vanity mirror, caking on makeup to lighten his skin.

He draws on sideburns. He pencils a cleft into his chin. And he pinches and lifts his nose with a thin strip of tape. After nearly three hours, his new face is instantly recognizable: Michael Jackson.

Then Mr. Garcia trudges to work.

Carrying a tattered suitcase stuffed with fedoras, a sequined jacket and one bedazzled glove, he boards a commuter train from his ***working-class*** suburb to downtown Buenos Aires, a two-hour trip.

Five days a week, he dances for tips on a busy pedestrian intersection — the same choreography to the same three songs. “Smooth Criminal.” “Thriller.” “Billie Jean.” Repeat. He takes home 3,000 pesos on a good day, or about $10.

Elsewhere in Argentina’s capital, Leo Blanco rehearses with four backup dancers for his Michael Jackson impersonation spectacular. The half-hour show features lights, smoke, eight songs, five outfit changes and a pair of trick shoes that enable him to tilt his body 45 degrees for Mr. Jackson’s “[*anti-gravity lean*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2mhnL1YJ2fA).” Mr. Blanco performs for weddings, quinceañeras and corporate events for 80,000 to 100,000 pesos, or $280 to $350.

Someone else usually does Mr. Blanco’s makeup, but he doesn’t need much. He has undergone 13 surgeries to help bring his appearance closer to his idol’s. He tattooed on sideburns and eyebrows, constructed a new silicone chin and is now on his seventh nose job.

Mr. Garcia, 33, and Mr. Blanco, 26, have both dedicated their lives to transforming themselves into the same pop star. But for all the surface similarities, the two men’s lives are otherwise a study in sharp contrasts.

Mr. Garcia’s father was a bus driver. Mr. Blanco’s was a banker.

Mr. Garcia sleeps on a mattress on the floor surrounded by Michael Jackson posters in a ground-floor apartment he shares with five other people. Mr. Blanco lives with his parents in a home with two walk-in closets for his outfits and a dance room for his rehearsals.

Mr. Garcia’s teeth are a bit crooked. Mr. Blanco’s are shiny, white and porcelain.

They both date Michael Jackson super fans they met on Facebook. Mr. Garcia’s girlfriend is a 41-year-old single mother with four children and 15 dogs. Mr. Blanco’s is a 26-year-old contortionist with 155,000 followers on TikTok.

After dancing for hours on the street each night, Mr. Garcia walks to a nearby McDonald’s, orders a hamburger and scrubs off his makeup in the bathroom. “Through makeup, I can build a character,” he said. “And then I can have my own separate life.”

Mr. Blanco is looking into a 14th surgery, to extend his jawline. “I don’t go home and say, ‘I’m done,’” Mr. Blanco said. “I never finish.”

“To me, it’s not a job. It’s a lifestyle,” he added. “And in this way, life becomes a show.”

Hooked Since Childhood

Mr. Garcia and Mr. Blanco have been obsessed with Mr. Jackson since childhood.

When Mr. Garcia was 3, the pop star’s 1991 album “Dangerous” became his alarm clock, waking him each morning as the song boomed from his uncle’s house next door.

For his 5th birthday, his uncle gave him a fedora, and later a VHS recording of Mr. Jackson in concert. He memorized nearly every move, and his parents cheered him on.

He kept dancing, through school, and then jobs working at a factory and delivering pizzas. At 22, he got a makeup tutorial and was struck by his resemblance to Mr. Jackson. He started [*dancing for money*](https://www.instagram.com/alanimitador/).

At first, he struggled and fought with hecklers. Then a brief TV appearance led to a slew of private gigs. “For two years, it was nonstop,” he said.

But in 2014, with his family in financial crisis and forced to leave their home, Mr. Garcia felt his impersonator business wasn’t bringing in enough cash.

For the next seven years, Mr. Garcia drove a taxi, a freight truck and then a bus like his father. “Seven years sitting,” he said. “Seven years without dancing.”

Late last year, Mr. Garcia lost his freight job. Another dancer urged him to return to the streets, but he had sold his outfits and forgotten the moves. “I felt like that stage was over and done,” he said.

Days later, he called his friend back. “He put the music on, I heard the people clapping and then I remembered everything,” he said.

Struggles With Self-Confidence

Mr. Blanco discovered his idol later in his childhood, at 11, on YouTube.

“Like all fans, the first time we see him, we fell in love,” Mr. Blanco said. “And if that didn’t happen to you, it probably won’t happen later.”

By 15, he was taking dance classes and getting surgery.

His first operation was to reduce the size of his ears. “I lost half an ear,” he said, pulling back his long, dyed-black locks to reveal an ear missing its top half — an operational mishap. “You would think that would stop me from wanting more surgeries.”

His first gig was a First Communion.

He has since performed in seven countries, including at a bar in Miami and a stint in Milan. He appeared on Argentine talk shows, amassed [*675,000 followers on Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/leoblanco1/) and got a new chin on [*a 2019 episode of a BBC reality show*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vxjCbF3dZs8).

For all his success, Mr. Blanco said that he has struggled with self-confidence and that his surgeries have been his way to become the image of himself that he has in his head — not to transform himself into Mr. Jackson.

Mr. Blanco appeared conflicted over his ties to the pop star, [*who died in 2009*](https://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/26/arts/music/26jackson.html). He stressed that he wanted to be seen as an artist, not an impersonator, despite always being dressed as Mr. Jackson in each interview.

When he wanted to show work he was proud of, it was images from a photo shoot he had directed for an Argentine magazine, not footage of him dancing. He claimed that sometimes he looked more like Sandra Bullock, or perhaps Edward Scissorhands. And he clarified that his style is simply based on Mr. Jackson’s, not replicating it. “He was more Louis XV,” he said. “I am much more futuristic.”

Impersonating a Black Artist

At his apartment on a recent Saturday, Mr. Garcia was sipping [*mate*](https://www.nytimes.com/1991/04/24/garden/yerba-mate-ancient-antidote-to-south-america-s-heat.html) from a glittering [*gourd*](https://medium.com/@jijokini/yerba-mate-gourd-the-traditional-vessel-951f8686c53f) when he rose from his stool to point to a poster of Mr. Jackson. “I’m white,” he said. “But because of his illness, he was whiter.” He sat back down and began lightening his skin.

Mr. Garcia and Mr. Blanco are two light-skinned Latinos impersonating a Black man. While Mr. Garcia said no one had ever asked him about race in relation to his work, Mr. Blanco was confronted in 2020 on Instagram by Dean Morrow, a Black Michael Jackson impersonator from Philadelphia.

Mr. Morrow accused Mr. Blanco of exploiting Mr. Jackson. Amid Black Lives Matter protests in the United States, Mr. Blanco continued to post selfies on Instagram, but never mentioned the killing of George Floyd.

“My thing was: You’re getting your fame off Black artists and you’re not standing up for Black issues,” Mr. Morrow said.

Mr. Blanco said he was confused and hurt. “I cried,” he said. “Why does skin color matter so much if we’re talking about art?”

Mr. Morrow said that because of Mr. Jackson’s shifting skin color, which was at least partly caused by the skin disease vitiligo, almost anyone could imitate him. But as a result, he said, many tribute artists disregard Mr. Jackson’s Black heritage. “They look at Michael Jackson as a white man,” he said.

Mr. Morrow often asks other white imitators, “‘If Michael Jackson never turned white, would you still be a tribute Michael Jackson?’” he said. “It offends them because they know they wouldn’t.”

Imitating the King of Pop poses tricky questions. First, he faced numerous [*allegations that he molested young boys*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/arts/music/michael-jackson-timeline-sexual-abuse-accusations.html). He was [*acquitted*](https://www.nytimes.com/2005/06/14/us/michael-jackson-cleared-after-14week-child-molesting-trial.html) of such charges in 2005, but [*more people have leveled accusations*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/28/arts/television/michael-jackson-leaving-neverland.html) since.

Then there are the questions about race.

Margo Jefferson, a former critic for The New York Times who has written extensively about Black American culture, including [*a book on Michael Jackson*](https://www.nytimes.com/2006/01/24/books/the-abcs-of-that-damaged-man-in-the-mirror.html), said that Mr. Jackson has long been impersonated by people of all ethnic backgrounds.

Mr. Jackson’s “performative legacies, the racial and gender crossovers, are available to a vast global culture,” she said. Whether imitators are doing something distasteful, however, boils down to whether they are impersonating the man well.

“Impersonation remains a somewhat mysterious and charged mode of performance,” she said.

Showtime

On a recent Friday around sundown, Mr. Garcia arrived at his office, a patch of pavement in a busy pedestrian area downtown. He greeted his co-workers, three hip-hop dancers with a speaker plugged into an idling moped.

When there was enough of a crowd, the distinct bass line of “Smooth Criminal” sent Mr. Garcia and his backup dancers sashaying across the concrete. They danced for the next four hours. Mr. Garcia periodically made the rounds, collecting bills in his fedora.

“The street is the most difficult stage,” he said, noting he has dealt with drunks, hecklers and the police. But he is also regularly swarmed for selfies. “You generate something in people,” he said. “And what’s better than that as an artist?”

Mr. Blanco has never performed on the street. He said he admires Mr. Garcia. “Perhaps what I lack is the ability to face the public without everything I put into my show: the lights, makeup, costumes, dancers, scenery,” he said. “That way I feel safe, I feel contained. You put me on the street, and I’m ashamed.”

As Mr. Garcia ate at McDonald’s following his street show, Mr. Blanco was headed to a 1980s party across town, at one of Buenos Aires’s biggest clubs. “They didn’t hire me, but somehow I’ll probably end up working,” he said. “That’s the price of having such a famous person’s face.”

At 1 a.m., in sunglasses and a white jacket heavy with sequins, he walked to the V.I.P. entrance, past a long queue, turning heads along the way.

Inside, Mr. Blanco and his girlfriend canoodled in an exclusive section overlooking the crowd. Around 4:30 a.m., they decided to leave. Yet instead of taking a staircase to the exit, he headed down different stairs into the heart of the crowd.

As he pushed through, he was stopped by group after group for photos. One woman appeared visibly shaken. “Michael Jackson!” she screamed. To that point, the club still hadn’t played any of Mr. Jackson’s songs.

Then, right as Mr. Blanco arrived at the coat check, there was the loud creak of a door followed by footsteps across an empty room. It was “Thriller.”

Mr. Blanco looked at the pulsing crowd yards away. Then he retreated to a nearby secluded area with his girlfriend.

Didn’t he want to join the crowd and show off his moves? “No,” he replied. Tonight, he was going to dance in private.

PHOTOS: Above left, Alan Garcia performing in Buenos Aires. Right, Leo Blanco working at a quinceañera in the city. Both men make a living as Michael Jackson impersonators.; Left, Mr. Garcia applying makeup for his street show. Right, Mr. Blanco holding a plaster mold of his face. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANITA POUCHARD SERRA)

**Load-Date:** November 21, 2022

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[***Best Sellers: Paperback Trade Fiction: Sunday, December 27th 2020***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61PD-4451-JBG3-64KD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 27, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 510 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the December 27, 2020 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending December 12, 2020. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Paperback Trade Fiction |
| This | On |  |
| Week | List |  |
| 1 | 4 | HOME BODY, by Rupi Kaur. (Andrews McMeel) Poems and illustrations by the author of ?Milk and Honey? and ?The Sun and Her Flowers.? |
| 2 | 5 | THE QUEEN'S GAMBIT, by Walter Tevis. (Vintage) Sixteen-year-old Beth Harmon goes through changes as she plays chess in the U.S. Open championship. The basis of the Netflix series. |
| 3 | 74 | THEN SHE WAS GONE, by Lisa Jewell. (Atria) Ten years after her daughter disappears, a woman tries to get her life in order but remains haunted by unanswered questions. |
| 4 | 70 | THE OVERSTORY, by Richard Powers. (Norton) Winner of the 2019 Pulitzer Prize for fiction. Nine people drawn to trees for different reasons fight for the last of the remaining acres of virgin forest. |
| 5 | 169 | MILK AND HONEY, by Rupi Kaur. (Andrews McMeel) A collection of poetry about love, loss, trauma and healing. |
| 6 | 8 | THE SONG OF ACHILLES, by Madeline Miller. (Ecco) A reimagining of Homer?s ?Iliad? that is narrated by Achilles' companion Patroclus. |
| 7 | 2 | THE CHICKEN SISTERS, by KJ Dell'Antonia. (Putnam) The family feud between the Moores and the Pogociellos, owners of competing Kansas chicken shacks, gets served up on a reality TV restaurant competition show. |
| 8 | 65 | THE NIGHTINGALE, by Kristin Hannah. (St. Martin's Griffin) Two sisters in World War II France: one struggling to survive in the countryside, the other joining the Resistance. |
| 9 | 66 | READY PLAYER ONE, by Ernest Cline. (Broadway) It?s 2044, life on a resource-depleted Earth is grim, and the key to a vast fortune is hidden in a virtual-reality world. |
| 10 | 28 | CIRCE, by Madeline Miller. (Back Bay) Zeus banishes Helios' daughter to an island, where she must choose between living with gods or mortals. |
| 11 | 4 | SHUGGIE BAIN, by Douglas Stuart. (Grove) The winner of the 2020 Booker Prize. A boy?s ***working-class*** childhood in 1980s Glasgow is subsumed by his mother?s alcoholism. |
| 12 | 14 | THE INSTITUTE, by Stephen King. (Gallery) Children with special talents are abducted and sequestered in an institution where the sinister staff seeks to extract their gifts through harsh methods. |
| 13 | 3 | THE WATER DANCER, by Ta-Nehisi Coates. (One World) A young man who was gifted with a mysterious power becomes part of a war between slavers and the enslaved. |
| 14 | 2 | THE DIPLOMAT'S WIFE, by Pam Jenoff. (Park Row) A Nazi prison camp survivor discovers that a Communist spy in British intelligence is connected to her past. |
| 15 | 5 | TEXAS OUTLAW, by James Patterson and Andrew Bourelle. (Grand Central) A Texas Ranger goes to a small town to investigate whether an accidental death was actually a murder. |

**Load-Date:** January 6, 2021

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[***Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction: Sunday, December 27th 2020***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61PD-4451-JBG3-64KC-00000-00&context=1519360)

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Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 512 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the December 27, 2020 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending December 12, 2020. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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| --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |
|  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction |
| This | On |  |
| Week | List |  |
| 1 | 21 | MY OWN WORDS, by Ruth Bader Ginsburg with Mary Hartnett and Wendy W. Williams. (Simon & Schuster) A collection of articles and speeches by the Supreme Court justice. |
| 2 | 58 | HILLBILLY ELEGY, by J.D. Vance. (Harper) A Yale Law School graduate looks at the struggles of the white ***working class*** through the story of his own childhood. |
| 3 | 112 | THE BODY KEEPS THE SCORE, by Bessel van der Kolk. (Penguin) How trauma affects the body and mind, and innovative treatments for recovery. |
| 4 | 35 | BRAIDING SWEETGRASS, by Robin Wall Kimmerer. (Milkweed Editions) A botanist and member of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation espouses having an understanding and appreciation of plants and animals. |
| 5 | 122 | SAPIENS, by Yuval Noah Harari. (Harper Perennial) How Homo sapiens became Earth?s dominant species. |
| 6 | 50 | THE WARMTH OF OTHER SUNS, by Isabel Wilkerson. (Vintage) An account of the Great Migration of 1915-70, in which six million African-Americans abandoned the South. |
| 7 | 12 | THE TRUTHS WE HOLD, by Kamala Harris. (Penguin) A memoir by the daughter of immigrants who is now the vice president-elect. |
| 8 | 96 | BORN A CRIME, by Trevor Noah. (One World) A memoir about growing up biracial in apartheid South Africa by the host of ?The Daily Show.? |
| 9 | 232 | JUST MERCY, by Bryan Stevenson. (One World) A civil rights lawyer and MacArthur grant recipient?s memoir of his decades of work to free innocent people condemned to death. |
| 10 | 12 | A WOMAN OF NO IMPORTANCE, by Sonia Purnell. (Penguin) The true story of a Baltimore socialite who joined a spy organization during World War II and became essential to the French Resistance. |
| 11 | 119 | WHITE FRAGILITY, by Robin DiAngelo. (Beacon) Historical and cultural analyses on what causes defensive moves by white people and how this inhibits cross-racial dialogue. |
| 12 | 9 | WHAT UNITES US, by Dan Rather and Elliot Kirschner. (Algonquin) A collection of essays that define the historical changes and essential institutions of America to suggest ways to overcome divisions within the country. |
| 13 | 8 | THE SPY AND THE TRAITOR, by Ben Macintyre. (Broadway) The story of Oleg Gordievsky, a K.G.B. spy who secretly worked for the British intelligence service, and Aldrich Ames, a C.I.A. officer who was a K.G.B. double agent. |
| 14 | 256 | THINKING, FAST AND SLOW, by Daniel Kahneman. (Farrar, Straus & Giroux) When we can and cannot trust our intuitions in making business and personal decisions. |
| 15 | 33 | THE COLOR OF LAW, by Richard Rothstein. (Liveright) A case for how the American government abetted racial segregation in metropolitan areas across the country. |

**Load-Date:** January 6, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Macron Recognizes 'Tragic Page' of France's Past in Algeria as Elections Loom***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64MP-9801-JBG3-614Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 27, 2022 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 9

**Length:** 1058 words

**Byline:** By Constant Méheut

**Body**

The French president acknowledged the suffering of colonists who fled Algeria after the war of independence, a group that has long voted heavily in favor of the right in France.

PARIS -- President Emmanuel Macron of France, addressing a community that has been fertile ground for the far right ahead of presidential elections this spring, on Wednesday acknowledged the suffering of the French and European colonists who fled Algeria after the 1954-62 war of independence and of their descendants.

''The 1962 exodus is a tragic page of our national history,'' he said, adding that the colonists and their descendants ''were not listened to'' and ''were not welcomed with the affection that every French citizen deserves.''

Mr. Macron's speech was the latest step in a yearlong effort to resolve painful memories of France's colonial past in Algeria. Following proposals made in a government-commissioned report, he acknowledged crimes committed by the French military and police and the state's lack of regard for those who fled Algeria and had fought for France.

But it also came as Mr. Macron enters the final stretch of a bruising campaign to serve a second five-year term in which his government has moved increasingly to the right on issues prominent in far-right campaigning such as immigration and the place of Islam in France.

Over the past year, Mr. Macron has recognized the suffering of nearly every community affected by France's colonial history in Algeria, including independence fighters and immigrants, and Algerians who fought on the French side during the war of independence.

''He achieved in six months what had not been done for 60 years,'' said Benjamin Stora, a leading historian of the Algerian War and the author of the government-commissioned report.

But Mr. Macron's speech Wednesday recognizing the suffering of the colonists, known as Pieds-Noirs, and their descendants, was notable for its timing three months before an election in a political environment marked by heated debates over immigration and Islam that have echoes of the French colonial past in Algeria.

The trauma of that history continues to shape modern France, with nostalgia on the right and resentment among the country's large Muslim population.

The long shadow of France's defeat in Algeria looms large in the rhetoric of Éric Zemmour, a far-right candidate for president whose parents left the country in the 1950s and who speaks of ''reconquering'' a France he says is being colonized by Islam and immigration. His message has resonated with many voters on the far right, leading to a jump in the polls last year that has gradually dissipated in recent months as Mr. Zemmour has struggled to broaden his base of support and attract ***working-class*** voters.

Mr. Macron last year started addressing the recommendations in the Stora report by acknowledging the brutal killing of a leading Algerian lawyer, Ali Boumendjel, by French soldiers. He also facilitated access to sensitive archives of the Algerian War and was the first French head of state to commemorate the mass killing of Algerian independence protesters by the Paris police 60 years ago.

The moves were widely criticized by the French right, which is still reluctant to openly criticize colonization, particularly the party of the far-right leader Marine Le Pen, the National Rally, whose origins are rooted in popular opposition to the end of colonial Algeria.

Mr. Macron then asked ''forgiveness'' for the abandonment of Harkis, Algerians who fought for France during the war and have often shown strong support for Ms. Le Pen, his main challenger in the presidential elections in April.

The Pieds-Noirs emigrated to Algeria from France and European countries, often as laborers and farmers, while the nation was under French rule, for about 130 years. After Algeria won its independence in 1962, about 800,000 of the colonists fled to France and many others who stayed were massacred. Their fate has long fueled resentment, and nostalgia for the colonial past, feelings that have often translated into support for the far right.

In 2017, while campaigning for the French presidency, Mr. Macron called the colonization of Algeria a ''crime against humanity,'' infuriating Pied-Noir organizations. His words on Wednesday struck a very different tone.

Responding to one of the main demands of the Pieds-Noirs, Mr. Macron officially recognized that French soldiers in March 1962 killed dozens of supporters of French Algeria. He also called for the mass killing of Pieds-Noirs by Algerian independence supporters to be ''faced and recognized.''

Mr. Macron told the assembly that Pieds-Noirs and their descendants had experienced a ''double punishment.''

''Having become persona non grata in Algeria,'' he said, ''you have sometimes had the feeling of being unwanted in France.''

While Mr. Macron has addressed many of the proposals in Mr. Stora's report, he has so far been reluctant to entomb Gisèle Halimi, a famous French feminist and anti-colonialist lawyer, in the Panthéon, France's tomb of heroes.

Following complaints by Harki and Pied-Noir organizations, Mr. Macron scrapped the idea and instead said that France would pay a national tribute to Ms. Halimi early this year. But Ms. Halimi's son told the French press that he has not heard from the authorities for several weeks and that he feared they had abandoned the tribute. An adviser to Mr. Macron said authorities were still working on a plan.

While welcoming Mr. Macron's efforts to acknowledge France's colonial past in Algeria, some historians say his piecemeal approach, addressing each community separately, risked only fueling competing memories and that a single speech on the legacy of the Algerian War, encompassing all grievances at once, would have made more sense.

Sylvie Thénault, a historian of the Algerian war at the CNRS, France's national public research organization, said the step-by-step policy amounted to offering a different, flattering form of remembrance for each different audience. ''We'll tell everyone what they expect,'' she said.

Mr. Stora, who defends the step-by-step process, said that ''each community had its own trauma'' and that one ''cannot address them all in an undifferentiated way.''

Adèle Cordonnier contributed reporting.Adèle Cordonnier contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/26/world/europe/macron-algeria-pieds-noirs.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/26/world/europe/macron-algeria-pieds-noirs.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: President Emmanuel Macron told a group representing families of colonists who fled Algeria that they had experienced a ''double punishment,'' feeling rejected in Algeria and in France. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Pool photo by Ludovic Marin FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** January 27, 2022

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[***Goodbye ‘Yo-LAHNNN-da-Vega!’ A New York Lottery Queen Retires***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64MP-MJY1-DXY4-X0Y3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 27, 2022 Thursday 00:50 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 993 words

**Byline:** Corey Kilgannon

**Highlight:** Drawing out the syllables of her name with an exaggerated flair became Ms. Vega’s trademark and helped establish her as a New York institution.

**Body**

Drawing out the syllables of her name with an exaggerated flair became Ms. Vega’s trademark and helped establish her as a New York institution.

“I’m Yo-LAHNNN-da Vega!”

That distinctive introduction is how Yolanda Vega, the face of the New York Lottery’s on-air drawings for over three decades, made, well, a name for herself.

But Ms. Vega, 66, is calling it quits as the evening diva of the state’s numbers drawings. The lottery [*announced*](https://twitter.com/newyorklottery/status/1485626673668239371?s=20) her retirement this week on Twitter.

Drawing out the syllables with an exaggerated flair became Ms. Vega’s trademark and helped establish her as a New York institution. Anchors of news programs began imitating the pronunciation in introducing the lottery drawings, syndicated to television stations statewide. And in a brief appearance on The Oprah Winfrey Show in 1994, even Ms. Winfrey introduced her in Ms. Vega’s trademark fashion.

She has likely presented billions in winnings over the years. It was invariably Ms. Vega who presented on-air the familiar oversized ceremonial checks for oversized amounts to stunned winners of the Mega Millions, Powerball and other games run by the New York Lottery, which calls itself the largest and most profitable in the nation.

But it was the way she pronounced her name, as much as her role, that gained her the affection of millions. “It just took so hard,” Ms. Vega said on Wednesday. “I believe it helped promote me, helped blow me up.”

“It’s melodic and it’s fun,” she added. “I’ve had numerous women tell me that the first words out of their children’s mouths were Yolanda Vega.”

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/wlDvRW6uiJk)]

Brad Maione, a spokesman for the New York State Gaming Commission, which operates the lottery, said, “Her ebullient nature, coupled with her playful personality, made Yolanda a national icon.”

“There will never be another personality associated with the lottery like Yolanda Vega,” he said.

Ms. Vega became part of an evening ritual for millions of lottery players and a staple at promotional events and lottery news conferences.

In her first decade on the air, she began gaining a cult following. At one point, the lottery held “I Want To Be Yolanda Vega” promotional contests across the state that featured fans dressing up like Ms. Vega and imitating her.

As customer giveaways, the lottery made [*Yolanda Vega bobblehead figures*](https://m.facebook.com/watch/?v=494524983825&amp;_rdr) with a recorded voice announcing her name.

Over the years, as fashions and hairstyles changed, Ms. Vega’s changed with them. But her cheerful on-air style remained a constant as she stood amid canisters of dancing balls ready to be spit out into winning number combinations.

Ms. Vega said she began exaggerating the pronunciation of her name almost as soon as she began appearing on television for the lottery. One morning, she spontaneously did it when she was “hopped up on some espresso,” and a program director warned her that “stretching your name is sucking up seconds of valuable time.”

“I said, ‘I’m proud of who I am,’ and I continued to be true to myself and I continued to do it.”

Ms. Vega became known statewide, from Buffalo to Long Island, a staple at lottery presentations from county fairs to minor league baseball stadiums to the New Year’s Eve ball drop in Times Square.

She was constantly greeted by fans delivering their own attempts at her distinctive name pronunciation, said Margaret R. DeFrancisco, director of the New York Lottery from 1999 to 2004.

“People would imitate it or test it out with her — if she ever got tired of it, it never showed,” Ms. DeFrancisco said, adding that when sporting events occasionally pre-empted the lottery drawings, “we would get phone calls from people saying, ‘How dare you pre-empt Yolanda.’”

On Wednesday, one Twitter user, @JoeRashbaum, [*called Ms. Vega*](https://twitter.com/JoeRashbaum/status/1486452637113503753?s=20) “as iconic a part of NYC as the subways, bagels, the Garden and everything else” and thanked her for “making the drawings ‘Must Watch T.V.’”

She could be presenting a $400 million check to a truck driver from Brooklyn, or $7 million in scratch-off winnings to a Staten Island construction worker.

She was there jumping in jubilation in Madison Square Garden with the guy who swished a long shot shot in 2002 to win $1 million in the Mega Millions, and atop the Empire State Building in 2005 for the King Kong Millions jackpot for $55 million.

Born Yolanda Antequera, Ms. Vega said she grew up one of six daughters of Puerto Rican parents in public housing in Red Hook, Brooklyn.

She attended public schools including Hunter College in the city university system and began working as a bookkeeper, eventually moving to the Albany area.

In 1990, on a lark, she auditioned to be a television personality for the state lottery. At age 34, with no relevant experience, she had no real hope of landing the job, “so I was just being my old Brooklyn self,” she said. She was hired.

Ms. Vega said she turned down job offers from television news networks to remain the face of the lottery. In a 2019 appearance on The Wendy Williams Show, Ms. Vega said she did not want to retire. But after weathering the pandemic, she said on Wednesday that she was eager to spend more time with her husband.

She added that she recently “hit the jackpot” with the birth of her first grandchild, a 5-month-old boy named Isaiah.

“He was the final straw” in her decision, she said.

Ms. Vega said her upbringing as a New Yorker may have helped prepare her to relate to many lottery winners on the cusp of going from ***working class*** people to multimillionaires.

Before the cameras began rolling, she said, she would pull them aside.

“I would say, ‘Look at me, baby, look at me, mama — it’s going to be OK,’” she said. “I made them feel comfortable and they ended up talking to me and connecting with me.”

PHOTOS: From left: Yolanda Vega presenting a ceremonial check to Harold and Carol Diamond in 2015; and announcing the winning numbers for a Mega Millions jackpot in 2007. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JOHN DESANTO/TIMES HERALD-RECORD, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS; SHIHO FUKADA/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

**Load-Date:** January 28, 2022

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[***It’s Time to Rage; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65C7-S5J1-DXY4-X415-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 3, 2022 Tuesday 15:09 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1227 words

**Byline:** Roxane Gay

**Highlight:** We can’t let this country become a hollow theocracy.

**Body**

My wife’s stepfather began raping her when she was 11 years old. The [*abuse went on for years*](https://tim.blog/2020/09/16/how-to-heal-trauma-transcript/), and as Debbie got older, she was constantly terrified that she was pregnant. She had no one to talk to and nowhere to turn.

Her stepfather often threatened to kill her younger brother and her mother if Debbie told anyone, so when the fear of pregnancy became too consuming, she told her mother she was assaulted at school. Her mother took Debbie to a doctor, who said that because of her scar tissue, she was sexually active and must have a boyfriend. It was the early 1970s.

A pregnancy would have, in Debbie’s words, ruined her life. Today, she is 60 years old. She is still dealing with the repercussions of that trauma. It is unfathomable to consider how a forced pregnancy would have further altered the trajectory of her life.

I was sexually assaulted by several young men when I was 12. I [*have told the story*](https://therumpus.net/2012/04/12/what-we-hunger-for/) and am tired of telling it, and the story is not the point. I had not yet had my first period. And still, in the weeks and months after, of course I worried I was pregnant. I worried I would not know who the father was.

If I had been pregnant, I don’t know what I would have done. I was Catholic. Abortion was a sin. But a 12-year-old is not equipped for childbirth or parenthood. The trauma I endured would have only been compounded by a forced pregnancy. And the trajectory of my life, too, would have been further altered.

It is stunning that [*a draft*](https://www.politico.com/news/2022/05/02/read-justice-alito-initial-abortion-opinion-overturn-roe-v-wade-pdf-00029504) of a Supreme Court ruling that would overturn Roe v. Wade was leaked before the justices planned to announce their decision, likely next month. It is also telling. Whoever leaked it wanted people to understand the fate awaiting us.

At least, that is what I am telling myself. And thank God somebody did, so we know. So we can prepare. So we can rage.

We should not live in a world where sexual violence exists, but we do. Given that unfortunate reality, we should not live in a world where someone who is raped is forced to carry a pregnancy to term because [*a minority of Americans*](https://news.gallup.com/poll/1576/abortion.aspx) believe the unborn are more important than the people who give birth to them.

And we should defend abortion access not only in cases of sexual violence. All those who want an abortion should be able to avail themselves of that medical procedure. Their reasons are no one’s business. People should not have to demonstrate their virtue to justify a personal decision about how to handle a life-altering circumstance.

We should not live in a country where bodily autonomy can be granted or taken away by nine political appointees, most of whom are men and cannot become pregnant. Any civil right contingent upon political whims is not actually a civil right.

Without the right to abortion, women are forced to make terrible choices. These burdens disproportionately fall upon poor and ***working-class*** women without the means to travel across state lines to receive the care they need. Despite [*promises from the anti-abortion movement*](https://twitter.com/SBAList/status/1521327874304786435) to support pregnant women and children, the “pro-life” lobby appears to be invested only in the unborn. The same mostly male politicians who oppose abortion so often do everything in their power to oppose rights to paid parental leave, subsidized child care, single-payer health care or any kind of social safety net that could improve family life.

The leaked document is a draft. Abortion is still legal, though it is largely inaccessible in [*parts of the country*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/06/opinion/abortion-texas-sb-8-roe-v-wade.html). The Supreme Court has issued a statement emphasizing that the draft, while authentic, may still change. Still, it is a harbinger of terrible things to come. As many as 25 states are poised to ban abortion the moment Roe v. Wade is overturned.

And there are other disturbing considerations in the draft decision, written by Justice Samuel Alito. Some have expressed the concern that by extending Justice Alito’s reasoning, other hard-won rights — such as the [*rights to contraception*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2022/05/03/alito-roe-draft-imperil-womens-rights/) and [*marriage equality*](https://www.msnbc.com/rachel-maddow-show/maddowblog/alitos-draft-ruling-matters-marriage-equality-rcna27070) — could be struck down too. That is to say, this decision is opening the door for social progress and civil rights to be systematically dismantled on the most absurd of pretexts.

And this is not a theoretical threat. We are already seeing how several states are trying to legislate trans people out of existence with [*laws banning gender-affirming health care*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/08/briefing/culture-war-lgbt-rights-us-politics.html) for children, and in Missouri, [*a proposed law could extend that denial to adults*](https://thehill.com/changing-america/respect/equality/3470777-anxiety-builds-as-missouri-lawmakers-weigh-restrictions-on-gender-affirming-care/).

I do not know where this retraction of civil rights will end, but I do know it will go down as a milestone in a decades-long conservative campaign to force a country of 330 million people to abide by a bigoted set of ideologies. This movement seeks to rule by hollow theocracy, despite our constitutional separation of church and state. The people behind this campaign do not represent the majority of this country, and they know it, so they consistently try to undermine the democratic process. They attack voting rights, gerrymander voting districts and shove unpopular legislation through so that they can live in a world of their choosing and hoard as much power and wealth as possible.

Where do we go from here? To protect women’s bodily autonomy, the right to abortion must be codified in federal law. But the possibility of that seems very distant. In [*their joint statement*](https://pbs.twimg.com/media/FRzXDP_XEAIpBLG.png), issued after the Supreme Court leak, the Senate majority leader, Chuck Schumer, and the House speaker, Nancy Pelosi, did not use the word “abortion” even once. President Biden has [*barely uttered it*](https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/wireStory/abortion-rights-debate-biden-word-81954452) during his presidency. It’s hard to believe they are as committed as they need to be to protecting a right whose name they dare not speak. Until the Democrats stop lounging in the middle of the political aisle — where no one is coming to meet them — nothing will change.

The possibility of so many civil rights being rolled back is terrifying. Millions of Americans now wonder which of our rights could be stripped away from us, our friends and family, our communities. The sky is falling, and a great many of us are desperately trying to hold it up.

As Debbie and I discuss the strong likelihood of Roe v. Wade being overturned, we have started worrying about potential legal consequences for our very happy marriage. In June, we will celebrate our second wedding anniversary.

When we exchanged our vows, everything changed. We were already committed, but our commitment deepened. There was a new and satisfying gravity to our relationship. In an instant, I understood that marriage is far more than a piece of paper — but that having that paper mattered.

We have each worked very hard to overcome the traumas we endured as children, to allow ourselves to love and be loved wholly. This life we share would not be possible had we ended up pregnant far too young and against our will, with no recourse. This life we have made together isn’t political. It is deeply personal. And yet our lives and our bodies remain subject to political debate. In one way or another, they always have.

How are we free, under these circumstances? How can any of us be free?

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

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PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ALEX BRANDON/AP AND BOB KORN, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK)

**Load-Date:** April 13, 2023

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[***A Dedicated Horsewoman Leaves No Thoroughbred Behind***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63H5-1K91-JBG3-64PB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 1, 2021 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section B; Column 0; Sports Desk; Pg. 9; POSTCARD FROM SARATOGA SPRINGS

**Length:** 715 words

**Byline:** By Joe Drape

**Body**

Jessica Paquette has built a busy life as a handicapper, an analyst, an equestrian and a friend to retired racehorses.

SARATOGA SPRINGS, N.Y. -- Jessica Paquette calls herself a ''weird horse girl.'' She was 6 when she was first entranced by them, at a New England fair. They were so big, but gentle enough for her to reach up and rub their noses.

She wanted them in her life.

Her family was ***working class***, making the life of a young equestrian out of reach. But a nearby racetrack, Rockingham Park, in Salem, N.H., became her classroom. She studied the horses up close as a hot walker, getting up before dawn to cool them down.

After school, she was back at the track in her Catholic school uniform to learn about pedigree and pace from a group of horse playing seniors who, besides imparting knowledge, made sure no one bothered the girl in the plaid jumper.

By 18, she was taking bets as a mutuel clerk at Suffolk Downs in Boston and studying journalism at Rivier University in Nashua, N.H.

She talked her way into an internship in the press box at Suffolk, then into a job in its marketing department. Finally, she became an in-house, on-air personality, parsing how the racehorses looked in the paddock and picking winners.

At 37, she is a multi-hyphenate who has devoted herself to thoroughbreds, during their racing careers and after.

Her connection to them was obvious at the Thoroughbred Retirement Foundation's summer farm here when she had Brickbat and My Teddy Bear -- former racehorses -- curtsying to her for peppermints and nuzzles. She is communications director for the foundation, which works to protect retired horses from abuse, neglect and slaughter, boarding a few at the summer farm.

''If I could go back and tell my teenage self what she would be doing in 20 years, I wouldn't have believed it,'' Paquette said. ''Everything I have is because of horses.''

In addition to her work with the foundation, she does public relations work for TVG, the horse racing network. She is also handicapper for The Saratoga Special, a must-read tabloid here for anyone besotted with racehorses and the human characters who surround them.

Those lessons with the old-timers at Rockingham Park have paid off. This month, Paquette selected a horse named State of Rest to win the $1 million Saratoga Derby Invitational. He did, rewarding $2 bettors with a $44.20 payoff.

''I don't like picking favorites,'' she said. ''When you are a public handicapper, you have to pick some favorites to satisfy the armchair quarterbacks. But it's more fun to come up with a horse that is overlooked.''

Each Sunday, Paquette boards a plane in Boston, her home, for Richmond, Va., where she is the paddock analyst for Colonial Downs.

On Thursday, she flies home to her husband, her dogs and the two racehorses she rescued from the racetrack, What a Trippi and Puget Sound.

There will not be a third.

''One more horse, one less husband,'' Paquette said, a wry smile creasing her face.

With What a Trippi, however, she belatedly achieved her dream of becoming an equestrian. It was love at first sight when Paquette saw him in the paddock at Suffolk Downs in his first race. He was handsome and pedigreed.

''I wanted him from the moment I saw him,'' Paquette said. ''I'll never know why, but he was the one.''

She tracked him over a hard-knocking, 42-race career in which he won nine times and finished in the money in 10 other races, earning more than $111,000. In 2007, What a Trippi was named New England's champion 3-year-old horse.

Three years later, his racing career behind him, Paquette bought him for $500.

''He was totally sound,'' she said.

Horse and rider went to work with a show horse trainer, where they learned to jump.

By 2014, they were traveling the New England circuit competing as a hunter, where qualities such as manners, graceful movement and correct jumping style are rewarded. In 2017, What a Trippi was named New England's reserve champion -- or runner-up -- in its hunter division.

The experience deepened her commitment to finding a home for thoroughbreds beyond their racing days.

''It's the achievement of my life,'' Paquette said. ''They are not machines. Even if they are busts as racehorses, they are athletes, and we need to find a job for them.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/31/sports/horse-racing/saratoga-springs-retired-thoroughbreds.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/31/sports/horse-racing/saratoga-springs-retired-thoroughbreds.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Jessica Paquette with the retired racehorses Brickbat and My Teddy Bear in Saratoga Springs. Paquette is also a handicapper for The Saratoga Special and a fixture at the track.

Fans watching thoroughbreds parade to the track. Paquette tries to ensure that the horses are cared for after they retire. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CINDY SCHULTZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 1, 2021

**End of Document**



[***What America Means to Me: 2021***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63VH-5KY1-JBG3-61H5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 15, 2021 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 16; DAVID BROOKS

**Length:** 877 words

**Byline:** By David Brooks

**Body**

A nation is a community of people that, at best, is held together by a common story. When I was a kid, I was told a certain triumphalist story about America, which was loaded with words like ''superpower'' and ''greatest.''

That triumphalist story sounds tinny in 2021, and it seems to have been rejected by many in the younger generations. As that story has faded, our country has fractured, without a cohering national narrative. So we cast about for more realistic and inclusive ways to retell our story.

Wednesday night I had the chance to walk around Lower Manhattan where my ancestors immigrated and built new lives, and to talk with some more recent immigrants whose experiences were similar to my family's, though separated by decades and origins.

I thought about what a large role humiliation has played in American history: The pogroms and the Holocaust that terrorized Jews and sent them fleeing. The degrading poverty of the Irish famine. The religious persecution of the Puritans. The horror of the slave ships and bondage. The dehumanizing treatment of asylum seekers on the southern border. Give me your ''wretched refuse,'' Emma Lazarus wrote. Very few grandees came here bathed in adoration.

We're pretty good at humiliating one another even after we've been here for years. The ongoing humiliation of daily racism. The condescension toward the Middle America ***working class***. The bigotry that forces gays into the closet. The crude caricatures of evangelical Christians.

The brutal feature of humiliation is that it gets inside you. Some people's self-image reflects the scorn they've experienced -- because it's very hard not to be affected by what people say about you.

''Humiliation lingers in the mind, the heart, the veins, the arteries forever,'' Vivian Gornick writes in Harper's Magazine. ''It allows people to brood for decades on end, often deforming their inner lives.''

Loss of status can cause people to retreat to their tribal categories, dwell in the lost glories of the past, bloat with resentment toward rivals and lash out with horrific violence.

The mentality can be apocalyptic. ''If another tribe is allowed to win, their victory won't merely pull us down the hierarchy but will destroy the hierarchy completely,'' Will Storr has observed. ''Our loss in status will be complete and irreversible.''

A remarkable feature of America is that so many of the scorned who came here did not react in that way. They responded to humiliation with creative action. Disdained at home, they turned their faces to the future.

They became creative minorities along the lines prescribed by the prophet Jeremiah: keep your culture and ways, but settle down in this new land, build houses and gardens, give your sons and daughters away in marriage, seek the peace and the prosperity of this new place.

Being a creative minority is a proud role for any group. It means turning scorn into a seedbed of culture, innovation and culture. In his book ''The Omni-Americans,'' Albert Murray writes that the Black musicians who swing the blues are not ''obscuring or denying the existence of the ugly dimensions of human nature, circumstances and conduct,'' but are, instead, by expressing an inescapable awareness of them, achieving ''an affirmative and hence exemplary and heroic response.''

Much of the drive and dynamism of American life comes from humiliated people saying, ''We'll show them who we are.''

The gay and lesbian response to humiliation has been one of the great acts of recent American history: having the courage to show themselves in their full humanity; committing to military service, marriage and other great institutions of American life; marching with pride. Heck, the word ''pride'' itself is now permanently associated with L.G.B.T.Q. life.

I assert with love that the white evangelical community has not responded as well as the mainstream has drifted farther from it. Too often white evangelicals have looked to strongman political saviors to restore their dominant place. Too often they've marginalized themselves into their own subculture and then complained about losing status. I have some friends who have been vocal about sexual abuse in their churches and for this they get accused of ''cultural accommodation dressed as convictional religion.'' If you think anybody who tells the truth is guilty of collaboration with cultural elites, then you are seeing the world through resentment-colored glasses.

The belligerent attitude is often mind-boggling since so much of the Bible is precisely about defeating scorn with sanctified love.

Some days American politics seems to be a futile clash of resentments. But I like to think that flowing through American history there is the recurring tale of people conquering humiliation through creative action. I like to think that scorn has paradoxically been a propulsive force in American life because people find sources of power in places scorn cannot reach.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/14/opinion/america-immigration-history.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/14/opinion/america-immigration-history.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Damon Winter/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 15, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Macron’s Comments on Algeria Resonate as Elections Loom***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64MH-R8M1-JBG3-60TH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 26, 2022 Wednesday 23:15 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1088 words

**Byline:** Constant Méheut

**Highlight:** The French president acknowledged the suffering of colonists who fled Algeria after the war of independence, a group that has long voted heavily in favor of the right in France.

**Body**

The French president acknowledged the suffering of colonists who fled Algeria after the war of independence, a group that has long voted heavily in favor of the right in France.

PARIS — President Emmanuel Macron of France, addressing a community that has been fertile ground for the far right ahead of presidential elections this spring, on Wednesday acknowledged the suffering of the French and European colonists who fled Algeria after the 1954-62 war of independence and of their descendants.

“The 1962 exodus is a tragic page of our national history,” he said, adding that the colonists and their descendants “were not listened to” and “were not welcomed with the affection that every French citizen deserves.”

Mr. Macron’s speech was the latest step in a yearlong effort to resolve painful memories of France’s colonial past in Algeria. Following proposals made in a [*government-commissioned report*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/20/world/europe/france-algeria-war-report.html), he acknowledged crimes committed by the French military and police and the state’s lack of regard for those who fled Algeria and had fought for France.

But it also came as Mr. Macron enters the final stretch of a bruising campaign to serve a second five-year term in which his government has [*moved increasingly to the right*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/16/world/europe/france-macron-right.html) on issues prominent in far-right campaigning such as immigration and the place of Islam in France.

Over the past year, Mr. Macron has recognized the suffering of nearly every community affected by France’s colonial history in Algeria, including independence fighters and immigrants, and Algerians who fought on the French side during the war of independence.

“He achieved in six months what had not been done for 60 years,” said [*Benjamin Stora*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/29/world/europe/a-life-spent-remembering-a-war-france-has-tried-to-forget.html), a leading historian of the Algerian War and the author of the government-commissioned report.

But Mr. Macron’s speech Wednesday recognizing the suffering of the colonists, known as Pieds-Noirs, and their descendants, was notable for its timing three months before an election in a political environment marked by [*heated debates over immigration and Islam*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/08/world/europe/france-mayor-teacher-islam-secularism-laicite.html) that have echoes of the French colonial past in Algeria.

The trauma of that history continues to shape modern France, with nostalgia on the right and resentment among the country’s large Muslim population.

The long shadow of France’s defeat in Algeria looms large in the rhetoric of [*Éric Zemmour*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/11/world/europe/eric-zemmour-rally-france.html), a far-right candidate for president whose parents left the country in the 1950s and who speaks of “reconquering” a France he says is being colonized by Islam and immigration. His message has resonated with many voters on the far right, leading to a jump in the polls last year that has gradually dissipated in recent months as Mr. Zemmour has struggled to broaden his base of support and attract ***working-class*** voters.

Mr. Macron last year started addressing the recommendations in the Stora report by [*acknowledging the brutal killing of a leading Algerian lawyer*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/04/world/europe/macron-algeria-Ali-Boumendjel.html), Ali Boumendjel, by French soldiers. He also [*facilitated access to sensitive archives of the Algerian War*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/09/world/europe/france-declassification-algerian-war-archives.html) and was the [*first French head of state to commemorate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/16/world/europe/paris-police-algerians-macron.html) the mass killing of Algerian independence protesters by the Paris police 60 years ago.

The moves were widely criticized by the French right, which is still reluctant to openly criticize colonization, particularly the party of the far-right leader Marine Le Pen, the National Rally, whose origins are rooted in popular opposition to the end of colonial Algeria.

Mr. Macron then [*asked “forgiveness” for the abandonment of Harkis*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/20/world/europe/france-algeria-harkis.html), Algerians who fought for France during the war and have often shown strong support for Ms. Le Pen, his main challenger in the presidential elections in April.

The Pieds-Noirs emigrated to Algeria from France and European countries, often as laborers and farmers, while the nation was under French rule, for about 130 years. After Algeria won its independence in 1962, about 800,000 of the colonists fled to France and many others who stayed were massacred. Their fate has long fueled resentment, and nostalgia for the colonial past, feelings that have often translated into support for the far right.

In 2017, while campaigning for the French presidency, Mr. Macron called the colonization of Algeria a “crime against humanity,” infuriating Pied-Noir organizations. His words on Wednesday struck a very different tone.

Responding to one of the main demands of the Pieds-Noirs, Mr. Macron officially recognized that French soldiers in March 1962 killed dozens of supporters of French Algeria. He also called for the mass killing of Pieds-Noirs by Algerian independence supporters to be “faced and recognized.”

Mr. Macron told the assembly that Pieds-Noirs and their descendants had experienced a “double punishment.”

“Having become persona non grata in Algeria,” he said, “you have sometimes had the feeling of being unwanted in France.”

While Mr. Macron has addressed many of the proposals in Mr. Stora’s report, he has so far been reluctant to entomb [*Gisèle Halimi*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/18/world/gisele-halimi-influential-french-lawyer-and-feminist-dies-at-93.html), a famous French feminist and anti-colonialist lawyer, in the Panthéon, France’s tomb of heroes.

Following complaints by Harki and Pied-Noir organizations, Mr. Macron scrapped the idea and instead [*said*](https://twitter.com/emmanuelmacron/status/1429836749556097026) that France would pay a national tribute to Ms. Halimi early this year. But Ms. Halimi’s son told the [*French*](https://www.liberation.fr/societe/jean-yves-halimi-la-gloire-de-sa-mere-20220111_OCYPMULUSZGGRNSVAS4MXXAVHU/?redirected=1) [*press*](https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2021/12/22/hommage-a-gisele-halimi-la-famille-craint-un-renoncement-d-emmanuel-macron_6106956_823448.html) that he has not heard from the authorities for several weeks and that he feared they had abandoned the tribute. An adviser to Mr. Macron said authorities were still working on a plan.

While welcoming Mr. Macron’s efforts to acknowledge France’s colonial past in Algeria, some historians say his piecemeal approach, addressing each community separately, risked only fueling competing memories and that a single speech on the legacy of the Algerian War, encompassing all grievances at once, would have made more sense.

Sylvie Thénault, a historian of the Algerian war at the CNRS, France’s national public research organization, said the step-by-step policy amounted to offering a different, flattering form of remembrance for each different audience. “We’ll tell everyone what they expect,” she said.

Mr. Stora, who defends the step-by-step process, said that “each community had its own trauma” and that one “cannot address them all in an undifferentiated way.”

Adèle Cordonnier contributed reporting.

Adèle Cordonnier contributed reporting.

PHOTO: President Emmanuel Macron told a group representing families of colonists who fled Algeria that they had experienced a “double punishment,” feeling rejected in Algeria and in France. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Pool photo by Ludovic Marin FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** January 26, 2022

**End of Document**



[***'We Don't Know Ourselves'***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:651T-HYG1-JBG3-654S-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 20, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 1; NONFICTION

**Length:** 1208 words

**Byline:** By Colum McCann

**Body**

WE DON'T KNOW OURSELVESA Personal History of Modern IrelandBy Fintan O'Toole

''To find a form that accommodates the mess, that is the task of the artist now,'' declared Samuel Beckett in a 1961 interview. The Irish playwright was talking about the ''buzzing confusion'' of the day, suggesting that the job of the writer is to find a shape into which the chaos can fit.

Perhaps we have always lived in ages of dubiety, but Beckett's quote is particularly apt in describing the last 60 years. We have stepped into the eye of a technological and moral storm that has been moving at exponential rates. News is in doubt. Truth is in doubt. Memory is in doubt. Journalism, criticism and fiction also.

One of the many triumphs of Fintan O'Toole's ''We Don't Know Ourselves'' is that he manages to find a form that accommodates the spectacular changes that have occurred in Ireland over the past six decades, which happens to be his life span. ''My life is too boring for a memoir,'' he writes in the afterword, ''and there is no shortage of modern Irish history.'' The subtitle of the book is ''A Personal History of Modern Ireland.'' Indeed, it is not a memoir, nor is it an absolute history, nor is it entirely a personal reflection or a crepuscular credo. It is, in fact, all of these things helixed together: his life, his country, his thoughts, his misgivings, his anger, his pride, his doubt, all of them belonging, eventually, to us.

It is impossible to say where things begin or end, but O'Toole takes the year of his birth, 1958, as the launching pad for an Ireland that would turn itself inside out several times over the course of his lifetime. He attributes the beginning of change to a 250-page document written by the Irish economist T. K. Whitaker, who thought it was a good idea for an Ireland utterly lacking in self-confidence ''to shut the door on the past,'' and open the country economically and culturally to the rest of the world.

And so began the opening and closing of a battery of doors, not least those that led to the almost unimaginable fall from grace of the Roman Catholic Church, the reform of Irish education, the flare-up and eventual quenching of violence in Northern Ireland, a transformation of the Irish economy and a wild shakeout of the national soul.

O'Toole, an agile cultural commentator, considers himself to be a representative of the blank slate on which the experiment of change was undertaken, but it's a tribute to him that he maintains his humility, his sharpness and his enlightened distrust. The Irish -- mea culpa -- have always been willfully ambiguous, unbearably self-conscious and, as O'Toole puts it, riddled with the ''known unknowns.'' We have experienced decades of half-apertures, of which we have been neither entirely in nor out. But O'Toole manages to navigate the astonishing transformation of a valley of squinting windows into something far more kaleidoscopic.

The book begins, much like the era it represents, a little precariously. Instead of the focused burn that we come to find, the opening is a bit shaky, unconfident, more historical litany than the complete focus we begin to exult in later on. But O'Toole quickly settles down and makes a pact with his reader: I will open up a little panel of my life, which will open, in turn, another. He starts to develop a narrative swagger as compelling as any novel's. His ***working-class*** Dublin background -- his father, Sammy, was a bus conductor and his mother, Mary, worked in a cigarette factory -- opens onto a sort of narrative everywhere. The tiny grows epic. The local becomes universal. We skip from year to year, from story to story, from tile-piece to an eventual mosaic.

''The transformation of Ireland over the last 60 years has sometimes felt as if a new world had landed from outer space on top of an old one,'' O'Toole writes.

An Ireland of available divorce. An Ireland of gay marriage. An Ireland without bomb blasts. An Ireland finally capable of admitting to the ongoing psychoses, passivity and prejudices that still bind it today, even as it becomes, as O'Toole puts it, ''one of the most globalized economies in the world.''

In one chapter, titled ''The Killer Chord,'' O'Toole is 12 years old and spending the summer of 1970 learning Irish in the Gaeltacht. He unwittingly releases a drift of pigs from a house and later comes across an elegant jumble sale of a man who wields his walking stick like a ''conductor's baton.'' The man guides the pigs home with utter assurance and panache. At Mass the next morning, O'Toole sees the same man conducting the choir, and he finds that ''the melody was like a meandering river, slow and serene, yet utterly implacable.'' The man, it turns out, was the musical genius Seán Ó Riada, who at the time was revolutionizing Irish music from within. O'Toole uses this marvelous cameo to indicate his realization that ''the desire for connection was given meaning by the reality that there was still something to connect to, traditions of music and singing and storytelling and language that had their own highly distinctive texture.''

And so it is that O'Toole attributes a distinctive focus, both personal and political, to each unfolding year. The Irish Army in the Democratic Republic of Congo in 1961. The entry of the Republic into Europe in 1973. The hunger strikes of 1981. The Good Friday Agreement of 1998. The ''grandiose delusions'' of the Celtic Tiger in 2008.

O'Toole writes brilliantly and compellingly of the dark times, but he is graceful enough to know that there is humor and light in the cracks. There is a touch of Eduardo Galeano in the way he can settle on a telling phrase. ''Being European was the ultimate way of not being British.'' ''The idea of disappearance hung over the place.'' ''The violence was strangely weightless.'' ''There was nothing as simple, or as stable, as mere hypocrisy.'' ''The Irish economy was most like Humpty Dumpty -- bloated, fragile, sitting smugly at a great height and headed for a fall.''

But the real accomplishment of this book is that it achieves a conscious form of history-telling, a personal hybrid that feels distinctly honest and humble at the same time. O'Toole has not invented the form, but he comes close to perfecting it. He embraces the contradictions and the confusion. In the process, he weaves the flag rather than waving it. Near the conclusion of the book, he intones: ''What is possible now, and was entirely impossible when I was born, is this: to accept the unknown without being so terrified of it that you have to take refuge in fabrications of absolute conviction.''

The book has no epigraph but if it had, it might belong to James Joyce's ''Ulysses,'' itself now a century old: ''Every life is in many days, day after day. We walk through ourselves, meeting robbers, ghosts, giants, old men, young men, wives, widows, brothers-in-love, but always meeting ourselves.''Colum McCann is the National Book Award-winning author of several works of fiction, including ''Dancer,'' ''Let the Great World Spin'' and ''Apeirogon.'' He is a founder of the global nonprofit Narrative 4.WE DON'T KNOW OURSELVESA Personal History of Modern IrelandBy Fintan O'TooleIllustrated. 624 pp. Liveright. $32.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/15/books/review/fintan-otoole-we-dont-know-ourselves-ireland.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/15/books/review/fintan-otoole-we-dont-know-ourselves-ireland.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Fintan O'Toole (PHOTOGRAPH BY BENSON RUSSELL) (BR17)

**Load-Date:** March 20, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Scorn and the American Story; David Brooks***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63VC-V0Y1-JBG3-61B4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 14, 2021 Thursday 17:04 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 878 words

**Byline:** David Brooks

**Highlight:** We need a national story based on humility, not grandiosity.

**Body**

A nation is a community of people that, at best, is held together by a common story. When I was a kid, I was told a certain triumphalist story about America, which was loaded with words like “superpower” and “greatest.”

That triumphalist story sounds tinny in 2021, and [*it seems to have been rejected by many in the younger generations*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/01/08/younger-americans-more-likely-than-older-adults-to-say-there-are-other-countries-that-are-better-than-the-u-s/). As that story has faded, our country has fractured, without a cohering national narrative. So we cast about for more realistic and inclusive ways to retell our story.

Wednesday night I had the chance to walk around Lower Manhattan where my ancestors immigrated and built new lives, and to talk with some more recent immigrants whose experiences were similar to my family’s, though separated by decades and origins.

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We’re pretty good at humiliating one another even after we’ve been here for years. The ongoing humiliation of daily racism. The condescension toward the Middle America ***working class***. The bigotry that forces gays into the closet. The crude caricatures of evangelical Christians.

The brutal feature of humiliation is that it gets inside you. Some people’s self-image reflects the scorn they’ve experienced — because it’s very hard not to be affected by what people say about you.

“Humiliation lingers in the mind, the heart, the veins, the arteries forever,” [*Vivian Gornick writes*](https://harpers.org/archive/2021/10/put-on-the-diamonds-notes-on-humiliation-vivian-gornick/#:~:text=Nothing%2C%20nothing%2C%20nothing%20in%20the,as%20much%20as%20outright%20humiliation.&amp;text=Humiliation%20lingers%20in%20the%20mind,often%20deforming%20their%20inner%20lives.) in Harper’s Magazine. “It allows people to brood for decades on end, often deforming their inner lives.”

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Damon Winter/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 15, 2021

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[***In an Age of Constant Disaster, What Does It Mean to Rebuild?; The Tech and Design Issue***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66TX-9G81-DXY4-X1SM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 10, 2022 Thursday 22:00 EST

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**Section:** MAGAZINE

**Length:** 2463 words

**Byline:** Matthew Thompson

**Highlight:** Each catastrophe is a test of what kind of society we’ve built. And each recovery offers a chance, however fleeting, to build another.

**Body**

The era we are now in the midst of might be defined, most notably, by the omnipresence of disaster. Plagues, droughts, floods, toxic air and water, wars, massacres, famines, earthquakes, heat waves, wildfires, recessions, dust storms, despotism — slow-motion nightmares are crashing into fast-moving catastrophes, each one amplifying the next.

I live in California’s East Bay, where disaster is a constant threat. In some cities, houses are succumbing to lengthening wildfire seasons, while people living in tents breathe air poisoned by the flames. Seasons of drought are starting to blur into one long era of aridification. Tectonic plates rumble frequently, reminding us that the Hayward fault underneath us is due to cause a major earthquake. Elsewhere, mere weeks after unprecedented heat waves scorched the country this spring, apocalyptic [*floods began engulfing Pakistan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/11/world/asia/pakistan-floods-food-crisis.html) and are ongoing. Tropical hurricanes continue to reshape coastlines in the Gulf of Mexico, their names lingering like ghosts long after their winds have quieted: [*Katrina,*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/08/26/us/ten-years-after-katrina.html) [*Harvey,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/28/us/hurricane-harvey-texas.html) [*Maria.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/20/us/hurricane-maria-puerto-rico-power.html) A virulent combination of governmental corruption and the debt traps of the global finance system have contributed heavily to starvation-level [*food shortages in Sri Lanka.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/09/world/asia/sri-lanka-fuel-shortage-food.html) Authoritarian leaders have unleashed mass state violence against protesters in Iran, while [*far-right extremists clamor violently against democracy*](https://www.nytimes.com/video/us/politics/100000007606996/capitol-riot-trump-supporters.html) in the United States. Disaster is so ubiquitous that the idea of an aftermath has started to lose its meaning. [*Covid*](https://www.nytimes.com/news-event/coronavirus)’s brutal, blurry slide from pandemic to endemic is an example that underscores one defining truth of our reality: Our disasters don’t exactly end; they evolve. And if we are to outlast them, so must we.

In one respect, we already have: Knowing that hellish dangers lie around every corner has made us better at anticipating and bracing for them. We can detect the warning signs earlier, and as a global society we’ve improved at mobilizing in response. But the world we knew — where “100-year floods” happened roughly once a century — is ending.

I lead the Headway team at The New York Times, which explores global challenges through the lens of progress. We wanted to understand how people around the world approach rebuilding in this state of continuous disaster. Everywhere we looked, long-simmering crises had reached breaking points: For example, a hurricane that on its own would be an emergency hits a brittle food system misshapen by colonialism, sparking a crisis. These ruptures carry both the threat and possibility of broader transformations. Disasters compress time, and in a world besieged by them, dramatic shifts occur: For planners and architects and officials, whose work typically unfolds over years, disaster recovery requires and enables otherwise-unthinkable haste. For survivors, unfathomable loss creates what the psychologist William James called an “awful discontinuity of past and future.” This essay is part of a special issue of The New York Times Magazine about rebuilding. In creating it, we found ourselves widening the lens, from singular dislocations caused by disaster to the wider possibilities for change that emerge as society seesaws between creeping calamities and sudden shocks.

To recognize the power of these frenzied moments to transform is not to glorify chaos. Grasping at possibility doesn’t begin to ease the struggle of the present. But the steady breakage of the world around us is an omen that another world is coming, and we may have a chance to shape it.

Beginning to cope with disaster is a process of trying to turn chaos into order. While Russian troops were still in their city, the people of [*Irpin were already turning the senselessness of the trauma into monuments of loss and survival, as Linda Kinstler reports.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/07/magazine/ukraine-rebuild-irpin.html) Consider a list of items left on the streets of Irpin after Russian soldiers tore the Ukrainian city apart: children’s strollers, a T-shirt, a backpack, a bicycle, an overturned van. Are these sacred objects, or debris, or both? Whether they go to a landfill or to a museum can be a matter of who finds them, what they stand to gain, what they have to carry.

But apocalypses, rock bottoms of various kinds, can also be endings and beginnings at once. And when those apocalypses recur, new beginnings may suggest themselves. The [*fire that engulfed Brazil’s National Museum in 2018 obliterated the cultural artifacts of scores of the country’s Indigenous peoples,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/09/magazine/brazil-national-museum-indigenous.html) as Mariana Lenharo and Meghie Rodrigues recount, turning irreplaceable works to ashes. But the next incarnation of the museum, now under construction, will give some Indigenous residents the opportunity to shape their own stories — and curators a chance to rethink who they empower to shape our collective memory of history and the lessons we find in it.

Reaching to the past to reframe the present makes clear that even the existence of these manifold disasters is in part a consequence of the vast — and sometimes reckless — scale in which we’ve remade the world for centuries. In the decades after the floods of 1914 and 1938 devastated Los Angeles, as Michael Kimmelman writes, the miles-long river coursing through the city was refashioned into a narrow channel to prevent future flooding. Whole communities were cleaved, wedged between highways, railroads and the river that was now a giant concrete scar. While the channel has protected the city from major flooding, it has also worsened the effects of segregation, and so effaced the river that many Angelenos might no longer know it was ever there. The desire to restore residents’ access to green spaces has led to a project nearly as bold as the creation of the channel, but one that will need to be executed with far greater care than its predecessor for the people who live alongside it.

These human-caused and “natural” disasters take turns with each other to create a vicious cycle that widens inequities around the globe: Wealthy countries, shielded from the worst consequences of their actions, in turn worsen humankind’s shared exposure to risks such as new pathogens and rising seas. Devastated infrastructure and pressing human needs draw lenders and profiteers whose assistance comes with heavy costs. Displacement and deprivation fuel conflict, spurring more of the same. One site of many of those interlocking challenges is Puerto Rico. Moises Velasquez-Manoff transports us to a farm there, planted months before Hurricane Maria destroyed not only crops but also critical roads and disrupted food imports, leaving many hungry. As the farmer in charge of the land prepares at last to plant another farm, Fiona hits.

Was the disaster the first hurricane? The second? Was it a food system, once largely self-sufficient, now dependent on canned produce shipped from the mainland? Was it soil made loose by years of destructive farming? Rebuilding over and over in the face of such interconnected struggles requires trying to strike at all of them at once. In our stories of a world under constant reconstruction, these themes recur. Small beginnings nourish large hopes. Grand visions vie with practical compromises. Imagining another world, as difficult as that is, is still far easier than actually bringing it about.

Disasters offer evidence of what humankind is capable of, and that record stretches in many directions — hubris, cruelty and shortsightedness; imagination, generosity and courage. Learning to live with constant disaster means more than preparing an emergency kit and practicing where to brace when the tremors hit. It means considering how to steer the vast transformations that disaster makes both necessary and possible. It means rebuilding and reimagining at once — acknowledging our wounds and still fashioning new visions not just of who we are, or were, but of who we could be.

Human beings’ most foundational resource for coping with crises is the network of people around us. At every level, from households to governments, the breadth and strength of the bonds among its members can be what determine a community’s ability to repair or reimagine itself. Each catastrophe is a test of what kind of society we’ve built. And each recovery offers a chance, however fleeting, to build another.

“A power struggle often takes place in disaster,” Rebecca Solnit writes in her book “A Paradise Built in Hell.” “Real political and social change can result, from that struggle or from the new sense of self and society that emerges.” Such a spirit seemed to take hold in the Mano neighborhood in Kobe, Japan, according to Etsuko Yasui, a scholar of disaster at Brandon University. In the 1960s, Mano was rapidly growing into a heavily polluted industrial district. While in other neighborhoods protests led to factories leaving the community, Mano’s residents, many of whom worked in nearby factories, pressed for better, cleaner production practices. When a major earthquake struck Kobe in 1995, Mano’s residents had already developed the necessary muscles. They organized themselves into amateur firefighting teams. They were not deterred when the water pressure in a fire hydrant proved too low to douse the flames. Someone remembered that one of the local factories had a machine that could increase water pressure; it was retrieved, and the hose was made to work again. Neighbors formed a bucket brigade to move water from a nearby river. Four hours after it began, the fire was out.

Mano suggests that a community bound together by its response to one crisis is better prepared for the next. Residents had not only an intimate grasp of the resources their neighborhood contained, but enough social glue that they could demonstrate collective leadership. They offer a vision of one way our communities can evolve to meet an era of constant disaster.

For a glimpse at how a different world might take root even in the middle of a system shock, consider the case of West Street Recovery. In the days after Houston was flooded by Hurricane Harvey, Andrew Barley responded to a Facebook post calling for help with water rescues. Soon enough, he had joined a small crew of volunteers. “Water rescue turned into passing out hot meals, turned into muck and guts — which is cleaning out houses after the storm — turned into passing out clean clothes and cleaning supplies,” Barley says. The crush of disaster meant there was little time at first for deliberation and bureaucracy. Even in the crucible of calamity, they managed to articulate a set of shared values and an agreement: Decisions would be made by consensus, but one voice could not overrule an otherwise unanimous choice. Before long, the volunteer operation had become a formal nonprofit.

Many such efforts emerge in the immediate aftermath of disaster, then dissipate as the recovery reaches its limits and compassion fatigue sets in. “The real question is not why this brief paradise of mutual aid and altruism appears, but rather why it is ordinarily overwhelmed by another world order,” Solnit writes in her book. But five years after Harvey, West Street Recovery has not only continued ongoing disaster response, but spawned a spinoff effort that’s also focused on organizing residents around political aims. Perpetual disaster has been the context for that work. “From our perspective, it was Harvey; and then from Harvey, there was a tropical storm two years after,” Barley reflected. “And from that, there was the pandemic; and then from the pandemic, there was social uprising. And then from social uprising, there was winter storm Uri. From winter storm Uri to now, we’re facing levels of inflation that our ***working-class*** communities haven’t seen, or their generation hasn’t seen, in years.” Ben Hirsch, West Street co-director, shares the group’s fundamental philosophy: “We’re trying to imagine the world that we want, and act and run our organization in that way.”

This is not the kind of effort poised to scale into a large organization. For the first four years, Hirsch said, they worked in four ZIP codes. Now they work in five. The ideal future for West Street, Barley imagines, is that the community that gave rise to it builds the capacity in itself to carry on the work, and he goes on to share the knowledge he’s built with other people in other places. In this community, struck by disaster after disaster, they’ve found ways to move through both the recurring shocks and the systemic ills that give rise to them at once. What would change about the ways we live in this age of disaster if we invested in that kind of localized mutual aid all over the globe?

The stealthiest danger in a world shaken by ongoing calamities might be that calamity becomes ordinary. We learn to cope with it from day to day, but lose the ability to imagine beyond it. I hope the articles in this special issue about rebuilding are an antidote to that danger. Disaster may be our present and future, but may the certainty of a vastly changing world keep us also alert to its vast possibility.

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Matthew Thompson is the editor of the Headway team at The Times. He serves on the board for The Texas Tribune and Capital B, and the steering committee for the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press.

PHOTOS: PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMIE CHUNG; CONCEPT BY PABLO DELCAN) (MM11); The Caldor Fire in California burned more than 200,000 acres of land and destroyed hundreds of homes in 2021. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MAX WHITTAKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (MM12); Polluted floodwater from Hurricane Harvey surrounding homes in Beaumont, Texas, in August 2017. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ALYSSA SCHUKAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (MM13); Fighters from the Tigray Defense Forces surveying the wreckage of an Ethiopian Air Force plane downed by the rebels south of Mekelle, Ethiopia, in June 2021. (PHOTOGRAPH BY FINBARR O&#39;REILLY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); police used tear gas to disperse protesters at a demonstration against the military coup in Yangon, Myanmar, in February 2021. (PHOTOGRAPH BY YE AUNG THU/AFP, VIA GETTY IMAGES) (MM14); The Hanshin Expressway in Kobe, Japan, after the Great Hanshin Earthquake in January 1995. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KYODO, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS); The Hanshin Expressway in 2005, after it was rebuilt. (PHOTOGRAPH BY EVERETT KENNEDY BROWN/EPA/SHUTTERSTOCK) (MM16) This article appeared in print on page MM11, MM12, MM13, MM14, MM16.

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[***Did Biden Just School the Republicans, or His Own Party?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:668H-WBV1-DXY4-X0HY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 30, 2022 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 20

**Length:** 1738 words

**Byline:** By Gail Collins and Bret Stephens

**Body**

Bret Stephens: Hi, Gail. Depending on whom you ask, Joe Biden's decision to forgive hundreds of billions of dollars in student loans is either the Democrats' political masterstroke or a major political gift to Republicans. What's your take?

Gail Collins: Well, Bret, allow me to take the middle road. Gee, I really do enjoy saying that. Makes me feel so ... judicious.

Politically, I think it's more a winner than not. Tens of millions of people who have college debt in their family are going to be grateful; almost everybody else has other things to focus on. I doubt anybody who started last week liking Joe Biden's agenda is suddenly going to turn on the Democrats.

Bret: I wonder. This just seems to me like yet another case of Democrats getting on the wrong side of ***working-class*** America. Most Americans don't have a bachelor's degree, sometimes because they couldn't afford it. Most Americans who did go to college either have paid their loans off or are paying them off. Now they have been turned into chumps for living within their means -- while paying, through their taxes, for those who didn't.

Expect Republicans to run on this in the fall the way Democrats are running on abortion rights. What do you think of the decision on the merits?

Gail: Policywise, I just wish it had been tied to some serious reforms of the current system that helped create all that debt in the first place.

Bret: Agree. One-time student loan forgiveness isn't going to get educational costs under control. If anything, it will create a moral hazard in which people take out student loans they may not be able to afford in the expectation of future loan forgiveness. What's your reform proposal?

Gail: First and foremost, a deep dive into for-profit schools. Many of them are total scams, and even the ones that aren't often charge more for programs people can get elsewhere.

Bret: I'd add that there are plenty of nonprofit schools also charging way too much for dubious degrees.

Gail: After that, a serious look at overall price tags. The fact that loans are so easy to get has encouraged even very fine schools to charge too-high tuition in order to get money for programs that feed the ego of the administration more than the quality of the education.

And then ... well, hey. Your turn.

Bret: It wouldn't hurt, either, if colleges and universities started cutting down sharply on the army of administrators they've hired in recent years, who contribute a lot to fiscal and bureaucratic bloat and therefore to overall costs.

Gail: Watch out, administrators -- if Bret and I are in accord, you've probably got a problem.

Bret: Longer term, we should help steer teenagers away from the idea that four-year college is their one and only ticket to prosperity, status and success. We should shift our funding toward community colleges, vocational schools and a wide range of adult-education programs. I'm also sympathetic to the idea of expanding opportunities for shorter enlistment times for young people who want to join any branch of the armed forces. It could help fund their future education, and it would make them more disciplined students when they do.

Gail: While we're being hard-nosed about what we want students to get out of college, I feel obliged to point out that some of the less practical aspects of higher education can be terrific experiences. I went to graduate school and got a master's degree in government, which I don't think has ever once convinced a potential employer I was a superior candidate. But I had a great time, met some fascinating people, including my future husband, and learned a lot.

I paid for it through on-campus jobs, some of which you could argue amounted to a kind of public financing. Not saying this should be a universal goal. But when I'm cheerleading for the most practical possible approach to higher education, I feel obliged to toss it in.

Bret: True and fair. Liberal-arts education is great when students are engaged and teaching quality is high. Wish that were more often the case.

On another subject, Gail, any takeaways from the release of the redacted affidavit on the Mar-a-Lago search?

Gail: Have to admit I was disappointed by all those redactions -- I was hoping for something that looked a little larger. More dramatic. More specific. More ... something. How about you?

Bret: Here's my hunch: Donald Trump has only a vague idea of what's in all of these documents. The notion that he read through boxes and boxes containing hundreds of documents with classification markings and chose to take these particular items strikes me as ... unlikely.

Gail: Yeah, I hear he's currently way too engrossed in rereading the collected works of Tolstoy.

Bret: Right. He's so upset by Anna Karenina's suicide that he hasn't been able to focus on anything.

What is very much like Trump is that, as soon as the administration sought to recover the boxes, he saw an opportunity to set up a test of strength against Biden -- one that would stoke the paranoia of his supporters, rally wavering Republicans to his side and set up the Justice Department to fall on its face barring some spectacular disclosure.

So my bottom line is that the Justice Department had better come up with something very damning, not just a charge relating to mishandling classified documents. If it doesn't, it will be the fourth or fifth time in six years that the F.B.I. has meddled in politics, only to cause irreparable damage to its own reputation.

Gail: Congratulations, you've flung me into depression. I do agree with you that the story on Trump's end is less likely a sinister plot than messy grabbiness, perhaps along with a reasonable paranoia that, given the number of things he's done wrong, there'd be evidence of something bad somewhere.

Bret: I've always maintained that with Trump, there are no deep, dark secrets: His absolute awfulness always stares you squarely in the face, like a baboon's backside.

Gail: Short term, this saga is just giving ammunition to the right. But I can't envision a whole lot of people switching their allegiance to Trump because of it.

Bret: Not among people who never voted for him. What worries me for now is that he'll recapture wavering Republicans who were nearly done with him.

Gail: Republicans who race to the polls because they're outraged by the F.B.I.'s Mar-a-Lago adventure are going to be a fraction of the number of folks who'll want to register their very strong feelings on behalf of abortion rights.

Bret: We'll see.

Gail: But let me poke you on another federal agency that conservatives tend to find ... problematic. Biden's Inflation Reduction Act includes about $80 billion to update the I.R.S. I think it's a great idea, given its current pathetic state. Overworked agents sitting around stapling papers together aren't going to be able to win a lot of battles with high-end accountants and lawyers protecting their rich clients from an audit.

But as I'm sure you know, a lot of Republicans are howling about what the dreaded Ted Cruz calls a ''shadow army'' of I.R.S. agents. What's your take?

Bret: I recently read that the I.R.S. answers just 10 percent of calls. So if the money goes to making the agency more responsive to distressed taxpayers, I'm fine with it. My worry is that the agency will initiate lots of audits against people who don't have the benefit of fancy accountants and lawyers and who are at the mercy of an agency that has almost limitless power and not much accountability.

Gail, we're getting to the end of summer, and some of our readers may be looking for a final book recommendation before Labor Day. I know you're working on a memoir, but are there any books you'd suggest?

Gail: The last time we talked books I said I was enjoying the novel ''A Gentleman in Moscow.''

Now you're giving me a chance to share a letter I got from a reader, John Burgess, saying he'd put in a request for it at his local library. He continued: ''The day I picked it up, my son tested positive for Covid. Now I am sequestered in my house (my son lives with me), reading about a Russian noble who was imprisoned in the Metropol hotel in Moscow in 1922. The setting could hardly be more perfect.''

See, you never can tell when a novel you read is going to parachute into your real life.

On the nonfiction front, I just happily finished ''Thank You for Your Servitude'' by our former colleague Mark Leibovich, one of the latest in what looks like a banner year for retrospectives on the Trump presidency.

How about you?

Bret: I spent part of the summer reading books by friends. I devoured Jamie Kirchick's riveting ''Secret City: The Hidden History of Gay Washington,'' a landmark that deserves companion histories for London, Paris and other capitals. I was deeply moved by ''When Magic Failed,'' the posthumous memoir of Fouad Ajami, with its heartbreaking depictions of village and city life in his native Lebanon.

I read an advance copy of Lionel Shriver's forthcoming nonfiction collection, ''Abominations,'' appropriately subtitled ''Selected Essays From a Career of Courting Self-Destruction,'' which should be mandatory reading for college freshmen. And I finally got around, albeit 20 years late, to my old friend Mindy Lewis's stunning memoir, ''Life Inside,'' centered on her institutionalization as a teenager in the late 1960s in a psychiatric hospital in New York. It deserves to be reissued in this new era of mental health crisis among younger people.

Gail: I knew your summer list would be high quality and longer than mine. I like the idea that my excuse is that I'm writing a book, so there's not much time for reading. But maybe if I stopped watching ''Sopranos'' reruns before bed ...

Bret: Can't wait for your book. We've been revisiting some favorite French farces. Highly recommend ''Le Dîner de Cons'' and ''Le Placard.''

Gail: Next week we'll be off, celebrating Labor Day with our readers, Bret. Then it's on to September and the midterm election homestretch. Lord knows what's going to happen, but it's nice to know that whatever it is, I'll get to talk about it with you.

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**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY CORNELL WATSON/REDUX)

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[***The Diminishing Democratic Majority***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:644F-55P1-JBG3-62H2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 21, 2021 Sunday

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**Length:** 907 words

**Byline:** By Ross Douthat

**Body**

Last weekend I wrote about how the landscape of 2021 is suddenly letting Republicans play politics on ''easy'' mode, by giving them back the kind of issues that built Ronald Reagan's majority in the 1970s and 1980 -- rising inflation, rising violent crime, a Cold War rivalry (Chinese rather than Russian this time) and backlash against a culturally ascendant but overreaching and self-deceiving left.

I also wrote that this state of affairs was probably temporary, defining the environment as we head toward the 2022 midterms but not actually catapulting us permanently back to the world of 1980. In which case it's fruitful to speculate about what the world after this strange, Covid-mediated moment holds for our two political coalitions -- starting this weekend with the view from the Democratic perspective and continuing with the view from the G.O.P. side next week.

If you're a Democrat right now, you can tell yourself a reasonably optimistic story, even in the face of disastrous midterm polling, about what the world after 2021 looks like for your party. In this hopeful scenario inflation is a challenge for a year but not a decade, and much of the simmering public discontent with the Biden administration reflects a simple exhaustion with Covid-era abnormalcy -- an abnormalcy that, with child vaccinations, therapeutic drugs and widespread immunity, should really and truly be over with next year.

If that abnormalcy goes, so might a bunch of related issues that are currently hurting Democrats, including not just economic problems but cultural ones as well. The current education wars, for instance, have clearly been inflamed by school closings and masking policies, not just by parental doubts about new progressive curriculums. So once Covid-era interventions are finally in the rearview mirror, it may be that the Critical Race Theory debate recedes somewhat as well.

Thus the optimistic Democrat can tell herself that after losing ground in the midterms, the Biden administration will have a better economy thereafter, a lot of popular domestic spending to take credit for, a diminishment of culture war and a Republican opposition captive to its own extremists and likely to once again nominate Donald Trump for president.

All of which would be enough to win Democrats back most of the political advantages they've lost in the last year and enable them to go back to worrying about their structural disadvantages in the Electoral College, and how Trump might provoke a constitutional crisis when he loses narrowly a second time. These are hardly trivial worries. But they're a very different kind of worry, if you're a Democrat, from the fear that Republicans might cruise to Reagan-like majorities in 2024.

The more pessimistic scenario for Democrats, though, is one in which most of these hopes come to pass and others, too -- normalcy is restored, inflation is tamed, schools are open everywhere and masks are set aside, illegal border crossings diminish and homicide rates drop, no major foreign crises intervenes -- and it doesn't help the party or its president as much as one might expect.

I'll call this, to be provocative, the ''emerging Republican majority'' scenario, in which it turns out that of the two big political migrations of the Trump era -- affluent suburbanites turning more Democratic, ***working-class*** whites and then Latinos turning more Republican -- the first one was temporary and provisional, and the second one permanent and accelerating.

In this possible future, it will become clear that the Glenn Youngkin result in Virginia was a bellwether -- that there's certain kind of suburban voter who will vote for a moderate-seeming Democrat over the Trumpiest Republican, but who will swing back to the G.O.P. as soon as there's any excuse to do so. Meanwhile the characteristic Obama-Trump voter, whether in rural white America or in Latino areas of Florida or Texas, will remain so culturally alienated from contemporary progressivism that there's no easy way for Biden or any other Democratic politician to win them back. And especially not our aging president's two obvious heirs, Kamala Harris and Pete Buttigieg, who built their careers in deep-blue precincts, embodying aspects of elite progressivism that have dubious national appeal.

Which would mean that after Biden, liberals should expect the deluge -- unless, of course, the Republican Party makes itself so utterly objectionable that it torches all of these advantages and ensures that any emerging G.O.P. majority is stillborn.

This possibility confronts Democrats with a strange political calculus, albeit one that they already faced somewhat in Trump's first term. It may be that the things they (rightly) fear most about a Trumpian revival -- all the paranoia and conspiracism that gave us Jan. 6 -- are also the only things that, by alienating suburban voters from the G.O.P., keep the present Democratic coalition viable.

Whereas without Trumpishness as a foil and boogeyman, current-era liberalism would be headed for a fate once anticipated for Republicans: a slow but steady ebb, a surprising demographic squeeze.

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**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Barrett Emke for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***The 'Smell of Freedom'***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65WP-8091-JBG3-62SY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 10, 2022 Sunday

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**Length:** 1659 words

**Byline:** By Eric Schlosser

**Body**

In ''Wastelands,'' Corban Addison tells the extraordinary story of how some North Carolina residents stood up to a meatpacking company polluting their communities.

WASTELANDS: The True Story of Farm Country on Trial, by Corban Addison

Human beings have been raising pigs for about 10,000 years. But the methods used to breed, raise, process and market them have been profoundly transformed during the last few decades. In the United States, until recently, hogs were raised on small farms, fed leftover grain, allowed to run freely in pens and barns and sold at live auctions with competitive bidding. The typical herd ranged in size from the dozens to the low hundreds. During the 1980s, cheap, federally subsidized grain, an absence of antitrust enforcement, the rise of huge meatpacking companies, and new production techniques devised by those companies turned hogs into industrial commodities -- and drove 80 to 90 percent of American hog farmers out of the business.

The places where hogs are now raised are ''farms'' in name only. They're essentially livestock factories, dedicated to uniformity and efficiency, that house thousands of hogs crammed together in windowless sheds. And like other factories, they produce a good deal of waste -- in this case, about a gallon and a half of urine and excrement per hog every day. All of that waste has to go somewhere. And where it winds up has proved remarkably destructive to America's rural landscape and the people who live in it.

''Wastelands,'' by Corban Addison, tells the extraordinary story of how some neighbors of hog operations in North Carolina battled a meatpacking company polluting their neighborhoods. They sued the company in federal court, launching cases that took years to resolve, with surprising twists and serious implications not only for the future of American agriculture but also for the health of our democracy. Addison, an attorney and best-selling novelist, is the ideal writer to tell this story -- and North Carolina is in many ways the perfect setting from which to explore the real-life impact of concentrated animal feeding operations, abbreviated CAFOs, an official term for modern-day livestock factories. In the early 1970s, North Carolina had about 18,000 hog farms, with an average herd of about 75 hogs. Today, it has only 2,000 hog operations, with herds as large as 60,000 hogs. The state's nine million hogs annually produce from three to 10 times as much waste as New York City does. But that hog waste isn't sent to high-tech treatment plants. It is pumped into large pools, euphemistically called ''lagoons.'' Just one of those pools can hold enough waste to cover 15 football fields with crap a foot deep. And when lagoons are full, the untreated waste is sprayed onto nearby fields. Addison describes how giant spray guns shoot 200 gallons of waste per minute into the air, noxious stuff with ''a strange muddy-pink color to it'' that tends to ''drift like a cloud on the breeze.''

The North Carolina hog boom occurred mainly in the coastal plain east of Interstate 95, Addison notes, ''a rural region of the state invisible to outsiders and forgotten by most North Carolinians.'' From the 1980s through the early 2000s, former tobacco farmers were encouraged to raise hogs under contract to the meatpackers. In one county, the hogs soon outnumbered the humans by a factor of 35 to one. The new hog factories were built without restrictions from local zoning laws, sometimes right next to homes inhabited for generations -- mainly by families who were poor and Black. The quality of life in those homes deteriorated greatly. Tractor-trailers carrying hogs drove past day and night. The high mortality rate in the sheds and the dead hogs left outdoors awaiting removal attracted flocks of vultures. The vast pools of waste emitted a terrible, overpowering smell. And the waste sprayed on fields often fell on the roofs of nearby houses, Addison writes, with ''the soft pitter-patter of rain.'' DNA tests revealed traces of hog excrement inside kitchens, on the surfaces of refrigerators, on top of stoves. It was a textbook case of environmental racism. After years of complaints to local and state authorities went unheeded, more than 500 neighbors of North Carolina CAFOs, almost all of them Black, filed lawsuits against the meatpacking company that seemed the worst offender: Smithfield Foods.

In a David-versus-Goliath tale like this one, you could hardly hope for a more ruthless and intimidating giant than Smithfield. The company is not only the world's largest producer of pork but also the owner of the world's largest slaughterhouse. Located in Tar Heel, N.C., that slaughterhouse disassembles about 32,000 hogs a day. For years, the workers at the Tar Heel plant were treated almost as poorly as the hogs: Smithfield harassed union supporters, paid workers to spy on fellow workers and employed deputy sheriffs as corporate security officers who beat and arrested workers. The company originated in Smithfield, Va., during the 1930s and later became a corporate dynasty, successively led by Joseph W. Luter Sr., Joseph W. Luter Jr. and Joseph W. Luter III. It grew by pioneering industrial methods of hog production and by taking over its competitors, one by one. But when the North Carolina lawsuits were filed in 2013, Smithfield Foods was no longer an American company. Shuanghui International Holdings, a Chinese corporation now known as WH Group, had bought it the previous year, with financing from the government-owned Bank of China. The cost of raising hogs in North Carolina was about half as expensive as raising them in China -- and one of the reasons, Addison explains, is that ''the Chinese government doesn't allow its hog farmers to use lagoons and spray fields.'' Instead, Chinese hog operations must invest in ''treatment facilities'' and ''biological odor control systems to protect neighbors.''

''Wastelands'' is full of memorable people. An assortment of high-powered attorneys agrees to take on Smithfield, working free in return for a share of any settlement. They fly on private jets, employ focus groups, hire a videographer from National Geographic to convey the neighbors' plight. Mona Lisa Wallace is the most sympathetic and compelling member of the legal team, brilliant, indefatigable, raised in small-town North Carolina with a ***working-class*** background, dedicated to using the courts to help victims of corporate misbehavior. Among the plaintiffs, Elsie Herring -- one of 15 children, who left North Carolina for New York City and returned almost 30 years later only to find herself drenched in a misty rain of manure on a walk near her family home -- stands out. As does Violet Branch, one of 11 children, who has lived for more than 70 years in the house where she was born but must endure the pollution from two waste lagoons next door. Before the lawsuit, Branch had tirelessly contacted public health officials, journalists, even the Environmental Protection Agency in Washington, seeking relief from the stench. ''Nothing is going to be done about this issue -- nothing has been done,'' she bravely testifies in court, ''because the power structure in those communities is not going to allow something to be done about it.''

Smithfield unabashedly uses its power to avoid responsibility for the legal ''nuisance'' at issue in court. It threatens to leave the state if the lawsuits are successful. It spies on the attorneys and hires private investigators to keep tabs on the plaintiffs. It helps to create a front group, ''NC Farm Families.'' It works closely with the state farm bureau, chamber of commerce and Republican Party, whose members introduce bills in the legislature to protect Smithfield from liability. The odors from the company's hog operations, one Republican legislator boasts, are the ''smell of freedom.'' The legislature's only significant departure from industry-friendly policies occurred in 1997, when it passed a temporary moratorium on new hog operations -- just as two were about to be built in Moore County, home to the Pinehurst resort and its legendary golf courses.

I am neither a vegan nor a vegetarian. But I think the hog factories described in ''Wastelands'' and the similar CAFOs in other states are forms of systematic animal cruelty. They are crimes against nature. Hogs are intelligent and sensitive creatures capable of multistage reasoning like dolphins and apes, with a social structure similar to that of elephants. Hogs can recognize themselves in a mirror, differentiate one person from another, remember negative experiences. And they like to be clean. Their lives in hog factories scarcely resemble how they've been raised for millenniums. They arrive as small piglets, live crammed together amid one another's filth and leave a few months later for the slaughterhouse -- never having enjoyed a moment outdoors during their entire time at the shed. The foulness of these places, for the animals that live in them and the people who live near them, truly defies words.

Corban Addison hasn't written a polemic about hog factories, like my paragraph above. He has calmly assembled a legal thriller, full of energy and compassion, that addresses issues of real importance, like the works of John Grisham and Scott Turow. Grisham wrote the foreword to this book, and in it, he says: ''Beautifully written, impeccably researched, and told with the air of suspense that few writers can handle, 'Wastelands' is a story I wish I had written.'' I agree with Grisham. But I wish that ''Wastelands'' were a work of dystopian science fiction, not a damning portrait of how we feed ourselves now.

Eric Schlosser is the author of ''Fast Food Nation'' and ''Command and Control.''

WASTELANDS: The True Story of Farm Country on Trial, by Corban Addison | 464 pp. | Alfred A. Knopf | $30Eric Schlosser is the author of ''Fast Food Nation'' and ''Command and Control.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/07/books/review/wastelands-corban-addison.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/07/books/review/wastelands-corban-addison.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Young hogs at a Smithfield Foods livestock operation in North Carolina, 2017. (PHOTOGRAPH BY GERRY BROOME/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

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[***Johnson Resigns, but His Legacy and the Divisions He Stoked Remain***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65WP-8091-JBG3-62W3-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 11; NEWS ANALYSIS

**Length:** 1544 words

**Byline:** By Mark Landler

**Body**

Long after he is gone, his successors will be wrestling over his signature project, Brexit, and the insoluble issues it raised.

LONDON -- The swift, stinging downfall of Boris Johnson this past week removes a uniquely polarizing figure from British politics. But it does not remove the divisive issues that Mr. Johnson confronted -- and in many cases, exploited -- as he engineered Britain's departure from the European Union two and a half years ago.

Mr. Johnson's legacy, and that of Brexit, are inseparable. Britons will be wrestling with the fallout from his signature project long after their flamboyant prime minister decamps Downing Street, taking with him his heedless disregard for the rules, checkered ethical history and slapdash personal style.

From Britain's poisoned relationship with France to its clash with Brussels over trade in Northern Ireland, Brexit-related issues will loom large in the campaign to replace Mr. Johnson as leader of the Conservative Party and, hence, prime minister. They could well define the next occupant of Downing Street, the fourth prime minister since Britain voted to leave in 2016.

Narrowing the divide between Britain's wealthy south and poorer north -- Mr. Johnson's marquee post-Brexit initiative -- is major unfinished business. Even broader economic problems, like surging inflation and a looming recession, have a Brexit component, insofar as Britain's divorce from Brussels has aggravated its woes.

Beyond that, Mr. Johnson's successor will have to reckon with the corrosive effect that Brexit has had on British politics, whether in the charged debates over social and cultural issues, or in the strains on institutions like Parliament and the Civil Service. Mr. Johnson, with his populist instincts, stoked those sentiments. Throwing out his playbook would not be easy for any future Conservative leader.

''What Boris Johnson did was show how the system can be exploited,'' said Anand Menon, a professor of European politics at King's College London. ''Given the nature of the Conservative Party, I assume there's not going to be much softening of its position on many of these issues.''

Even Jeremy Hunt, a middle-of-the-road figure who is likely to run for party leader, said recently he would favor ripping up parts of Britain's agreement with the European Union that sets trade regulations in Northern Ireland. Mr. Johnson's threat to do that provoked outrage in Brussels, which accused him of violating international law.

Mr. Hunt, who challenged Mr. Johnson for the leadership unsuccessfully in 2019, voted for Britain to stay in the European Union. But like Mr. Johnson, his fortunes will depend in part on support from the Conservative Party's right flank, which pushed relentlessly for the most uncompromising form of Brexit.

Another likely candidate, Liz Truss, Mr. Johnson's foreign secretary, is spearheading the aggressive approach on Northern Ireland. She is reported to have recruited an influential group of Brexiteers to vet legislation that would allow Britain to renege on parts of the agreement with Brussels before introducing it in Parliament.

Nor will the leadership campaign lack for culture warriors. Suella Braverman, who currently serves as attorney general, declared herself a candidate on ITV last week by vowing to crack down on migrants illegally crossing the English Channel, one of several positions that echo those of Mr. Johnson.

''We need to get rid of all of this woke rubbish,'' Ms. Braverman added, ''and actually get back to a country, where describing a man and a woman in terms of biology does not mean that you are going to lose your job.''

The political forces that fueled Brexit -- voter disengagement, economic grievances, distrust of politicians -- predated Mr. Johnson, much as similar forces predated Donald J. Trump in the United States. How much each leader was a catalyst for events or merely a symptom of them will be long debated in both countries.

And just as the United States is still dealing with the charged issues that catapulted Mr. Trump into office, analysts said British politics would continue to be dominated by hot-button topics -- from immigration to economic equity between England's north and south -- that were litigated in the Brexit debate.

''We are still in the relatively early stages of living with the consequences of Brexit,'' said Simon Fraser, a former head of Britain's Foreign and Commonwealth Office. ''Brexit is going to continue to devour its children.''

Those running to replace Mr. Johnson, Mr. Fraser said, have little incentive to soften his hard-line positions on Brexit-related issues because they will be selected by the Conservative Party's lawmakers and rank-and-file members, for whom Mr. Johnson's Brexit policy was perhaps the greatest success of his tenure.

Mr. Johnson stitched together a potent but unwieldy coalition to win a landslide general election victory in 2019. It consisted of traditional Tory voters in the country's south, as well as ***working-class*** voters in the industrial north, who had historically voted for the Labour Party but defected to the Conservatives in part because of Mr. Johnson's vow to ''Get Brexit Done.''

''Boris Johnson was able to move into that space, partly by dint of personality, partly by his complete absence of a political philosophy,'' Mr. Menon said. Without Mr. Johnson's protean appeal to those voters, he added, social and cultural issues are ''the only glue that holds it together.''

With Mr. Johnson vowing to stay in Downing Street until the Conservatives select a new leader -- a process that could take until the early fall -- it is too soon to judge whether he will have a lingering impact on British politics after he is no longer prime minister. Some of that will depend on whether he opts to stay in Parliament, where he could easily vex his successor from the backbenches.

Jonathan Powell, who served as chief of staff to Prime Minister Tony Blair, used an analogy to ''long Covid,'' the prolonged aftereffects of Covid-19.

''In the United States, you're suffering from Long Trump,'' he said. ''The question is, are we in Britain going to suffer from Long Boris?''

Mr. Powell said he was cautiously optimistic that Britons would be able to move on from Mr. Johnson more readily than Americans from Mr. Trump because their institutions have, by and large, proven resilient in the face of his tactics.

After some dithering, for example, Conservative Party lawmakers rallied themselves to stand up to a leader in whom they had lost confidence. The Republican Party, by contrast, remains almost wholly in thrall to Mr. Trump.

For all his precedent-shattering, norm-busting ways, Mr. Johnson's denouement was oddly in keeping with custom, if with a typically dramatic flourish. His cabinet abandoned him, much as members of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's cabinet abandoned her in November 1990, forcing her to yield to the inevitable and step down.

None of this is to diminish Mr. Johnson's place in history, which even his harshest critics say will be consequential.

''Without Boris Johnson, we might not have had Brexit,'' said Timothy Garton Ash, professor of European studies at Oxford University. ''Without Boris Johnson, we wouldn't have a hard Brexit because he personally gave us that. Without Boris Johnson, we wouldn't have had the disastrous decline in standards in British public life.''

Still, he said Mr. Johnson would not play a king-making role after leaving office because he does not command a Brexit Brigade anything like Mr. Trump's ''Make America Great Again'' movement.

''The Conservatives selected him quite coolly, quite calculatingly, because they thought he was a winner,'' Professor Garton Ash said. Once the campaign is over, and the candidates have finished offering red meat to the Tory base, he predicted that ''the Conservatives will return to their more centrist positions.''

Other experts, however, argue that the cost-of-living crisis in Britain will make it hard for Mr. Johnson's successor to chart a more conciliatory path with Europe.

The prime minister's promises that Brexit would unleash a new era of growth in Britain have not been borne out. In fact, it has lagged the European Union, a fact that would not surprise economic forecasters or the government itself, which predicted that Brexit would hurt the British economy.

To remedy that, most candidates to succeed him are expected to call for some combination of lower taxes and less regulation.

''None of them is going to acknowledge the downsides of Brexit,'' said Mujtaba Rahman, an analyst at the political risk consultancy, Eurasia Group. ''They'll frame it as part of new Brexit opportunities.''

But cutting taxes and easing regulations would only widen the divergence between Britain and the European Union. That would aggravate the existing impasse over trade in Northern Ireland, which has long angered France and the Republic of Ireland, and recently drew a strong rebuke from the German government.

''It's not clear to me at all that the Brexit conversation is going to end, and it may actually dominate the campaign,'' Mr. Rahman said. ''Europe remains an itch that the Conservative Party cannot stop scratching.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/09/world/europe/boris-johnson-brexit.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/09/world/europe/boris-johnson-brexit.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Above, pro-Brexit demonstrators in 2018. For all his precedent-shattering ways, Boris Johnson's exit was oddly in keeping with custom. His cabinet stepped down and forced him to yield office, much like Margaret Thatcher's cabinet in 1990. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDREW TESTA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

ADAM FERGUSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Erika L. Sánchez***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65WP-8091-JBG3-62W9-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 7; BY THE BOOK

**Length:** 1450 words

**Body**

What books are on your night stand?

''Memphis,'' by Tara M. Stringfellow, ''The School for Good Mothers,'' by Jessamine Chan, and ''All the Flowers Kneeling,'' by Paul Tran.

What's the last great book you read?

''The Love Songs of W.E.B. Du Bois,'' by Honorée Fanonne Jeffers. Oh my goodness, it blew me away. It was devastating, but I couldn't stop reading it. It still haunts me.

Describe your ideal reading experience (when, where, what, how).

I love, love, love reading in bed freshly showered, preferably when it's warm enough to open a window. Bonus points for the sound of rain and rustling leaves. It's not always possible now because I have an 18-month-old baby and I am so very tired when I go to bed. Gone are the days of reading marathons until the wee hours. I used to literally sleep with books when I was single. I also read a lot in my office in the attic. I make a nest on my rug with blankets and pillows and other books. No one besides my husband is allowed to come up to my office unless they ask me for permission. A room of my own, you know? I'm a bit of an attic witch.

What's your favorite book no one else has heard of?

''Story of the Eye,'' by Georges Bataille. What in the world? LOL This was a doozy! I read it in high school and I've never forgotten it. Perhaps ''favorite'' is a strong word. More sexually bizarre than anything else. It was unforgettable, that's for sure.

Which writers -- novelists, playwrights, critics, journalists, poets -- working today do you admire most?

Oh boy. This question brings me both joy and anxiety. Let me try: Jesmyn Ward, Rebecca Solnit, Rigoberto González, Eduardo C. Corral, María Inés Zamudio, Reyna Grande, Phillip B. Williams, Jaxin Jackson, Isaac Gómez, Safiya Sinclair, Maria Hinojosa, Arundhati Roy, Paul Tran, Sandra Cisneros, Jennifer Fitzgerald, Louise Erdrich, Diane Seuss, Samantha Irby, Jason Reynolds, Natasha Tretheway, Jhumpa Lahiri, Zadie Smith, Prisca Dorcas Mojica Rodríguez, Pema Chodron and countless others.

Your new book is a memoir, but you've also published poetry and young adult fiction. What other cross-genre writers do you particularly recommend?

Elizabeth Acevedo is a national treasure. She does so many things well while being a lovely person. Read everything she writes. My friend Safiya Sinclair is also extraordinary. She's an incredible poet whose memoir will be out soon. I've had a glimpse of it, and I can't wait to read the rest. Poets really know how to write a sentence. But I'm biased, of course.

What distinguishes young adult literature from adult literature, for you?

I think it would have to be voice. Young people need to be able to connect to the protagonist on a deep level, and that means understanding their worldview at that age as well as capturing what they truly sound like. That's why Y.A. is usually written in first person. I think you must write Y.A. with your inner teenager at the forefront of your mind. You need to remember how incredibly uncomfortable it can be to simply exist. The language should also be accessible but still spicy. Kids really do see through our bull and have shorter attention spans.

Do you count any books as guilty pleasures?

Sometimes I keep reading books that I think are terrible because it's weirdly satisfying to me. There was a book, for instance, that I threw across the room because it was so poorly written. It hurt my feelings. But then I kept reading it and telling my boyfriend how bad it was. It was a ''Sex and the City'' rip-off with Latina characters that felt very one-dimensional. I'll leave it at that.

You used to write an advice column about sex and love. What authors are especially good on those topics?

Toni Morrison writes about sex and desire in a way that makes me want to close the book and pray to the sky. ''Paradise'' comes immediately to mind. The way Lisa Taddeo in ''Animal'' writes about sex makes me gasp and shudder. That book blew my mind.

What's the most interesting thing you learned from a book recently?

I've been reading about the horrors of slavery since I was a child. As a girl, I read all sorts of books that were not appropriate for my age. However, there were some forms of violence that I had never read about until ''The Love Songs of W.E.B. Du Bois.'' That book was an emotionally difficult but necessary read. There were details that I can't share here out of context because they were so horrific, but the intergenerational trauma I learned about in this text left me shaken and angry.

Which subjects do you wish more authors would write about?

Money. White authors often write about money (or don't) in a way that disregards the realities of most people. It's as if they assume that everyone simply has it. Or at least their readers. I remember reading ''Fear of Flying,'' by Erica Jong, many years ago, for instance, and getting very angry when the protagonist went to Europe for months with no concern for money or a job. I assumed she was relying on family money, but it was never explained. It took me out of the text because I couldn't get over it. Maybe it's because I grew up ***working class*** and money was a factor in everything we did. Marginalized people could never in their wildest dreams make these kinds of choices. That's why I always write about the financial realities of my characters. I don't expect everyone to assume what they are. Those details really matter to me.

What moves you most in a work of literature?

A beautiful image can really knock the mess out of me. I'm a poet before anything, so I need all my senses to be awakened in anything I read. The tiniest details make a world of difference.

Do you prefer books that reach you emotionally, or intellectually?

I need them to intersect. A good book for me will make me think and feel deeply -- and likely cry, likely startling my family.

How do you organize your books?

I don't! Most of them are in my attic shelved willy-nilly because I'm disorganized as hell. Every time I need a book, I have to scan all my shelves and piles throughout the house to find it and it takes an eternity. It causes me anxiety when I really need to refer to a book and I can't find it. I have paid my stepkids small sums to find books for me. I have notions of organizing them by genre and then arranged alphabetically, but I don't know when I will ever have the bandwidth to actually do it. Perhaps I'll just wait until I can ask my daughter to be the family librarian. She's currently 18 months old.

What book might people be surprised to find on your shelves?

Probably Gillian Flynn books. I'm typically not into thrillers, but her books are so pleasurable to read. I can stay up all night reading them because I simply can't live without knowing what happens next. Her women characters are so flawed and broken and interesting. Those are my favorite kind of characters for reasons that are probably very obvious.

Who is your favorite fictional hero or heroine? Your favorite antihero or villain?

Ifemelu from ''Americanah,'' by Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, and Amy Dunne from ''Gone Girl,'' by Gillian Flynn. Complicated ladies, am I right?

How have your reading tastes changed over time?

I always try to read widely, so I don't know that my tastes have changed much. My interests are all over the place. I just love beautifully written books that will enrich my life in some form, usually written by women. Recently, I did try to incorporate more fantasy books into my life since I teach many of students who are interested in the genre, but I realized that I'm simply not built for it. None of it sticks in my brain. I have a hard time entering completely invented worlds. I need to be more grounded in something I recognize. I think it's a ''me'' problem.

You're organizing a literary dinner party. Which three writers, dead or alive, do you invite?

Toni Morrison, James Baldwin and Gabriel García Márquez. They've all been major influences on my work. Imagine the banter! The cackles! The shade! The clouds of cigarette smoke!

What books are you embarrassed not to have read yet?

An entire book by Borges, ''The New Jim Crow,'' by Michelle Alexander, ''Pedro Páramo,'' by Juan Rulfo, and ''To the Lighthouse,'' by Virginia Woolf. They are all hovering over me making me feel like a bad literary citizen. I used to be slightly ashamed of never having read Harry Potter, but I have made peace with it now. It's not my thing. Honestly, I always feel under-read. I don't think that will ever change for me. I have mountains of books in my office that I'm eager to take on but have little time for.

What do you plan to read next?

''The 1619 Project.'' It feels like a very urgent read right now.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/07/books/review/erika-l-sanchez-crying-in-the-bathroom.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/07/books/review/erika-l-sanchez-crying-in-the-bathroom.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Rebecca Clarke FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***A Dedicated Horsewoman Leaves No Thoroughbred Behind; Postcard from Saratoga Springs***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63GX-TKH1-DXY4-X54P-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 762 words

**Byline:** Joe Drape

**Highlight:** Jessica Paquette has built a busy life as a handicapper, an analyst, an equestrian and a friend to retired racehorses.

**Body**

Jessica Paquette has built a busy life as a handicapper, an analyst, an equestrian and a friend to retired racehorses.

SARATOGA SPRINGS, N.Y. — Jessica Paquette calls herself a “weird horse girl.” She was 6 when she was first entranced by them, at a New England fair. They were so big, but gentle enough for her to reach up and rub their noses.

She wanted them in her life.

Her family was ***working class***, making the life of a young equestrian out of reach. But a nearby racetrack, Rockingham Park, in Salem, N.H., became her classroom. She studied the [*horses*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/20/science/horse-domestication-russia.html) up close as a hot walker, getting up before dawn to cool them down.

After school, she was back at the track in her Catholic school uniform to learn about pedigree and pace from a group of horse playing seniors who, besides imparting knowledge, made sure no one bothered the girl in the plaid jumper.

By 18, she was taking bets as a mutuel clerk at Suffolk Downs in Boston and studying journalism at Rivier University in Nashua, N.H.

She talked her way into an internship in the press box at Suffolk, then into a job in its marketing department. Finally, she became an in-house, on-air personality, parsing how the racehorses looked in the paddock and picking winners.

At 37, she is a multi-hyphenate who has devoted herself to thoroughbreds, during their racing careers and after.

Her connection to them was obvious at the Thoroughbred Retirement Foundation’s summer farm here when she had Brickbat and My Teddy Bear — former racehorses — curtsying to her for peppermints and nuzzles. She is communications director for the foundation, which works to protect retired horses from abuse, neglect and slaughter, boarding a few at the summer farm.

“If I could go back and tell my teenage self what she would be doing in 20 years, I wouldn’t have believed it,” Paquette said. “Everything I have is because of horses.”

In addition to her work with the foundation, she does public relations work for TVG, the horse racing network. She is also handicapper for [*The Saratoga Special*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/22/sports/baseball/reporting-on-racing-with-love-beyond-words-.html), a must-read tabloid here for anyone besotted with racehorses and the human characters who surround them.

Those lessons with the old-timers at Rockingham Park have paid off. This month, Paquette selected a horse named State of Rest to win the $1 million Saratoga Derby Invitational. He did, rewarding $2 bettors with a $44.20 payoff.

“I don’t like picking favorites,” she said. “When you are a public handicapper, you have to pick some favorites to satisfy the armchair quarterbacks. But it’s more fun to come up with a horse that is overlooked.”

Each Sunday, Paquette boards a plane in Boston, her home, for Richmond, Va., where she is the paddock analyst for Colonial Downs.

On Thursday, she flies home to her husband, her dogs and the two racehorses she rescued from the racetrack, What a Trippi and Puget Sound.

There will not be a third.

“One more horse, one less husband,” Paquette said, a wry smile creasing her face.

With What a Trippi, however, she belatedly achieved her dream of becoming an equestrian. It was love at first sight when Paquette saw him in the paddock at Suffolk Downs in his first race. He was handsome and pedigreed.

“I wanted him from the moment I saw him,” Paquette said. “I’ll never know why, but he was the one.”

She tracked him over a hard-knocking, 42-race career in which he won nine times and finished in the money in 10 other races, earning more than $111,000. In 2007, What a Trippi was named New England’s champion 3-year-old horse.

Three years later, his racing career behind him, Paquette bought him for $500.

“He was totally sound,” she said.

Horse and rider went to work with a show horse trainer, where they learned to jump.

By 2014, they were traveling the New England circuit competing as a hunter, where qualities such as manners, graceful movement and correct jumping style are rewarded. In 2017, What a Trippi was named New England’s reserve champion — or runner-up — in its hunter division.

The experience deepened her commitment to finding a home for thoroughbreds beyond their racing days.

“It’s the achievement of my life,” Paquette said. “They are not machines. Even if they are busts as racehorses, they are athletes, and we need to find a job for them.”

PHOTOS: Jessica Paquette with the retired racehorses Brickbat and My Teddy Bear in Saratoga Springs. Paquette is also a handicapper for The Saratoga Special and a fixture at the track.; Fans watching thoroughbreds parade to the track. Paquette tries to ensure that the horses are cared for after they retire. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CINDY SCHULTZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 20, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Easton, Pa.: A Gritty River Town Being Transformed; Living in***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65MV-M6V1-JBG3-60XR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 8, 2022 Wednesday 22:53 EST

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**Section:** REALESTATE

**Length:** 1415 words

**Byline:** Dave Caldwell

**Highlight:** For more than a decade, this historic city has been a refuge for those who want more real estate for their money, along with lower property taxes.

**Body**

For more than a decade, this historic city has been a refuge for those who want more real estate for their money, along with lower property taxes.

Rachel Zanders probably would never have opened a candle shop in the historic district of Easton, Pa., if her older brother, Steven Zanders, hadn’t moved to the city from Allentown a decade ago while helping to open a diner there.

When Mr. Zanders, now 47, first rented a place in Easton, he thought he had made a mistake. The city, which sits on the Pennsylvania-New Jersey border at the junction of the Delaware and Lehigh Rivers, felt weather-beaten and downtrodden. But he soon discovered that the city of 27,000 in Northampton County was in the midst of a dramatic transformation.

So in December 2014, he paid $90,000 for a two-bedroom, one-and-a-half-bath rowhouse in the West Ward, a ***working-class*** neighborhood. When friends asked him why he bought there, he told them that he believed in what people in Easton were doing.

“I feel like Easton is a little Manhattan,” said Mr. Zanders, who refinanced his home last year. “It’s like one of the blocks of Manhattan fell off into Easton.”

The city, about 75 miles west of Manhattan, now has a revitalized downtown, with new shops and restaurants flanking restored historic homes. “There’s a lot of life. You see people you know, and everybody says hi,” said Ms. Zanders, 34. “You can tell they really value the history that’s here.”

A former Brooklyn resident, Ms. Zanders has grown her business, Easton Candle Co., from an online wholesale company to include a brick-and-mortar store. And while she is still renting the spaces in Easton where she lives and works, she is thinking seriously about buying.

For more than a decade, Easton has been a refuge for New York and New Jersey expatriates who want more real estate for their money, along with a lower property tax bill. Elizabeth Slevin and her husband, Gene Ciccone, who moved to Easton from Maplewood, N.J., in 2014, are typical: Both retirees, they discovered that they could buy a four-bedroom house in Easton for about the same price as their three-bedroom house in Maplewood, which meant they would have a guest room for their grandchildren, who lived nearby. And the tax bill was about a third of what they paid in Jersey.

“As I said to my husband, ‘We can sit in the yard and watch the roses grow in Maplewood, or find a less expensive area and use our extra cash for fun things like traveling,’” said Ms. Slevin, a former speech-language pathologist.

So she and Mr. Ciccone, a former Newark public school administrator, paid $388,000 for a 2003 house in Easton’s Old Orchard neighborhood. He can still teach part-time at Montclair State University, and their community-theater friends in Maplewood are only an hour away.

And if they choose to volunteer their time, there are plenty of opportunities. Megan McBride, of the Greater Easton Development Partnership, a nonprofit that oversees a popular public market and farmers’ market, said that newcomers often become volunteers: “They love feeling like they’re part of the action.”

What You’ll Find

Interstate 78 sweeps south of Easton and winds its way east to New York, a journey that residents say takes about an hour and a half. But the city is also roughly an hour from the Poconos and an hour and a half from Philadelphia and the Jersey Shore.

Easton was founded in 1752, later becoming a city of foundries and a hub for transporting steel, and many of the buildings and bridges are remnants of those days. But by the time Crayola Experience — one of the main catalysts of Easton’s recent turnaround — opened 20 years ago in Centre Square, not far from the company’s headquarters in Forks Township, the city had seen better days. Students from stately Lafayette College, in the College Hill neighborhood, were advised not to venture into the nearby downtown, said Salvatore J. Panto Jr., a Democrat in his fourth consecutive term as Easton’s mayor (he also served as mayor from 1984 to 1992). When Mr. Panto began his second mayoral stint in 2008, he beefed up the city’s police force, he said, and people started to rediscover the city, with its riverside parks, walking trails and historic charm.

Crayola Experience now welcomes more than 400,000 visitors a year, primarily family day-trippers. “It put Easton on people’s radar,” said Kim Kmetz, the manager of Easton Main Street Initiative, a nonprofit group promoting the city’s central business district.

What You’ll Pay

At the end of May, there were 84 properties with an Easton mailing address listed for sale, according to data from Greater Lehigh Valley Realtors. That included homes in the city, as well as in the boroughs of Wilson, West Easton and Glendon, and in the townships of Williams, Forks and Palmer. Prices ranged from $110,000 for a two-bedroom, two-bath West Ward rowhouse to $4.5 million for a five-bedroom, three-bath townhouse in the historic district.

Thus far in 2022, sales are down and prices are up. Through the end of May, 382 properties sold for an average price of $314,947, with an average time on the market of 16 days. By contrast, the first five months of 2021 saw 418 properties sell for an average of $274,027 — about 13 percent lower — and an average of 26 days on the market.

The Vibe

Looming over Scott Park, close to where the swift Lehigh River meets the deep Delaware, is a statue of a boxer launching a left jab. The figure represented is Larry Holmes, known as the Easton Assassin, who grew up in the city and held the World Boxing Council heavyweight title from 1978 to 1983.

Easton, it seems, is reluctant to shrug off its days as a brawny river town. The grit adds to its aura. But the historic district is a big draw, too. Today, it has become so exclusive that potential buyers are willing to consider homes in the West Ward and South Side neighborhoods. One of Mr. Panto’s challenges as mayor, he said, is to ensure that longtime residents of those areas aren’t pushed out. Creating more affordable housing is another challenge.

Old-timers sometimes complain that Easton is not what it used to be, Mr. Panto said, but he believes that newcomers have made the city stronger. Those recent transplants are often referred to as “front-platers,” said Jonathan A. Miller, an agent with RE/MAX Real Estate based in Bethlehem, because New York and New Jersey drivers need license plates on the front of their cars, and Pennsylvania drivers don’t.

“But we have stuff here now,” said Mr. Miller, acknowledging that the city has grown. “Now you don’t have to drive to New York or Philly anymore.”

The Schools

The Easton Area School District, which serves students in the city of Easton and all or part of three surrounding townships, includes seven elementary schools, a cyber academy, a middle school and a high school. As of August 2021, 44.2 percent of the district’s 8,300 students identified as white, 17 percent as Black or African-American, 28.1 percent as Hispanic or Latino, 5.4 percent as Asian and 5.1 percent as two or more races.

According to the state’s Department of Education, Easton-area students taking the SATs in 2019 averaged 512 in math and 537 in reading and writing, compared with state averages of 537 and 545.

The Commute

Trans-Bridge Lines offers daily bus service from the Intermodal Transit Center in downtown Easton to the Port Authority Bus Terminal in New York. With one exception, Easton is the next-to-last stop en route to New York and the second stop on the way back.

Seven buses depart for New York between 4:20 a.m. and 8:10 a.m. on weekdays, and there are three or four daily buses on weekends. The trip takes between an hour and 35 minutes and nearly two hours. The round-trip fare is $82.55; a book of 40 one-way tickets is about $672.

The History

Every Thanksgiving, Fisher Stadium at Lafayette College plays host to one of the fiercest high school football rivalries in the nation: the Easton Red Rovers versus the Phillipsburg Stateliners. The series dates to 1905, has drawn sellout crowds of more than 20,000 and has been broadcast several times on national television. In 2021, the Red Rovers scored a last-minute touchdown to win the game.

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PHOTO: “I feel like Easton is a little Manhattan,” said Steven Zanders, who moved to the city in 2014. “It’s like one of the blocks of Manhattan fell off into Easton.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY TONY CENICOLA/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 9, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The Diminishing Democratic Majority; Ross Douthat***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6448-80V1-JBG3-6281-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 20, 2021 Saturday 18:31 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 914 words

**Byline:** Ross Douthat

**Highlight:** Do Democrats need Trump to save them from an unexpected demographic eclipse?

**Body**

Last weekend I [*wrote*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/13/opinion/can-reaganism-rise-again.html) about how the landscape of 2021 is suddenly letting Republicans play politics on “easy” mode, by giving them back the kind of issues that built Ronald Reagan’s majority in the 1970s and 1980 — rising inflation, rising violent crime, a Cold War rivalry (Chinese rather than Russian this time) and backlash against a culturally ascendant but overreaching and [*self-deceiving*](https://jessesingal.substack.com/p/here-are-my-contemporaneous-articles) left.

I also wrote that this state of affairs was probably temporary, defining the environment as we head toward the 2022 midterms but not actually catapulting us permanently back to the world of 1980. In which case it’s fruitful to speculate about what the world after this strange, Covid-mediated moment holds for our two political coalitions — starting this weekend with the view from the Democratic perspective and continuing with the view from the G.O.P. side next week.

If you’re a Democrat right now, you can tell yourself a reasonably optimistic story, even in the face of [*disastrous midterm polling*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/17/opinion/democrats-midterms-biden.html), about what the world after 2021 looks like for your party. In this hopeful scenario inflation is a challenge for a year but not a decade, and much of the simmering public discontent with the Biden administration reflects a simple exhaustion with Covid-era abnormality — an abnormality that, with child vaccinations, therapeutic drugs and widespread immunity, should really and truly be over with next year.

If that abnormality goes, so might a bunch of related issues that are currently hurting Democrats, including not just economic problems but cultural ones as well. The current education wars, for instance, have clearly been inflamed by school closings and masking policies, not just by parental doubts about new progressive curriculums. So once Covid-era interventions are finally in the rearview mirror, it may be that the Critical Race Theory debate recedes somewhat as well.

Thus the optimistic Democrat can tell herself that after losing ground in the midterms, the Biden administration will have a better economy thereafter, a lot of popular domestic spending to take credit for, a diminishment of culture war and a Republican opposition captive to its own extremists and likely to once again nominate Donald Trump for president.

All of which would be enough to win Democrats back most of the political advantages they’ve lost in the last year and enable them to go back to worrying about their structural disadvantages in the Electoral College, and how Trump might provoke a constitutional crisis when he loses narrowly a second time. These are hardly trivial worries. But they’re a very different kind of worry, if you’re a Democrat, from the fear that Republicans might cruise to Reagan-like majorities in 2024.

The more pessimistic scenario for Democrats, though, is one in which most of these hopes come to pass and others, too — normalcy is restored, inflation is tamed, schools are open everywhere and masks are set aside, illegal border crossings diminish and homicide rates drop, no major foreign crises intervenes — and it doesn’t help the party or its president as much as one might expect.

I’ll call this, to be provocative, the “[*emerging Republican majority” scenario*](https://theliberalpatriot.substack.com/p/the-power-of-the-working-class-vote), in which it turns out that of the two big political migrations of the Trump era — affluent suburbanites turning more Democratic, ***working-class*** whites and then Latinos turning more Republican — the first one was temporary and provisional, and the second one permanent and accelerating.

In this possible future, it will become clear that the Glenn Youngkin result in Virginia was a bellwether — that there’s certain kind of suburban voter who will vote for a moderate-seeming Democrat over the Trumpiest Republican, but who will swing back to the G.O.P. as soon as there’s any excuse to do so. Meanwhile the characteristic Obama-Trump voter, whether in rural white America or in Latino areas of Florida or Texas, will remain so [*culturally alienated*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/06/us/rural-vote-democrats-virginia.html) from contemporary progressivism that [*there’s no easy way*](https://www.politico.com/news/2021/11/06/rural-dems-trouble-519782) for Biden or any other Democratic politician to win them back. And especially not our aging president’s two obvious heirs, Kamala Harris and Pete Buttigieg, who built their careers in deep-blue precincts, embodying aspects of elite progressivism that have dubious national appeal.

Which would mean that after Biden, liberals should expect the deluge — unless, of course, the Republican Party makes itself so utterly objectionable that it torches all of these advantages and ensures that any emerging G.O.P. majority is stillborn.

This possibility confronts Democrats with a strange political calculus, albeit one that they [*already faced somewhat*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/03/opinion/sunday/midterms-democrats-trump.html) in Trump’s first term. It may be that the things they (rightly) fear most about a Trumpian revival — all the paranoia and conspiracism that gave us Jan. 6 — are also the only things that, by alienating suburban voters from the G.O.P., keep the present Democratic coalition viable.

Whereas without Trumpishness as a foil and boogeyman, current-era liberalism would be headed for a fate once anticipated for Republicans: a slow but steady ebb, a surprising demographic squeeze.

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Barrett Emke for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 22, 2021

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[***Smoke in the Distance***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65BS-9261-JBG3-63B2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 1, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section MM; Column 0; Magazine Desk; Pg. 38

**Length:** 1305 words

**Byline:** By Walter Thompson-Hernández

**Body**

27 years before the 1992 Riots, the journalist Walter Thompson covered the 1965 Watts Riots. Looking back through his reporting notebook, Thompson's grandson considers what did and didn't change between the two events.

My aunt Elisa -- affectionately known in our family as Tía Licha -- got off work at Nimitz Middle School in Huntington Park an hour before she picked me up from school in the same neighborhood. It was Wednesday, April 29, 1992, her 34th birthday. By the time she locked the textbook room behind her and walked to the employee parking lot that afternoon, there were dark clouds forming to our west. ''No rain,'' Tía Licha overheard someone shout before opening their car door. ''No rain. Probably just a fire or something.''

When we arrived home, Bear, a retired World War II veteran and the last white man on our block, sat on his front porch. A battery-powered radio played faintly while he watched us walk from across the street. After making brief eye contact with him, I quickly lowered my head. It had been a little over a week since two neighborhood friends and I threw grapefruits in the direction of his home. When more Mexican families began moving into the City of Perfect Balance, as Huntington Park was called, Bear chose hostility. He yelled at my friends and me for running in front of his house or for building our lowrider model cars on the sidewalk. The adults in the neighborhood engaged in shouting matches with him. We kids threw fruit from our parents' trees -- lemons, oranges, grapefruit -- at his home, clogging his storm drains and shattering his windows.

Bear was a vestige of Huntington Park's past. Like other cities in Southeast Los Angeles County, Huntington Park was created for white ***working-class*** families in the early 20th century. The short distance to Downtown Los Angeles, close access to a once thriving Pacific Electric Railway system and a five-block stretch of shops on Pacific Boulevard made the area attractive.

The 1965 Watts Riots -- also called the Rebellion, or Uprising, by some historians in order to emphasize the riot's political dimensions -- changed that. When L.A.P.D. officers stopped 21-year old Marquette Frye near his mother's house in the Watts neighborhood on suspicion of drunken driving on Aug. 11, the neighborhood was already a tinderbox. Intense racial segregation in housing, schooling and employment kept Black citizens confined to neighborhoods to the west of Alameda Street, known in those days as the cotton curtain. Alameda was a de facto line in the sand that demarcated the eastern border between Black Los Angeles and more lucrative jobs and better schools in cities like Huntington Park. Wanton police violence, meanwhile, was a persistent menace. Rumors that the police had attacked Frye's mother was one insult too many, and the resulting riots lasted six days. More than 600 buildings were damaged; more than 30 people died; the city suffered roughly $200 million in property damage. The destruction spurred white families in Southeast L.A. County to leave for places like Orange County and the San Fernando Valley. When property values began to decline, newly arrived Mexican families like my own pooled their money together and purchased homes, forming beachheads for others.

On Aug. 12, my grandfather Walter Thompson -- one of the few Black staff writers at The Oakland Tribune -- drove down to Watts to report on the riot. He kept a small brown notepad in which he described what he saw and heard: Watts residents clinging to the chain-link fences that separated their homes from the chaos of the riot; National Guardsmen returning fire at unseen assailants; a resident advising him to find shelter elsewhere -- every hotel in the neighborhood, my grandfather wrote, having burned down. Most of all, he described a black smoke emanating from burning structures across the area. What he witnessed was a direct response to a state of socioeconomic misery that had plagued the community for decades.

The unrest that spread through Los Angeles 27 years later was, in part, a function of rage at the same privations. A Los Angeles Times editorial 23 years after Watts noted, ''Serious crime, drug addiction and gang violence did not begin to rise rapidly until after the mid-1960s, and did not begin to reach catastrophic proportions until the mid-1970s.'' The people who rioted in 1992 were the offspring of that history of abandonment. Looking back on that night, I feel as if Huntington Park and its surrounding communities were stuck in an vicious loop. With every hour that passed, our neighborhood collapsed into a version of itself that it hadn't experienced since August 1965. Business owners shut their doors, nailing pieces of plywood against their windows in hopes of deterring the looters heading toward the brand-name stores on Pacific Boulevard. The skies became tinted with the same blend of azure and pebble gray that my grandfather described that August.

I've always wondered what my grandfather felt when he reported on the violence. What did it do to his psyche to see crowds of Black men and women running through the streets, fleeing the guns and violence of the National Guard? How did seeing Watts residents resort to violence change him? His notes are terse and objective in tone, serving more as a historical archive than a window into his spirit. Every time I read through them, I am left to wonder where his emotional compass steered him that night. But amid the weathered ink, there is one moment that resonates: When my grandfather drove back to Oakland after spending two weeks in Watts, he used the word ''finality'' to describe what he had seen, an irrevocable sense that something had come to an end. The experience of living through the 1992 riots produced a similar sense in my mind.

Finality is part of what my mother and I experienced when we left Huntington Park in the summer of 1992. A month after the riots turned the sky gray, my family and I celebrated my birthday at the Olive Garden. It was the first time we celebrated two birthdays, my aunt's and mine. I was 7. It was a special night, and I was surrounded by the adults who cared for me: my mother, Tía Licha, Tío Eve, Tía Meche and Tío Lulo. It would, however, be the last time I celebrated in Huntington Park. Frustrated and fearful of what further violence the deprivations of life in South Los Angeles would cause, my mother revealed that we would be moving to the Westside at the end of the summer. She boasted about the prestigious elementary school I had been accepted to on U.C.L.A.'s campus, and an apartment that had opened up in a graduate housing complex.

The 1992 riots ultimately led to quick and slow deaths all across the city. More than 60 people were killed over the course of five days. Thousands of people were critically injured. A slew of first-generation business owners lost their livelihoods. I became a part of a generation of young people whose neighborhoods were scarred. Like the communities that were irreparably damaged and abandoned after the riots, our connection to the South Los Angeles of our youth was marked by a slow, aching death. In my case, my body and memory were sundered from the place I called home.

I remember that while the adults continued to watch the chaos that night on television, my friends and I met outside to play. The adults retreated into their homes, but the street was filled with children who came out to see the smoke disappear into the night sky. We yelled long into the night and raced one another through the empty streets until the lights came on. We were freer than we had ever been -- unaware of the lasting effects of the smoke in the sky. As my grandfather wrote in 1965, children are ''the fearless ones,'' always ''too young to recognize disaster.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/29/magazine/smoke-in-the-distance.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/29/magazine/smoke-in-the-distance.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH FROM WALTER THOMPSON-HERNÁNDEZ.)

**Load-Date:** May 1, 2022

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[***Boris Johnson May Be Fading Out, but Not the Divisions He Stoked; News Analysis***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65WF-S3K1-DXY4-X4W8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 9, 2022 Saturday 23:42 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1580 words

**Byline:** Mark Landler

**Highlight:** Long after he is gone, his successors will be wrestling over his signature project, Brexit, and the insoluble issues it raised.

**Body**

Long after he is gone, his successors will be wrestling over his signature project, Brexit, and the insoluble issues it raised.

LONDON — The swift, stinging downfall of Boris Johnson this past week removes a uniquely polarizing figure from British politics. But it does not remove the divisive issues that Mr. Johnson confronted — and in many cases, exploited — as he engineered Britain’s departure from the European Union two and a half years ago.

Mr. Johnson’s legacy, and that of Brexit, are inseparable. Britons will be wrestling with the fallout from his signature project long after their flamboyant prime minister decamps Downing Street, taking with him his heedless disregard for the rules, checkered ethical history and slapdash personal style.

From Britain’s poisoned relationship with France to its clash with Brussels over trade in Northern Ireland, Brexit-related issues will loom large in the campaign to replace Mr. Johnson as leader of the Conservative Party and, hence, prime minister. They could well define the next occupant of Downing Street, the fourth prime minister since Britain voted to leave in 2016.

Narrowing the divide between Britain’s wealthy south and poorer north — Mr. Johnson’s marquee post-Brexit initiative — is major unfinished business. Even broader economic problems, like surging inflation and a looming recession, have a Brexit component, insofar as Britain’s divorce from Brussels [*has aggravated its woes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/07/world/europe/boris-johnson-economy-brexit.html).

Beyond that, Mr. Johnson’s successor will have to reckon with the corrosive effect that Brexit has had on British politics, whether in the charged debates over social and cultural issues, or in the strains on institutions like Parliament and the Civil Service. Mr. Johnson, with his populist instincts, stoked those sentiments. Throwing out his playbook would not be easy for any future Conservative leader.

“What Boris Johnson did was show how the system can be exploited,” said Anand Menon, a professor of European politics at King’s College London. “Given the nature of the Conservative Party, I assume there’s not going to be much softening of its position on many of these issues.”

Even Jeremy Hunt, a middle-of-the-road figure who is likely to run for party leader, said recently he would favor ripping up parts of Britain’s agreement with the European Union that sets trade regulations in Northern Ireland. Mr. Johnson’s threat to do that provoked outrage in Brussels, which accused him of violating international law.

Mr. Hunt, who challenged Mr. Johnson for the leadership unsuccessfully in 2019, voted for Britain to stay in the European Union. But like Mr. Johnson, his fortunes will depend in part on support from the Conservative Party’s right flank, which pushed relentlessly for the most uncompromising form of Brexit.

Another likely candidate, Liz Truss, Mr. Johnson’s foreign secretary, is spearheading the aggressive approach on Northern Ireland. She is reported to have recruited an influential group of Brexiteers to vet legislation that would allow Britain to renege on parts of the agreement with Brussels before introducing it in Parliament.

Nor will the leadership campaign lack for culture warriors. Suella Braverman, who currently serves as attorney general, declared herself a candidate on ITV last week by vowing to crack down on migrants illegally crossing the English Channel, one of several positions that echo those of Mr. Johnson.

“We need to get rid of all of this woke rubbish,” Ms. Braverman added, “and actually get back to a country, where describing a man and a woman in terms of biology does not mean that you are going to lose your job.”

The political forces that fueled Brexit — voter disengagement, economic grievances, distrust of politicians — predated Mr. Johnson, much as similar forces predated Donald J. Trump in the United States. How much each leader was a catalyst for events or merely a symptom of them will be long debated in both countries.

And just as the United States is still dealing with the charged issues that catapulted Mr. Trump into office, analysts said British politics would continue to be dominated by hot-button topics — from immigration to economic equity between England’s north and south — that were litigated in the Brexit debate.

“We are still in the relatively early stages of living with the consequences of Brexit,” said Simon Fraser, a former head of Britain’s Foreign and Commonwealth Office. “Brexit is going to continue to devour its children.”

Those running to replace Mr. Johnson, Mr. Fraser said, have little incentive to soften his hard-line positions on Brexit-related issues because they will be selected by the Conservative Party’s lawmakers and rank-and-file members, for whom Mr. Johnson’s Brexit policy was perhaps the greatest success of his tenure.

Mr. Johnson stitched together a potent but unwieldy coalition to win a landslide general election victory in 2019. It consisted of traditional Tory voters in the country’s south, as well as ***working-class*** voters in the industrial north, who had historically voted for the Labour Party but defected to the Conservatives in part because of Mr. Johnson’s vow to “Get Brexit Done.”

“Boris Johnson was able to move into that space, partly by dint of personality, partly by his complete absence of a political philosophy,” Mr. Menon said. Without Mr. Johnson’s protean appeal to those voters, he added, social and cultural issues are “the only glue that holds it together.”

With Mr. Johnson vowing to stay in Downing Street until the Conservatives select a new leader — a process that could take until the early fall — it is too soon to judge whether he will have a lingering impact on British politics after he is no longer prime minister. Some of that will depend on whether he opts to stay in Parliament, where he could easily vex his successor from the backbenches.

Jonathan Powell, who served as chief of staff to Prime Minister Tony Blair, used an analogy to “long Covid,” the prolonged aftereffects of Covid-19.

“In the United States, you’re suffering from Long Trump,” he said. “The question is, are we in Britain going to suffer from Long Boris?”

Mr. Powell said he was cautiously optimistic that Britons would be able to move on from Mr. Johnson more readily than Americans from Mr. Trump because their institutions have, by and large, proven resilient in the face of his tactics.

After some dithering, for example, Conservative Party lawmakers rallied themselves to stand up to a leader in whom they had lost confidence. The Republican Party, by contrast, remains almost wholly in thrall to Mr. Trump.

For all his precedent-shattering, norm-busting ways, Mr. Johnson’s denouement was oddly in keeping with custom, if with a typically dramatic flourish. His cabinet abandoned him, much as members of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher’s cabinet abandoned her in November 1990, forcing her to yield to the inevitable and step down.

None of this is to diminish Mr. Johnson’s place in history, which even his harshest critics say will be consequential.

“Without Boris Johnson, we might not have had Brexit,” said Timothy Garton Ash, professor of European studies at Oxford University. “Without Boris Johnson, we wouldn’t have a hard Brexit because he personally gave us that. Without Boris Johnson, we wouldn’t have had the disastrous decline in standards in British public life.”

Still, he said Mr. Johnson would not play a king-making role after leaving office because he does not command a Brexit Brigade anything like Mr. Trump’s “Make America Great Again” movement.

“The Conservatives selected him quite coolly, quite calculatingly, because they thought he was a winner,” Professor Garton Ash said. Once the campaign is over, and the candidates have finished offering red meat to the Tory base, he predicted that “the Conservatives will return to their more centrist positions.”

Other experts, however, argue that the cost-of-living crisis in Britain will make it hard for Mr. Johnson’s successor to chart a more conciliatory path with Europe.

The prime minister’s promises that Brexit would unleash a new era of growth in Britain have not been borne out. In fact, it has lagged the European Union, a fact that would not surprise economic forecasters or the government itself, which predicted that Brexit would hurt the British economy.

To remedy that, most candidates to succeed him are expected to call for some combination of lower taxes and less regulation.

“None of them is going to acknowledge the downsides of Brexit,” said Mujtaba Rahman, an analyst at the political risk consultancy, Eurasia Group. “They’ll frame it as part of new Brexit opportunities.”

But cutting taxes and easing regulations would only widen the divergence between Britain and the European Union. That would aggravate the existing impasse over trade in Northern Ireland, which has long angered France and the Republic of Ireland, and recently drew a strong rebuke from the German government.

“It’s not clear to me at all that the Brexit conversation is going to end, and it may actually dominate the campaign,” Mr. Rahman said. “Europe remains an itch that the Conservative Party cannot stop scratching.”

PHOTOS: Above, pro-Brexit demonstrators in 2018. For all his precedent-shattering ways, Boris Johnson’s exit was oddly in keeping with custom. His cabinet stepped down and forced him to yield office, much like Margaret Thatcher’s cabinet in 1990. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDREW TESTA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; ADAM FERGUSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 9, 2022

**End of Document**



[***New & Noteworthy; Audio***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:601G-W721-DXY4-X077-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 31, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 6

**Length:** 393 words

**Body**

Recent audiobooks of interest:

MY VANISHING COUNTRY: A Memoir, by Bakari Sellers, read by the author. (HarperAudio.) The former South Carolina state representative and current CNN political analyst tells the story of his upbringing within the black ***working class*** of the rural South.

THE JANE AUSTEN SOCIETY, by Natalie Jenner, read by Richard Armitage. (Macmillan Audio.) The British actor gives voice to a historical novel, set in 1940s England, about a group of disparate characters committed to preserving Austen's legacy.

CLAP WHEN YOU LAND, by Elizabeth Acevedo, read by the author and Melania Luisa-Marte. (HarperAudio.) A tragedy brings together two sisters, each of whom never knew the other existed, in this Y.A. novel-in-verse by the National Book Award-winning Dominican-American poet and author.

HARRY POTTER AND THE SORCERER'S STONE: The Boy Who Lived, by J.K. Rowling, read by Daniel Radcliffe. (Wizarding World Digital.) The actor reprises his starring role of almost 20 years ago, by reading the first chapter in a new series of audio recordings, available on Spotify.

THE DECISION: Overcoming Today's BS for Tomorrow's Success, by Kevin Hart, read by the author. (Audible.) In audio only, the actor and comedian explains how he got out of his own way, mentally, to help others thrive too.

What we're reading:

In mid-March, as rumors flew about a citywide lockdown, my roommates stocked up on soup tins and Trader Joe's burritos. I did a little hoarding of my own -- I walked to McNally Jackson in Williamsburg, sensing my last bookstore visit for some time, and bought DUNE, Frank Herbert's 900-page, 1965 sci-fi saga set on a desert planet called Arrakis. The purchase made so little sense. I don't read science fiction, let alone in such girthy volumes. But its punishing weight had a weird, survivalist appeal to me in these uncertain times: like the book equivalent of panic-buying a 10-pound bag of beans. Unsurprisingly, ''Dune'' isn't a cruisy quarantine read: I'm frequently combing back through pages of dense world-building to refresh on what Mentats and crysknifes are; and to keep a grip on its web of prophecies and betrayals. Yet, after two months indoors, I still look forward to visiting the hostile plains of Arrakis nightly for a nourishing escape from the day's earthly problems.

--Tacey Rychter, social editor, Travel

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/26/books/review/new-noteworthy-audiobooks.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/26/books/review/new-noteworthy-audiobooks.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS

**Load-Date:** May 31, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction: Sunday, November 08th 2020***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6181-7KR1-DXY4-X3RV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 8, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2020 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 508 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the November 08, 2020 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending October 24, 2020. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction |
| This | On |  |
| Week | List |  |
| 1 | 112 | WHITE FRAGILITY, by Robin DiAngelo. (Beacon) Historical and cultural analyses on what causes defensive moves by white people and how this inhibits cross-racial dialogue. |
| 2 | 14 | MY OWN WORDS, by Ruth Bader Ginsburg with Mary Hartnett and Wendy W. Williams. (Simon & Schuster) A collection of articles and speeches by the Supreme Court justice. |
| 3 | 105 | THE BODY KEEPS THE SCORE, by Bessel van der Kolk. (Penguin) How trauma affects the body and mind, and innovative treatments for recovery. |
| 4 | 26 | THE COLOR OF LAW, by Richard Rothstein. (Liveright) A case for how the American government abetted racial segregation in metropolitan areas across the country. |
| 5 | 228 | JUST MERCY, by Bryan Stevenson. (One World) A civil rights lawyer and MacArthur grant recipient?s memoir of his decades of work to free innocent people condemned to death. |
| 6 | 2 | WHAT UNITES US, by Dan Rather and Elliot Kirschner. (Algonquin) A collection of essays that define the historical changes and essential institutions of America to suggest ways to overcome divisions within the country. |
| 7 | 1 | SHADE, by Pete Souza. (Voracious/Little, Brown) The former White House photographer juxtaposes pictures of former President Obama with tweets, headlines and quotes from the Trump administration. |
| 8 | 43 | THE WARMTH OF OTHER SUNS, by Isabel Wilkerson. (Vintage) An account of the Great Migration of 1915-70, in which six million African-Americans abandoned the South. |
| 9 | 23 | SO YOU WANT TO TALK ABOUT RACE, by Ijeoma Oluo. (Seal) A look at the contemporary racial landscape of the United States. |
| 10 | 28 | BRAIDING SWEETGRASS, by Robin Wall Kimmerer. (Milkweed Editions) A botanist and member of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation espouses having an understanding and appreciation of plants and animals. |
| 11 | 209 | THE NEW JIM CROW, by Michelle Alexander. (New Press) A law professor on the ?war on drugs? and its role in the disproportionate incarceration of Black men. |
| 12 | 89 | BORN A CRIME, by Trevor Noah. (One World) A memoir about growing up biracial in apartheid South Africa by the host of ?The Daily Show.? |
| 13 | 116 | SAPIENS, by Yuval Noah Harari. (Harper Perennial) How Homo sapiens became Earth?s dominant species. |
| 14 | 55 | HILLBILLY ELEGY, by J.D. Vance. (Harper) A Yale Law School graduate looks at the struggles of the white ***working class*** through the story of his own childhood. |
| 15 | 23 | STAMPED FROM THE BEGINNING, by Ibram X. Kendi. (Bold Type) Winner of the 2016 National Book Award for nonfiction. A look at anti-Black racist ideas and their effect on the course of American history. |

**Load-Date:** November 9, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Did Biden Just School the Republicans, or His Own Party?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:668B-8FS1-JBG3-62R5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 29, 2022 Monday 16:37 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1723 words

**Byline:** Gail Collins and Bret Stephens

**Highlight:** The complicated ethical question of student loan forgiveness is only one part of the problem with higher education.

**Body**

Bret Stephens: Hi, Gail. Depending on whom you ask, Joe Biden’s decision to forgive hundreds of billions of dollars in student loans is either the Democrats’ political masterstroke or a major political gift to Republicans. What’s your take?

Gail Collins: Well, Bret, allow me to take the middle road. Gee, I really do enjoy saying that. Makes me feel so … judicious.

Politically, I think it’s more a winner than not. Tens of millions of people who have college debt in their family are going to be grateful; almost everybody else has other things to focus on. I doubt anybody who started last week liking Joe Biden’s agenda is suddenly going to turn on the Democrats.

Bret: I wonder. This just seems to me like yet another case of Democrats getting on the wrong side of ***working-class*** America. Most Americans don’t have a bachelor’s degree, sometimes because they couldn’t afford it. Most Americans who did go to college either have paid their loans off or are paying them off. Now they have been turned into chumps for living within their means — while paying, through their taxes, for those who didn’t.

Expect Republicans to run on this in the fall the way Democrats are running on abortion rights. What do you think of the decision on the merits?

Gail: Policywise, I just wish it had been tied to some serious reforms of the current system that helped create all that debt in the first place.

Bret: Agree. One-time student loan forgiveness isn’t going to get educational costs under control. If anything, it will create a moral hazard in which people take out student loans they may not be able to afford in the expectation of future loan forgiveness. What’s your reform proposal?

Gail: First and foremost, a deep dive into for-profit schools. Many of them are total scams, and even the ones that aren’t often charge more for programs people can get elsewhere.

Bret: I’d add that there are plenty of nonprofit schools also charging way too much for dubious degrees.

Gail: After that, a serious look at overall price tags. The fact that loans are so easy to get has encouraged even very fine schools to charge too-high tuition in order to get money for programs that feed the ego of the administration more than the quality of the education.

And then … well, hey. Your turn.

Bret: It wouldn’t hurt, either, if colleges and universities started cutting down sharply on [*the army of administrators*](https://yaledailynews.com/blog/2021/11/10/reluctance-on-the-part-of-its-leadership-to-lead-yales-administration-increases-by-nearly-50-percent/) they’ve hired in recent years, who contribute a lot to fiscal and bureaucratic bloat and therefore to overall costs.

Gail: Watch out, administrators — if Bret and I are in accord, you’ve probably got a problem.

Bret: Longer term, we should help steer teenagers away from the idea that four-year college is their one and only ticket to prosperity, status and success. We should shift our funding toward community colleges, vocational schools and a wide range of adult-education programs. I’m also sympathetic to the idea of expanding opportunities for shorter enlistment times for young people who want to join any branch of the armed forces. It could help fund their future education, and it would make them more disciplined students when they do.

Gail: While we’re being hard-nosed about what we want students to get out of college, I feel obliged to point out that some of the less practical aspects of higher education can be terrific experiences. I went to graduate school and got a master’s degree in government, which I don’t think has ever once convinced a potential employer I was a superior candidate. But I had a great time, met some fascinating people, including my future husband, and learned a lot.

I paid for it through on-campus jobs, some of which you could argue amounted to a kind of public financing. Not saying this should be a universal goal. But when I’m cheerleading for the most practical possible approach to higher education, I feel obliged to toss it in.

Bret: True and fair. Liberal-arts education is great when students are engaged and teaching quality is high. Wish that were more often the case.

On another subject, Gail, any takeaways from the release of the redacted affidavit on the Mar-a-Lago search?

Gail: Have to admit I was disappointed by all those redactions — I was hoping for something that looked a little larger. More dramatic. More specific. More … something. How about you?

Bret: Here’s my hunch: Donald Trump has only a vague idea of what’s in all of these documents. The notion that he read through boxes and boxes containing hundreds of documents with classification markings and chose to take these particular items strikes me as … unlikely.

Gail: Yeah, I hear he’s currently way too engrossed in rereading the collected works of Tolstoy.

Bret: Right. He’s so upset by Anna Karenina’s suicide that he hasn’t been able to focus on anything.

What is very much like Trump is that, as soon as the administration sought to recover the boxes, he saw an opportunity to set up a test of strength against Biden — one that would stoke the paranoia of his supporters, rally wavering Republicans to his side and set up the Justice Department to fall on its face barring some spectacular disclosure.

So my bottom line is that the Justice Department had better come up with something very damning, not just a charge relating to mishandling classified documents. If it doesn’t, it will be the fourth or fifth time in six years that the F.B.I. has meddled in politics, only to cause irreparable damage to its own reputation.

Gail: Congratulations, you’ve flung me into depression. I do agree with you that the story on Trump’s end is less likely a sinister plot than messy grabbiness, perhaps along with a reasonable paranoia that, given the number of things he’s done wrong, there’d be evidence of something bad somewhere.

Bret: I’ve always maintained that with Trump, there are no deep, dark secrets: His absolute awfulness always stares you squarely in the face, like a baboon’s backside.

Gail: Short term, this saga is just giving ammunition to the right. But I can’t envision a whole lot of people switching their allegiance to Trump because of it.

Bret: Not among people who never voted for him. What worries me for now is that he’ll recapture wavering Republicans who were nearly done with him.

Gail: Republicans who race to the polls because they’re outraged by the F.B.I.’s Mar-a-Lago adventure are going to be a fraction of the number of folks who’ll want to register their very strong feelings on behalf of abortion rights.

Bret: We’ll see.

Gail: But let me poke you on another federal agency that conservatives tend to find … problematic. Biden’s Inflation Reduction Act includes about $80 billion to update the I.R.S. I think it’s a great idea, given its current pathetic state. Overworked agents sitting around stapling papers together aren’t going to be able to win a lot of battles with high-end accountants and lawyers protecting their rich clients from an audit.

But as I’m sure you know, a lot of Republicans are howling about what the dreaded Ted Cruz calls a “shadow army” of I.R.S. agents. What’s your take?

Bret: I recently read that the I.R.S. answers just 10 percent of calls. So if the money goes to making the agency more responsive to distressed taxpayers, I’m fine with it. My worry is that the agency will initiate lots of audits against people who don’t have the benefit of fancy accountants and lawyers and who are at the mercy of an agency that has almost limitless power and not much accountability.

Gail, we’re getting to the end of summer, and some of our readers may be looking for a final book recommendation before Labor Day. I know you’re working on a memoir, but are there any books you’d suggest?

Gail: The last time we talked books I said I was enjoying the novel “A Gentleman in Moscow.”

Now you’re giving me a chance to share a letter I got from a reader, John Burgess, saying he’d put in a request for it at his local library. He continued: “The day I picked it up, my son tested positive for Covid. Now I am sequestered in my house (my son lives with me), reading about a Russian noble who was imprisoned in the Metropol hotel in Moscow in 1922. The setting could hardly be more perfect.”

See, you never can tell when a novel you read is going to parachute into your real life.

On the nonfiction front, I just happily finished “Thank You for Your Servitude” by our former colleague Mark Leibovich, one of the latest in what looks like a banner year for retrospectives on the Trump presidency.

How about you?

Bret: I spent part of the summer reading books by friends. I devoured Jamie Kirchick’s riveting [*“Secret City: The Hidden History of Gay Washington,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/22/books/review-secret-city-history-gay-washington-james-kirchick.html) a landmark that deserves companion histories for London, Paris and other capitals. I was deeply moved by “[*When Magic Failed*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/when-magic-failed-book-review-fouad-ajami-memoir-civilizations-ambassador-11652454473),” the posthumous memoir of Fouad Ajami, with its heartbreaking depictions of village and city life in his native Lebanon.

I read an advance copy of [*Lionel Shriver’s*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/27/books/review/lionel-shriver-by-the-book-interview.html) forthcoming nonfiction collection, “Abominations,” appropriately subtitled “Selected Essays From a Career of Courting Self-Destruction,” which should be mandatory reading for college freshmen. And I finally got around, albeit 20 years late, to my old friend Mindy Lewis’s stunning memoir, “[*Life Inside*](https://www.kirkusreviews.com/book-reviews/mindy-lewis/life-inside/),” centered on her institutionalization as a teenager in the late 1960s in a psychiatric hospital in New York. It deserves to be reissued in this new era of mental health crisis among younger people.

Gail: I knew your summer list would be high quality and longer than mine. I like the idea that my excuse is that I’m writing a book, so there’s not much time for reading. But maybe if I stopped watching “Sopranos” reruns before bed …

Bret: Can’t wait for your book. We’ve been revisiting some favorite French farces. Highly recommend “[*Le Dîner de Cons*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4FANGIUNbiA)” and “[*Le Placard*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zl8k_SsOTHU).”

Gail: Next week we’ll be off, celebrating Labor Day with our readers, Bret. Then it’s on to September and the midterm election homestretch. Lord knows what’s going to happen, but it’s nice to know that whatever it is, I’ll get to talk about it with you.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY CORNELL WATSON/REDUX)

**Load-Date:** August 30, 2022

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[***Best Sellers: Combined Print & E-Book Nonfiction: Sunday, December 20th 2020***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61PD-4451-JBG3-64JY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 20, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 511 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the December 20, 2020 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending December 5, 2020. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  |  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Combined Print & E-Book Nonfiction |
| This | Last | On |  |
| Week | Week | List |  |
| 1 | 1 | 3 | A PROMISED LAND, by Barack Obama. (Crown) In the first volume of his presidential memoirs, Barack Obama offers personal reflections on his formative years and pivotal moments through his first term. |
| 2 | 2 | 7 | GREENLIGHTS, by Matthew McConaughey. (Crown) The Academy Award-winning actor shares snippets from the diaries he kept over the last 35 years. |
| 3 | 4 | 88 | BECOMING, by Michelle Obama. (Crown) The former first lady describes her journey from the South Side of Chicago to the White House, and how she balanced work, family and her husband?s political ascent. |
| 4 | 7 | 18 | CASTE, by Isabel Wilkerson. (Random House) The Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist examines aspects of caste systems across civilizations and reveals a rigid hierarchy in America today. |
| 5 | 9 | 39 | UNTAMED, by Glennon Doyle. (Dial) The activist and public speaker describes her journey of listening to her inner voice. |
| 6 | 12 | 89 | HILLBILLY ELEGY, by J.D. Vance. (HarperCollins) A Yale Law School graduate looks at the struggles of the white ***working class*** through the story of his own childhood. |
| 7 | 5 | 2 | MODERN WARRIORS, by Pete Hegseth. (Broadside) The Fox News host and former combat veteran interviews soldiers about the different kinds of battles they encountered. |
| 8 | 3 | 3 | DOLLY PARTON, SONGTELLER, by Dolly Parton with Robert K. Oermann. (Chronicle) The country music icon offers insights on 175 of her songs. |
| 9 | 10 | 7 | IS THIS ANYTHING?, by Jerry Seinfeld. (Simon & Schuster) The comedian shares material he collected in an accordion folder over the last 45 years. |
| 10 | 6 | 3 | NO TIME LIKE THE FUTURE, by Michael J. Fox. (Flatiron) The actor discusses the challenges he has faced with Parkinson?s disease and other setbacks that caused him to reassess his outlook. |
| 11 | 8 | 2 | SAVING FREEDOM, by Joe Scarborough. (Harper) The MSNBC host and former congressman describes the struggles Harry Truman faced before and during his time as president. |
| 12 |  | 11 | KILLING CRAZY HORSE, by Bill O'Reilly and Martin Dugard. (Holt) The ninth book in the conservative commentator?s Killing series focuses on conflicts with Native Americans. |
| 13 | 11 | 7 | HUMANS, by Brandon Stanton. (St. Martin's) Photos and stories of people from over 40 countries collected by the creator of ?Humans of New York.? |
| 14 |  | 27 | THE SPLENDID AND THE VILE, by Erik Larson. (Crown) An examination of the leadership of the prime minister Winston Churchill. |
| 15 |  | 1 | LET US DREAM, by Pope Francis and Austin Ivereigh. (Simon & Schuster) The leader of the Roman Catholic Church shares difficult experiences and mines lessons from the pandemic. |

**Load-Date:** January 6, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Best Sellers: Paperback Trade Fiction: Sunday, December 20th 2020***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61PD-4451-JBG3-64KG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 20, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 519 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the December 20, 2020 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending December 5, 2020. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Paperback Trade Fiction |
| This | On |  |
| Week | List |  |
| 1 | 3 | HOME BODY, by Rupi Kaur. (Andrews McMeel) Poems and illustrations by the author of ?Milk and Honey? and ?The Sun and Her Flowers.? |
| 2 | 4 | THE QUEEN'S GAMBIT, by Walter Tevis. (Vintage) Sixteen-year-old Beth Harmon goes through changes as she plays chess in the U.S. Open championship. The basis of the Netflix series. |
| 3 | 73 | THEN SHE WAS GONE, by Lisa Jewell. (Atria) Ten years after her daughter disappears, a woman tries to get her life in order but remains haunted by unanswered questions. |
| 4 | 1 | THE CHICKEN SISTERS, by KJ Dell'Antonia. (Putnam) The family feud between the Moores and the Pogociellos, owners of competing Kansas chicken shacks, gets served up on a reality TV restaurant competition show. |
| 5 | 168 | MILK AND HONEY, by Rupi Kaur. (Andrews McMeel) A collection of poetry about love, loss, trauma and healing. |
| 6 | 7 | THE SONG OF ACHILLES, by Madeline Miller. (Ecco) A reimagining of Homer?s ?Iliad? that is narrated by Achilles' companion Patroclus. |
| 7 | 10 | THE BLUEST EYE, by Toni Morrison. (Vintage) The Nobel laureate's first novel, published in 1970, is an examination of race, class and gender through the tribulations and yearnings of a young Black girl living in post-Depression Ohio. |
| 8 | 69 | THE OVERSTORY, by Richard Powers. (Norton) Winner of the 2019 Pulitzer Prize for fiction. Nine people drawn to trees for different reasons fight for the last of the remaining acres of virgin forest. |
| 9 | 65 | READY PLAYER ONE, by Ernest Cline. (Broadway) It?s 2044, life on a resource-depleted Earth is grim, and the key to a vast fortune is hidden in a virtual-reality world. |
| 10 | 64 | THE NIGHTINGALE, by Kristin Hannah. (St. Martin's Griffin) Two sisters in World War II France: one struggling to survive in the countryside, the other joining the Resistance. |
| 11 | 1 | THIS TIME NEXT YEAR, by Sophie Cousens. (Putnam) Minnie and Quinn, both born on New Year?s Day 30 years ago, are polar opposites in terms of luck but could make a good pair. |
| 12 | 1 | THE DIPLOMAT'S WIFE, by Pam Jenoff. (Park Row) A Nazi prison camp survivor discovers that a Communist spy in British intelligence is connected to her past. |
| 13 | 4 | TEXAS OUTLAW, by James Patterson and Andrew Bourelle. (Grand Central) A Texas Ranger goes to a small town to investigate whether an accidental death was actually a murder. |
| 14 | 27 | CIRCE, by Madeline Miller. (Back Bay) Zeus banishes Helios' daughter to an island, where she must choose between living with gods or mortals. |
| 15 | 3 | SHUGGIE BAIN, by Douglas Stuart. (Grove) The winner of the 2020 Booker Prize. A boy?s ***working-class*** childhood in 1980s Glasgow is subsumed by his mother?s alcoholism. |

**Load-Date:** January 6, 2021

**End of Document**



[***New &amp; Noteworthy Audiobooks, From Harry Potter to Kevin Hart***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:600D-8S91-JBG3-613R-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 28, 2020 Thursday 22:41 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 391 words

**Highlight:** A selection of recent audiobooks of interest; plus, a peek at what our colleagues around the newsroom are reading.

**Body**

Recent audiobooks of interest:

MY VANISHING COUNTRY: A Memoir, by Bakari Sellers, read by the author. (HarperAudio.) The former South Carolina state representative and current CNN political analyst tells the story of his upbringing within the black ***working class*** of the rural South.

THE JANE AUSTEN SOCIETY, by Natalie Jenner, read by Richard Armitage. (Macmillan Audio.) The British actor gives voice to a historical novel, set in 1940s England, about a group of disparate characters committed to preserving Austen’s legacy.

CLAP WHEN YOU LAND, by Elizabeth Acevedo, read by the author and Melania Luisa-Marte. (HarperAudio.) A tragedy brings together two sisters, each of whom never knew the other existed, in this Y.A. novel-in-verse by the National Book Award-winning Dominican-American poet and author.

HARRY POTTER AND THE SORCERER’S STONE: The Boy Who Lived, by [*J.K. Rowling*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/26/books/jk-rowling-ickabog-coronavirus.html), read by Daniel Radcliffe. (Wizarding World Digital.) The actor reprises his starring role of almost 20 years ago, by reading the first chapter in a new series of audio recordings, available on Spotify.

THE DECISION: Overcoming Today’s BS for Tomorrow’s Success, by Kevin Hart, read by the author. (Audible.) In audio only, the actor and comedian explains how he got out of his own way, mentally, to help others thrive too.

What we’re reading:

In mid-March, as rumors flew about a citywide lockdown, my roommates stocked up on soup tins and Trader Joe’s burritos. I did a little hoarding of my own — I walked to McNally Jackson in Williamsburg, sensing my last bookstore visit for some time, and bought DUNE, Frank Herbert’s 900-page, 1965 sci-fi saga set on a desert planet called Arrakis. The purchase made so little sense. I don’t read science fiction, let alone in such girthy volumes. But its punishing weight had a weird, survivalist appeal to me in these uncertain times: like the book equivalent of panic-buying a 10-pound bag of beans. Unsurprisingly, “Dune” isn’t a cruisy quarantine read: I’m frequently combing back through pages of dense world-building to refresh on what Mentats and crysknifes are; and to keep a grip on its web of prophecies and betrayals. Yet, after two months indoors, I still look forward to visiting the hostile plains of Arrakis nightly for a nourishing escape from the day’s earthly problems.

—Tacey Rychter, social editor, Travel

PHOTOS

**Load-Date:** May 28, 2020

**End of Document**



[***An Arrest in Philadelphia After the Attack at MoMA***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:650X-RKG1-JBG3-612G-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 16, 2022 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 20

**Length:** 1187 words

**Byline:** By Mike Ives, Troy Closson and Ashley Wong

**Body**

The New York police had released video that they said showed the suspect, Gary Cabana, attacking workers at the Museum of Modern Art on Saturday.

A suspect in the stabbing of two employees at the Museum of Modern Art in New York over the weekend was arrested early Tuesday in Philadelphia, the New York Police Department said.

The man, Gary Cabana, 60, was identified by the department as the suspect who jumped over a reception desk at the building and stabbed two workers on Saturday afternoon. Mr. Cabana had been denied entry to the museum after his membership was revoked days earlier.

When he was not allowed inside over the weekend, the police said he became ''upset'' and attacked the two employees -- a 24-year-old woman stabbed in the back and neck and a 24-year-old man stabbed in the left collar bone -- who were both expected to survive the attack.

Mr. Cabana was taken into custody after he was found sleeping on a park bench at a Greyhound bus terminal in the city's downtown area shortly after 1:30 a.m., the Philadelphia Police Department said.

Several hours earlier, emergency responders received a report that a fire had broken out in a hotel room a few blocks away, the police said. No injuries were reported, but the police said fire officials quickly deemed the blaze to be arson and that investigators reviewed surveillance cameras and records for whoever checked into the room.

That person matched the description of Mr. Cabana, who was found shortly afterward. It remained unclear how or why he traveled to Philadelphia. The arrest was reported earlier by Steve Keeley, a journalist with a Fox News affiliate in Philadelphia.

Mr. Cabana is expected to face assault charges for the stabbing after an extradition hearing and his return to New York, the police said. It was unclear on Tuesday afternoon if he had retained a lawyer.

In the days after the museum stabbing, friends of Mr. Cabana and residents of the Manhattan building where he was living described him as a longtime cinephile, an amateur reviewer of films and a reclusive neighbor who often kept to himself. But in recent years, some said, he had appeared to be navigating mental health problems.

Those issues seemed to be exacerbated by the widespread isolation that the pandemic brought on and the abrupt halt it caused to the rhythm of the city's vibrant theater and arts scenes, some friends said. He worked as an usher for the Nederlander Organization, which operates several Broadway theaters, until November.

It was unclear what prompted his departure, though it appeared he left on tense terms. Mr. Cabana will also be charged with aggravated harassment for sending threatening emails to an official at a union that represents ushers, the police said, and with assault for punching an employee at a Broadway theater in January.

As the police searched for Mr. Cabana in the days after the attack, officials said the Secret Service was also notified that he had made threats against former President Donald J. Trump.

A user writing as Mr. Cabana on social media accounts also fired off several new posts, discussing his mental health and saying he had bipolar disorder.

''Bipolar is a tough road to hoe,'' the person wrote. ''Dr. Jekyll to Mr. Hyde.''

He also accused the museum of ''a frame job'' and said he had never caused earlier disruptions at the building or been escorted off the premises by security. ''Someday when all the lies are corrected by the Evil media, the Truth will out and I will be EXONERATED,'' read one new comment on Instagram, posted under an old post that displayed a program for a play about six wrongfully convicted people.

A woman who said she attended college at Missouri State University with Mr. Cabana and remained friends with him said his behavior seemed to be reflective of deeper recent challenges and that he was not the ''monster'' some may believe.

The woman, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because she wanted to preserve her privacy, recalled visiting New York about six years ago and spending the afternoon at a film institute and in Times Square with Mr. Cabana. She said his compassion, kind spirit and unique sense of humor stood out from their interactions.

She said that she believed the case was illustrative of broader problems in how mental health problems were handled by society, calling Mr. Cabana one of the many people who slip through the cracks of the systems in place.

Mr. Cabana was arrested just over two days after surveillance video at the museum in Midtown Manhattan showed a man rush through a revolving door around 4 p.m. on Saturday and mount a wooden counter carrying a knife. Three people were cornered behind the desk, as other visitors in the building began to flee outside.

After a video shows the man stumble into a wall, he jabs and swings the knife as the employees attempt to cower underneath the desk. At one point, the man grabs one worker who tries to run past him, and strikes them in their torso before releasing them.

For about 30 seconds, the man remains behind the desk and continues to swing the weapon, until a second worker manages to bolt past him and he chases after the employee.

On Tuesday morning, the museum opened to the public for the first time since the stabbing, and a press representative said staff members were ''relieved and grateful that our colleagues are recovering, and the attacker was arrested.''

Residents at Mr. Cabana's building recalled only minor details about his life, describing him as a relatively quiet individual who at times spent hours in a computer lab in the building's basement.

The building he lived in was an affordable housing residence in Midtown that offers support services to tenants and is operated by a housing nonprofit, Breaking Ground.

The building was once a mix of actors, low-income and ***working-class*** New Yorkers, formerly homeless individuals and people living with H.I.V./AIDS, two residents said. In recent years, they said, it has primarily served those dealing with homelessness.

One third floor resident, Daniel Hicks, 67, said that feelings of separation could take hold among some tenants at times. ''People can be very isolated,'' said Mr. Hicks, who has lived in the building for about two decades.

Others in the building shared mixed reactions to the news of the museum stabbing.

Michael Oliver, an 18-year resident of the building who lives on the seventh floor, said before Mr. Cabana's arrest that he had often encountered him in the hallways and was surprised by the attack. He said he would not have thought Mr. Cabana would have become violent unless provoked.

''They had to push him for him to do that,'' Mr. Oliver said. ''I know that.''

But Brad Boonshaft, 70, who has lived on the tenth floor for five years, said residents he had spoken with were less surprised. He said other tenants had told him that Mr. Cabana had been struggling with his mental health in the days before the attack.

Michael Paulson, Lola Fadulu and Nadav Gavrielov contributed reporting.Michael Paulson, Lola Fadulu and Nadav Gavrielov contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/15/nyregion/moma-stabbing-suspect-arrested.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/15/nyregion/moma-stabbing-suspect-arrested.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: At the scene on Saturday. The museum reopened on Tuesday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY C.S. MUNCY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 16, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Midterms Spur A Rush of Angst And Confidence***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66T8-1N51-JBG3-63D8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 7, 2022 Monday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 2084 words

**Byline:** By Lisa Lerer, Jennifer Medina and Jonathan Weisman

**Body**

As candidates made their closing arguments on Sunday, Democrats braced for potential losses even in traditionally blue corners of the country while Republicans predicted a red wave.

DELAWARE COUNTY, Pa. -- The turbulent midterm campaign rolled through its final weekend on Sunday as voters -- buffeted by record inflation, worries about their personal safety and fears about the fundamental stability of American democracy -- showed clear signs of preparing to reject Democratic control of Washington and embrace divided government.

As candidates sprinted across the country to make their closing arguments to voters, Republicans entered the final stretch of the race confident they would win control of the House and possibly the Senate. Democrats steeled themselves for potential losses even in traditionally blue corners of the country.

On Sunday, President Biden campaigned for Gov. Kathy Hochul of New York in a Yonkers precinct where he won 80 percent of the vote in 2020, signaling the deep challenges facing his party two years after he claimed a mandate to enact a sweeping domestic agenda. Former President Donald J. Trump addressed supporters in Miami, another sign of Republican optimism that the party could flip Florida's most populous urban county for the first time in two decades.

In the rally at Sarah Lawrence College in Bronxville, N.Y., Mr. Biden characterized Election Day and the coming 2024 campaign as ''inflection points'' for the next 20 years. Voters, he said, had a clear choice between two ''fundamentally different visions of America.''

Mr. Trump, meanwhile, took the stage for about 90 minutes to blast Democrats as being soft on crime, re-litigate grievances about his presidency and the 2020 election, and boast that he has motivated Hispanic voters, especially in Florida, to shift toward the Republican Party.

''We need a landslide so big that the radical left cannot rig or steal it,'' he said, minutes before a rainstorm soaked the crowd. ''We are going to take back America.''

The appearances represented an unusual capstone to an extraordinary campaign -- the first post-pandemic, post-Roe, post-Jan. 6 national election in a fiercely divided country shaken by growing political violence and lies about the last major election.

While a majority of voters name the economy as their top concern, nearly three-quarters of Americans believe democracy is in peril, with most identifying the opposing party as the major threat. Should Republicans sweep the House contests, their control could empower the party's right wing, giving an even bigger bullhorn to lawmakers who traffic in conspiracy theories and falsehoods like Representatives Marjorie Taylor Greene of Georgia and Matt Gaetz of Florida.

A central question for Democrats is whether such a distinctive moment overrides fierce historical headwinds. Since 1934, nearly every president has lost seats in his first midterm election. And typically, voters punish the party in power for poor economic conditions -- dynamics that point toward Republican gains.

After days of campaigning across rural Nevada, Adam Laxalt, the Republican challenging Senator Catherine Cortez Masto, rallied supporters in and around Las Vegas this weekend, predicting a ''red wave'' that is ''deep and wide.'' Mr. Laxalt noted that Mr. Biden did not campaign in Nevada this year and blamed him for the state's 15 percent inflation.

''He's going to call you anti-democratic for using the democratic system to give us a change,'' he told supporters on Saturday in Clark County, the state's largest county. ''But that change is coming.''

The midterm's final landscape hinted that voters were prioritizing fiscal worries over more existential fears about democracy or preserving abortion rights. From liberal northeastern suburbs to Western states, Republican strategists, lawmakers and officials now say they could flip major parts of the country and expand their margins in Southern and Rust Belt states that have been fertile ground for their party for much of the last decade.

There were also some early signs that key parts of the coalition that boosted Democrats to victory in 2018 and 2020 -- moderate suburban white women and Latino voters -- were swinging toward Republican candidates. Top Democratic officials made 11th-hour efforts to shore up their base. Vice President Kamala Harris made stops in Chicago to help Illinois Democrats. The first lady, Jill Biden, traveled to Houston on Sunday, trying to lift party turnout in Harris County, a stronghold for Democrats in Texas.

In the House, where Republicans need to flip five seats to control the chamber, the party vied for districts in Democratic bastions, including in Rhode Island, exurban New York, Oregon and California. Republican strategists touted their surprisingly close standing in governor's races in longer-shot blue states like New York, New Mexico and Oregon.

At the same time, the Senate remains a tossup, with candidates locked in near dead-even races in three states -- Georgia, Nevada and Pennsylvania -- and tight races in at least another four. Republicans need just one additional seat to win control.

''Everyone on the Republican side should be optimistic,'' said Senator Rick Scott, a Florida Republican and the head of the Republican Senate campaign arm. Mr. Scott predicted his party would flip the chamber, going beyond the 51 seats needed for control. ''If you look at the polls now, we have every reason to think we'll be over 52.''

For months, Democratic candidates in key races have outpaced Mr. Biden's low approval ratings, aided by flawed Republican opponents who had been boosted to primary victories by Mr. Trump. Continuing to outrun the leader of their party grew more difficult as perceptions of the economy worsened and as Republican groups unleashed a fall ad blitz accusing their opponents of being weak on crime.

''It's a close race -- it's a jump ball for sure,'' Lt. Gov. John Fetterman, the Democrat running for Senate in Pennsylvania against Mehmet Oz, the television personality, told a group of supporters in suburban Philadelphia.

Dr. Oz and Mr. Fetterman both spent time in the Philadelphia area on Sunday, battling, in particular, in the crucial swing suburbs. A day after joining Mr. Trump at a rally in the Pittsburgh exurbs, Dr. Oz campaigned with Senator Susan Collins of Maine and Representative Brian Fitzpatrick of Pennsylvania, two more moderate Republicans.

In Georgia, the former South Carolina governor Nikki Haley told supporters not to feed into national headlines about Republicans' strength, as she campaigned with Herschel Walker, the Republican nominee, in the conservative northwest Atlanta exurbs.

''Don't listen to this red wave stuff they're talking to you about. The win that will happen in Georgia will simply be based on turnout,'' she said. ''Do more of us show up than they do?''

And in the Las Vegas suburbs, former President Bill Clinton appeared with Ms. Cortez Masto to urge a crowd of labor union members to warn their family and friends not to cast a protest vote for Republicans, who he said would be ''terrible'' for ***working-class*** people.

''They're gambling that they have this magic moment where we'll all be so mad, we'll stop thinking,'' he said. ''Between now and Tuesday, people here could change the outcome of this election.''

In the House, the question is how large next year's Republican majority will be. Some strategists have increased their estimates of how many seats the G.O.P. will gain from a handful to more than 25, which is well over the threshold for control of the chamber. Some of the Democratic challenges are structural: Republicans could pick up three seats just from redistricting according to some estimates, and a wave of Democratic retirements means more than a dozen seats in competitive districts lack incumbents to defend them.

Paired with the number of seats leaning Republican or considered tossups, those obstacles are the makings of a landslide if undecided voters break decisively for the party out of power.

''It's not a surprise that this is a tough cycle,'' said Sean Patrick Maloney, the head of the Democratic House campaign arm, who is in danger of losing his seat in New York's Hudson Valley, which Mr. Biden won by 10 percentage points. ''We're very much aware of what we're up against.''

In governor's races, Republican candidates modeled after Mr. Trump face decidedly mixed prospects, reflecting their party's struggles with his continued influence. Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida seemed poised for re-election, while Kari Lake, the Republican nominee in Arizona, faces a tough battle. Doug Mastriano, the far-right nominee in Pennsylvania, was expected to lose, but Gov. Brian Kemp of Georgia and Gov. Mike DeWine of Ohio, both of whom clashed with Mr. Trump, appear to have solidified their hold.

In some ways, the congressional elections are less consequential than some of the state elections, given that Mr. Biden will still be in the White House to block Republican legislation. In Wisconsin and North Carolina, the party is on the verge of breakthroughs in state legislatures that would give it almost total control of their governments.

If Republicans gain just a handful of House and Senate seats in North Carolina, Gov. Roy Cooper, a Democrat, faces the prospect of a Republican supermajority, rendering his veto pen obsolete to stop policies like a state abortion ban. If Republicans flip only one of the two State Supreme Court seats up for re-election Tuesday, a Republican-controlled high court could ratify even more gerrymandered state legislative maps that would lock in Republican control for the foreseeable future.

''Yes, we're concerned about it because the Republicans got to draw their own districts,'' Mr. Cooper said. ''We know this is a very purple, 50-50 state, yet we have a situation with unfair maps of maybe a supermajority.''

But the chaotic events of the post-Trump era along with questions about the very mechanics of elections have injected a heavy dose of uncertainty into the outcome of the 2022 midterms.

Democratic strategists have been enthusiastic about early voting, saying that it matched or was higher than the turnout two years ago when the party swept the House. More than 30 million ballots have been cast already, exceeding the 2018 total, and the Democratic advantage is 11 percentage points nationwide, even better than in 2018, according to Tom Bonier, the chief executive of TargetSmart, a firm that analyzes political data.

But Republican candidates have followed Mr. Trump's lead in denouncing mail voting and encouraging their voters to cast their ballots on Election Day. So those early Democratic numbers could be swamped by Republican votes on Tuesday.

Republicans, meanwhile, point to polling averages that crept toward the G.O.P. in the final week. But a number of the polls were conducted by Republican-leaning firms, which could influence the outcome of those surveys. And after several cycles of polling underestimating Trump voters, it's unclear whether pollsters have correctly captured the electorate.

''I've never been one who has put my bets on any poll, because I think particularly at this time people are not sharing where they are,'' said Senator Patty Murray, a Democrat of Washington, who is facing a tough re-election battle in her blue state.

Hispanic voters are likely to play a crucial role in Tuesday's election, though both sides remain uncertain how much the landscape has shifted. In two of the states that are likely to determine control of the Senate -- Nevada and Arizona -- they make up roughly 20 percent of the electorate. Latinos also account for more than 20 percent of registered voters in more than a dozen hotly contested House races, including in California, Colorado, Florida and New Mexico.

''The data itself right now is a picture of uncertainty,'' said Carlos Odio, who runs Equis, a Democratic-leaning research firm that focuses on Latino voters. ''We're not seeing further decline for Democratic support, but the party has relied on very high margins in the past.''

Katie Glueck contributed reporting from Philadelphia, Maya King from Hiram, Ga., J. David Goodman from Houston, Jesse McKinley from Albany, and Patricia Mazzei from Miami.Katie Glueck contributed reporting from Philadelphia, Maya King from Hiram, Ga., J. David Goodman from Houston, Jesse McKinley from Albany, and Patricia Mazzei from Miami.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/06/us/politics/election-democrats-republicans-predictions.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/06/us/politics/election-democrats-republicans-predictions.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: GEORGIA: Hercules and his owner Cam Ashling, center, organized signs for Raphael Warnock, a Democrat, Sunday in Johns Creek. (PHOTOGRAPH BY NICOLE CRAINE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

PENNSYLVANIA: Supporters of the Republican Senate candidate, Dr. Mehmet Oz, lined up for a rally on Sunday in Bethlehem. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HILARY SWIFT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

WISCONSIN: Amy Waldman, 63, talked with Haley Hagar, 32, while Ms. Hagar was out canvassing on Sunday in Milwaukee. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TAYLOR GLASCOCK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

FLORIDA: A supporter showed up at Sun City Center to see Gov. Ron DeSantis, a Republican, on Sunday afternoon. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ZACK WITTMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A1)

A crowd gathered on Saturday at a rally hosted by former President Donald J. Trump in Latrobe, Pa. Polling averages have crept toward the Republican Party in the final week. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HILARY SWIFT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Supporters next to a styrofoam sculpture by the artist John Belcher of Gov. Ron DeSantis, in Coconut Creek, Fla., on Friday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SCOTT MCINTYRE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Cheri Beasley, the Democratic candidate for Senate, at St. Paul Baptist church in Charlotte, N.C., in September. (PHOTOGRAPH BY LOGAN R. CYRUS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

The Republican candidate for Arizona governor, Kari Lake, center, at the border south of Sierra Vista, Ariz., on Friday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY REBECCA NOBLE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Rachel Lomas, left, brought a vote truck from her home in Texas to a campaign stop for Senator Raphael Warnock in Georgia. (PHOTOGRAPH BY NICOLE CRAINE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Gas prices near Hawthorne, Nev., where Donald J. Trump won nearly 61 percent of the vote in '20. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HAIYUN JIANG/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A14) This article appeared in print on page A1, A14.

**Load-Date:** November 7, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Suspect in New York MoMA Stabbing Is Arrested in Philadelphia***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:650R-0681-JBG3-600C-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 15, 2022 Tuesday 00:10 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1192 words

**Byline:** Mike Ives, Troy Closson and Ashley Wong

**Highlight:** The New York police had released video that they said showed the suspect, Gary Cabana, attacking workers at the Museum of Modern Art on Saturday.

**Body**

The New York police had released video that they said showed the suspect, Gary Cabana, attacking workers at the Museum of Modern Art on Saturday.

A suspect in [*the stabbing of two employees at the Museum of Modern Art*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/12/nyregion/moma-stabbing.html) in New York over the weekend was arrested early Tuesday in Philadelphia, the New York Police Department said.

The man, Gary Cabana, 60, was identified by the department as the suspect who jumped over a reception desk at the building and stabbed two workers on Saturday afternoon. Mr. Cabana had been denied entry to the museum after his membership was revoked days earlier.

When he was not allowed inside over the weekend, the police said he became “upset” and attacked the two employees — a 24-year-old woman stabbed in the back and neck and a 24-year-old man stabbed in the left collar bone — who were both expected to survive the attack.

Mr. Cabana was taken into custody after he was found sleeping on a park bench at a Greyhound bus terminal in the city’s downtown area shortly after 1:30 a.m., the Philadelphia Police Department said.

Several hours earlier, emergency responders received a report that a fire had broken out in a hotel room a few blocks away, the police said. No injuries were reported, but the police said fire officials quickly deemed the blaze to be arson and that investigators reviewed surveillance cameras and records for whoever checked into the room.

That person matched the description of Mr. Cabana, who was found shortly afterward. It remained unclear how or why he traveled to Philadelphia. The arrest was reported earlier by [*Steve Keeley,*](https://twitter.com/KeeleyFox29/status/1503616005393817600) a journalist with a Fox News affiliate in Philadelphia.

Mr. Cabana is expected to face assault charges for the stabbing after an extradition hearing and his return to New York, the police said. It was unclear on Tuesday afternoon if he had retained a lawyer.

In the days after the museum stabbing, friends of Mr. Cabana and residents of the Manhattan building where he was living described him as a longtime cinephile, an amateur reviewer of films and a reclusive neighbor who often kept to himself. But in recent years, some said, he had appeared to be navigating mental health problems.

Those issues seemed to be exacerbated by the widespread isolation that the pandemic brought on and the abrupt halt it caused to the rhythm of the city’s vibrant theater and arts scenes, some friends said. He worked as an usher for the Nederlander Organization, which operates several Broadway theaters, until November.

It was unclear what prompted his departure, though it appeared he left on tense terms. Mr. Cabana will also be charged with aggravated harassment for sending threatening emails to an official at a union that represents ushers, the police said, and with assault for punching an employee at a Broadway theater in January.

As the police searched for Mr. Cabana in the days after the attack, officials said the Secret Service was also notified that he had made threats against former President Donald J. Trump.

A user writing as Mr. Cabana on social media accounts also fired off several new posts, discussing his mental health and saying he had bipolar disorder.

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The woman, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because she wanted to preserve her privacy, recalled visiting New York about six years ago and spending the afternoon at a film institute and in Times Square with Mr. Cabana. She said his compassion, kind spirit and unique sense of humor stood out from their interactions.

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Mr. Cabana was arrested just over two days after surveillance video at the museum in Midtown Manhattan showed a man rush through a revolving door around 4 p.m. on Saturday and mount a wooden counter carrying a knife. Three people were cornered behind the desk, as other visitors in the building began to flee outside.

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Others in the building shared mixed reactions to the news of the museum stabbing.

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PHOTO: At the scene on Saturday. The museum reopened on Tuesday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY C.S. MUNCY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 16, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Confidence, Anxiety and a Scramble for Votes Two Days Before the Midterms***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66T3-HRF1-JBG3-634V-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 6, 2022 Sunday 09:23 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 2363 words

**Byline:** Lisa Lerer, Jennifer Medina and Jonathan Weisman

**Highlight:** As candidates made their closing arguments on Sunday, Democrats braced for potential losses even in traditionally blue corners of the country while Republicans predicted a red wave.

**Body**

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The appearances represented an unusual capstone to an extraordinary campaign — the first post-pandemic, post-Roe, post-Jan. 6 national election in a fiercely divided country shaken by growing political violence and lies about the last major election.

While a majority of voters name the economy as their top concern, nearly three-quarters of Americans believe democracy is in peril, with most identifying [*the opposing party as the major threat.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/18/us/politics/midterm-election-voters-democracy-poll.html) Should Republicans sweep the House contests, their control could empower the party’s right wing, giving an even bigger bullhorn to lawmakers who traffic in conspiracy theories and falsehoods like Representatives Marjorie Taylor Greene of Georgia and Matt Gaetz of Florida.

A central question for Democrats is whether such a distinctive moment overrides fierce historical headwinds. Since 1934, nearly every president has lost seats in his first midterm election. And typically, voters punish the party in power for poor economic conditions — dynamics that point toward Republican gains.

After days of campaigning across rural Nevada, Adam Laxalt, the Republican challenging Senator Catherine Cortez Masto, rallied supporters in and around Las Vegas this weekend, predicting a “red wave” that is “deep and wide.” Mr. Laxalt noted that Mr. Biden did not campaign in Nevada this year and blamed him for the state’s 15 percent inflation.

“He’s going to call you anti-democratic for using the democratic system to give us a change,” he told supporters on Saturday in Clark County, the state’s largest county. “But that change is coming.”

The midterm’s final landscape hinted that voters were prioritizing fiscal worries over more existential fears about democracy or preserving abortion rights. From liberal northeastern suburbs to Western states, Republican strategists, lawmakers and officials now say they could flip major parts of the country and expand their margins in Southern and Rust Belt states that have been fertile ground for their party for much of the last decade.

There were also some early signs that key parts of the coalition that boosted Democrats to victory in 2018 and 2020 — moderate suburban white women and Latino voters — were swinging toward Republican candidates. Top Democratic officials made 11th-hour efforts to shore up their base. Vice President Kamala Harris made stops in Chicago to help Illinois Democrats. The first lady, Jill Biden, traveled to Houston on Sunday, trying to lift party turnout in Harris County, a stronghold for Democrats in Texas.

In the House, where Republicans need to flip five seats to control the chamber, the party vied for districts in Democratic bastions, including in Rhode Island, exurban New York, Oregon and California. Republican strategists touted their surprisingly close standing in governor’s races in longer-shot blue states like [*New York*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/27/nyregion/hochul-governor-zeldin-democratic.html), New Mexico and [*Oregon*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/15/us/politics/kotek-drazan-oregon-governor.html).

At the same time, the Senate remains a tossup, with candidates locked in near dead-even races in three states — Georgia, Nevada and Pennsylvania — and tight races in at least another four. Republicans need just one additional seat to win control.

“Everyone on the Republican side should be optimistic,” said Senator Rick Scott, a Florida Republican and the head of the Republican Senate campaign arm. Mr. Scott predicted his party would flip the chamber, going beyond the 51 seats needed for control. “If you look at the polls now, we have every reason to think we’ll be over 52.”

For months, Democratic candidates in key races have outpaced Mr. Biden’s low approval ratings, aided by flawed Republican opponents who had been boosted to primary victories by Mr. Trump. Continuing to outrun the leader of their party grew more difficult as perceptions of the economy worsened and as Republican groups unleashed a fall ad blitz accusing their opponents of being weak on crime.

“It’s a close race — it’s a jump ball for sure,” Lt. Gov. John Fetterman, the Democrat running for Senate in Pennsylvania against Mehmet Oz, the television personality, told a group of supporters in suburban Philadelphia.

Dr. Oz and Mr. Fetterman both spent time in the Philadelphia area on Sunday, battling, in particular, in the crucial swing suburbs. A day after joining Mr. Trump at a rally in the Pittsburgh exurbs, Dr. Oz campaigned with Senator Susan Collins of Maine and Representative Brian Fitzpatrick of Pennsylvania, two more moderate Republicans.

In Georgia, the former South Carolina governor Nikki Haley told supporters not to feed into national headlines about Republicans’ strength, as she campaigned with Herschel Walker, the Republican nominee, in the conservative northwest Atlanta exurbs.

“Don’t listen to this red wave stuff they’re talking to you about. The win that will happen in Georgia will simply be based on turnout,” she said. “Do more of us show up than they do?”

And in the Las Vegas suburbs, former President Bill Clinton appeared with Ms. Cortez Masto to urge a crowd of labor union members to warn their family and friends not to cast a protest vote for Republicans, who he said would be “terrible” for ***working-class*** people.

“They’re gambling that they have this magic moment where we’ll all be so mad, we’ll stop thinking,” he said. “Between now and Tuesday, people here could change the outcome of this election.”

In the House, the question is how large next year’s Republican majority will be. Some strategists have increased their estimates of how many seats the G.O.P. will gain from a handful to more than 25, which is well over the threshold for control of the chamber. Some of the Democratic challenges are structural: Republicans could pick up three seats just from redistricting [*according to some estimates*](https://www.cookpolitical.com/redistricting), and a wave of Democratic retirements means more than a dozen seats in competitive districts lack incumbents to defend them.

Paired with the number of seats leaning Republican or considered tossups, those obstacles are the makings of a landslide if undecided voters break decisively for the party out of power.

“It’s not a surprise that this is a tough cycle,” said Sean Patrick Maloney, the head of the Democratic House campaign arm, who is in danger of losing his seat in New York’s Hudson Valley, which Mr. Biden won by 10 percentage points. “We’re very much aware of what we’re up against.”

In governor’s races, Republican candidates modeled after Mr. Trump face decidedly mixed prospects, reflecting their party’s struggles with his continued influence. Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida seemed poised for re-election, while Kari Lake, the Republican nominee in Arizona, faces a tough battle. Doug Mastriano, the far-right nominee in Pennsylvania, was expected to lose, but Gov. Brian Kemp of Georgia and Gov. Mike DeWine of Ohio, both of whom clashed with Mr. Trump, appear to have solidified their hold.

In some ways, the congressional elections are less consequential than some of the state elections, given that Mr. Biden will still be in the White House to block Republican legislation. In Wisconsin and North Carolina, the party is on the verge of breakthroughs in state legislatures that would give it almost total control of their governments.

If Republicans gain just a handful of House and Senate seats in North Carolina, Gov. Roy Cooper, a Democrat, faces the prospect of a Republican supermajority, rendering his veto pen obsolete to stop policies like a state abortion ban. If Republicans flip only one of the two State Supreme Court seats up for re-election Tuesday, a Republican-controlled high court could ratify even more gerrymandered state legislative maps that would lock in Republican control for the foreseeable future.

“Yes, we’re concerned about it because the Republicans got to draw their own districts,” Mr. Cooper said. “We know this is a very purple, 50-50 state, yet we have a situation with unfair maps of maybe a supermajority.”

But the chaotic events of the post-Trump era along with questions about the very mechanics of elections have injected a heavy dose of uncertainty into the outcome of the 2022 midterms.

Democratic strategists have been enthusiastic about early voting, saying that it matched or was higher than the turnout two years ago when the party swept the House. More than 30 million ballots have been cast already, exceeding the 2018 total, and the Democratic advantage is 11 percentage points nationwide, even better than in 2018, according to Tom Bonier, the chief executive of TargetSmart, a firm that analyzes political data.

But Republican candidates have followed Mr. Trump’s lead in denouncing mail voting and encouraging their voters to cast their ballots on Election Day. So those early Democratic numbers could be swamped by Republican votes on Tuesday.

Republicans, meanwhile, point to polling averages that crept toward the G.O.P. in the final week. But a number of the polls were conducted by Republican-leaning firms, which could influence the outcome of those surveys. And after several cycles of polling underestimating Trump voters, it’s unclear whether pollsters have correctly captured the electorate.

“I’ve never been one who has put my bets on any poll, because I think particularly at this time people are not sharing where they are,” said Senator Patty Murray, a Democrat of Washington, who is facing a tough re-election battle in her blue state.

Hispanic voters are likely to play a crucial role in Tuesday’s election, though both sides remain uncertain how much the landscape has shifted. In two of the states that are likely to determine control of the Senate — Nevada and Arizona — they make up roughly 20 percent of the electorate. Latinos also account for more than 20 percent of registered voters in more than a dozen hotly contested House races, including in California, Colorado, Florida and New Mexico.

“The data itself right now is a picture of uncertainty,” said Carlos Odio, who runs Equis, a Democratic-leaning research firm that focuses on Latino voters. “We’re not seeing further decline for Democratic support, but the party has relied on very high margins in the past.”

Katie Glueck contributed reporting from Philadelphia, Maya King from Hiram, Ga., J. David Goodman from Houston, Jesse McKinley from Albany, and Patricia Mazzei from Miami.

Katie Glueck contributed reporting from Philadelphia, Maya King from Hiram, Ga., J. David Goodman from Houston, Jesse McKinley from Albany, and Patricia Mazzei from Miami.

PHOTOS: GEORGIA: Hercules and his owner Cam Ashling, center, organized signs for Raphael Warnock, a Democrat, Sunday in Johns Creek. (PHOTOGRAPH BY NICOLE CRAINE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); PENNSYLVANIA: Supporters of the Republican Senate candidate, Dr. Mehmet Oz, lined up for a rally on Sunday in Bethlehem. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HILARY SWIFT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); WISCONSIN: Amy Waldman, 63, talked with Haley Hagar, 32, while Ms. Hagar was out canvassing on Sunday in Milwaukee. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TAYLOR GLASCOCK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); FLORIDA: A supporter showed up at Sun City Center to see Gov. Ron DeSantis, a Republican, on Sunday afternoon. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ZACK WITTMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A1); A crowd gathered on Saturday at a rally hosted by former President Donald J. Trump in Latrobe, Pa. Polling averages have crept toward the Republican Party in the final week. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HILARY SWIFT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Supporters next to a styrofoam sculpture by the artist John Belcher of Gov. Ron DeSantis, in Coconut Creek, Fla., on Friday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SCOTT MCINTYRE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Cheri Beasley, the Democratic candidate for Senate, at St. Paul Baptist church in Charlotte, N.C., in September. (PHOTOGRAPH BY LOGAN R. CYRUS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); The Republican candidate for Arizona governor, Kari Lake, center, at the border south of Sierra Vista, Ariz., on Friday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY REBECCA NOBLE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Rachel Lomas, left, brought a vote truck from her home in Texas to a campaign stop for Senator Raphael Warnock in Georgia. (PHOTOGRAPH BY NICOLE CRAINE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Gas prices near Hawthorne, Nev., where Donald J. Trump won nearly 61 percent of the vote in ’20. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HAIYUN JIANG/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A14) This article appeared in print on page A1, A14.

**Load-Date:** November 7, 2022

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[***How Trump Ate Populism***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61VN-9BH1-JBG3-63MX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 26, 2021 Tuesday 14:10 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

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**Byline:** Ross Douthat

**Highlight:** Trump’s rise encouraged would-be conservative populists. His post-presidency is devouring them.

**Body**

Trump’s rise encouraged would-be conservative populists. His post-presidency is devouring them.

It’s been easy to forget, after his Senate grandstanding helped summon a QAnon-ish riot, that the weeks leading up to the nightmare on Jan. 6 actually went pretty well for Josh Hawley.

In mid-December, in a policy gambit that was supposed to set him up as a champion of conservative populism after Donald Trump, Hawley, a Missouri Republican, joined Bernie Sanders to champion adding new relief checks to a Covid spending bill. The idea picked up belated support from the White House, passed the House as a $2,000 benefit and gathered enough steam that the Republican candidates in Georgia’s Senate runoffs felt required to lend their support as well. When both Republicans went down to a narrow defeat on Jan. 5, Hawley was positioned to make the case that if Mitch McConnell and the Republican-controlled Senate had moved on his check idea instead of resisting, the G.O.P. majority in the chamber might have been saved.

Instead, Hawley’s other early-January activities, his Trump-pandering challenge to the Electoral College certification, became a potentially career-defining story. Rather than being Mr. Populist or the $2K Guy, he’s branded as Mr. Insurrection — or, on the pro-Trump right, as a [*martyr*](https://nypost.com/2021/01/24/its-time-to-stand-up-against-the-muzzling-of-america/?utm_source=twitter_sitebuttons&amp;utm_medium=site%20buttons&amp;utm_campaign=site%20buttons) to liberal cancellation.

This rebranding probably won’t hurt Hawley’s [*book sales*](https://nypost.com/2021/01/24/its-time-to-stand-up-against-the-muzzling-of-america/?utm_source=twitter_sitebuttons&amp;utm_medium=site%20buttons&amp;utm_campaign=site%20buttons) or doom him in his next Senate campaign. But it’s a stark example of how any attempt to build a conservative populism after Trump is likely to be sucked into the vortex of crazy around the former president, who has taken the array of populist impulses on the right and made them all about himself.

For conservatives interested in economic populism — meaning, basically, a more middle-America-friendly economics, a program of sustained support for workers and families rather than just upper-bracket tax cuts — Trump’s ascendancy has always been a weird mix of vindication and calamity.

First, the list of vindications. Trump proved in his 2016 primary campaign that Republican voters weren’t particularly wedded to right-wing economic orthodoxies. He flipped the blue-collar Midwest in the general election in part by [*repudiating*](https://nypost.com/2021/01/24/its-time-to-stand-up-against-the-muzzling-of-america/?utm_source=twitter_sitebuttons&amp;utm_medium=site%20buttons&amp;utm_campaign=site%20buttons) the austerity economics of the Paul Ryan-era party. His support for looser money broke with the party’s Obama-era monetary hawkishness and helped deliver the lowest unemployment in decades. And even in defeat, his surprisingly strong 2020 coalition suggested the possibility of a pan-ethnic, ***working-class*** future for the G.O.P.

But even when he vindicated populists, Trump wasn’t really following their script; he was defining, in his own selfish and demagogic way, what a conservative populism meant. Sometimes that involved race-baiting and bullying and lying; sometimes it involved incompetence and corruption dressed in the language of resentment; often it meant either bog-standard Republican policies or no policy at all; always it meant playing to his base rather than trying to build a potential populist majority.

When the coronavirus arrived, Trump had a great opportunity to put both nationalist and populist impulses to work — the former in trying to keep the virus at bay, the latter in dealing with the economic fallout. Instead he practiced denial, leaned on hack advisers and folk-libertarian [*theories*](https://nypost.com/2021/01/24/its-time-to-stand-up-against-the-muzzling-of-america/?utm_source=twitter_sitebuttons&amp;utm_medium=site%20buttons&amp;utm_campaign=site%20buttons) and presided over unnecessary death and political defeat.

Throughout this experience, [*populist idea guys*](https://nypost.com/2021/01/24/its-time-to-stand-up-against-the-muzzling-of-america/?utm_source=twitter_sitebuttons&amp;utm_medium=site%20buttons&amp;utm_campaign=site%20buttons) as well as politicians like Hawley planned for a future in which populism’s vindication could be extended and developed, and its connection to Trump’s vices and failures gradually severed.

But that severing became less and less likely the more Trump made himself the focus of all of right-wing populism’s cultural impulses, which he did with great success. If you felt disdained by the meritocracy or the media, if you felt ignored or sidelined by the power centers on the coasts, or if you feared the revolutionary mood apparent on the left in 2020, then siding with him against his enemies became not just one means to express those sentiments, but the first and only way.

Now this kind of populist loyalty to Trump requires embracing the belief that he just had a landslide election stolen. And as long as that idea defines the right, the space to be a populist who isn’t just working to restore him or his family in 2024 (with all the prospects for Hawley-like debacles such work entails) seems somewhere between cramped and nonexistent.

Over the next few years, this will have two likely implications for the right’s sincere economic populists. First, they will watch the Biden administration poach issues that they once hoped to own, from big tax breaks for families to big spending on domestic infrastructure. Second, they will watch their party nominate self-proclaimed populists, in states like Ohio, Pennsylvania and Arkansas that should be the base for a ***working-class*** conservatism, who are just acolytes for the cult of Trump — figures like Jim Jordan and Sarah Huckabee Sanders, let’s say, with a policy agenda condensed to owning the libs and dog whistling to the QAnoners.

Such a future might seem to vindicate the left-wing view, expressed eloquently by Daniel Luban in a recent Dissent [*essay*](https://nypost.com/2021/01/24/its-time-to-stand-up-against-the-muzzling-of-america/?utm_source=twitter_sitebuttons&amp;utm_medium=site%20buttons&amp;utm_campaign=site%20buttons), that the general possibility of right-wing economic populism never materializes as specific political reality: “Protracted experience suggests that we should only believe the American right can move left on economics once we’ve witnessed it happen.”

Except this isn’t quite what experience suggests. In fact, the American right usually moves somewhat left on economics when it takes the presidency: George W. Bush’s spending habits were to the left of the Newt Gingrich-era Congress’s, just as Trump’s loose-money policies and abandonment of entitlement reform were to the left of the Obama-era G.O.P.’s. (Even Ronald Reagan wasn’t really a limited-government [*Reaganite*](https://nypost.com/2021/01/24/its-time-to-stand-up-against-the-muzzling-of-america/?utm_source=twitter_sitebuttons&amp;utm_medium=site%20buttons&amp;utm_campaign=site%20buttons) of the sort his own cult recalls.)

It’s more accurate to amend Luban’s point and say that the American right doesn’t usually move leftward on economics in a thoughtful, coherent and sustainable way — that the move is usually ad hoc, undercooked and cheerfully unprincipled, which makes it more likely to be abandoned once the party is out of power, treated as rubble instead of a foundation.

This is the problem that conservative policy thinkers and the occasional farsighted politician have sought to solve: If the party’s move to the center is inevitable, why not make it sustainable and serious and effective at achieving conservative goals?

And in a way, the Trumpification of the party makes this problem more urgent, because his downscale political coalition, even more than the suburbanite-heavy G.O.P. coalitions of 10 or 20 years ago, clearly needs a populist economic agenda if it’s going to ever build outward to a national majority.

But for the immediate future, no populism is likely to emerge that isn’t primarily about fealty to Trump, and no national majority can be forged on the basis of that fealty — not by Trump himself, and not by Hawley or Ted Cruz or any other too-clever courtier hovering beside the Mar-a-Lago throne.

So a populist imperative will remain, but until Trump himself recedes — someday, someday — its fulfillment will be pushed ever further out of reach.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://nypost.com/2021/01/24/its-time-to-stand-up-against-the-muzzling-of-america/?utm_source=twitter_sitebuttons&amp;utm_medium=site%20buttons&amp;utm_campaign=site%20buttons) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://nypost.com/2021/01/24/its-time-to-stand-up-against-the-muzzling-of-america/?utm_source=twitter_sitebuttons&amp;utm_medium=site%20buttons&amp;utm_campaign=site%20buttons). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://nypost.com/2021/01/24/its-time-to-stand-up-against-the-muzzling-of-america/?utm_source=twitter_sitebuttons&amp;utm_medium=site%20buttons&amp;utm_campaign=site%20buttons).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Doug Mills/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction: Sunday, November 01st 2020***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:616H-RBC1-DXY4-X0V2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 1, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the November 01, 2020 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending October 17, 2020. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction |
| This | On |  |
| Week | List |  |
| 1 | 111 | WHITE FRAGILITY, by Robin DiAngelo. (Beacon) Historical and cultural analyses on what causes defensive moves by white people and how this inhibits cross-racial dialogue. |
| 2 | 13 | MY OWN WORDS, by Ruth Bader Ginsburg with Mary Hartnett and Wendy W. Williams. (Simon & Schuster) A collection of articles and speeches by the Supreme Court justice. |
| 3 | 104 | THE BODY KEEPS THE SCORE, by Bessel van der Kolk. (Penguin) How trauma affects the body and mind, and innovative treatments for recovery. |
| 4 | 25 | THE COLOR OF LAW, by Richard Rothstein. (Liveright) A case for how the American government abetted racial segregation in metropolitan areas across the country. |
| 5 | 42 | THE WARMTH OF OTHER SUNS, by Isabel Wilkerson. (Vintage) An account of the Great Migration of 1915-70, in which six million African-Americans abandoned the South. |
| 6 | 227 | JUST MERCY, by Bryan Stevenson. (One World) A civil rights lawyer and MacArthur grant recipient?s memoir of his decades of work to free innocent people condemned to death. |
| 7 | 27 | BRAIDING SWEETGRASS, by Robin Wall Kimmerer. (Milkweed Editions) A botanist and member of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation espouses having an understanding and appreciation of plants and animals. |
| 8 | 22 | SO YOU WANT TO TALK ABOUT RACE, by Ijeoma Oluo. (Seal) A look at the contemporary racial landscape of the United States. |
| 9 | 88 | BORN A CRIME, by Trevor Noah. (One World) A memoir about growing up biracial in apartheid South Africa by the host of ?The Daily Show.? |
| 10 | 208 | THE NEW JIM CROW, by Michelle Alexander. (New Press) A law professor on the ?war on drugs? and its role in the disproportionate incarceration of Black men. |
| 11 | 1 | WHAT UNITES US, by Dan Rather and Elliot Kirschner. (Algonquin) A collection of essays that define the historical changes and essential institutions of America to suggest ways to overcome divisions within the country. |
| 12 | 115 | SAPIENS, by Yuval Noah Harari. (Harper Perennial) How Homo sapiens became Earth?s dominant species. |
| 13 | 22 | STAMPED FROM THE BEGINNING, by Ibram X. Kendi. (Bold Type) Winner of the 2016 National Book Award for nonfiction. A look at anti-Black racist ideas and their effect on the course of American history. |
| 14 | 54 | HILLBILLY ELEGY, by J.D. Vance. (Harper) A Yale Law School graduate looks at the struggles of the white ***working class*** through the story of his own childhood. |
| 15 | 6 | THE TRUTHS WE HOLD, by Kamala Harris. (Penguin) A memoir by the daughter of immigrants who is now a California senator and the 2020 Democratic candidate for vice president. |

**Load-Date:** November 2, 2020

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[***New York's Electric Car Future Faces Several Challenges***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6509-R2B1-JBG3-60T3-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Ginia Bellafante

**Body**

New York lags far behind most cities in electric-vehicle infrastructure, but changes are coming.

Last summer, Hank Gutman, serving as New York's transportation commissioner, encountered a couple in the Bronx who were charging their Nissan Leaf, running an extension cord out of their apartment window and across the sidewalk. Mr. Gutman was already very concerned about current infrastructure supporting electric vehicles in the city, but this moment had a crystallizing effect. To convert New York City into an electric-car mecca was a very different prospect from turning the tides in suburban New Jersey.

Transportation is responsible for nearly 30 percent of the city's greenhouse-gas emissions, and if the city was to achieve its most significant environmental objective -- carbon neutrality by 2050 -- it would need an aggressive plan to incentivize the purchase of electric vehicles. This is assuming that the ideal -- an absence of cars in the city -- was not immediately on the horizon.

The city can't make electric cars cheaper, but it could make them more attractive by making them easier to charge. Certainly, the prospect of driving around, looking for a charging station, failing to find an available one and maybe just having your car peter out on Flatbush Avenue was not motivating.

By 2021, officials had set a goal for 120 new chargers to be in place within four years; these would exist in addition to those that are privately run by companies like Tesla and exist largely in Manhattan neighborhoods, where there are many ways to get around that don't require owning what can be a $95,000 car.

To Mr. Gutman's mind, there were equity and distribution issues. In a city of more than eight million people, 120 additional chargers was ''pathetic,'' as he put it recently. ''No matter how hard we push to move New Yorkers toward mass transit and electronic bikes, there are parts of the city that are dependent on private transportation,'' he said.

In September, the Transportation Department issued a report with more ambitious proposals. It noted that New York was far behind California and major European cities in terms of how many electric cars were on the road. Right now there are about 20,000, but there will need to be 400,000 by the end of the decade to reach its long-term carbon target. In one analysis that ranked 100 metropolitan areas in the United States according to the accommodations in place for electric car culture to thrive, New York ranked 93. It was 92 places behind Provo, Utah.

According to the report, the city needs to install 1,000 curbside charging points across five boroughs by 2025, increasing to 10,000 by 2030, numbers the current mayoral administration is intent on hitting while also equipping 20 percent of all spaces in municipal parking lots and garages with chargers. At the same time, Gov. Kathy Hochul signed a law requiring all cars and trucks sold in the state to operate with zero emissions by 2035.

Measures like this were leading automotive reporters and policy people to declare 2022 the year of the electric car. Beyond those initiatives, a greater number of less expensive models were headed to the market, and rebates were available at the federal and state levels to make them more affordable. Even more government money has been allocated to support infrastructural change.

But if the past two years have shown us anything, it is that neither calls to conscience nor self-interest can radically shift behaviors when rising up against liberal tyranny is the greatest animating force of all. Optimists about the electric car future believe that escalating gas prices, first the result of pandemic supply-chain issues and now the disruption to global oil markets caused by the crisis in Ukraine, will convert skeptics for whom the catastrophes of climate change and threat of end times have not been sufficiently propulsive.

A poll released in June by the Pew Research Center indicated that 51 percent of Americans opposed a proposal to phase out production of gasoline powered cars and trucks entirely, even as automotive makers are moving to do this on their own. Early last year, for example, General Motors said it wanted to stop selling gas- and diesel-reliant cars within the next 14 years.

This week, we got a glimpse into how contentious things might get when Vice President Kamala Harris and Pete Buttigieg, the secretary of transportation, promoted electric cars and buses at an event, and then were slammed by Republican commenters for being ''tone deaf.'' The criticism was that it was insensitive, when so many Americans were struggling with the high cost of gas, to mention that zero-emission transport would release us from the vagaries of fuel pricing.

Soon enough, electric cars were at the center of conspiracy theories spreading on social media. The Biden administration, it was suggested, was nefariously driving up the cost of gas specifically to get people to drive electric cars. Similar to the fantasy that Covid vaccines were really just a means of government mind control, another conspiracy theory has it that the government wants us to drive electric cars so they can freeze them at any time, a scenario straight out of ''Minority Report.''

New York's Republican strongholds -- in Staten Island and certain areas of Queens and Brooklyn -- happen to be places where public transportation is sparse and car use is high. I asked the city's current transportation commissioner, Ydanis Rodríguez, how realistic it was to imagine that drivers across the ideological spectrum would embrace electric cars. The commissioner was in fact quite optimistic.

''Katrina, Maria, Sandy -- these big events make people understand that it's real and not something invented by the Chinese,'' Mr. Rodríguez said, referring to the climate crisis and the notion floated by Donald Trump that it was all a hoax manufactured by China. When Mr. Rodríguez served as the chair of the City Council's transportation committee, he told me, he often met livery drivers who were eager to switch to electric cars. ''What we have found out is that there is an interest not just among upper-class New Yorkers to move away from gas, but ***working-class*** New Yorkers as well.''

While that is undoubtedly the case, the fact remains that even with declining prices and government subsidies -- which in New York State could total about $10,000 -- the price of a new electric car is still in excess $20,000, or about twice as much as a 2011 Hyundai Sonata This in a city where hundreds of thousands of residents face eviction and a high rent burden. The road to virtue is long.EMAIL [*bigcity@nytimes.com*](mailto:bigcity@nytimes.com); followGinia Bellafante on Twitter: @GiniaNYT

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/11/nyregion/electric-cars-nyc.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/11/nyregion/electric-cars-nyc.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: By 2021, the city had planned to install 120 charging stations within four years, a goal that Hank Gutman, a former transportation commissioner, called ''pathetic.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY GABBY JONES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 13, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Another Quirky Role for a 'Consummate' Actor***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:659W-H121-DXY4-X2N5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 27, 2022 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 5

**Length:** 1242 words

**Byline:** By Simran Hans

**Body**

The British actor has spent six decades seeking out carefully observed, often quirky characters. In his latest film, he's also the lead.

LONDON -- In Room 45 of the National Gallery here, Jim Broadbent surveyed Francisco de Goya's portrait of the Duke of Wellington. It was not his first encounter with the painting. But, ''I haven't seen him next to Napoleon before,'' he said, nodding toward Vernet's study of the French emperor hanging nearby.

Broadbent's latest film, ''The Duke,'' is based on the real-life theft of the portrait in 1961, and comes to theaters on Friday. The actor, 72, plays Kempton Bunton, who held the painting ransom in protest against what he saw as unfair taxes on ordinary people.

If any of the hordes of tourists visiting the museum over the Easter holiday knew they were standing a few feet away from one of Britain's great character actors, they didn't let on. To many young people, Broadbent is Professor Slughorn, the affable Hogwarts potions master in the Harry Potter films. Their parents may have seen him portray Harold Zidler, the mustachioed owner of the Moulin Rouge, or Bridget Jones's father.

The story of Bunton, a mischievous taxi driver, failed playwright and possible cat burglar from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, has given Broadbent another eccentric character. ''You couldn't sell it as a piece of fiction,'' Broadbent said earlier, in the gallery's restaurant. ''Stealing a picture from the National Gallery? It's too far-fetched.''

On the 50th anniversary of the heist, Bunton's grandson, Christopher, 45, had the idea to tell his family's story. Inspired after reading his grandfather's plays, he drafted a script, he said in a recent video interview, and emailed 20 British production companies. He received six replies, including one from the producer Nicky Bentham. Richard Bean and Clive Coleman reshaped the script and Roger Michell (''Notting Hill'') signed on to direct, followed by Broadbent as the lead.

''I don't remember reading a script quite like it,'' said Broadbent, remarking on its old-fashioned quality. With a whimsical sense of humor softening its satirical bite, it reminded him of the films produced by London's Ealing Studios in the 1950s, like ''The Lavender Hill Mob'' or ''The Ladykillers.'' When Bunton is tried in court, he addresses the jury as though they were the audience at a stand-up show.

Broadbent has been honing his own comic instincts since childhood. He grew up in Lincolnshire to artist parents, and attended a Quaker school, where he would impersonate his teachers with studied accuracy, realizing that if he got it right, people would really laugh. ''I think that's what drew me into character acting,'' he said. The impressions weren't just about mimicry, ''It was actually observing and nailing essential characteristics.''

His alert blue eyes and gawky 6-foot-1 frame lend themselves well to physical comedy, though his looks, he said, have facilitated a versatile career. ''I was never going to be the regular sort of good-looking, handsome chap,'' he said. ''From the word go, since I wasn't easily castable in any particular thing, I knew I had to cast my net very wide.''

When he graduated from drama school at the London Academy of Music and Dramatic Art in 1972, he wrote to 100 theater companies looking for work. He soon became a fixture on London's repertory scene.

When the filmmaker and theater director Mike Leigh met Broadbent over drinks in 1974, he found the actor ''very, very cautious,'' Leigh said in a recent phone interview. Leigh is known for his improvisational style of working, which Broadbent ''wasn't sure whether he could do,'' Leigh said.

But the director saw an emotional intelligence, and cast Broadbent as a ''very gentle, Northern, ***working-class*** guy'' in ''Ecstasy,'' at the Hampstead Theater. Impressed by Broadbent's rare sensitivity, and anticipating his range, Leigh cast him again in his next production, ''Goose-Pimples,'' where the actor ''played the exact opposite, a really nasty fascist character.'' In total, the pair have worked together seven times.

In the 1980s, Broadbent was rarely offstage -- except when he was on TV. Helen Mirren, who plays Dorothy, Bunton's wife in ''The Duke,'' said in an email that it was impossible to remember when she first encountered her co-star's work, ''as he has been a part of our theater and screen landscape for so long, but it was probably in 'Not The Nine O'Clock News' and 'Blackadder,' two iconic comedy TV programs in Britain.''

Soon, Broadbent was craving new challenges, and a change of pace. ''I felt very easy onstage, and hadn't felt that on the bits of filming I'd been doing, and was so self-conscious in front of a lens being put up your nose,'' he said, and so moved more toward films.

Another collaboration with Leigh, the feature ''Topsy-Turvy,'' won him a prize at the 1999 Venice Film Festival, and was a hit in the United States. ''That was the beginning of that: You become awardable,'' Broadbent said. The awards led to work with Hollywood directors like Baz Luhrmann and Martin Scorsese.

''There's a whole bunch around that time, like 'Moulin Rouge!' -- it's completely out of my comfort zone, I certainly wouldn't have cast myself in that role at all,'' Broadbent said, ''you know, singing and dancing.'' But he won a BAFTA for his performance. And then in 2002 he won an Oscar for playing the literary critic John Bayley in ''Iris,'' a role ''I tried to persuade Richard Eyre that I wasn't right for,'' Broadbent said. Bayley, he thought, was ''a sort of cerebral academic, which is not me at all.''

This Hollywood period gave Broadbent the freedom to be more selective when choosing his later projects. He described himself as ''quite famously picky'' and in 2002 politely declined to be named an officer of the Order of the British Empire, an honor awarded by the Queen. In person, he is modest and self-effacing -- not one to draw attention to himself.

When he isn't acting in work that appeals to him, Broadbent turns to carving life-size puppets from wood to ''find my creative outlet,'' he said. ''It's another way of just inventing characters,'' and the sculptures have a gnarled quality with haunted expressions.

The appeal of ''The Duke'' came partly from being directed by Michell again (the pair worked together on the 2013 film ''Le Week-End''). Bunton's story turned out to be Michell's final project, and he died in September last year. ''Roger had it all,'' Broadbent said. ''He was very sensitive to people, and their vulnerabilities and strengths.''

Broadbent was also drawn to Bunton's complexity. ''He was a failed playwright, an activist, fairly unemployable for any extended period,'' Broadbent said. According to Christopher Bunton, the actor made his grandfather ''slightly more lovable'' than he was in real life.

Though Broadbent's parents were conscientious objectors to World War II, the actor said he personally prefers to ''keep a low profile.'' He described himself as ''resistant to authority'' but said he ''never wanted, particularly, that resistance to define who I am.'' Bunton, by contrast, campaigned for what he believed in, like an exemption for retirees from Britain's annual TV license fee. ''He was prepared to stand up, and make his presence felt, and complain in a way that I have never done,'' the actor said.

Broadbent, Leigh said, ''is a consummate character actor. He doesn't play himself.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/22/movies/jim-broadbent-the-duke.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/22/movies/jim-broadbent-the-duke.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: JIM BROADBENT (PHOTOGRAPH BY ALEX INGRAM FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Above, Jim Broadbent, center, in ''The Duke,'' which opened on Friday and is based on the real events of a theft in 1961. (PHOTOGRAPH BY NICK WALL/SONY PICTURES CLASSICS)

**Load-Date:** April 27, 2022

**End of Document**



[***All the Andrew Wyeth No One Has Seen***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:659W-VG81-JBG3-6238-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 27, 2022 Wednesday 12:33 EST

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**Section:** ARTS; design

**Length:** 1331 words

**Byline:** Hilarie M. Sheets

**Highlight:** A partnership between the artist’s foundation and two museums will enable much of his art to be viewed for the first time.

**Body**

A partnership between the artist’s foundation and two museums will enable much of his art to be viewed for the first time.

This article is part of our latest [*special section on Museums*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/museums-special-section), which focuses on new artists, new audiences and new ways of thinking about exhibitions.

CHADDS FORD, Pa. — In Andrew Wyeth’s prolific career, which lasted seven decades, he worked largely within a small radius of his rural family homes here and in Cushing, Maine. Making acutely observed sketches of the landscapes and people in these isolated communities, he later translated them into paintings in the studio, creating indelible images of American life.

Now, some 7,000 works by Wyeth, only 15 percent of which have been previously exhibited, will be made accessible for exhibition, scholarship and loans through an unusual partnership between the [*Wyeth Foundation for American Art*](http://www.wyethfoundationforamericanart.com/) — set up by the artist and his wife and business manager, Betsy, in 2002 — and their two local museums, the [*Brandywine River Museum of Art*](https://www.brandywine.org/museum)in Chadds Ford, Pa., and the [*Farnsworth Art Museum*](https://www.farnsworthmuseum.org/) in Rockland, Maine; each institution houses half of the foundation’s collection.

“My mother was the mastermind of all this,” said [*Jamie Wyeth*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/17/arts/design/andy-warhol-jamie-wyeth-painters.html), a third-generation painter in the Wyeth family. His grandfather, [*N.C. Wyeth*](https://www.nytimes.com/1998/11/15/books/pictures-great-his-publisher-told-him.html), who bought land in Chadds Ford and Maine with earnings from his successful career as an illustrator, taught three of his five children to paint.

At 20, the precocious Andrew was received in the art world as the new [*Winslow Homer*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/08/02/arts/design/the-impact-of-winslow-homer-at-the-clark-institute.html) after a solo show of watercolors at the prestigious [*Macbeth Gallery*](https://www.metmuseum.org/art/libraries-and-research-centers/watson-digital-collections/rare-materials-in-the-met-libraries/macbeth-gallery-exhibition-catalogs) in New York. In 1948, the Museum of Modern Art bought [*“Christina’s World,”*](https://www.moma.org/collection/works/78455) his painting of a disabled young woman lying in a field looking yearningly toward a distant farmhouse, today one of the most widely recognized works of American art.

After he married Betsy James in 1940, she became pivotal in his career, amassing and overseeing the enormous collection of his work that is now owned by the Wyeth Foundation.

Rather than give the collection to a single institution, where it might languish in the basement, or disperse the works among multiple public and private collections as many artist foundations do, “my mother’s thought was to keep the work intact,” Mr. Wyeth said.

Several years before Andrew Wyeth’s death in 2009, Betsy Wyeth set up a plan for their future estate, in which the foundation would retain ownership of the art but enlist the expertise of the Brandywine to manage all aspects of the collection residing in perpetuity under its roof and at the Farnsworth.

Since the agreement took effect with the 2020 death of Betsy Wyeth, it has unleashed “an entire suite of new possibilities, because we have thousands of works on paper, studies, things that have never been seen,” said Virginia Logan, executive director of the Brandywine Conservancy &amp; Museum of Art, the museum’s parent organization.

These include highly abstract and intimate watercolors of nature that Andrew Wyeth did not consider polished enough to hang. He was also reluctant to show his early paintings in oil, which he considered student work. He preferred tempera, a medium he loved because it dried quickly and enabled him to achieve a feeling of decay.

“During Andrew’s and Betsy’s lifetimes, they had a somewhat curatorial view of how they liked to share what’s seen,” Ms. Logan said. “This is a new opportunity, without those restrictions, to really look at things with a fresh eye and expand the reach beyond the Brandywine and the Farnsworth.”

That job will fall largely to a new curator, devoted to this collection, who will be employed at the Brandywine and will oversee exhibitions in dedicated gallery spaces there and at the Farnsworth.

The position will also include collaborating on loan exhibitions with other institutions and guiding the catalogue raisonné of Wyeth’s entire output, numbering more than 10,000 finished and unfinished works. The Wyeth Foundation will offset the curator’s salary, the art’s conservation and all additional costs related to the collection with an annual grant to the Brandywine estimated at $750,000 to $1 million or more.

This will be in addition to the foundation’s work to promote the study of American art. In 2021, it gave more than $1.5 million in grants, underwriting fellowships at the National Gallery of Art and the Smithsonian American Art Museum and contributing to exhibitions, including $50,000 for the catalog for [*“Winslow Homer: Crosscurrents,”*](https://www.metmuseum.org/exhibitions/listings/2022/winslow-homer) currently at the Metropolitan Museum.

“We’ve had a very conscious strategy to people the field,” said J. Robinson West, president of the Wyeth Foundation. “The view is that Andy is a quintessentially American painter and that the more interest there will be in American painting, the more interest there will be in Andy’s work.”

Although Andrew Wyeth has sometimes been dismissed as a sentimental realist painter, “a big part of making him relevant is getting people to see the actual work,” said [*Thomas Padon*](https://www.brandywine.org/museum/about/staff/thomas-padon), director of the Brandywine River Museum of Art. “Yes, he has this hyper-realist degree of detail, but there’s nothing sentimental. These are tough works — the bleak winter landscapes, old age, death. There’s just this aching loneliness.”

On view now at the Brandywine are Wyeth paintings and studies of African Americans living in Chadds Ford in the mid-20th century, an important visual record of a community once centered around a church led by Mother Lydia Archie that has died off and been pushed out by rising land prices.

The museum has worked with local historians to unearth new biographical information, provided on wall labels, about these former residents, including Adam Johnson, the caretaker of the Black cemetery and church grounds, who sued the township to stop its relocation of the graves in order to build a town hall. He was a recurring subject in Andrew Wyeth’s work for almost 40 years.

“I was interested in trying to restore these people’s identities, not just as anecdotes in Wyeth’s life,” Mr. Padon said.

He is also looking to highlight cross-generational relationships, noting that contemporary artists, including [*James Welling*](https://www.brandywine.org/museum/exhibitions/things-beyond-resemblance-james-welling-photographs) and [*James Prosek*](https://www.brandywine.org/museum/exhibitions/fragile-earth-naturalist-impulse-contemporary-art), have been inspired by Wyeth.

At the Farnsworth, an [*exhibition focusing on four of Wyeth’s first tempera paintings*](https://www.farnsworthmuseum.org/exhibition/andrew-wyeth-early-temperas/) created from 1937 to 1939, alongside multiple studies, underscores a turning point in his career. For Christopher Brownawell, the museum’s director, the Wyeth Foundation’s collection-sharing arrangement with the Farnsworth offers many possibilities to reframe the artist.

“In the mid-20th century, when Wyeth was hitting his stride, the art world was drawn to abstraction, but he stayed his course,” said Mr. Brownawell, pointing out that “Christina’s World” was painted the same year Jackson Pollock made his iconic drip painting [*“No. 5, 1948.”*](https://www.artalistic.com/en/blog/Jackson-Pollock-No5-1948-Abstract-Expressionism/) “It’s a wonderful opportunity now to put Andrew’s work in a larger context with artists of his time, as well as artists today, with the resurgence of the figure in art.”

The deep trove and accessibility of Wyeth material should be welcome news to museums across the country.

“Andrew Wyeth has always been central to our understanding of American realism in the 20th century,” said Jeffrey Richmond-Moll, curator of American art at the Georgia Museum of Art at the University of Georgia.

“Wyeth and other realists of his day were very much invested in concerns of the period and concerns that are not behind us — tensions around race, the dignity of the ***working class***, issues of the environment, wartime trauma,” he continued. “Anything that has to do with him is important for any scholar of American art.”

PHOTOS: On view now at the Brandywine River Museum, “Black Hunter,” (1938), above, tempera on panel, one of Andrew Wyeth’s many paintings depicting the Black residents of Chadds Ford, Pa. At left, “Family Tree Study” (1964), a watercolor never before exhibited; and, below, “Fox Grass Below Adam’s” (1934), an oil painting. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDREW WYETH/ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY (ARS))

**Load-Date:** April 28, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Trump will barnstorm Pennsylvania as both campaigns focus on the crucial state.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6163-1DM1-DXY4-X0WN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 31, 2020 Saturday 14:40 EST

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**Section:** US; elections

**Length:** 484 words

**Byline:** Shane Goldmacher

**Highlight:** President Trump plans four stops in Pennsylvania on Saturday, and the Biden campaign will be there on Sunday and Monday.

**Body**

President Trump plans four stops in Pennsylvania on Saturday, and the Biden campaign will be there on Sunday and Monday.

President Trump will hold four rallies across Pennsylvania on Saturday and his wife, Melania, will host a fifth event in the swing state, as both the president and his Democratic challenger, Joseph R. Biden Jr., zero in on what could be a linchpin in the race for the White House.

Mr. Trump prevailed in Pennsylvania in 2016 by fewer than 45,000 votes, and his itinerary on Saturday suggests some of the key demographic and geographic ingredients that he hopes to combine to create another surprise victory.

His first stop is in suburban Bucks County, where Hillary Clinton prevailed in 2016 by less than one percentage point. He will hold two events outside the major media markets, in Reading and in tiny Montoursville (population around 4,400), as he seeks to drive up turnout among the white, ***working-class*** and rural voters who overwhelmingly supported him four years ago.

He will also campaign in Butler, in western Pennsylvania, where he hopes his unabashed pro-fracking message holds sway. Melania Trump, meanwhile, will appear in Luzerne County in northeastern Pennsylvania, [*a historically Democratic region that Mr. Trump flipped into the Republican column*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/09/podcasts/the-daily/biden-trump-pennsylvania-swing-voters.html) in 2016.

The Trumps will hardly have the state to themselves in the last days before voting on Tuesday.

On Sunday, Mr. Biden will deliver one of his final speeches of the campaign in Philadelphia, the state’s biggest media market. And on Monday, Mr. Biden and his running mate, Senator Kamala Harris of California, will “fan out across all four corners of the state” with their spouses on the last full day of campaigning before voters head to the polls, according to the Biden campaign.

Mr. Biden, who represented neighboring Delaware in the Senate for decades, has long considered Pennsylvania something of a second home state, given the media market overlap and his own often-cited roots in Scranton, where he was born. He delivered his campaign kickoff speech in Philadelphia in May 2019; coming full circle, his Sunday speech, which his campaign says will be about “bringing Americans together to address the crises facing the country,” will take place in the same city.

Mr. Trump will return to Pennsylvania on Monday for an event near Scranton, with other stops in North Carolina, Wisconsin and Michigan.

In 2016, Mr. Trump flipped three Rust Belt states that had been reliably Democratic by fewer than 80,000 votes in total: Michigan, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania. And while polls have him trailing Mr. Biden in all three states, Pennsylvania [*has been the least Democratic-leaning in surveys this year*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/09/podcasts/the-daily/biden-trump-pennsylvania-swing-voters.html), and its 20 Electoral College votes make it the biggest prize of the three.

PHOTO: President Trump at a rally in Newtown, Penn., on Saturday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Anna Moneymaker for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 31, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Best Sellers: Paperback Trade Fiction: Sunday, December 13th 2020***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61PD-4451-JBG3-64JW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 13, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 503 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the December 13, 2020 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending November 28, 2020. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Paperback Trade Fiction |
| This | On |  |
| Week | List |  |
| 1 | 2 | HOME BODY, by Rupi Kaur. (Andrews McMeel) Poems and illustrations by the author of ?Milk and Honey? and ?The Sun and Her Flowers.? |
| 2 | 72 | THEN SHE WAS GONE, by Lisa Jewell. (Atria) Ten years after her daughter disappears, a woman tries to get her life in order but remains haunted by unanswered questions. |
| 3 | 3 | THE QUEEN'S GAMBIT, by Walter Tevis. (Vintage) Sixteen-year-old Beth Harmon goes through changes as she plays chess in the U.S. Open championship. The basis of the Netflix series. |
| 4 | 2 | SHUGGIE BAIN, by Douglas Stuart. (Grove) The winner of the 2020 Booker Prize. A boy?s ***working-class*** childhood in 1980s Glasgow is subsumed by his mother?s alcoholism. |
| 5 | 167 | MILK AND HONEY, by Rupi Kaur. (Andrews McMeel) A collection of poetry about love, loss, trauma and healing. |
| 6 | 6 | THE SONG OF ACHILLES, by Madeline Miller. (Ecco) A reimagining of Homer?s ?Iliad? that is narrated by Achilles' companion Patroclus. |
| 7 | 26 | CIRCE, by Madeline Miller. (Back Bay) Zeus banishes Helios' daughter to an island, where she must choose between living with gods or mortals. |
| 8 | 13 | THE INSTITUTE, by Stephen King. (Gallery) Children with special talents are abducted and sequestered in an institution where the sinister staff seeks to extract their gifts through harsh methods. |
| 9 | 64 | READY PLAYER ONE, by Ernest Cline. (Broadway) It?s 2044, life on a resource-depleted Earth is grim, and the key to a vast fortune is hidden in a virtual-reality world. |
| 10 | 3 | TEXAS OUTLAW, by James Patterson and Andrew Bourelle. (Grand Central) A Texas Ranger goes to a small town to investigate whether an accidental death was actually a murder. |
| 11 | 63 | THE NIGHTINGALE, by Kristin Hannah. (St. Martin's Griffin) Two sisters in World War II France: one struggling to survive in the countryside, the other joining the Resistance. |
| 12 | 7 | THE 19TH CHRISTMAS, by James Patterson and Maxine Paetro. (Grand Central) In the 19th installment of the Women's Murder Club series, Detective Lindsay Boxer and company take on a fearsome criminal known only as "Loman." |
| 13 | 77 | THE SUN AND HER FLOWERS, by Rupi Kaur. (Andrews McMeel) A second collection of poetry from the author of "Milk and Honey." |
| 14 | 4 | MISS BENSON'S BEETLE, by Rachel Joyce. (Dial) A schoolteacher and a troublemaker leave London in 1950 to travel across the world in search of an insect that may or may not exist. |
| 15 | 2 | THE WATER DANCER, by Ta-Nehisi Coates. (One World) A young man who was gifted with a mysterious power becomes part of a war between slavers and the enslaved. |

**Load-Date:** January 6, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Best Sellers: Paperback Trade Fiction: Sunday, December 13th 2020***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61RF-8V41-JBG3-63FF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 13, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 503 words

**Body**

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**Load-Date:** January 11, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Biden’s Debt Relief***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:667G-KF11-DXY4-X4YK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 25, 2022 Thursday 11:12 EST

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1871 words

**Byline:** David Leonhardt

**Highlight:** The president’s plan focuses on less affluent student borrowers.

**Body**

The president’s plan focuses on less affluent student borrowers.

Fewer than 40 percent of Americans graduate from a four-year college, and these college graduates fare far better than nongraduates on a wide range of measures. College graduates [*earn much more*](https://www.bls.gov/careeroutlook/2018/data-on-display/education-pays.htm) on average; are less likely to endure unemployment; are more likely to marry; are healthier; [*live longer*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/03/06/opinion/working-class-death-rate.html); and express [*greater satisfaction*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w15339) with their lives. These gaps have generally grown in recent decades.

As a result, many economists have expressed skepticism about the idea of universal student-loan forgiveness. It resembles a tax cut that flows mostly to the affluent: Americans who attend and graduate college tend to come from the top half of the income distribution and tend to remain there later in life. College graduates are also disproportionately white and Asian.

“Education debt,” as Sandy Baum and Victoria Lee [*have written*](https://www.urban.org/urban-wire/affluent-households-owe-most-student-debt) for the Urban Institute, “is disproportionately concentrated among the well-off.”

But the idea of loan forgiveness has nonetheless taken off on the political left. As Democrats have increasingly become the party of college graduates living in expensive metropolitan areas — and as the cost of college has continued rising, while income growth for many millennials has been [*disappointing*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/07/11/style/economic-anxiety-millennials.html) — loan forgiveness has obvious appeal.

These crosscurrents put President Biden and his aides in an awkward position. Biden fashions himself as a ***working-class*** Democrat. (He is the party’s first presidential nominee without an Ivy League degree since Walter Mondale.) He did not initially campaign on a sweeping plan of college debt relief, adding it to his agenda only after he defeated more liberal candidates in the primaries, as a way to reach out to their supporters.

Yesterday, after months of behind-the-scenes work and internal debate, [*Biden finally announced his plan for loan forgiveness*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/24/us/politics/student-loan-forgiveness-biden.html). And it is an attempt to find a middle ground.

‘The worst of both’

By definition, the plan will not help the many Americans who do not go to college. But its benefits are targeted at lower-income college graduates and dropouts, especially those who grew up in lower-income families. Compared with other potential debt-forgiveness plans, Biden’s version is much more focused on middle-class and lower-income households.

It is restricted to individuals making less than $125,000 (or households making less than $250,000), which will exclude very high earners at law firms, in Silicon Valley and elsewhere. For anybody under this income threshold, the plan will forgive up to $10,000 in debt. For somebody who received Pell Grants in college — a federal program focused on lower-income families — the plan may forgive an additional $10,000.

More broadly, Biden also said he wanted to enact a new rule to restrict future payments on college loans to no more than 5 percent of a borrower’s discretionary income, down from between 10 percent and 15 percent now.

(My colleagues Ron Lieber and Tara Siegel Bernard have written [*a Q. and A. that is full of useful information*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/24/business/biden-student-loan-forgiveness.html) about the plan.)

The emphasis of Biden’s plan partly reflects academic research that has found that the people who struggle the most to repay their loans don’t fit a common perception. They are less likely to be baristas with six figures in debt and a graduate degree than blue-collar workers who have a smaller amount of unpaid loans but never graduated college. That worker, Biden said yesterday, has the “worst of both worlds — debt and no degree.”

A [*study*](https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/scott-clayton-report.pdf) by Judith Scott-Clayton of Columbia University found that the loan-default rate for borrowers without any degree was 40 percent. For those with a bachelor’s degree, it was less than 8 percent.

The details of Biden’s plan mean that it targets the people most likely to default, rather than the caricature of them. “$10k will forgive ALL the debt of many millions of borrowers,” Susan Dynarski, a Harvard University economist — and herself a first-generation college graduate — tweeted yesterday. As an example, she cited “those who went to community college for a semester or two.”

There is still some uncertainty about whether the plan will be implemented. Biden is enacting it through executive action because it seems to lack the support to pass in Congress, and opponents may challenge it in court.

“Let the lawsuits begin over presidential authority,” Robert Kelchen of the University of Tennessee predicted. “I wouldn’t count on forgiveness happening for a while, and it may go to the Supreme Court.”

More commentary

“Thoughtful people disagree on student loan forgiveness,” Arindrajit Dube, an economist at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, wrote on Twitter. He praised the plan as a form of “disaster relief” that addressed the struggles of younger workers during the decade-plus since the Great Recession began.

Matthew Chingos of the Urban Institute has noted that the income cap increases the share of debt forgiveness that flows to Black borrowers.

Susan Dynarski told me she was “thumbs up” on the plan but wished people did not need to apply for forgiveness, because some would fail to do so. The government has the data it needs to cancel debt automatically, she said.

Progressive groups were mostly supportive of the plan. Indivisible called it a “bold move to improve the lives of working people.”

Mitch McConnell, the Republican Senate leader, said: “Biden’s student loan socialism is a slap in the face to every family who sacrificed to save for college, every graduate who paid their debt and every American who chose a certain career path or volunteered to serve in our Armed Forces in order to avoid taking on debt.”

Democrats in competitive elections had mixed reactions. Senator Raphael Warnock of Georgia called for even more debt relief. Representative Tim Ryan, running for an Ohio Senate seat, criticized the plan: “Instead of forgiving student loans for six-figure earners, we should be working to level the playing field for all Americans.”

THE LATEST NEWS

Politics

* Since the Supreme Court overturned Roe v. Wade, Democrats [*have made steady gains*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/24/upshot/midterms-elections-republicans-analysis.html) in midterm polls. Party leaders are beginning to believe they can [*keep control of Congress*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/24/us/politics/democrats-house-majority.html).

1. In Florida, Gov. Ron DeSantis took the unusual step of endorsing 30 candidates in [*county-level school board races*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/24/us/politics/ron-desantis-florida-school-board.html?smid=url-share). At least 20 of them won.

International

* Here’s how [*China could blockade Taiwan*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/08/25/world/asia/china-taiwan-conflict-blockade.html), cutting off the island in its campaign to take control of it.

1. A Russian missile [*killed at least 22 people at a train station*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/08/24/world/ukraine-russia-war-news/russian-missile-strike-kills-at-least-15-people-at-a-railway-station-on-ukraines-independence-day-zelensky-says?smid=url-share) as Ukraine celebrated its Independence Day.
2. Hungary [*fired two top weather officials*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/23/world/europe/hungary-weather-forecast-fireworks.html) after an inaccurate forecast led the government to postpone holiday fireworks.

Other Big Stories

* California will ban the sale of [*new gasoline-powered cars*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/24/climate/california-gas-cars-emissions.html) by 2035, a move that could accelerate the global transition to electric vehicles.

1. The school board in Uvalde, Texas, [*fired the police chief*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/24/us/uvalde-police-chief-fired.html) who led the response to the May 24 shooting.
2. A jury [*awarded Vanessa Bryant $16 million*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/24/us/vanessa-bryant-verdict-crash-photos.html) in her lawsuit over photos of the helicopter crash that killed her husband, Kobe Bryant, and daughter Gianna.
3. Artificial intelligence is [*making remarkable strides*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/24/technology/ai-technology-progress.html). The Times’s Kevin Roose asks what it will mean when computers can write and create art.
4. Mack Rutherford, 17, became the youngest pilot to complete a [*solo flight around the world*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/24/us/mack-rutherford-teen-pilot.html) in a small plane.

Opinions

Long Covid sufferers are running out of [*savings, treatment options and hope*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/25/opinion/long-covid-pandemic.html), Zeynep Tufekci writes.

“Managed retreat” is needed to avoid the worst of climate change. But even after a disaster, [*many residents don’t want to move*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/24/opinion/houston-flooding-climate-change.html), say Anna Rhodes and Max Besbris.

More women [*should coach boys’ sports*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2022/08/22/women-coach-boys-sports-leadership/), Abby Braiman writes in The Washington Post.

MORNING READS

Look-alikes: [*Your doppelgänger*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/23/science/doppelgangers-twins-dna.html) is out there.

‘The big one’: Here’s the story behind [*New York City’s bizarre nuclear attack P.S.A.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/23/nyregion/nuclear-attack-video-psa.html)

Treasure hunting: Choosy shoppers are [*bypassing Brooklyn*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/24/style/newburgh-vintage-emporium-vintage.html) for the Newburgh Vintage Emporium.

Not that Robby Thomson: The manager who’s often asked to [*sign someone else’s baseball card*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/25/sports/baseball/rob-thomson-phillies.html).

Touchy-feely: When your boss is crying, but [*you’re the one being laid off*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/24/business/ceo-crying-linkedin-layoffs.html).

A Times classic: How to [*age well*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/08/well/move/lessons-on-aging-well-from-a-105-year-old-cyclist.html).

Advice from Wirecutter: Great [*gifts for cat*](https://www.nytimes.com/wirecutter/gifts/best-gifts-for-cats/) and [*dog lovers*](https://www.nytimes.com/wirecutter/gifts/best-gifts-for-dogs/).

Lives Lived: Known for his larger-than-life personality and his Vietnam War photographs, Tim Page was a model for the crazed photographer played by Dennis Hopper in “Apocalypse Now.” Page [*died at 78*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/24/world/asia/tim-page-dead.html).

SPORTS NEWS FROM THE ATHLETIC

An ominous injury: Chet Holmgren, the No. 2 pick in the 2022 N.B.A. Draft, is feared to have [*torn ligaments in his foot*](https://theathletic.com/3535418/2022/08/24/thunder-chet-holmgren-torn-ligaments-foot/) at a pro-am game last week in Seattle. Have we seen the end of N.B.A. players showing up at unofficial summer tuneup events?

A new era for the P.G.A. Tour: Golf’s primary governing body announced [*sweeping changes*](https://theathletic.com/3535160/2022/08/24/pga-tour-changes-explained/) to drastically increase pay and, likely, star power throughout the season. The moves come shortly after LIV Golf, the Saudi-backed rebel circuit, wooed top players with eye-popping guaranteed contracts. Welp.

Who won the Kevin Durant saga? The Brooklyn Nets superstar himself [*doesn’t look great*](https://theathletic.com/3532650/2022/08/24/kevindurant-nets-winners-losers/) after his trade request went unfulfilled. But now fans face a must-watch reality of Durant, Kyrie Irving and Ben Simmons (finally) playing together. The intrigue countdown clock is set.

ARTS AND IDEAS

Grade AA art

There’s been a changing of the guard in Minnesota. When the state fair opens today, Gerry Kulzer will be the [*official butter sculptor*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/23/dining/minnesota-state-fair-butter-sculpture.html), taking over for a predecessor who held the role for 50 years.

A sculptor has carved blocks of butter into busts of the finalists in the fair’s dairy pageant since the 1960s. (The contest’s winner earns the title Princess Kay of the Milky Way.) Kulzer, an art teacher who usually works with clay, understands that his new medium will not be easy. “To capture a person’s likeness is really tough,” he said. “Especially when you’re in a 40-degree refrigerator.”

PLAY, WATCH, EAT

What to Cook

This yogurt-marinated [*grilled chicken*](https://cooking.nytimes.com/recipes/1022478-grilled-chicken-with-yogurt-marinade) is inspired by Turkish chicken kebabs.

What to Read

“Diary of a Misfit,” a memoir by Casey Parks, pieces together [*the elusive queer history*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/20/books/review/diary-of-a-misfit-casey-parks.html) of a musician in the Deep South.

Comedy

After 15 years of experimental stand-up, Kate Berlant’s [*solo show is a departure*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/23/theater/kate-berlant-comedy.html).

Now Time to Play

The pangrams from yesterday’s Spelling Bee were kitchen, kitchenette and thicken. Here is [*today’s puzzle*](https://www.nytimes.com/puzzles/spelling-bee).

Here’s [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/crosswords/game/mini), and a clue: \_\_\_ Jenner, most-followed woman on Instagram (five letters).

And here’s [*today’s Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/games/wordle/index.html). After, [*use our bot*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/upshot/wordle-bot.html) to get better.

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow. — David

P.S. The latest “[*The New York Times Presents*](https://www.hulu.com/series/the-new-york-times-presents-f22278d1-ef56-40e8-9227-af3a029ca6f4?&amp;cmp=7958&amp;utm_source=google&amp;utm_medium=cpc&amp;utm_campaign=BM+Search+TV+Shows&amp;utm_term=the%20new%20york%20times%20presents&amp;gclid=Cj0KCQjw9ZGYBhCEARIsAEUXITVaCG4YqCD3HIW3-DPdfiR0b6wQDJHYQdrdbKGEFhXarreDDVx2gdgaAopvEALw_wcB&amp;gclsrc=aw.ds),” available on Hulu, is about an influential doctor who spreads Covid misinformation.

Here’s [*today’s front page*](https://static01.nyt.com/images/2022/08/25/nytfrontpage/scan.pdf).

“[*The Daily*](https://www.nytimes.com/thedaily)” is about the death of Daria Dugina. “[*Popcast*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/24/arts/music/popcast-rage-against-the-machine.html)” is about Rage Against the Machine’s return.

Matthew Cullen, Natasha Frost, Lauren Hard, Ian Prasad Philbrick, Tom Wright-Piersanti and Ashley Wu contributed to The Morning. You can reach the team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](mailto:themorning@nytimes.com).

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing).

PHOTO: Student loan borrowers rallied outside of the Education Department building in Washington in April to pressure President Biden to wipe out their debt with an executive order. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Kenny Holston for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 25, 2022

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[***Best Sellers: Paperback Trade Fiction: Sunday, December 13th 2020***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61VF-1031-DXY4-X11Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 13, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 503 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the December 13, 2020 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending November 28, 2020. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Paperback Trade Fiction |
| This | On |  |
| Week | List |  |
| 1 | 2 | HOME BODY, by Rupi Kaur. (Andrews McMeel) Poems and illustrations by the author of ?Milk and Honey? and ?The Sun and Her Flowers.? |
| 2 | 72 | THEN SHE WAS GONE, by Lisa Jewell. (Atria) Ten years after her daughter disappears, a woman tries to get her life in order but remains haunted by unanswered questions. |
| 3 | 3 | THE QUEEN'S GAMBIT, by Walter Tevis. (Vintage) Sixteen-year-old Beth Harmon goes through changes as she plays chess in the U.S. Open championship. The basis of the Netflix series. |
| 4 | 2 | SHUGGIE BAIN, by Douglas Stuart. (Grove) The winner of the 2020 Booker Prize. A boy?s ***working-class*** childhood in 1980s Glasgow is subsumed by his mother?s alcoholism. |
| 5 | 167 | MILK AND HONEY, by Rupi Kaur. (Andrews McMeel) A collection of poetry about love, loss, trauma and healing. |
| 6 | 6 | THE SONG OF ACHILLES, by Madeline Miller. (Ecco) A reimagining of Homer?s ?Iliad? that is narrated by Achilles' companion Patroclus. |
| 7 | 26 | CIRCE, by Madeline Miller. (Back Bay) Zeus banishes Helios' daughter to an island, where she must choose between living with gods or mortals. |
| 8 | 13 | THE INSTITUTE, by Stephen King. (Gallery) Children with special talents are abducted and sequestered in an institution where the sinister staff seeks to extract their gifts through harsh methods. |
| 9 | 64 | READY PLAYER ONE, by Ernest Cline. (Broadway) It?s 2044, life on a resource-depleted Earth is grim, and the key to a vast fortune is hidden in a virtual-reality world. |
| 10 | 3 | TEXAS OUTLAW, by James Patterson and Andrew Bourelle. (Grand Central) A Texas Ranger goes to a small town to investigate whether an accidental death was actually a murder. |
| 11 | 63 | THE NIGHTINGALE, by Kristin Hannah. (St. Martin's Griffin) Two sisters in World War II France: one struggling to survive in the countryside, the other joining the Resistance. |
| 12 | 7 | THE 19TH CHRISTMAS, by James Patterson and Maxine Paetro. (Grand Central) In the 19th installment of the Women's Murder Club series, Detective Lindsay Boxer and company take on a fearsome criminal known only as "Loman." |
| 13 | 77 | THE SUN AND HER FLOWERS, by Rupi Kaur. (Andrews McMeel) A second collection of poetry from the author of "Milk and Honey." |
| 14 | 4 | MISS BENSON'S BEETLE, by Rachel Joyce. (Dial) A schoolteacher and a troublemaker leave London in 1950 to travel across the world in search of an insect that may or may not exist. |
| 15 | 2 | THE WATER DANCER, by Ta-Nehisi Coates. (One World) A young man who was gifted with a mysterious power becomes part of a war between slavers and the enslaved. |

**Load-Date:** January 25, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Eric Adams Runs His First General Election TV Ad. It’s Not About Crime.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63SC-TBW1-JBG3-619M-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 5, 2021 Tuesday 20:16 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 769 words

**Byline:** Emma G. Fitzsimmons

**Highlight:** The Democratic nominee for New York City mayor used the 30-second ad to tell his personal story, stressing his commitment to affordable housing.

**Body**

The Democratic nominee for New York City mayor used the 30-second ad to tell his personal story, stressing his commitment to affordable housing.

[Follow our live coverage of [*N.Y.C. elections*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/11/02/nyregion/nyc-election-live-updates).]

With a month left until Election Day, [*Eric Adams*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/02/nyregion/where-does-eric-adams-live.html) is finally starting to use some of his [*sizable campaign war chest*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/04/nyregion/eric-adams-donors-sliwa.html), releasing his first post-primary television ad on Tuesday in the general [*election for mayor of New York City*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/29/nyregion/nyc-mayoral-race-adams-sliwa.html).

[*The ad*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qMh3zx0JsXU) focuses on his ***working-class*** roots and his mother, Dorothy Adams, who died in March — a departure from his ads during the Democratic primary, which focused on policing.

“My mom cleaned houses and worked three jobs to give us a better life in a city that too often fails families like ours,” Mr. Adams says in the ad, as a Black woman is shown cleaning a home and embracing her children at the end of the day.

Mr. Adams then appears onscreen with a smile and says that the city must invest in early childhood education and affordable housing: “That’s how we really make a difference.”

The ad marks the beginning of the final stretch of the mayor’s race, which pits Mr. Adams against Curtis Sliwa, the Republican candidate, on Nov. 2. Mr. Adams, 61, the Brooklyn borough president, is widely expected to win and has been promoting himself and his centrist platform as the future of the Democratic Party.

He won a contentious Democratic primary by focusing on public safety and his background as a police officer. Now he is trying to highlight other priorities like reducing the cost of child care for children under 3.

Mr. Adams wants to offer “universal child care” for families that cannot afford it by [*reducing the costs that centers pay for space*](https://ericadams2021.com/eric-adams-100-steps-forward/) with tax breaks and other incentives. He also wants to rezone wealthy neighborhoods to build more affordable housing and to convert empty hotels outside Manhattan to supportive housing.

Mr. Sliwa, 67, has focused his ads on the message that he is compassionate toward homeless people — as well as his small army of rescue cats — and that he would offer a departure from Mayor Bill de Blasio. He has also criticized Mr. Adams for spending his summer meeting with the city’s elite and traveling outside the city [*to court donors*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/27/nyregion/eric-adams-donors-mayor.html).

“The choice is somebody up in the suites like an Eric Adams — a professional politician — or somebody down in the streets and subways — that’s Curtis Sliwa,” he [*says in one ad*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bB49bZ7PUY0). “I’ve got the touch with the common man and common woman.”

Mr. Sliwa’s ad shows Mr. Adams standing next to Mr. de Blasio, who has supported Mr. Adams during the race.

Mr. Sliwa on Tuesday [*released a Spanish-language ad*](https://host2.adimpact.com/admo/viewer/5057803), saying that he represents regular people, while pledging to prevent crime.

“You know me,” Mr. Sliwa says in Spanish, as footage plays of him riding the subway over the years.

But Democrats outnumber Republicans by nearly seven to one in New York City, and Mr. Sliwa has struggled to gain attention, let alone momentum. [*Mr. Adams also has a major fund-raising advantage*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/04/nyregion/eric-adams-donors-sliwa.html): He has more than $7.5 million on hand; Mr. Sliwa has about $1.2 million.

Mr. Adams’s new ad was produced by Ralston Lapp Guinn, a [*media firm that worked with him during the primary*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/22/nyregion/eric-adams-advisers.html). The team has made ads for other Democrats like President Barack Obama and Tim Walz, the governor of Minnesota.

The ad mentions Mr. Adams’s signature issue — public safety — noting that “we all have a right to a safe and secure future”

Mr. Adams also [*released a Spanish-language ad*](https://host2.adimpact.com/admo/viewer/5057918) on Tuesday that focused on education, featuring a veteran teacher who said the last year had been difficult on her students, and that Mr. Adams would improve schools.

Mr. Adams, who would be New York City’s second Black mayor, has often spoken about his mother on the campaign trail and of [*growing up poor with five siblings*](https://nypost.com/2021/06/12/eric-adams-rose-from-abject-poverty-to-serve-nyc-community/). Ms. Adams died earlier this year — something [*Mr. Adams revealed in an emotional moment*](https://www.politico.com/states/new-york/albany/story/2021/06/22/frontrunner-eric-adams-shares-emotional-moment-after-casting-his-vote-1386770) during the primary.

In recent interviews, Mr. Adams has said that it was two months into the Democratic primary when he decided to focus on his personal narrative.

He said in a [*recent podcast with Ezra Klein of The New York Times*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/01/podcasts/transcript-ezra-klein-interviews-eric-adams.html) that he decided to share a “series of vignettes” about his life, including being beaten by the police, having a learning disability and working as a dishwasher, and he believed that his authenticity won over voters.

“Each time I stood in front of a group of people and gave them another peek into who I am, they said to themselves, ‘He’s one of us,’” he said.

PHOTO: Eric Adams’s ad was produced by a team that has made ads for Democrats like President Barack Obama and Tim Walz, the governor of Minnesota. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Eric Adams 2021 FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 2, 2021

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| 6 | 6 | THE SONG OF ACHILLES, by Madeline Miller. (Ecco) A reimagining of Homer?s ?Iliad? that is narrated by Achilles' companion Patroclus. |
| 7 | 26 | CIRCE, by Madeline Miller. (Back Bay) Zeus banishes Helios' daughter to an island, where she must choose between living with gods or mortals. |
| 8 | 13 | THE INSTITUTE, by Stephen King. (Gallery) Children with special talents are abducted and sequestered in an institution where the sinister staff seeks to extract their gifts through harsh methods. |
| 9 | 64 | READY PLAYER ONE, by Ernest Cline. (Broadway) It?s 2044, life on a resource-depleted Earth is grim, and the key to a vast fortune is hidden in a virtual-reality world. |
| 10 | 3 | TEXAS OUTLAW, by James Patterson and Andrew Bourelle. (Grand Central) A Texas Ranger goes to a small town to investigate whether an accidental death was actually a murder. |
| 11 | 63 | THE NIGHTINGALE, by Kristin Hannah. (St. Martin's Griffin) Two sisters in World War II France: one struggling to survive in the countryside, the other joining the Resistance. |
| 12 | 7 | THE 19TH CHRISTMAS, by James Patterson and Maxine Paetro. (Grand Central) In the 19th installment of the Women's Murder Club series, Detective Lindsay Boxer and company take on a fearsome criminal known only as "Loman." |
| 13 | 77 | THE SUN AND HER FLOWERS, by Rupi Kaur. (Andrews McMeel) A second collection of poetry from the author of "Milk and Honey." |
| 14 | 4 | MISS BENSON'S BEETLE, by Rachel Joyce. (Dial) A schoolteacher and a troublemaker leave London in 1950 to travel across the world in search of an insect that may or may not exist. |
| 15 | 2 | THE WATER DANCER, by Ta-Nehisi Coates. (One World) A young man who was gifted with a mysterious power becomes part of a war between slavers and the enslaved. |

**Load-Date:** January 18, 2021

**End of Document**



[***One Reporter, Hundreds of Hearings***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6678-25J1-DXY4-X1DT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 24, 2022 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 2

**Length:** 1745 words

**Byline:** By Ian Prasad Philbrick

**Body**

At the heart of the Jan. 6 investigation are the cases against the riot suspects.

Nineteen months after the Jan. 6 attack, hundreds of criminal cases that stem from it are playing out in court. They have been getting less attention than the Justice Department's scrutiny of Donald Trump, but my colleague Alan Feuer has spent hours and hours watching these trials. This morning, he offers you a glimpse of them.

Ian: Who are the Jan. 6 defendants, and what are they charged with?

Alan: It's a wide range. People from all 50 states have been prosecuted. Most are white men from middle- or ***working-class*** backgrounds, but there are also women, Hispanic people, Black people. A lot have military backgrounds. There are also professional people, which is unusual for an event involving far-right extremism: doctors, a State Department aide, business owners, people who flew there on a private jet.

Most have been charged with misdemeanors and have gotten little to no prison time. Others have been charged with assaulting police officers or damaging government property. And a few hundred people have been charged with obstructing Congress' certification that day of the Electoral College vote. About 350 defendants have pleaded guilty, and more than 200 have been sentenced. About half a dozen have gotten four years or more, and two have gotten more than seven years.

The government is still arresting people, and prosecutors estimate around 2,000 could ultimately face charges.

The hearings open windows into defendants' lives, many of which seem quite dysfunctional. You covered the trial of a defendant named Guy Reffitt, a Texas militia member whose own son turned him in to the F.B.I. and testified against him.

If someone is being criminally prosecuted, there's often some dysfunction in their past. But I've been struck by how trauma rests at the center of so many of the Jan. 6 defendants' lives, whether it's poverty, addiction or deep family dysfunction. You also see defendants say things to the judge like, I've lost everything because of what I did on Jan. 6. My job has been taken from me. My neighbors no longer talk to me. My church has essentially excommunicated me. Please don't send me to prison as well.

Hundreds of defendants are being prosecuted, all in federal court in Washington. How do you keep up?

Covid restrictions enabled remote access, which lets me jump from courtroom to courtroom with the push of a button and listen to multiple hearings over the phone in a day.

The big exception is trials. I've covered two in Washington in person -- the Reffitt trial and the case against Dustin Thompson, an unemployed Ohio exterminator. Two seditious conspiracy cases -- against members of the Oath Keepers and the Proud Boys, two far-right groups -- will likely go to trial later this year, and I'll almost certainly be in the courtroom for those. I prefer the courtroom. You pick up on body language and facial expressions that aren't available when you're just listening in.

How many Jan. 6 hearings have you listened to?

Hundreds. It's not really countable at this point.

How did you become the reporter who covers these hearings?

I've covered courts and crime for over 20 years: murders, mafia and police corruption trials and the trial of Joaquín Guzmán Loera, the Mexican drug lord known as El Chapo. I've also spent a lot of time covering far-right extremist groups. As I watched the Jan. 6 attack on TV, I actually recognized people in the crowd. As people started getting arrested, I did what I've always done: track documents and set up a database of the now 850-plus cases.

How are these cases different from other criminal proceedings?

On one level, the process is the same: Defendants get charged. Some plead guilty, some go to trial. People are acquitted or convicted. But the context is very different. Jan. 6 was a political action that became a federal crime, and politics infuses these cases. Some defendants have argued that they're being persecuted for their political beliefs. Thompson's defense was that Trump authorized him to go into the Capitol that day and that he was merely following Trump's orders. That did not fly in front of a jury. I've never covered anything that's taken place in an atmosphere as polarized as this one.

Trump seems to have motivated not only some Jan. 6 defendants to commit violence, but also people who have threatened the F.B.I. after agents searched his home, Mar-a-Lago, this month. Do you see parallels between the groups?

The Ohio man who attacked the F.B.I. field office in Cincinnati this month was, in fact, outside the Capitol on Jan. 6. The F.B.I. investigated his role in the riot but never arrested him.

In a larger sense, one researcher has found that 15 to 20 million Americans think violence would be justified to return Trump to office. We've seen this in the reaction to the Mar-a-Lago raid, but I'm also concerned about what a potential criminal prosecution of Trump could bring. What will the reaction be if Trump is indicted? What will happen on the day he appears in court? What will happen if he goes to trial and is convicted? There may be moments when the risk of violence in defense of Trump is high.

As threats of violence become more widespread, it can create an atmosphere in which the threshold for committing actual violence is lowered. When violent rhetoric becomes pervasive, people willing to commit violence feel justified. They feel like there's community support. It enables them. That's a reality we all have to start grappling with.

More about Alan: Before becoming a reporter, he worked for a private detective agency run by two former New York City police officers. He later spent three years as a stringer for The Times, covering fires, murders and other middle-of-the-night stories in New York before joining the staff in 1999. In 2020, he published a book about El Chapo.

For more

In his final days in office, Trump had done little to leave the White House -- but he had packed papers instead of sending them to the National Archives.

An associate sought a pardon for Rudolph Giuliani just after the Jan. 6 attack, but the request was intercepted before it reached Trump.

NEWS

International

Ukrainian attacks in Crimea, including a drone assault yesterday, appeared on Russian social media, putting domestic pressure on the Kremlin.

Mexico's former attorney general was arrested in connection with the abduction and likely massacre of 43 students in 2014.

Two pilots for Africa's largest airline fell asleep and missed their scheduled window to land in Ethiopia.

Other Big Stories

An influx of migrants has strained New York City's social safety net.

Republican candidates are invoking ''the American dream'' in a pessimistic tone.

UPS drivers, whose trucks lack air conditioning, say heat waves are endangering them.

The actor Gary Busey was charged with criminal sexual contact and harassment related to an encounter at a fan convention in New Jersey.

FROM OPINION

If the Justice Department goes after Trump, it can't afford to miss, Ross Douthat says. Damon Linker thinks voters, not prosecutors, should take down Trump.

The dream of a secular, liberal Indian democracy is receding, Maya Jasanoff argues.

Let's skip the ''Game of Thrones'' prequel, says Scott Woods.

The Sunday question: How will Democrats' legislative successes affect the midterm elections?

Democrats' achievements on climate and gun control could energize base voters and blunt the losses the president's party typically suffers, New York Magazine's Ed Kilgore writes. But consumer confidence and Biden's job approval remain low, and voters overall tend not to reward big policy victories, The Cook Political Report's Amy Walter notes.

MORNING READS

Weed drinks: They're becoming widely available, but doctors know little about the effects.

Sunday routine: A wine writer plays folk music and visits wine bars.

Pickleball: Its popularity is growing rapidly. So is the injury count.

A Times classic: The best way to cool your space.

Advice from Wirecutter: How to pick the right computer for your kid.

BOOKS

Read your way through Reykjavik: Iceland has a reputation for having more authors per capita than any country.

By the Book: When Frances Mayes discovers that the author of a good book has written others, ''that's bliss.''

Our editors' picks: ''Picasso's War,'' a narrative of how modern art came to be celebrated in the U.S., and 10 other books.

Times best sellers: Rinker Buck shares his adventures on a wooden flatboat in ''Life On The Mississippi,'' a nonfiction best seller. See all our lists.

THE SUNDAY TIMES MAGAZINE

On the cover: Willie Nelson's long encore.

Recommendation: Write fan mail to artists you admire.

Diagnosis: She couldn't stand still without pain. What was wrong?

Eat: Late summer tomatoes are perfect for Spaghetti al Pomodoro.

Read the full issue.

THE WEEK AHEAD

What to Watch For

A detective tied to the fatal Breonna Taylor raid is expected to enter a guilty plea on Monday. She would be the first officer convicted in the case.

Florida and New York will hold primary elections on Tuesday.

Senator Lindsey Graham was ordered to testify before a grand jury on Tuesday in a Georgia investigation into Republican efforts to overturn Donald Trump's election loss.

Wednesday marks six months since Russia invaded Ukraine, as well as Ukraine's Independence Day.

New jobless claims will be announced on Thursday.

So-called trigger bans on abortion in Idaho, Tennessee and Texas will go into effect on Thursday.

The college football season kicks off on Saturday.

What to Cook This Week

Mussels seem luxurious, but they are among the most budget-friendly seafood options, Tanya Sichynsky writes. Her weeknight dinner recommendations include steamed mussels with garlic and parsley, sheet-pan gnocchi with mushrooms and spinach and linguine with lemon sauce.

NOW TIME TO PLAY

Here's a clue from the Sunday crossword:

72-Across: Pharmaceutical company whose Nasdaq symbol is MRNA

Take the news quiz to see how well you followed the week's headlines.

Here's today's Spelling Bee. Here's today's Wordle. After, use our bot to get better.

Thanks for spending part of your weekend with The Times.

Matthew Cullen, Claire Moses, Tom Wright-Piersanti and Ashley Wu contributed to The Morning. You can reach the team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](mailto:themorning@nytimes.com)

Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/21/briefing/jan-6-attack-riot-suspects.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/21/briefing/jan-6-attack-riot-suspects.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Prosecutors estimate around 2,000 people could face charges related to the Capitol riot. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KENNY HOLSTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 24, 2022

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[***The Movement to End Homework Is Wrong***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6625-MXH1-DXY4-X2PS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 31, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 6; JAY CASPIAN KANG

**Length:** 1769 words

**Byline:** By Jay Caspian Kang

**Body**

Do students really need to do their homework?

As a parent and a former teacher, I have been pondering this question for quite a long time. The teacher side of me can acknowledge that there were assignments I gave out to my students that probably had little to no academic value. But I also imagine that some of my students never would have done their basic reading if they hadn't been trained to complete expected assignments, which would have made the task of teaching an English class nearly impossible. As a parent, I would rather my daughter not get stuck doing the sort of pointless homework I would occasionally assign, but I also think there's a lot of value in saying, ''Hey, a lot of work you're going to end up doing in your life is pointless, so why not just get used to it?''

I certainly am not the only person wondering about the value of homework. Recently, the sociologist Jessica McCrory Calarco and the mathematics education scholars Ilana Horn and Grace Chen published a paper, ''You Need to Be More Responsible: The Myth of Meritocracy and Teachers' Accounts of Homework Inequalities.'' They argued that while there's some evidence that homework might help students learn, it also exacerbates inequalities and reinforces what they call the ''meritocratic'' narrative that says kids who do well in school do so because of ''individual competence, effort and responsibility.''

The authors believe this meritocratic narrative is a myth and that homework -- math homework in particular -- further entrenches the myth in the minds of teachers and their students. Calarco, Horn and Chen write, ''Research has highlighted inequalities in students' homework production and linked those inequalities to differences in students' home lives and in the support students' families can provide.''

Put a bit more simply: The quality of students' homework production is linked to their socioeconomic status. This alone doesn't seem particularly controversial. As I've discussed in this newsletter, many measures of academic achievement wind up being linked to wealth. The authors go on to argue that since this is the case, teachers should ''interpret differences in students' homework production through a structural inequalities frame.'' What they have found, however, is that teachers don't think of homework this way. Instead, they tend to rely on the ''myth of meritocracy'' to explain ''homework inequalities.''

Calarco, Horn and Chen are all respected scholars at top-tier universities. Their paper was published in Educational Researcher, a journal of the American Educational Research Association, one of the pre-eminent research organizations in the education space. Homework reduction, or abolition, is part of an emerging educational movement. And while the authors acknowledge that eliminating homework would be difficult in the short term, given how rooted it is in American pedagogy, I imagine that many public schools over the next decade or so will start to de-emphasize homework as these ideas start to make their way to school boards and curriculum writers.

Trying to assess the value of homework, reduce it or at least make less of it busywork might very well be a useful endeavor. But Calarco, Horn and Chen are questioning something much more fundamental to the American educational system than homework. Whether they intend to or not, they are, in effect, reframing the purpose of schooling itself. Is school a place where a select group of children can distinguish themselves from their peers through diligence, talent and the pursuit of upward mobility? Is it a place where everyone should have equal access to learning and opportunity, whatever that might mean? And are these two ideals mutually exclusive?

The authors of ''You Need to Be More Responsible'' are part of a movement that argues, sometimes convincingly, that a meritocratic vision impedes true equal opportunity. In regards to homework, what they are saying, in effect, is that the idea of responsibility itself -- requiring students to be accountable for completing assignments -- exacerbates inequality. And that rather than trying to run all students through a hierarchical educational system in the hopes that they will end up in the same place, it appears that the authors would rather de-emphasize anything that reinforces the idea that one student is better than another.

According to the authors, then, teachers should factor in students' socioeconomic status when evaluating their homework. Teachers should acknowledge that, even with completed assignments, structural inequalities may be why students with access to fewer resources got more questions wrong than their better-resourced peers did. And if they want to help these hypothetical poor students, they shouldn't appeal to messages of personal responsibility and individual agency because those concepts reinforce the myth of meritocracy.

This all sounds a bit abstract. Having taught at a variety of schools, I agree that students' socioeconomic status will likely be a better predictor of how they do on their homework than any personal traits, but I still can't quite imagine how a structural inequalities frame would operate in the classroom. How would you even talk to your students?

Teacher: Hey there. You got half the questions wrong on your homework.

Student: I'm sorry about that. What do you think I could do to improve my performance?

Teacher: Well, you could boost your socioeconomic status. Otherwise, the deck's extremely stacked against you getting any of these questions right.

To help combat the myth of meritocracy, the authors suggest that teachers not assign overly challenging homework and stop rewarding or punishing students based on the quality of the homework they produce. They also suggest that some teachers, if so inclined, could go ''a step further in attempting to reduce homework's harm'' and just get rid of it altogether. They write:

More research is needed to understand the consequences of these more ''progressive'' homework policies. Yet, we suspect that while optional and ungraded homework may reduce inequalities in homework-related rewards and punishments, it may not prevent teachers from judging those students (and their parents) who do not complete the optional or ungraded work. No-homework policies have greater potential for alleviating the kinds of unequal practices we observed in the schools in our study.

In short, teachers can't even be trusted to give out optional homework because they're too meritocracy-brained and will still judge the students based on the results. The easiest solution is to just stop giving homework altogether, so the wrong-thinking teachers don't have as much of a platform upon which to prop up their meritocratic myths.

I want to be fair to the authors and acknowledge that even if I'm a bit skeptical about how their prescriptions could operate in a classroom, there might be other good reasons for doing away with homework.

Evidence about the effectiveness of homework is pretty scattered. There are studies and articles saying that homework helps students learn and that kids aren't overly burdened with it. There are also studies and articles that say excessive homework shows diminishing returns and can be harmful to students' mental health. Having read some of these studies, I think the fairest assessment right now would be to say that the evidence about the benefits of homework is pretty inconclusive because of the inherent difficulties in isolating one part of a student's academic life and drawing huge conclusions about how it affects everything else.

From a theoretical standpoint, I mostly agree with Calarco, Horn and Chen's diagnosis of the American educational system. It does largely function as a way to sort and stratify children into different socioeconomic bands, which, again, in theory, means that it would be helpful for teachers to approach their work with that in mind. Many richer kids go to private schools that feed into elite colleges that will more or less ensure their alumni will be on the glide path to staying rich. Many poorer kids go to poorer schools that provide them, in many cases, with fewer opportunities that might help them advance socioeconomically. Some portion of middle-class and ***working-class*** people, including a lot of immigrants and children of immigrants, pragmatically use the school system to achieve class mobility.

When you break it all down, the amount of class mobility our education system can grind out each year falls well short of what most people expect. The spoils of academic meritocracy, then, aren't particularly widespread, which does bring up the question: If we all agree that everyone should go to school and if the class mobility part is working only for some families and not at all for others, why do we structure it in such a competitive way?

But there's a defense of homework that doesn't really have much to do with class mobility, equality or any sense of reinforcing the notion of meritocracy. It's one that became quite clear to me when I was a teacher: Kids need to learn how to practice things. Homework, in many cases, is the only ritualized thing they have to do every day. Even if we could perfectly equalize opportunity in school and empower all students not to be encumbered by the weight of their socioeconomic status or ethnicity, I'm not sure what good it would do if the kids didn't know how to do something relentlessly, over and over again, until they perfected it. Most teachers know that type of progress is very difficult to achieve inside the classroom, regardless of a student's background, which is why, I imagine, Calarco, Horn and Chen found that most teachers weren't thinking in a structural inequalities frame. Holistic ideas of education, in which learning is emphasized and students can explore concepts and ideas, are largely for the types of kids who don't need to worry about class mobility.

A defense of rote practice through homework might seem revanchist at this moment, but if we truly believe that schools should teach children lessons that fall outside the meritocracy, I can't think of one that matters more than the simple satisfaction of mastering something that you were once bad at. That takes homework and the acknowledgment that sometimes a student can get a question wrong and, with proper instruction, eventually get it right.

Jay Caspian Kang (@jaycaspiankang), a writer for Opinion and The New York Times Magazine, is the author of ''The Loneliest Americans.''

Have feedback? Send a note to [*kang-newsletter@nytimes.com*](mailto:kang-newsletter@nytimes.com)

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/25/opinion/end-of-homework.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/25/opinion/end-of-homework.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Alberto Miranda FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 31, 2022

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[***Is This Finally the Year of the Electric Car?; Big CITY***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64YW-CH51-JBG3-61GP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 11, 2022 Friday 15:59 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1147 words

**Byline:** Ginia Bellafante

**Highlight:** New York lags far behind most cities in electric-vehicle infrastructure, but changes are coming.

**Body**

New York lags far behind most cities in electric-vehicle infrastructure, but changes are coming.

Last summer, [*Hank Gutman*](https://www1.nyc.gov/office-of-the-mayor/news/078-21/mayor-de-blasio-appoints-hank-gutman-city-s-transportation-commissioner-pledges-10-000-new-bike), serving as New York’s transportation commissioner, encountered a couple in the Bronx who were charging their Nissan Leaf, running an extension cord out of their apartment window and across the sidewalk. Mr. Gutman was already very concerned about current infrastructure supporting electric vehicles in the city, but this moment had a crystallizing effect. To convert New York City into an electric-car mecca was a very different prospect from turning the tides in suburban New Jersey.

Transportation is responsible for nearly 30 percent of the city’s greenhouse-gas emissions, and if the city was to achieve its most significant environmental objective — carbon neutrality by 2050 — it would need an aggressive plan to incentivize the purchase of electric vehicles. This is assuming that the ideal — an absence of cars in the city — was not immediately on the horizon.

The city can’t make electric cars cheaper, but it could make them more attractive by making them easier to charge. Certainly, the prospect of driving around, looking for a charging station, failing to find an available one and maybe just having your car peter out on Flatbush Avenue was not motivating.

By 2021, officials had set a goal for 120 new chargers to be in place within four years; these would exist in addition to those that are privately run by companies like Tesla and exist largely in Manhattan neighborhoods, where there are many ways to get around that don’t require owning what can be a $95,000 car.

To Mr. Gutman’s mind, there were equity and distribution issues. In a city of more than eight million people, 120 additional chargers was “pathetic,” as he put it recently. “No matter how hard we push to move New Yorkers toward mass transit and electronic bikes, there are parts of the city that are dependent on private transportation,” he said.

In September, the Transportation Department issued a report with more ambitious proposals. It noted that New York was far behind California and major European cities in terms of how many electric cars were on the road. Right now there are about 20,000, but there will need to be 400,000 by the end of the decade to reach its long-term carbon target. In [*one analysis*](https://www.storagecafe.com/blog/best-us-metros-for-electric-cars/) that ranked 100 metropolitan areas in the United States according to the accommodations in place for electric car culture to thrive, New York ranked 93. It was 92 places behind Provo, Utah.

According to the report, the city needs to install 1,000 curbside charging points across five boroughs by 2025, increasing to 10,000 by 2030, numbers the current mayoral administration is intent on hitting while also equipping 20 percent of all spaces in municipal parking lots and garages with chargers. At the same time, Gov. Kathy Hochul signed a law requiring all cars and trucks sold in the state to operate with zero emissions by 2035.

Measures like this were leading automotive reporters and policy people to declare 2022 the year of the electric car. Beyond those initiatives, a [*greater number of less expensive models were headed to the market*](https://www.edmunds.com/electric-car/articles/cheapest-electric-cars/), and rebates were available at the federal and state levels to make them more affordable. Even more government money has been allocated to support infrastructural change.

But if the past two years have shown us anything, it is that neither calls to conscience nor self-interest can radically shift behaviors when rising up against liberal tyranny is the greatest animating force of all. Optimists about the electric car future believe that escalating gas prices, first the result of pandemic supply-chain issues and now the disruption to global oil markets caused by the crisis in Ukraine, will convert skeptics for whom the catastrophes of climate change and threat of end times have not been sufficiently propulsive.

[*A poll released in June by the Pew Research Center*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/06/03/electric-vehicles-get-mixed-reception-from-american-consumers/) indicated that 51 percent of Americans opposed a proposal to phase out production of gasoline powered cars and trucks entirely, even as automotive makers are moving to do this on their own. Early last year, for example, General Motors [*said it wanted to stop selling gas- and diesel-reliant cars*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/28/business/gm-zero-emission-vehicles.html)within the next 14 years.

This week, we got a glimpse into how contentious things might get when Vice President Kamala Harris and Pete Buttigieg, the secretary of transportation, promoted electric cars and buses at an event, and then were [*slammed by Republican commenters for being “tone deaf*](https://nypost.com/2022/03/07/kamala-harris-pete-buttigieg-slammed-amid-high-gas-prices/).” The criticism was that it was insensitive, when so many Americans were struggling with the high cost of gas, to mention that zero-emission transport would release us from the vagaries of fuel pricing.

Soon enough, electric cars were at the center of conspiracy theories spreading on social media. The Biden administration, it was suggested, was [*nefariously driving up the cost of gas specifically to get people to drive electric cars.*](https://abcnews.go.com/Business/wireStory/gas-price-hikes-fueling-electric-vehicle-conspiracy-theories-83361645) Similar to the fantasy that Covid vaccines were really just a means of government mind control, another conspiracy theory has it that the government wants us to drive electric cars so they can freeze them at any time, a scenario straight out of “[*Minority Report*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sZQ6p69Kg6c).”

New York’s Republican strongholds — in Staten Island and certain areas of Queens and Brooklyn — happen to be places where public transportation is sparse and car use is high. I asked the city’s current transportation commissioner, Ydanis Rodríguez, how realistic it was to imagine that drivers across the ideological spectrum would embrace electric cars. The commissioner was in fact quite optimistic.

“Katrina, Maria, Sandy — these big events make people understand that it’s real and not something invented by the Chinese,” Mr. Rodríguez said, referring to the climate crisis and the [*notion floated by Donald Trump that it was all a hoax manufactured by China*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/19/world/asia/china-trump-climate-change.html). When Mr. Rodríguez served as the chair of the City Council’s transportation committee, he told me, he often met livery drivers who were eager to switch to electric cars. “What we have found out is that there is an interest not just among upper-class New Yorkers to move away from gas, but ***working-class*** New Yorkers as well.”

While that is undoubtedly the case, the fact remains that even with declining prices and government subsidies — which in New York State could total about $10,000 — the price of a new electric car is still in excess $20,000, or about [*twice as much as a 2011 Hyundai Sonata*](https://www.cityworldhyundai.com/used/Hyundai/2011-Hyundai-Sonata-91c468eb0a0e09a9486d6f41a90fd3d2.htm) This in a city where hundreds of thousands of residents face eviction and a high rent burden. The road to virtue is long.

EMAIL [*bigcity@nytimes.com*](mailto:bigcity@nytimes.com); followGinia Bellafante on Twitter: @GiniaNYT

PHOTO: By 2021, the city had planned to install 120 charging stations within four years, a goal that Hank Gutman, a former transportation commissioner, called “pathetic.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY GABBY JONES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 1, 2022

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[***A U.S. federal judge vacates the national freeze on evictions.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62KT-JN71-DXY4-X1CT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 5, 2021 Wednesday 20:21 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 664 words

**Byline:** Glenn Thrush

**Highlight:** The government exceeded its authority in imposing a moratorium on evictions, a judge ruled. The Biden administration has appealed.

**Body**

The government exceeded its authority in imposing a moratorium on evictions, a judge ruled. The Biden administration has appealed.

A federal judge on Wednesday struck down the nationwide moratorium on evictions imposed by the Trump administration last year and extended by President Biden until June 30, a ruling that could affect tenants struggling to pay rent during the pandemic.

The decision, by Judge Dabney Friedrich of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, is the most significant federal ruling on the moratorium yet, and follows three similar federal court decisions. The Justice Department [*immediately appealed*](https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/justice-department-issues-statement-announcing-decision-appeal-alabama-association-realtors-v), and will seek an emergency stay of the decision, potentially delaying a final resolution of the case past the moratorium’s planned June 30 expiration.

It remains unclear how wide an impact the decision will have on renters. It does not necessarily bind state housing court judges, who rule on eviction orders, and two other federal courts have upheld the moratorium, adding to the confusion about its fate.

“There are now numerous conflicting court rulings at the district court level, with several judges ruling in favor of the moratorium and several ruling against,” said Diane Yentel, president of the National Low Income Housing Coalition, a national tenants advocacy group.

Still, tenants’ rights groups said the decision on Wednesday could leave more low-income and ***working-class*** tenants vulnerable to eviction in coming weeks even as the Biden administration is beginning to disburse tens of billions of dollars in aid to help them catch up on unpaid rent.

Landlords said the decision validated their arguments that the legal basis for the federal moratorium was unsound and overstepped the government’s power.

The case was brought in November by the Alabama Association of Realtors and a group of real estate agents in Georgia who claimed the moratorium shifted the burden for rent payments from the tenants to landlords at a time when many owners have been struggling to meet their own expenses.

The moratorium has had a substantial effect. Despite the sharp economic downturn created by the pandemic, eviction filings declined 65 percent in 2020 over the usual annual rate, according to [*an analysis of court data*](https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/justice-department-issues-statement-announcing-decision-appeal-alabama-association-realtors-v) by the nonprofit group Eviction Lab.

Housing analysts warned that Wednesday’s ruling could embolden more landlords to begin eviction proceedings against tenants before the federal government can disburse $45 billion in emergency housing assistance appropriated by Congress.

“It couldn’t come at a worse time,” said Mary K. Cunningham, who studies housing with the Urban Institute, a nonpartisan policy group. “This is happening just as communities are trying to beat the clock, waiting for the federal government to get its new housing subsidies out the door before the moratorium expires on June 30. It’s terrible news.”

Landlords and real estate agents downplayed concerns that lifting the moratorium will create an eviction crisis. “With rental assistance secured, the economy strengthening and unemployment rates falling, there is no need to continue a blanket, nationwide eviction ban,” a spokesman for the National Association of Realtors said in a statement.

The executive order covers any single renter making less than $99,000 a year and families making twice that much. About 8.2 million tenants reported that they had fallen behind in their rent payments during the pandemic, according to Census Bureau estimates.

Federal decisions, like the one issued Wednesday, are significant but serve as guidance rather than an order — although an unequivocal ruling from a prominent federal court is likely to sway some local judges, said Eric Dunn, director of litigation for the National Housing Law Project, a tenant advocacy group.

PHOTO: Activists gathered outside Brooklyn Borough Hall on Monday to call for an extension of New York’s moratorium on evictions. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Justin Lane/EPA, via Shutterstock FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 5, 2021

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[***Far-Right French Leader Tries to Project Credibility***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64JC-HC91-DXY4-X3S8-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Constant Méheut

**Body**

Ms. Le Pen has bet that sanitizing her far-right party's image will finally bear fruit in the run-up to France's presidential election in April.

PARIS -- Marine Le Pen has long used fiery rhetoric and hard-hitting proposals to fight her way to power in France. But for her third presidential bid, she has struck an unusual tone: serenity.

On Saturday, Ms. Le Pen, a far-right leader, used social media to kick off the final stretch of her campaign with a 3.5-minute video speech intended to portray her as a credible and composed stateswoman. A large white scarf tied around her neck, she is pictured in the video strolling around the Louvre's glass pyramid and speaking in a reassuring tone, her words accompanied by soft piano music.

''Faced with the dangers that await us and the challenges that lie ahead,'' Ms. Le Pen said, ''I call on you to follow the path of reason and of the heart.''

Her speech's peaceful overtones were a direct response to the violent messaging put forth by Éric Zemmour, another far-right candidate, whose campaign launch video was riddled with clips of crumbling churches, burning cars and violent clashes with the police that projected an image of a chaotic France.

Mr. Zemmour has said he is running for president to ''save'' his country, which he portrays as assailed by Islam, immigration and leftist identity politics. By contrast, Ms. Le Pen's video showed her surrounded by smiling people as she toured France, visiting businesses and port cities.

The stakes are high for Ms. Le Pen less than 100 days before the presidential election. After finishing in third place in the 2012 campaign and being defeated in the 2017 runoff by Emmanuel Macron, she hopes her third bid will be the winning one. To try to make that happen, she has bet on dropping the populist messaging that once characterized her, and has instead redoubled efforts to ''un-demonize'' her party, the National Rally, which has often been associated with flashes of antisemitism and xenophobia.

But fierce competition among right-wing candidates has eroded Ms. Le Pen's early lead in the polls and has led many to wonder if she will always remain a long shot.

Ms. Le Pen's video -- set at the world-renowned Louvre museum, which was once the main residence of France's kings -- was also a way for her to revive a confrontation with Mr. Macron, who is widely expected to seek another term. In 2017, when he was president-elect, Mr. Macron delivered his victory speech in front of the same glass pyramid at the Louvre.

''Macron is the opponent,'' said Philippe Olivier, a close aide to Ms. Le Pen and a member of the European Parliament. ''That's what the symbolic act of being at the Louvre is about.''

Until a few months ago, Ms. Le Pen was expected to be Mr. Macron's main challenger, in a rematch of the 2017 vote. She has spent the past four years trying to foster her credibility and has worked to rebrand the National Rally's extremist ideas as respectable.

Even as she has hewed to her party's harsh nationalist, anti-immigrant vision, Ms. Le Pen has softened her longtime populist economic agenda by dropping a proposal to exit the eurozone and advocating more orthodox debt policies. She has also broadened her platform to include more day-to-day issues like energy prices, the theme of her campaign stop on Friday in Saint-Malo, in western France.

But two dark-horse candidates have emerged and have made the prospect of reaching a runoff with Mr. Macron more uncertain: Mr. Zemmour, a polarizing far-right polemicist who has seen a meteoric rise in the polls, and Valérie Pécresse, a center-right politician whose hard-line messaging on national security and immigration issues step on some of Ms. Le Pen's own favorite campaign themes.

Recent polls show Ms. Le Pen and Ms. Pécresse running neck and neck in the first round of April's election, with each expected to get about 17 percent of the vote. But that still puts them about 10 points behind the incumbent, Mr. Macron.

The biggest threat to Ms. Le Pen's ambitions is Mr. Zemmour. Studies have shown that his full-throated promotion of reactionary ideas has cost her many potential voters, and some have said that the two far-right candidates could sabotage each other's chances.

But Mr. Zemmour seems to have lost momentum in recent weeks -- he now stands at 13 percent in the polls -- and Ms. Pécresse has found herself cornered between Mr. Macron's right-leaning policies and competitors who lean further right than she does.

Meanwhile, party divisions have made competition from the left, which in total accounts for barely a quarter of the vote, almost nonexistent. On Saturday, Christiane Taubira, a charismatic former Socialist justice minister, officially announced her bid and became the eighth left-wing candidate. She said she would participate in a citizens' primary that has desperately tried to create unity on the left.

''In the end, it's likely that both Pécresse and Zemmour have already reached the peak of their campaigns,'' said Antoine Bristielle, the head of the polling department at the Fondation Jean-Jaurès research institute. He added that Ms. Le Pen had weathered competition fairly well by focusing her campaign on the ***working class***, a segment of the electorate that Mr. Zemmour has failed to attract.

Mr. Bristielle and Mr. Olivier, Ms. Le Pen's aide, also said that Mr. Zemmour's radical messaging has had the unexpected effect of normalizing Ms. Le Pen's ideas, indirectly fueling her longstanding strategy to sanitize the National Rally's image.

Mr. Bristielle said recent polls showed that many right-wing voters, who in total represent about 50 percent of the electorate, would ultimately choose the candidate on the right most likely to win.

That is what Ms. Le Pen, should she pull ahead in the polls, is betting on.

Mr. Zemmour, by appealing to a conservative bourgeois electorate that has long balked at voting for a populist candidate, is building up ''a reserve of votes for the second round'' that could ultimately turn to Ms. Le Pen, Mr. Olivier said.

''In the end, I think Zemmour is positive for us,'' he added.

For Ms. Le Pen, Mr. Bristielle said, ''having Zemmour by her side to provide her with a pool of votes, and on top of that, to make her a normal, less transgressive candidate -- that can be beneficial.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/15/world/europe/france-lepen.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/15/world/europe/france-lepen.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Marine Le Pen has bet that sanitizing her party's image will bear fruit in her third presidential bid. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JEREMIAS GONZALEZ/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

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[***What Really Saved the Democrats This Year?; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:674N-40M1-JBG3-6323-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Thomas B. Edsall

**Highlight:** Progressives and moderates both have a theory of the case.

**Body**

In the Democratic Party, despite its better-than-expected showing in the 2022 midterm elections, internecine combat has been playing out in disputes over the party’s nominees and the policies they propose. At the nuts-and-bolts level of candidate selection, the debate has become intensely emotional and increasingly hostile.

Strategists in the progressive wing of the party call centrists “corporate sellouts.” Centrists, in turn, accuse progressives of alienating voters by promoting an extremist cultural and law enforcement agenda.

I asked [*Liam Kerr*](https://www.linkedin.com/in/liamkerr/), co-founder of the centrist [*Welcome PAC*](https://welcomepac.org/), for his views on state of the intraparty debate. He emailed back:

Far-left political science deniers refuse to accept the fact that moderate candidates still outperform those at the extremes. While there may be fewer swing voters now, the closeness of elections maximizes their importance. All the data points to moderate outperformance — from political science research to election results to common sense.

Take the Dec. 16 analysis of the 2022 election by another centrist group, [*Third Way*](https://www.thirdway.org/), “[*Comparing the Performance of Mainstream v. Far-Left Democrats in the House*](https://www.thirdway.org/memo/comparing-the-performance-of-mainstream-v-far-left-democrats-in-the-house)”: “Far-left groups like Sanders-style [*Our Revolution*](https://ourrevolution.com/) and [*AOC’s*](https://ocasio-cortez.house.gov/) [*Justice Democrats*](https://justicedemocrats.com/)constantly argue that the more left the candidate, the better chance of winning, saying their candidates will energize base voters and deliver victory,” [*Lanae Erickson*](https://www.thirdway.org/about/staff/lanae-erickson), [*Lucas Holtz*](https://www.thirdway.org/about/staff/lucas-holtz) and [*Maya Jones*](https://www.thirdway.org/about/staff/maya-jones) of Third Way wrote.

In an effort to test the claim of progressive groups, they note, “We conducted case studies analyzing districts with comparable partisan leans and demographically similar makeups to discern how Democratic congressional candidates endorsed by the center-left [*New Democrat Action Fund*](http://newdemactionfund.com/) (NewDems) performed in the 2022 midterm elections versus those endorsed by far-left organizations.”

Their results:

In total, NewDems flipped seven seats from red to blue, picked up two critical wins in new seats, and helped elect 18 new members to Congress in the 2022 midterm elections. The NewDems Fund has now flipped 42 seats from red to blue since 2018, while Our Revolution and Justice Democrats have not managed to flip a single Republican-held seat over the last three cycles.

I asked [*Joseph Geevarghese*](https://ourrevolution.com/our-leadership/), the executive director of Our Revolution, if the organization had flipped any House seats from red to blue. He replied by email:

This was not the goal of Our Revolution. Our Revolution’s goal in the 2022 elections was to push the Democratic Caucus in a progressive direction, and we succeeded with nine new members joining the ranks of the Congressional Progressive Caucus.

In part because of Our Revolution’s support, he continued:

The Congressional Progressive Caucus is growing by nine newly elected members, all of whom were endorsed by Our Revolution. That includes: Summer Lee, Greg Casar, Delia Ramirez, Maxwell Frost, Becca Balint, Andrea Salinas, Jasmine Crockett, Jonathan Jackson, and Val Hoyle. Our Revolution’s success didn’t include just those running for Congress. Our Revolution’s success expanded to local races including St. Louis Board of Alderman President-elect Megan Green, whose victory creates a blue island in a state that is a sea of red.

[*Waleed Shahid*](https://www.netrootsnation.org/profile/waleedshahid/), communications director for Justice Democrats, emailed in response to a similar inquiry of mine that his group does not focus on shifting seats from red to blue: “We haven’t run really races in those areas. We’ve been focused on blue seats where the incumbent is corporate-backed and out of touch with their district.”

Instead, Shahid wrote: “After the 2022 election cycle, the Congressional Progressive Caucus stated the incoming membership is the largest in its history at 103 members. The top three leaders are also all Justice Democrats: [*Rep. Pramila Jayapal*](file:///C:/Users/Thomas%20Edsall/AppData/Local/Microsoft/Windows/INetCache/Content.Outlook/TNY793P5/Home%20-%20Congresswoman%20Pramila%20Jayapal%20(house.gov)) as chair; [*Rep. Ilhan Omar*](file:///C:/Users/Thomas%20Edsall/AppData/Local/Microsoft/Windows/INetCache/Content.Outlook/TNY793P5/Representative%20Ilhan%20Omar%20%7CRepresenting%20the%205th%20District%20of%20Minnesota%20(house.gov)) as deputy chair; and Rep.-elect [*Greg Casar*](file:///C:/Users/Thomas%20Edsall/AppData/Local/Microsoft/Windows/INetCache/Content.Outlook/TNY793P5/Greg%20Casar%20for%20Congress%20%7C%20TX-35%20%7C%20Progressive%20Democrat%20%7C%20Texas) as whip.”

In addition, Shahid argued, “Progressives have a lot to do with Democrats’ ambitious agenda under President Biden. Our work at Justice Democrats engaging in competitive primaries, win or lose, has been a big part of it — moving Democratic incumbents on key issues.”

If, Shahid contended, “you think of politicians as balloons tied to the rock of public opinion, then progressives have substantially moved the rock,” adding that

moderates have shifted in turn. John Fetterman and Raphael Warnock are not the same kind of Third Way moderates that might have run in purple states in the pre-Trump era. They embrace reproductive rights, bold climate action, a $15 minimum wage, eliminating the filibuster, student debt cancellation, and immigrant rights — things many moderates ran away from in the Obama era. The center of the party has shifted closer to the base and away from the consensus among Washington and Wall Street donors.

While this debate may appear arcane, the dispute involves two different visions of the Democratic Party, one of a governing party guided by the principles of consensus and restraint, the other of a party that represents insurgent, marginalized constituencies and consistently challenges the establishment.

[*Adam Green*](https://www.boldprogressives.org/about/), co-founder of the [*Progressive Change Campaign Committee*](https://www.boldprogressives.org/), was adamant in his criticism of Third Way, declaring in an email: “Every cycle, Third Way cooks the books with a false accounting of how races were run and won.”

Green continued:

The truth is: In swing seat after swing seat, Democrats won by running on economic populist positions that have long been supported by progressives and opposed by corporate Democrats — such as protecting and expanding Social Security benefits and fighting the pharmaceutical companies and Wall Street banks that fund Third Way. If there was one thing that caused Democrats to unnecessarily lose races this year, it was corporate Democrats like Joe Manchin, Kyrsten Sinema and Josh Gottheimer blocking the president’s economic agenda for a year so that the impact of things like lower-price prescriptions were not felt by voters in time for the election.

Green objected to Third Way’s comparison of the results of the New Democrat Coalition PAC, which has official standing with the House, with the result of such outside groups as Justice Democrats and Our Revolution.

If, however, the endorsees of the New Democrat Coalition are compared with the endorsees of the [*Congressional Progressive Caucus*](https://progressives.house.gov/), the New Democrat Coalition PAC candidates flipped a total of 42 seats from red to blue, 32 in 2018, three in 2020 and seven in 2022, while the candidates endorsed by the Congressional Progressive Caucus flipped a total of eight over the three cycles, all in 2018, according to officials of both groups. The Progressive Caucus and the New Democrat Coalition have roughly equal numbers of members.

[*Joe Dinkin*](https://rewirenewsgroup.com/authors/joe-dinkin/), of the Working Families Party, dismissed the Third Way study as the “conclusions of the corporate flank of the Democratic Party” that have been subject to “very little scrutiny.”

In the newly elected Congress, Dinkin wrote:

This will be the most progressive Democratic caucus in memory, if not ever. 16 of the new 34 Democratic members of Congress were backed by the Congressional Progressive Caucus PAC. The Congressional Progressive Caucus will have 103 members, or roughly 48 percent of the entirety of the Democratic caucus — a roughly 50 percent increase over the last decade.

Dinkin continued:

Centrist incumbents saw some significant losses. Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee chair [*Sean Patrick Maloney*](https://seanmaloney.house.gov/), a leading moderate, decided after redistricting to run in the bluer NY-17 over his former NY-18, a tougher district which included most of his former constituents, even though it meant leaving the incumbent Democrat in NY-17 without a district. Maloney lost that bluer seat. The Democrat who ran in NY-18, the redder seat SPM abandoned, was Pat Ryan — he won, and won with crucial support from the Working Families Party. Several other incumbent moderates lost their seats too, like former Republican and Blue Dog Tom O’Halleran.

The intraparty debate boils down to a choice between two goals.

If the objective is strengthening the left in the Democratic House Caucus, the way to achieve that goal is to nominate the most progressive candidate running in the primary. On that score, the size of the Congressional Progressive Caucus has grown, since its founding in 1991, to 103 members (as noted above). Overall, the composition of the Democratic electorate continues to shift to the left as have the votes of House Democrats, albeit slightly.

If winning more seats is the top priority, the preponderance of evidence suggests that nominating moderate, centrist candidates in districts where Republicans have a chance of winning is the more effective strategy, with the caveat that a contemporary moderate is substantially more liberal than the moderate of two decades ago.

Most — though by no means all — scholarly work supports the view that moderate candidates in competitive districts are more likely to win.

[*Zachary F. Peskowitz*](http://zacharypeskowitz.com/), a political scientist at Emory, argued in an email:

Candidates who are ideologically aligned with their constituencies will win more votes, on average, than relatively extreme candidates. If your goal is to win majorities in the House and the Senate, nominating moderate candidates in the most competitive districts and states — where the majority will be determined — is the best way to do it. If, instead, your goal is to push elite discourse in a liberal direction and are less concerned about immediately winning a governing majority, then nominating extremist candidates is a reasonable approach.

Contrary to the argument that a more progressive candidate can mobilize base voters, Peskowitz argued that “nominating extremist candidates might increase turnout, but not enough to compensate for ceding moderates’ votes to your opponent. Moreover, there is a risk that an extremist will also mobilize the opposition to turn out to vote.”

In sum, Peskowitz wrote:

Progressive-aligned candidates who won the primaries in competitive districts or states did not fare well in the general election. Mandela Barnes lost the Wisconsin Senate contest to incumbent Ron Johnson and ran behind Wisconsin’s other statewide Democratic nominees. Josh Riley lost New York’s 19th Congressional District and Jamie McLeod-Skinner, the only progressive Democrat who successfully dethroned a Democratic incumbent in this cycle’s primaries, lost Oregon’s 5th Congressional District. Summer Lee in Pennsylvania’s 12th Congressional District was the one example of a progressive endorsed non-incumbent who won a seat that wasn’t a Democratic lock. Moderate Democratic candidates, such as Abigail Spanberger and Haley Stevens, performed strongly, holding on to seats in challenging districts.

[*Andrew B. Hall*](https://politicalscience.stanford.edu/people/andrew-hall), a political scientist at Stanford, has [*examined*](https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/american-political-science-review/article/what-happens-when-extremists-win-primaries/ECAC69648AE0DF91D93103E18342B9D2) the debate over moderate-versus-progressive candidates [*extensively*](https://stanforddpl.org/papers/hall_snyder_electoral_success_2015/hall_snyder_electoral_success_2015.pdf), including in a 2018 paper with Daniel M. Thompson, a political scientist at U.C.L.A., “[*Who Punishes Extremist Nominees?*](https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/american-political-science-review/article/who-punishes-extremist-nominees-candidate-ideology-and-turning-out-the-base-in-us-elections/366A518712BE9BCC1CB035BF53095D65) Candidate Ideology and Turning Out the Base in U.S. Elections.”

Hall and Thompson write: “We find that extremist nominees — as measured by the mix of campaign contributions they receive — suffer electorally, largely because they decrease their party’s share of turnout in the general election, skewing the electorate towards their opponent’s party.”

“Turnout,” they add, “appears to be the dominant force in determining election outcomes, but it advantages ideologically moderate candidates because extremists appear to activate the opposing party’s base more than their own.”

Hall and Thompson compared general election results from 2006 to 2014 in House races that involved close primary contests between a moderate and a more extreme candidate. They found that instead of lifting turnout, there were “strong, negative effects of extremist nominees on their party’s share of turnout in the general election.” Extremist nominees, they observed, “depress their party’s share of turnout in the general election, on average.”

Hall and Thompson conclude that it is moderates who have a turnout advantage in general elections. They make two points.

First, “We have found consistent evidence that extremist nominees do poorly in general elections in large part because they skew turnout in the general election away from their own party and in favor of the opposing party.”

And second, “Much of moderate candidates’ success may actually be due to the turnout of partisan voters, rather than to swing voters who switch sides. In fact, our regression discontinuity estimates are consistent with the possibility that the bulk of the vote-share penalty to extremist nominees is the result of changes in partisan turnout.”

An earlier study, from 2010, “[*Securing the Base*](https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11127-010-9647-0): Electoral Competition Under Variable Turnout,” by [*Michael Peress*](https://www.stonybrook.edu/commcms/polisci/people/_faculty/Peress_Michael.php#Biography), a political scientist at Stony Brook University, produced similar results: “My results indicate that the candidates can best compete by adopting centrist positions. While a candidate can increase turnout among his supporters by moving away from the center, many moderate voters will defect to his opponent.”

[*Matt Grossmann*](https://polisci.msu.edu/people/directory/grossmann-matt.html), a political scientist at Michigan State University, agreed that “moderate candidates perform better in general elections,” but, he added, “that advantage is declining as baseline partisanship drives most results regardless of candidates. Because we have national partisan parity, small candidate advantages can still be important.”

The moderation factor, Grossman wrote by email, “was more pronounced on the Republican side because Republicans ran more extreme candidates and those candidates had less experience. There continues to be no evidence in either party that extreme candidates mobilize their side more than they mobilize the other side or turn off swing voters.”

The Democratic strategist [*Ruy Teixeira*](https://www.aei.org/profile/ruy-teixeira/), a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute and a longtime critic of the Democrats’ progressive wing, contends in a recent essay, “[*Ten Reasons Why Democrats Should Become More Moderate*](https://theliberalpatriot.substack.com/p/ten-reasons-why-democrats-should?utm_source=post-email-title&amp;publication_id=239058&amp;post_id=90794645&amp;isFreemail=true&amp;utm_medium=email),” that adoption of an extreme progressive stance is not only “dead wrong,” but also that “Democrats need to fully and finally reject it if they hope to break the current electoral stalemate in their favor.”

In the 2022 election, Teixeira writes,

the reason why Democrats did relatively well was support from independents and Republican leaning or supporting crossover voters — not base voters mobilized by progressivism. These independents and crossover voters were motivated to support Democrats where they did because many Democrats in key races were perceived as being more moderate than their extremist Republican opponents.

According to Teixeira:

As the Democratic Party has moved to the left over the last four years, they have actually done worse among their base voters. They’ve lost a good chunk of their support among nonwhite voters, especially Hispanics, and among young voters. Since 2018, Democratic support is down 18 margin points among young (18-29 year old) voters, 20 points among nonwhites and 23 points among nonwhite ***working class*** (noncollege) voters. These voters are overwhelmingly moderate to conservative in orientation and they’re just not buying what the Democrats are selling.

Teixeira’s final point:

Democrats shouldn’t be afraid to embrace patriotism and dissociate themselves from those who insist America is a benighted, racist nation and always has been. Large majorities of Americans, while they have no objection to looking at both the bad and good of American history, reject such a one-sided, negative characterization. That includes many voters whose support Democrats desperately need but who are now drifting away from them.

A postelection analysis conducted by officials of [*Impact Research*](https://impactresearch.com/), the firm that polls for President Biden, provides further support for a moderate strategy by emphasizing the crucial importance in the 2022 contest of winning support from independent voters.

In their Dec. 7 study, “[*How Democrats Prevented a Red Wave*](https://impactresearch.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/IMPACT-RESEARCH-2022-POST-ELECTION-TAKEAWAYS-FINAL80.pdf),” [*John Anzalone*](https://impactresearch.com/team/), founder of Impact, and [*Matt Hogan*](https://impactresearch.com/team/), a partner, wrote:

That Democrats’ win over independents was critical since Republicans appear to have bested them in turnout based on both finalized geographic data and exit polls. The latter found that Republicans had a 3- to 4-point advantage in party ID and that each party won about 95 percent of their own partisans. It was therefore Democrats’ performance with independents, not turnout, that helped prevent a red wave.

A key factor in Democrats’ ability to win over independents, according to Anzalone and Hogan,

was that these voters wanted more bipartisanship and felt Democratic candidates were more likely to deliver it. By an 11-point margin (53 percent to 42 percent), voters preferred a candidate who would “work in a bipartisan manner and compromise” over one who would “stay true to their beliefs.” Among independents, the preference for bipartisanship more than doubled to 24 points. Democrats benefited from this desire by winning the voters who preferred a bipartisan approach by a 30-point margin.

As a practical matter, the debate between proponents of moderation and proponents of progressivism may be less of a dilemma for the Democratic Party than an ongoing process in which the party, its voters and its elected officials move leftward, often turbulently. At the same time, the Democratic Party has a storied history of cannibalizing its own — and Republicans are catching up quickly. It is getting harder to see a peaceable and productive resolution between the two parties or inside them.

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[***Democrats’ Plan to Win in 2022 Looks a Lot Like 2020 and 2018***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:661T-G1H1-DXY4-X4WS-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

Stacey Abrams is again providing a blueprint for national Democrats to follow. But can it work at a time of deep unhappiness with Washington?

Today’s newsletter is a guest dispatch from Georgia, where my colleague Maya King covers politics across the South.

ATLANTA — Long before Georgia became the center of the American political universe, Stacey Abrams and leagues of Democratic organizers across the Peach State were testing out a new strategy to help their party win more top-ticket elections.

National Democrats largely dismissed their calculations, which called for exhausting voter turnout in the reliably blue Metro Atlanta region while investing more time and money in turning out rural, young and infrequent voters of color outside the capital city instead of the moderate and independent white voters in its suburbs.

There were strong civil rights interests at stake, given the history of discrimination against Black voters in Georgia and across the South.

But there were hardball politics at play, too, in Abrams’s push to register millions of new voters. She and her allies hoped they would become the backbone of a coalition that could turn Georgia blue for the first time since Bill Clinton won the state in 1992.

In 2018, Abrams, Georgia’s current Democratic nominee for governor, came extraordinarily close to winning her first campaign for the office. In 2020, her organizing helped Joe Biden narrowly win the state before boosting the fortunes of two Democrats who won both of the state’s Senate seats two months later.

The strategy is now widely accepted on the left — although it is expensive. But Abrams, her fellow Democratic candidates and several voter-focused organizations in Georgia are counting on it again this year to prove that their wins in 2020 were not a fluke made possible by former President Donald Trump’s unpopularity, but rather the continuation of a trend.

It’s why Way to Win, a collective of progressive Democratic donors and political strategists, is pouring $8.5 million into Georgia’s voter mobilization efforts ahead of November, [*according to plans*](https://plantowin.info/) first shared with The New York Times.

The group has already shelled out nearly $4 million to more than a dozen organizations in Georgia, including the Working Families Party and the New Georgia Project, which Ms. Abrams founded in 2014 and whose board Senator Raphael Warnock, a Democrat who is running for election to a full term, chaired from 2017 to 2020. The group’s goal is to provide the financial backing for Democrats to continue turning out the same broad swath of voters that they did in previous cycles, and blunt the effect of national trends working against them.

They also feel like they have something to prove to skeptics in Washington yet again.

“If you talk to these voters — every voter that has been ignored by traditional pundits and traditional institutional leaders — if you build a big tent, they will come,” said Tory Gavito, co-founder, president and chief executive of Way to Win. “I can’t tell you how many rooms I still go to where traditional operatives will say, ‘Is Georgia really a battleground?’ And it’s like, are you kidding? How many cycles do we have to go through where Georgia leaders really show the power of a multiracial coalition?”

Local organizing, national headwinds

To win the big statewide races, Georgia Democrats are counting on high turnout from the same coalition that brought them success in 2018 and 2020: a mix of loyal, rain-or-shine voters in addition to a critical mass of moderate, independent and infrequent voters.

But the outside forces getting them to the polls, or not, look very different than they did in the two previous election cycles. Where anti-Trump sentiment, a nationwide movement against systemic racism and coronavirus-related provisions that expanded access to the ballot fueled record turnout in 2020, voters this year are keeping rising prices and concerns about an economic recession front of mind, dampening their enthusiasm. They are also contending with a [*new, more restrictive voting law*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/02/us/politics/georgia-voting-law-annotated.html) passed by the Republicans who control the state legislature and governor’s mansion.

Way to Win’s investment reflects a growing understanding among Democratic donors that early money matters even more in a tough midterm cycle.

An [*Atlanta Journal-Constitution poll*](https://www.ajc.com/politics/ajc-poll-kemp-warnock-hold-slim-leads-in-georgias-top-races/JDJ5PK2PYVFSHNOMNUFGGYUGYI/) out Wednesday found that just over 60 percent of likely Democratic voters said they believed the country was on the wrong track. That same poll showed Abrams trailing her Republican opponent, Gov. Brian Kemp, by five percentage points. Warnock’s Senate race against Herschel Walker, the first-time candidate and former University of Georgia football icon, is statistically tied. Political operatives and observers in both parties are expecting the campaigns to be among the most costly in the country this year.

And, as long as the economy remains the election’s top animating issue, Georgia Republicans are pinning the nation’s economic woes directly on Democratic leaders in Washington, warning that President Joe Biden’s policies will trickle further down south should Abrams win in November.

In a speech to supporters in McDonough, Ga. on Friday morning, Kemp railed against what he called “the Biden-Abrams agenda for Georgia.”

“Stacey Abrams campaigned for Joe Biden, publicly auditioned to be his vice president, celebrated his victory and took credit for his win,” Kemp said. He also condemned her for “listening to TV hosts on MSNBC, her big donors in New York and California and liberal elites who can stay in their basement for months on end.”

Democrats are also throwing their weight behind a number of races down the ballot, including for attorney general and secretary of state — two offices that have proven their importance in light of developments on abortion and election security.

A national debate over strategy

Many groups, particularly those led by people of color, have long decried money dumps from big, national donors that don’t come in until September or October — or, as Britney Whaley of the Working Families Party describes it, “the holiday, birthday and special occasion giving.”

By then, said Whaley, who spearheads the progressive group’s southeast regional organizing, it’s often too late for the groups aiming to mobilize hard-to-reach voters to make a big difference.

“If we hadn’t created the conditions on the ground that prepared us for Jan. 5, all of the money in the world would have been for naught,” she said, referring to the day Warnock and Senator Jon Ossoff were elected in 2021. Those two victories allowed Democrats to claim a majority in the Senate, unlocking the billions in spending that Republicans now criticize as wasteful and inflationary.

Spending money several months before voting begins, Whaley added, “should actually be the standard.”

The Working Families Party’s national organizing arm has also taken notice of both the strategy and its implications for future elections. Maurice Mitchell, the party’s national director, said the Georgia model of balancing reliably blue voters in cities with new groups of voters in rural areas could be replicated in other battleground states, like Pennsylvania and Wisconsin.

And he warned against making too much of the debates among pundits and Democratic strategists that have continued since Warnock and Ossoff’s seemingly improbable wins: Should the Democratic Party exert more effort to win back the ***working-class*** white voters they’ve steadily lost since the 1980s, go after upscale college-educated suburbanites who are repulsed by Trump, or stick with Abrams’s approach of bringing new voters and communities into a multiracial, rural-urban alliance?

“The framework is there, and I think there’s been enough examples in recent history of it working,” Mitchell said. “I think we should fight for every vote, but the idea that we would de-emphasize or de-prioritize communities of color or progressives or young people in a sort of zero-sum to reach out to moderate or swing voters, I think that is a dangerous strategy.”

What to read

* Democrats on the House panel investigating the events of the Jan. 6 attack are skeptical of a bipartisan Senate proposal to reform the Electoral Count Act, [*Politico reported*](https://www.politico.com/amp/news/2022/07/25/jan-6-select-committee-dems-throw-shade-at-senate-bipartisan-effort-00047809) this week.

1. Alan Feuer and Katie Benner explained former President Donald Trump’s [*fake electors scheme*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/27/us/politics/fake-electors-explained-trump-jan-6.html).
2. In [*The Atlantic*](https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2022/07/moore-harper-scotus-independent-state-legislature-election-power/670992/), Barton Gellman writes about how just six states could subvert the 2024 election.

Capturing the chaos

On Politics regularly features work by Times photographers. Here’s what Kenny Holston told us about capturing the image above:

As a photojournalist who has covered former President Donald Trump in some capacity since 2016, I know a chaotic scene is never too far behind him.

This was the case earlier this week when Trump returned to Washington, D.C., for the first time since he left office.

Officers from the Metropolitan Police Department lined the street in front of the Marriott Marquis hotel, [*where Trump spoke*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/26/us/politics/mike-pence-trump-speech-washington.html) at a gathering of the America First Policy Institute. On one side of the police line stood anti-Trump protesters, and on the other, Trump supporters.

Officers broke up a few scuffles between the dueling demonstrations as hotel guests watched the disorder unfold from the lobby window, all while a large box truck projecting oscillating images of Trump and his 2020 election loss on its sides circled the block repeatedly.

In an effort to convey this scene in a single photo, I decided to use the reflection in the hotel window. I got very close to the glass with my camera and tilted the camera slightly, allowing me to partially see through the glass while also capturing everything reflected in it, as seen in the photo above.

Thanks for reading. We’ll see you Monday.

— Blake

Is there anything you think we’re missing? Anything you want to see more of? We’d love to hear from you. Email us at [*onpolitics@nytimes.com*](mailto:onpolitics@nytimes.com).

PHOTO: Stacey Abrams spoke during a news conference in the Kirkwood neighborhood of Atlanta on May 24. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Audra Melton for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 29, 2022

**End of Document**



[***In ‘The Duke,’ Jim Broadbent Puts an Eccentric at the Center***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:658V-SKR1-DXY4-X1MV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 22, 2022 Friday 22:34 EST

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**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 1261 words

**Byline:** Simran Hans

**Highlight:** The British actor has spent six decades seeking out carefully observed, often quirky characters. In his latest film, he’s also the lead.

**Body**

The British actor has spent six decades seeking out carefully observed, often quirky characters. In his latest film, he’s also the lead.

LONDON — In Room 45 of the National Gallery here, Jim Broadbent surveyed Francisco de Goya’s [*portrait of the Duke of Wellington*](https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/francisco-de-goya-the-duke-of-wellington). It was not his first encounter with the painting. But, “I haven’t seen him next to Napoleon before,” he said, nodding toward Vernet’s study of the French emperor hanging nearby.

Broadbent’s latest film, “[*The Duke,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/21/movies/the-duke-review.html)” is based on the real-life theft of the portrait in 1961, and comes to theaters on Friday. The actor, 72, plays Kempton Bunton, who held the painting ransom in protest against what he saw as unfair taxes on ordinary people.

If any of the hordes of tourists visiting the museum over the Easter holiday knew they were standing a few feet away from one of Britain’s great character actors, they didn’t let on. To many young people, Broadbent is Professor Slughorn, the affable Hogwarts potions master in the Harry Potter films. Their parents may have seen him portray Harold Zidler, the mustachioed owner of the Moulin Rouge, or Bridget Jones’s father.

The story of Bunton, a mischievous taxi driver, failed playwright and possible cat burglar from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, has given Broadbent another eccentric character. “You couldn’t sell it as a piece of fiction,” Broadbent said earlier, in the gallery’s restaurant. “Stealing a picture from the National Gallery? It’s too far-fetched.”

On the 50th anniversary of the heist, Bunton’s grandson, Christopher, 45, had the idea to tell his family’s story. Inspired after reading his grandfather’s plays, he drafted a script, he said in a recent video interview, and emailed 20 British production companies. He received six replies, including one from the producer Nicky Bentham. Richard Bean and Clive Coleman reshaped the script and [*Roger Michell*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/23/movies/roger-michell-dead.html) (“Notting Hill”) signed on to direct, followed by Broadbent as the lead.

“I don’t remember reading a script quite like it,” said Broadbent, remarking on its old-fashioned quality. With a whimsical sense of humor softening its satirical bite, it reminded him of the films produced by London’s Ealing Studios in the 1950s, like “The Lavender Hill Mob” or “The Ladykillers.” When Bunton is tried in court, he addresses the jury as though they were the audience at a stand-up show.

Broadbent has been honing his own comic instincts since childhood. He grew up in Lincolnshire to artist parents, and attended a Quaker school, where he would impersonate his teachers with studied accuracy, realizing that if he got it right, people would really laugh. “I think that’s what drew me into character acting,” he said. The impressions weren’t just about mimicry, “It was actually observing and nailing essential characteristics.”

His alert blue eyes and gawky 6-foot-1 frame lend themselves well to physical comedy, though his looks, he said, have facilitated a versatile career. “I was never going to be the regular sort of good-looking, handsome chap,” he said. “From the word go, since I wasn’t easily castable in any particular thing, I knew I had to cast my net very wide.”

When he graduated from drama school at the London Academy of Music and Dramatic Art in 1972, he wrote to 100 theater companies looking for work. He soon became a fixture on London’s repertory scene.

When the filmmaker and theater director Mike Leigh met Broadbent over drinks in 1974, he found the actor “very, very cautious,” Leigh said in a recent phone interview. Leigh is known for his improvisational style of working, which Broadbent “wasn’t sure whether he could do,” Leigh said.

But the director saw an emotional intelligence, and cast Broadbent as a “very gentle, Northern, ***working-class*** guy” in “Ecstasy,” at the Hampstead Theater. Impressed by Broadbent’s rare sensitivity, and anticipating his range, Leigh cast him again in his next production, “Goose-Pimples,” where the actor “played the exact opposite, a really nasty fascist character.” In total, the pair have worked together seven times.

In the 1980s, Broadbent was rarely offstage — except when he was on TV. Helen Mirren, who plays Dorothy, Bunton’s wife in “The Duke,” said in an email that it was impossible to remember when she first encountered her co-star’s work, “as he has been a part of our theater and screen landscape for so long, but it was probably in ‘Not The Nine O’Clock News’ and ‘Blackadder,’ two iconic comedy TV programs in Britain.”

Soon, Broadbent was craving new challenges, and a change of pace. “I felt very easy onstage, and hadn’t felt that on the bits of filming I’d been doing, and was so self-conscious in front of a lens being put up your nose,” he said, and so moved more toward films.

Another collaboration with Leigh, the feature “Topsy-Turvy,” won him a prize at the 1999 Venice Film Festival, and was a hit in the United States. “That was the beginning of that: You become awardable,” Broadbent said. The awards led to work with Hollywood directors like Baz Luhrmann and Martin Scorsese.

“There’s a whole bunch around that time, like ‘Moulin Rouge!’ — it’s completely out of my comfort zone, I certainly wouldn’t have cast myself in that role at all,” Broadbent said, “you know, singing and dancing.” But he won a BAFTA for his performance. And then in 2002 he won an Oscar for playing the literary critic John Bayley in “Iris,” a role “I tried to persuade Richard Eyre that I wasn’t right for,” Broadbent said. Bayley, he thought, was “a sort of cerebral academic, which is not me at all.”

This Hollywood period gave Broadbent the freedom to be more selective when choosing his later projects. He described himself as “quite famously picky” and in 2002 politely declined to be named an officer of the Order of the British Empire, an honor awarded by the Queen. In person, he is modest and self-effacing — not one to draw attention to himself.

When he isn’t acting in work that appeals to him, Broadbent turns to carving life-size puppets from wood to “find my creative outlet,” he said. “It’s another way of just inventing characters,” and the sculptures have a gnarled quality with haunted expressions.

The appeal of “The Duke” came partly from being directed by Michell again (the pair worked together on the 2013 film “Le Week-End”). Bunton’s story turned out to be Michell’s final project, and he [*died*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/23/movies/roger-michell-dead.html) in September last year. “Roger had it all,” Broadbent said. “He was very sensitive to people, and their vulnerabilities and strengths.”

Broadbent was also drawn to Bunton’s complexity. “He was a failed playwright, an activist, fairly unemployable for any extended period,” Broadbent said. According to Christopher Bunton, the actor made his grandfather “slightly more lovable” than he was in real life.

Though Broadbent’s parents were conscientious objectors to World War II, the actor said he personally prefers to “keep a low profile.” He described himself as “resistant to authority” but said he “never wanted, particularly, that resistance to define who I am.” Bunton, by contrast, campaigned for what he believed in, like an exemption for retirees from Britain’s annual [*TV license fee*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/17/business/bbc-license-fee.html). “He was prepared to stand up, and make his presence felt, and complain in a way that I have never done,” the actor said.

Broadbent, Leigh said, “is a consummate character actor. He doesn’t play himself.”

PHOTOS: JIM BROADBENT (PHOTOGRAPH BY ALEX INGRAM FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Above, Jim Broadbent, center, in “The Duke,” which opened on Friday and is based on the real events of a theft in 1961. (PHOTOGRAPH BY NICK WALL/SONY PICTURES CLASSICS)

**Load-Date:** April 26, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Dozens on Trial in Cuba After Harsh Crackdown Over a Wave of Protests***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64J4-MYD1-DXY4-X1Y8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 15, 2022 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 8

**Length:** 1077 words

**Byline:** By Anatoly Kurmanaev and Oscar Lopez

**Body**

Following nationwide demonstrations last year, more than 60 people were put on trial this week, some facing up to 30 years behind bars.

Detained protesters in Cuba could get up to 30 years in prison as they face the largest and most punitive mass trials on the island since the early years of the revolution.

Prosecutors this week put on trial more than 60 citizens charged with crimes, including sedition, for taking part in demonstrations against the country's economic crisis over the summer, said human rights activists and relatives of those detained.

Those being prosecuted include at least five minors as young as 16. They are among the more than 620 detainees who have faced or are slated to face trial for joining the biggest outburst of popular discontent against the Communist government since it took power in 1959.

The severity of the charges is part of a concerted effort by the government to deter further public expressions of discontent, activists said. The crackdown also dashed lingering hopes of a gradual liberalization under President Miguel Díaz-Canel, who in 2018 replaced Fidel Castro's brother Raúl to become Cuba's first leader from outside the Castro family since 1959.

''What reigns here is an empire of fear,'' said Daniel Triana, a Cuban actor and activist who was briefly detained after the protests. ''The repression here doesn't kill directly, but forces you to choose between prison and exile.''

For six decades, Cuba has lived under a punishing U.S. trade embargo. The Cuban government has long blamed the country's crumbling economy solely on Washington, deflecting attention from the effects of Havana's own mismanagement and strict limits on private enterprise.

Cuba exploded into unexpected protest on July 11, when thousands of people, many from the country's poorest neighborhoods, marched through cities and towns to denounce spiraling inflation, power outages and worsening food and medicine shortages.

The scenes of mass discontent -- shared widely over social media -- shattered the idea promoted by the Cuban leadership that popular support for the governing Communist Party endured, despite economic hardship.

After being initially caught by surprise, the government responded with the biggest crackdown in decades, sending military units to crush the protests. More than 1,300 demonstrators were detained, according to the human rights organization Cubalex and to Justice J11, an umbrella organization of Cuban civil society groups that monitors the aftermath of the summer's unrest.

The Cuban government did not respond to requests for comment sent through the foreign media office.

The scale of the government's reaction shocked longtime opposition figures and Cuba observers.

Cuba's leaders had always reacted swiftly to any public discontent, jailing protesters and harassing dissidents. But previous crackdowns tended to focus on the relatively small groups of political activists.

In contrast, the mass trials that began in December are, for the first time in decades, targeting people who largely had no connection to politics before they stepped out of their homes to join the crowds calling for change, said historians and activists.

''This is something completely new,'' said Martha Beatriz Roque, a prominent Cuban dissident who was convicted of sedition in 2003, along with 74 other activists, and sentenced to 20 years in prison. Their sentences were eventually commuted, and most were allowed to go into exile.

''There's not a single drop of compassion left, and that's what marks the difference'' with the past, she said by telephone from her home in Havana.

Yosvany García, a 33-year-old welder, had never participated in protests or run into problems with the law, said his wife, Mailin Rodríguez. On July 11, he came home for lunch, as usual, from his workshop in the provincial capital of Holguín.

But on his way back to work, he ran into a crowd that was demanding political change, said Ms. Rodríguez. Driven by a surge of indignation at the unbearable cost of living, Mr. García joined the march, she said.

He was beaten by the police who broke up the rally later that day, but came home to his wife that night. Four days later, he was cornered by the police near his home and taken to jail.

On Wednesday, Mr. García was charged with sedition along with 20 other protesters, including five teenagers aged 17 and 16, the minimum age of criminal responsibility in Cuba. All are facing penalties of at least five years in prison; Mr. García is facing a 30-year sentence.

Rowland Castillo was 17 years old in July, when he was detained for joining the protest in a ***working-class*** suburb of the capital, Havana. A provincial champion in wrestling, one of Cuba's most popular sports, Mr. Castillo attended a state sports academy and had never participated in political activities, according to his mother, Yudinela Castro.

She said she only realized he had joined the protest when police came to arrest him several days later. Prosecutors are seeking a 23-year sentence against him for sedition.

Ms. Castro said that after her son's arrest she was fired from the state food market where she worked. She now lives on donations from neighbors and well-wishers in an abandoned community first-aid clinic with her 2-year-old grandson -- Mr. Castillo's son -- as she tries to recover from cancer.

''Through him I came to realize the evil that happens in this country,'' she said, referring to her jailed son. ''He didn't do anything, apart from go out and ask for freedom.''

At first, the ascension of Mr. Díaz-Canel, 61, to the presidency in 2018 raised hopes of gradual change in some quarters.

He was not part of the old guard that rose to power with the Castros. In office, he tried streamlining Cuba's convoluted currency system and introduced reforms to expand the private sector in an attempt to ameliorate a crippling economic crisis caused by the pandemic, sanctions imposed by the Trump administration and dwindling aid from the island's Socialist ally, Venezuela.

But Mr. Díaz-Canel, born after the revolution, could not evoke the Castro brothers' anti-imperialist struggles to paper over the ever-declining standards of living. When the protests broke out, he reacted with force.

''They don't have any intention of changing,'' said Salomé García, an activist with Justice J11, the rights group, ''of allowing Cuban society any participation in determining its destiny.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/14/world/americas/cuba-mass-trials-crackdown.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/14/world/americas/cuba-mass-trials-crackdown.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: A woman in Havana shows photos of her children and their father, all of whom were in detention. (PHOTOGRAPH BY YAMIL LAGE/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** January 15, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Mass Trials in Cuba Deepen Its Harshest Crackdown in Decades***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64J0-4501-JBG3-62JX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 14, 2022 Friday 11:23 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; americas

**Length:** 1093 words

**Byline:** Anatoly Kurmanaev and Oscar Lopez

**Highlight:** Following nationwide demonstrations last year, more than 60 people were put on trial this week, some facing up to 30 years behind bars.

**Body**

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Those being prosecuted include at least five minors as young as 16. They are among the more than 620 detainees who have faced or are slated to face trial for joining the [*biggest outburst of popular discontent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/11/world/americas/cuba-crisis-protests.html?action=click&amp;module=RelatedLinks&amp;pgtype=Article) against the Communist government since it took power in 1959.

The severity of the charges is part of a concerted effort by the government to deter further public expressions of discontent, activists said. The crackdown also dashed lingering hopes of a gradual liberalization under President Miguel Díaz-Canel, who in 2018 replaced Fidel Castro’s brother Raúl to become Cuba’s first leader from outside the Castro family since 1959.

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But Mr. Díaz-Canel, born after the revolution, could not evoke the Castro brothers’ anti-imperialist struggles to paper over the ever-declining standards of living. When the protests broke out, [*he reacted with force*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/28/world/americas/cuba-protests-crackdown-arrests.html?action=click&amp;module=RelatedLinks&amp;pgtype=Article).

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PHOTO: A woman in Havana shows photos of her children and their father, all of whom were in detention. (PHOTOGRAPH BY YAMIL LAGE/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** January 15, 2022

**End of Document**



[***To Reduce Racial Inequality, Raise the Minimum Wage***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:614X-4YB1-JBG3-6338-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 25, 2020 Sunday 19:03 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1261 words

**Byline:** Ellora Derenoncourt and Claire Montialoux

**Highlight:** Diversity and inclusion programs for elites are tokens. A large wage increase that would most benefit the Black ***working class*** is far better.

**Body**

Diversity and inclusion programs for elites are tokens. A large wage increase that would most benefit the Black ***working class*** is far better.

After a summer of protests over the killing of George Floyd broadened into a wider reckoning on racial injustice, corporate America and the political establishment unleashed a flurry of promises to combat systemic racism. Diversity initiatives have been launched; high-profile companies in several sectors have settled on the advancement of a few people of color in their hierarchies.

It’s clear that these actions, while positive steps, so far mostly concern an elite stratum. They are no substitute for dismantling structural racism in the economy. Recent American history, however, provides an apt lesson about which public policies are effective at reducing deep-rooted inequalities.

[*Our new research*](http://www.clairemontialoux.com/files/DM2020.pdf) shows that Congress’s decision in 1966 to both raise the minimum wage and expand it to workers in previously unprotected industries led to a significant drop in earnings inequality between Black and white Americans — and explains more than 20 percent of the overall reduction in succeeding years.

The findings suggest that raising and expanding the minimum wage could once again reduce the persistent earnings divide between white workers and Black, Hispanic and Native American workers. Though legislation to raise the wage floor would be a universal program in name and application, in practice it would be a remarkably effective tool for racial justice.

[Read more on 27 places that raised their [*minumum wage to $15 an hour*](http://www.clairemontialoux.com/files/DM2020.pdf).]

As with other major pieces of 20th-century progressive legislation, the cost of gaining Southern Democratic votes in 1938 for the federal minimum wage was a [*racist compromise*](http://www.clairemontialoux.com/files/DM2020.pdf): in this case, the [*exclusion of certain industries*](http://www.clairemontialoux.com/files/DM2020.pdf) because of their high concentrations of Black workers, especially in the South.

Though it’s a fact that is often skipped over in popular histories, civil rights leaders who organized the famous March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in 1963 demanded an increase in the minimum wage and one that applied to all employment. Modest but [*meaningful increases*](http://www.clairemontialoux.com/files/DM2020.pdf) were eventually passed, and the [*Fair Labor Standards Act of 1966*](http://www.clairemontialoux.com/files/DM2020.pdf) also extended coverage to some of the excluded industries: nursing homes, laundries, hotels, restaurants, schools, hospitals and agriculture.

In 1967, the newly covered sectors employed about eight million workers ages 25 to 55, or about 21 percent of the U.S. prime-age work force. And, crucially, nearly one-third of Black workers were employed in these sectors.

White workers greatly benefited from the 1966 law; Black workers gained even more. In addition to being overrepresented in the newly covered industries, Black workers earned less on average in these industries than their white counterparts. So the earnings increase caused by the reform was 10 percent on average for Black workers in the newly covered industries, twice as much as that for white workers.

Based on our analysis, we estimate that the minimum wage increase was responsible for approximately 20 percent of the reduction in the earnings gap between Black and white workers between 1967 and 1980.

Economists who study gains in racial equality during that era have mostly credited improved educational outcomes for Black students (in terms of both number of years of school and quality of education) and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which banned explicit job discrimination. But it’s clear now that the 1966 minimum wage reform also made a significant contribution.

When the March on Washington took place in 1963, Black workers in the United States earned on average 59 cents for every dollar earned by the average white worker. Today, Black workers in the United States earn on average 78 cents for every dollar earned by average white workers — a notable improvement. But this ratio has remained essentially unchanged since about 1980.

In one respect, this stagnation is a gloomy affirmation of Black families’ continued frustration with an economy stacked against them, four decades on. Yet it also indicates that raising and expanding the minimum wage today could be central to making progress again.

The coronavirus pandemic has exposed the economic perils still faced by Black, Hispanic and Native American workers as a result of their disproportionate employment in low-wage sectors of the labor market — jobs that while deemed invaluable “essential work” during this crisis often don’t pay a living wage. Making the minimum wage a living wage would match politicians’ rhetoric with actual public policy and would go a long way in making the lives of people of color materially better.

Opponents of minimum wage increases assert that they, for one thing, reduce the number of jobs available to low-income workers. However, numerous studies of minimum wage increases across historical contexts and countries indicate that even when the minimum wage is large with respect to prior median earnings, negative effects on employment [*tend to be limited*](http://www.clairemontialoux.com/files/DM2020.pdf).

Our research suggests the next Congress could raise the federal minimum wage substantially, reducing racial inequality without doing harm to the broader market.

Congress, as well as governors and state legislatures, could also expand the minimum wage to cover the millions of workers whose sectors continue to be excluded from it. Establishing federal, state or local minimum wage thresholds for independent contractors, for example, would lift the often paltry take-home pay workers receive in the gig economy, where Black workers and other workers of color are overrepresented. California is in the midst of such a fight — and facing opposition from many powerful tech giants.

Ending what’s known as the sub-minimum wage for tipped workers is another opportunity to level the playing field. Despite some improved state laws, employers of tipped workers are required by federal law to pay [*a mere $2.13 an hour*](http://www.clairemontialoux.com/files/DM2020.pdf). Not only is this exemption a direct legacy of [*efforts to economically hobble freed people after slavery*](http://www.clairemontialoux.com/files/DM2020.pdf); it also continues to have an outsize effect on female Black and Hispanic workers.

Tipped workers overall are twice as likely to live in poverty as the general work force. And tipped workers of color in the restaurant industry [*are twice as likely*](http://www.clairemontialoux.com/files/DM2020.pdf) to live in poverty as their white counterparts.

It is no coincidence that civil rights leaders in 1963 singled out the minimum wage as a critical tool for racial justice, and their demands are just as salient today. The federal minimum wage has not been raised since it went to $7.25 an hour in 2009. And inflation has [*reduced its value*](http://www.clairemontialoux.com/files/DM2020.pdf) by nearly one-third from its highest real value, in 1968.

If America’s contemporary leaders are serious about reducing racial inequality, they must push for simple, bold measures, such as doubling the federal minimum wage. Otherwise, the country may miss an opportunity, after the largest protests for racial equality in U.S. history, to improve the lives of millions of people of color.

Ellora Derenoncourt and Claire Montialoux are economists at the University of California, Berkeley.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](http://www.clairemontialoux.com/files/DM2020.pdf) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](http://www.clairemontialoux.com/files/DM2020.pdf). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](http://www.clairemontialoux.com/files/DM2020.pdf).

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Ellora Derenoncourt and Claire Montialoux are economists at the University of California, Berkeley.

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY RICHARD VOGEL/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

**Load-Date:** December 31, 2020

**End of Document**



[***‘Peaky Blinders’ Is Ending, but Its Fans Aren’t Done Just Yet***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64Y8-48M1-DXY4-X2J2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** ARTS; television

**Length:** 1120 words

**Byline:** Desiree Ibekwe

**Highlight:** In Britain, where the final season is airing, the crime drama has a dedicated fan base who love to bring (certain) elements of the show to life.

**Body**

In Britain, where the final season is airing, the crime drama has a dedicated fan base who love to bring (certain) elements of the show to life.

LONDON — When Roy Short, John Brophy and Ryan Hyland dress up as Peaky Blinders, they do it properly.

Donning flat caps, three-piece suits, overcoats and pocket watches, the three emulate not only the vintage style but also the swagger of the Shelbys, the central crime family in the period drama “Peaky Blinders.”

When the show’s second season aired on the BBC here in 2014, “we got it, and we just loved everything about it,” Short, 54, said. He remembered thinking “what an absolutely amazing, fantastic look. Nobody’s looking like that.”

Wearing the characters’ snappy early 20th-century garb was initially something the friends did on a night out, but soon, Short and Brophy said, the photos they posted to social media got attention and organizers started inviting them to attend their “Peaky”-themed events.

The Birmingham Peaky Blinders, as the trio call themselves, are not the only group of their kind. Across Britain, fans of the show meet up, [*host weddings*](https://www.magpiewedding.com/wedding-inspiration/peaky-blinders-wedding-plum-park-hotel/) and sometimes stage re-enactments, all dressed as characters based on real gang members who apparently got their name from the razor blades they would sew into their peaked caps. “We’re just like one big family,” Short said.

Despite inhabiting characters who have been criticized in the past for their[*violent version of masculinity*](https://www.nme.com/news/peaky-blinders-glorifies-violence-toxic-masculinity-say-academics-2473859), the Birmingham Peaky Blinders say that bloodshed is one aspect of the show that they do not recreate. “There’s never been one tiny bit of trouble. Nothing,” Brophy said. “It’s all been respect, shaking hands and acting like gentlemen, acting like ladies.”

In the more than eight years since “[*Peaky Blinders*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/21/arts/television/peaky-blinders-netflix-bbc-cillian-murphy.html?searchResultPosition=45)” first premiered on the BBC, it has become a show [*beloved by British critics*](https://www.telegraph.co.uk/tv/0/peaky-blinders-series-6-first-look-review-episode-1-bbc/) and watched by a [*global audience*](https://www.birminghammail.co.uk/news/showbiz-tv/peaky-blinders-most-popular-netflix-12476347) [*in the millions*](https://www.radiotimes.com/tv/peaky-blinders-season-6-record-ratings-newsupdate/). But it’s also become a cultural phenomenon, with a fan base dedicated to bringing elements of the show’s fictional world to life.

Now the show is coming to an end. The sixth and final season is airing weekly on the BBC in Britain (its U.S. Netflix release date is yet to be announced). Over its seasons, the show has charted the rise and misfortunes of the leader of the Peaky Blinders, Tommy Shelby (Cillian Murphy), and his family in the period between the two world wars. The show is highly stylized, with occasional slow motion, and set anachronistically to a soundtrack of modern music including Nick Cave, Arctic Monkeys and Black Sabbath.

In Britain, “Peaky Blinders” inspires a zeal that is usually the preserve of science fiction and fantasy vehicles. “The way that the fans have embraced it is almost immersive,” Caryn Mandabach, an executive producer, said in a video interview, adding that the likes of the “Harry Potter” franchise and Disney movies have equivalently passionate fan bases.

While the show’s popularity can be tracked over the years through the continuing popularity of the characters’ distinctive undercut hairstyle and the increased sales of flat caps, its creators have also been intentional about building a brand. Official “Peaky” products range from the expected (a soundtrack) to the interesting (a virtual reality game and immersive theater show) and the unexpected (a cookbook).

There are several reasons for this strong — and enduring — response.

For [*Julie Kershaw*](https://twitter.com/peskyblunders), who runs tours of the show’s filming locations in Liverpool, England, the appeal is in it telling the story of “the ordinary working man and woman,” she said, adding that “it’s giving the sort of ***working-class*** of Birmingham, and by extension the whole of Britain, their own mythology,” akin to the cultural significance of cowboys in the United States.

Tommy Bulfin, a drama commissioner for the BBC and an executive producer on the show, believes its representation of familial bonds is also important. “Peaky Blinders” puts “family drama in the highest stakes imaginable, which is like gangster culture,” he said, adding that the “interpersonal relationships” between family members are what make the show relatable for viewers.

For some female fans, the show’s portrayal of women is something to be lauded. The show recently lost its matriarch, Polly Gray, played by Helen McCrory, [*who died last year*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/16/arts/television/helen-mccrory-dead.html). “A lot of the female characters are very strong women, and you don’t get that in many series,” said Jade Salt, 24, a fan from Shropshire [*who runs a popular fan account*](https://twitter.com/BlindersPeaky). “In this series, they don’t let the men push them around and they just get on with it.”

Another group for whom the show has been resonant are Brummies, the nickname given to residents of Birmingham. The city has historically been the butt of many national jokes, with its accent voted both the [*least attractive*](https://www.birminghammail.co.uk/black-country/brummie-accent-wolverhampton-most-popular-16261123) and [*least trustworthy*](https://www.birminghammail.co.uk/news/midlands-news/brummie-accent-ranked-least-trustworthy-19204313) in polls.

“I think it made Birmingham cool culturally in the U.K. when it probably hadn’t been massively before,” said Laurence Mozafari, the editor in chief of [*Digital Spy*](https://www.digitalspy.com/), a television and movie website, and the former host of a BBC podcast about the show. “But also it went global and then it was like, ‘there’s this great place, Birmingham.’”

The show has [*bolstered tourism in the area*](https://www.business-live.co.uk/enterprise/peaky-blinders-effect-bbc-show-16853265) and encouraged a nascent television and film industry, with films such as Steven Spielberg’s “Ready Player One” being partly filmed in Birmingham and Steven Knight, the show’s creator, planning a million-dollar film studio in the region.

There is a sense of local pride in the show, something that the Birmingham Peaky Blinders feel. “It’s set in Birmingham — it’s Small Heath and Bordesley Green and Digbeth, all those areas. Those are our areas, where we live, work, drink,” Short said. “We liked that they were portraying these Brummie accents.”

With such resonance among fans, there are mixed feelings about the show ending. But will “Peaky Blinders” really end with its final episode?

Mandabach framed Season 6 not as an ending but as an opportunity. A film is in the works and potential spinoff shows have been teased. Later this year, an immersive production, “Peaky Blinders: The Rise,” will arrive in London and a dance show “Peaky Blinders: The Redemption of Thomas Shelby,” will run in Birmingham, with a national tour planned for 2023.

As for the fans, the Birmingham Peaky Blinders said they would continue their work, and Kershaw said that she would continue to do her tours for as long as there is demand.

“The series has ended, but the following hasn’t,” said Brophy of the Birmingham Peaky Blinders. “People will still go out, and they will still keep doing it.”

PHOTO: At the 2019 “Peaky Blinders” Festival, actors recreated scenes from the show on the streets of Birmingham, England. (PHOTOGRAPH BY PA Images, via Reuters FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 9, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Hundreds of Jan. 6 Cases***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:666N-0VS1-JBG3-60N6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1745 words

**Byline:** Ian Prasad Philbrick

**Highlight:** At the heart of the Jan. 6 investigation are the cases against the riot suspects.

**Body**

At the heart of the Jan. 6 investigation are the cases against the riot suspects.

Nineteen months after the Jan. 6 attack, hundreds of criminal cases that stem from it are playing out in court. They have been getting less attention than the Justice Department’s scrutiny of Donald Trump, but my colleague Alan Feuer has spent hours and hours watching these trials. This morning, he offers you a glimpse of them.

Ian: Who are the Jan. 6 defendants, and what are they charged with?

Alan: It’s a wide range. People from all 50 states have been prosecuted. Most are white men from middle- or ***working-class*** backgrounds, but there are also women, Hispanic people, Black people. A lot have military backgrounds. There are also professional people, which is unusual for an event involving far-right extremism: doctors, a State Department aide, business owners, people who flew there on a private jet.

Most have been charged with misdemeanors and have gotten little to no prison time. Others have been charged with assaulting police officers or damaging government property. And a few hundred people have been charged with obstructing Congress’ certification that day of the Electoral College vote. About 350 defendants have pleaded guilty, and more than 200 have been sentenced. About half a dozen have gotten four years or more, and two have gotten [*more than seven years*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/11/us/thomas-roberston-jan-6-sentenced.html).

The government is still arresting people, and prosecutors estimate around 2,000 could ultimately face charges.

The hearings open windows into defendants’ lives, many of which seem quite dysfunctional. You covered the trial of a defendant named Guy Reffitt, a Texas militia member whose own son turned him in to the F.B.I. [*and testified against him*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/03/us/politics/guy-reffitt-january-6-trial.html).

If someone is being criminally prosecuted, there’s often some dysfunction in their past. But I’ve been struck by how trauma rests at the center of so many of the Jan. 6 defendants’ lives, whether it’s poverty, addiction or deep family dysfunction. You also see defendants say things to the judge like, I’ve lost everything because of what I did on Jan. 6. My job has been taken from me. My neighbors no longer talk to me. My church has essentially excommunicated me. Please don’t send me to prison as well.

Hundreds of defendants are being prosecuted, all in federal court in Washington. How do you keep up?

Covid restrictions enabled remote access, which lets me jump from courtroom to courtroom with the push of a button and listen to multiple hearings over the phone in a day.

The big exception is trials. I’ve covered two in Washington in person — the Reffitt trial and the case against Dustin Thompson, an unemployed Ohio exterminator. [*Two seditious conspiracy cases*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/09/us/politics/proud-boys-charged-sedition-capitol-attack.html) — against members of the Oath Keepers and the Proud Boys, two far-right groups — will likely go to trial later this year, and I’ll almost certainly be in the courtroom for those. I prefer the courtroom. You pick up on body language and facial expressions that aren’t available when you’re just listening in.

How many Jan. 6 hearings have you listened to?

Hundreds. It’s not really countable at this point.

How did you become the reporter who covers these hearings?

I’ve covered courts and crime for over 20 years: murders, mafia and police corruption trials and the trial of Joaquín Guzmán Loera, the Mexican drug lord known as El Chapo. I’ve also spent a lot of time covering far-right extremist groups. As I watched the Jan. 6 attack on TV, I actually recognized people in the crowd. As people started getting arrested, I did what I’ve always done: track documents and set up a database of the now 850-plus cases.

How are these cases different from other criminal proceedings?

On one level, the process is the same: Defendants get charged. Some plead guilty, some go to trial. People are acquitted or convicted. But the context is very different. Jan. 6 was a political action that became a federal crime, and politics infuses these cases. Some defendants have argued that they’re being persecuted for their political beliefs. Thompson’s defense was that Trump authorized him to go into the Capitol that day and that he was[*merely following Trump’s orders*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/13/us/politics/jan-6-suspect-trump.html). That did not fly in front of a jury. I’ve never covered anything that’s taken place in an atmosphere as polarized as this one.

Trump seems to have motivated not only some Jan. 6 defendants to commit violence, but also people [*who have threatened the F.B.I.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/15/us/politics/fbi-threats-pennsylvania-man.html) after agents searched his home, Mar-a-Lago, this month. Do you see parallels between the groups?

The Ohio man who [*attacked the F.B.I. field office*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/12/us/ricky-shiffer-fbi-cincinnati.html) in Cincinnati this month was, in fact, outside the Capitol on Jan. 6. The F.B.I. investigated his role in the riot but never arrested him.

In a larger sense, one researcher has found that 15 to 20 million Americans [*think violence would be justified*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/13/nyregion/right-wing-rhetoric-threats-violence.html) to return Trump to office. We’ve seen this in the reaction to the Mar-a-Lago raid, but I’m also concerned about what a potential criminal prosecution of Trump could bring. What will the reaction be if Trump is indicted? What will happen on the day he appears in court? What will happen if he goes to trial and is convicted? There may be moments when the risk of violence in defense of Trump is high.

As threats of violence become more widespread, it can create an atmosphere in which the threshold for committing actual violence is lowered. When violent rhetoric becomes pervasive, people willing to commit violence feel justified. They feel like there’s community support. It enables them. That’s a reality we all have to start grappling with.

More about Alan: Before becoming a reporter, he worked for a private detective agency run by two former New York City police officers. He later spent three years as a stringer for The Times, covering fires, murders and other middle-of-the-night stories in New York before joining the staff in 1999. In 2020, he[*published a book*](https://us.macmillan.com/books/9781250254511/eljefe) about El Chapo.

For more

* In his final days in office, Trump had [*done little to leave*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/20/us/politics/trump-fbi-search.html) the White House — but he had packed papers instead of sending them to the National Archives.

1. An associate [*sought a pardon*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/20/us/politics/giuliani-trump-pardon.html) for Rudolph Giuliani just after the Jan. 6 attack, but the request was intercepted before it reached Trump.

NEWS

International

* Ukrainian attacks in Crimea, [*including a drone assault yesterday*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/20/world/europe/ukraine-attacks-putin-war.html), appeared on Russian social media, putting domestic pressure on the Kremlin.

1. Mexico’s former attorney general [*was arrested*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/20/world/americas/mexico-arrests-jesus-murillo-karam.html) in connection with the abduction and likely massacre of 43 students in 2014.
2. Two pilots for Africa’s largest airline [*fell asleep*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/20/world/africa/ethiopian-airlines-sleeping-pilots.html) and missed their scheduled window to land in Ethiopia.

Other Big Stories

* An influx of migrants has [*strained*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/20/nyregion/nyc-migrants-texas.html) New York City’s social safety net.

1. Republican candidates [*are invoking*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/21/us/politics/republicans-american-dream.html) “the American dream” in a pessimistic tone.
2. UPS drivers, whose trucks lack air conditioning, say [*heat waves are endangering them*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/20/business/ups-postal-workers-heat-stroke-deaths.html).
3. The actor Gary Busey [*was charged with*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/20/nyregion/gary-busey-sex-crimes.html) criminal sexual contact and harassment related to an encounter at a fan convention in New Jersey.

FROM OPINION

* If the Justice Department goes after Trump, [*it can’t afford to miss*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/20/opinion/donald-trump-merrick-garland.html), Ross Douthat says. Damon Linker thinks [*voters, not prosecutors*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/21/opinion/trump-fbi-republicans.html), should take down Trump.

1. The dream of [*a secular, liberal Indian democracy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/20/opinion/india-independence.html) is receding, Maya Jasanoff argues.
2. Let’s [*skip the “Game of Thrones” prequel*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/20/opinion/game-of-thrones-prequel-house-of-dragons.html), says Scott Woods.

The Sunday question: How will Democrats’ legislative successes affect the midterm elections?

Democrats’ achievements on climate and gun control [*could energize base voters*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2022/08/will-democrats-legislative-success-matter-in-the-midterms.html) and blunt the losses the president’s party typically suffers, New York Magazine’s Ed Kilgore writes. But consumer confidence and Biden’s job approval remain low, and voters overall [*tend not to reward big policy victories*](https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/amy-walter-and-annie-linskey-on-how-the-inflation-reduction-act-could-impact-the-midterms), The Cook Political Report’s Amy Walter notes.

MORNING READS

Weed drinks: They’re [*becoming widely available*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/19/well/eat/weed-cannabis-drinks.html), but doctors know little about the effects.

Sunday routine: A wine writer plays folk music and [*visits wine bars*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/20/nyregion/alice-feiring.html).

Pickleball: Its popularity is growing rapidly. [*So is the injury count*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/20/health/pickleball-sports-injury.html).

A Times classic: The best way to [*cool your space*](http://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/02/realestate/the-best-way-to-cool-your-space.html).

Advice from Wirecutter: How to pick [*the right computer for your kid*](https://www.nytimes.com/wirecutter/reviews/best-computers-for-kids/).

BOOKS

Read your way through Reykjavik: Iceland [*has a reputation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/17/books/books-iceland.html) for having more authors per capita than any country.

By the Book: When Frances Mayes discovers that the author of a good book has written others, “[*that’s bliss*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/18/books/review/frances-mayes-by-the-book-interview.html).”

Our editors’ picks: “Picasso’s War,” a narrative of how modern art came to be celebrated in the U.S., and [*10 other books*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/18/books/review/11-new-books-we-recommend-this-week.html).

Times best sellers: Rinker Buck shares his adventures on a wooden flatboat in “Life On The Mississippi,” a [*nonfiction best seller*](https://www.nytimes.com/books/best-sellers/combined-print-and-e-book-nonfiction/2022/08/28). See [*all our lists*](https://www.nytimes.com/books/best-sellers/).

THE SUNDAY TIMES MAGAZINE

On the cover: Willie Nelson’s [*long encore*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/17/magazine/willie-nelson.html).

Recommendation: Write fan mail to [*artists you admire*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/16/magazine/fan-mail-recommendation.html).

Diagnosis: She couldn’t stand still without pain. [*What was wrong*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/18/magazine/orthostatic-tremor.html)

Eat: Late summer tomatoes are perfect for [*Spaghetti al Pomodoro*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/17/magazine/spaghetti-al-pomodoro-summer-recipe.html).

Read [*the full issue*](https://www.nytimes.com/issue/magazine/2022/08/19/the-82122-issue).

THE WEEK AHEAD

What to Watch For

* A detective tied to the fatal Breonna Taylor raid is [*expected to enter a guilty plea*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/12/us/breonna-taylor-officer-guilty-plea.html) on Monday. She would be the first officer convicted in the case.

1. Florida and New York will hold [*primary elections*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/us/elections/midterm-elections-calendar.html) on Tuesday.
2. Senator Lindsey Graham [*was ordered to testify*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/19/us/lindsey-graham-atlanta-grand-jury-trump.html) before a grand jury on Tuesday in a Georgia investigation into Republican efforts to overturn Donald Trump’s election loss.
3. Wednesday marks six months since Russia [*invaded Ukraine*](https://www.nytimes.com/news-event/ukraine-russia), as well as Ukraine’s Independence Day.
4. New [*jobless claims*](http://fidelity.econoday.com/byshoweventfull.aspx?fid=541332&amp;cust=fidelity&amp;year=2022&amp;lid=0&amp;prev=/byweek.asp#top) will be announced on Thursday.
5. So-called trigger bans on abortion in Idaho, Tennessee and Texas will [*go into effect on Thursday*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/us/abortion-laws-roe-v-wade.html).
6. The college football season [*kicks off*](https://www.ncaa.com/news/football/article/2022-08-18/college-football-schedule-when-does-2022-college-football-season-start) on Saturday.

What to Cook This Week

Mussels seem luxurious, but they are among the most budget-friendly seafood options, Tanya Sichynsky writes. Her [*weeknight dinner recommendations*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/19/dining/tuesday-fancy-mussels.html) include [*steamed mussels with garlic and parsley*](https://cooking.nytimes.com/recipes/1017709-steamed-mussels-with-garlic-and-parsley), [*sheet-pan gnocchi with mushrooms and spinach*](https://cooking.nytimes.com/recipes/1022479-sheet-pan-gnocchi-with-mushrooms-and-spinach) and [*linguine with lemon sauce*](https://cooking.nytimes.com/recipes/1589-linguine-with-lemon-sauce).

NOW TIME TO PLAY

Here’s a clue [*from the Sunday crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/crosswords/game/daily/2022/08/21):

72-Across: Pharmaceutical company whose Nasdaq symbol is MRNA

Take [*the news quiz*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/08/19/briefing/news-quiz-liz-cheney-salman-rushdie.html) to see how well you followed the week’s headlines.

Here’s [*today’s Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/puzzles/spelling-bee). Here’s [*today’s Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/games/wordle/index.html). After, [*use our bot*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/upshot/wordle-bot.html) to get better.

Thanks for spending part of your weekend with The Times.

Matthew Cullen, Claire Moses, Tom Wright-Piersanti and Ashley Wu contributed to The Morning. You can reach the team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](mailto:themorning@nytimes.com).

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing).

PHOTO: Prosecutors estimate around 2,000 people could face charges related to the Capitol riot. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KENNY HOLSTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 24, 2022

**End of Document**



[***​South Korea’s Presidential Election: What to Watch***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64Y8-C6J1-DXY4-X2JW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 8, 2022 Tuesday 10:51 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; asia

**Length:** 1262 words

**Byline:** Choe Sang-Hun

**Highlight:** ​After a campaign marred by scandals and mudslinging, the country is set to elect its next president amid widespread voter discontent.

**Body**

​After a campaign marred by scandals and mudslinging, the country is set to elect its next president amid widespread voter discontent.

SEOUL — South Koreans go to the polls on Wednesday to elect their 20th president as the country faces deep anxiety over North Korea, bleak job opportunities, [*a housing crisis*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/23/world/asia/korea-housing-lh-scandal-moon-election.html) and growing generational divides.

Pre-election surveys have shown the two leading candidates — who are ideologically far apart — in an extremely tight race, and a clear winner may not emerge until well into the night. Here is what to know about this momentous election.

What’s at Stake?

The outgoing president, Moon Jae-in, cannot run again: South Korea’s leaders are limited to a single five-year term. Since the country was democratized in the late eighties, the government has regularly changed hands between the two main political forces that differ sharply over key policy issues, like how to deal with North Korea’s nuclear threat.

“The key point to watch in this election is whether the progressives will cede power after five years,” said Heo Jin-jae, a research director at Gallup Korea. “The biggest deciding factor is how voters assess the Moon administration’s performance. Over the past five years, the conservatives and progressives have drifted apart farther than ever.”

One of Mr. Moon’s signature policy ambitions was to build peace with the North through dialogue and cooperation. During his administration, he brokered the historic meetings between President Donald J. Trump and Kim Jong-un.

But those meetings did not lead to a deal on how to end North Korea’s nuclear program, and critics have blamed Mr. Moon for wasting precious diplomatic energy on what some call a misguided approach. For their part, conservatives would prefer a more confrontational policy toward North Korea.

Who’s Running?

There were 14 candidates in the election, meaning the winner is unlikely to get an outright majority. But the race, according to surveys, comes down to a contest between Lee Jae-myung from Mr. Moon’s Democratic Party and Yoon Suk-yeol from the conservative opposition People Power Party.

Mr. Lee, 57, started his public life as a human rights lawyer defending the ***working class***. He then became a mayor and governor in Gyeonggi-do, a populous province surrounding Seoul, building a reputation by expanding social benefits for young, jobless citizens.

He has also styled himself as a firebrand who pulls no punches against his enemies. He once called past conservative leaders “pro-Japanese, dictatorial, traitorous, people-massacring forces.” His fans call him “carbonated cider,” referring approvingly to his acerbic delivery.

Mr. Yoon, 61, is an educators’ son who passed the bar on his ninth try. He eventually built a reputation as an anti-corruption prosecutor who didn’t flinch under political pressure while going after some of the country’s richest and most powerful people. His investigations helped [*imprison*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/30/world/asia/park-geun-hye-south-korea-arrest.html) two former presidents, as well as [*the head of Samsung*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/16/world/asia/korea-samsung-lee-jae-yong.html), on corruption charges.

Mr. Yoon served as prosecutor general under Mr. Moon. His political stock rose after he resigned last year and began criticizing Mr. Moon’s policies on everything from North Korea to housing prices. But he has occasionally blundered during TV debates, and some have described him as a political amateur.

Neither Mr. Lee nor Mr. Yoon has extensive experience in foreign policy. The fact that the two major parties selected political outsiders as their candidates reflected voter dissatisfaction with existing leadership.

What Are the Major Issues?

Both Mr. Yoon and Mr. Lee have promised to supply millions of new homes if elected, acknowledging that housing affordability was one of the most pressing problems for South Koreans, especially for young voters. But they differ widely over how to address that and other economic challenges.

Mr. Lee favors a strong New Deal-like approach, including expanding welfare and universal basic income, controlling runaway real estate prices and driving growth through large-scale investment in digital and renewable-energy industries. Mr. Yoon prefers a smaller government, promoting market-led solutions and deregulation.

North Korea has also loomed large during the election, and the government has been on high alert for any new provocation. On Tuesday, a North Korean patrol boat briefly crossed a disputed western sea border but retreated when the South Korean Navy fired warning shots. On Saturday, [*the North launched a ballistic missile*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/04/world/asia/north-korea-missile-launch.html) toward the sea off its east coast, its second missile test in a week.

Mr. Yoon champions a tougher stance on North Korea, calling for sanctions and rejuvenating joint military drills between South Korea and the United States. Mr. Lee emphasizes diplomacy that would continue Mr. Moon’s policy of building peace and reconciliation.

For the young South Koreans whose choice [*will most likely determine the election*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/08/world/asia/south-korea-young-voters-election.html), economic uncertainty and inequality are the main issues. Mr. Yoon has been accused of appealing to anti-feminist sentiment, which is [*widespread among young male voters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/01/world/asia/south-korea-men-anti-feminists.html). Mr. Lee has tried to connect to young female voters, calling Mr. Yoon a “hate-mongering populist” who stoked gender conflict to win votes.

How Many People Will Vote?

The voter turnout in presidential elections since 1992 has ranged from 63 percent to 81.8 percent. Polling experts say that the voter turnout this week will not diverge widely from the 77.2 percent recorded for the last presidential election, held in 2017.

A record 36.9 percent of the 44 million eligible voters already cast their ballots on Friday and Saturday, when the National Election Commission allowed early voting across the country.

This is South Korea’s first presidential election held during the coronavirus pandemic, and it takes place as the country is struggling with [*a surge of cases tied to the Omicron variant*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/17/world/asia/south-korea-covid-spread.html). All voters must wear masks. Officials will check body temperature, squirt sanitizer on hands and also hand out plastic gloves for voters to wear as they cast their ballots.

Lawmakers agreed in February to reserve a special hour for voters with Covid on Election Day.

Who’s Leading?

By law, the results of any public opinion survey conducted within a week of the election cannot be publicized. According to earlier surveys, a small majority of South Koreans supported a change of government from progressives to conservatives. But that does not mean that Mr. Yoon is a clear favorite.

Mr. Yoon and Mr. Lee have been neck and neck in most surveys. During much of the campaign, policy discussions were often drowned out by fractious allegations of legal and moral misconduct by the two candidates and their families.

Mr. Lee’s detractors circulated audiotapes on YouTube in which the candidate unleashed a stream of profanities against his sister-in-law. Mr. Yoon’s critics shared pictures of [*him “manspreading*](https://www.asiatoday.co.kr/view.php?key=20210801010000275)” and social media links to audio files in which his wife said the police and prosecutors would go after journalists unfriendly to him if he became president.

In [*surveys*](https://www.gallup.co.kr/gallupdb/reportContent.asp?seqNo=1271), more people found the candidates disagreeable than agreeable. Some voters have called the election “a contest between the unlikable.” Hong Chae-yeong, a 30-year-old voter who is between jobs in Seoul, put it bluntly. “Yoon is ignorant. Lee is a lot of talk but untrustworthy,” she said. “This election is a choice of who is the lesser of two evils.”

PHOTO: A line for early voting in Seoul on Friday against a backdrop of election posters for the presidential candidates. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Woohae Cho for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 8, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Best Sellers: Paperback Trade Fiction: Sunday, December 06th 2020***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61G1-13M1-JBG3-60T5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 6, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 516 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the December 06, 2020 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending November 21, 2020. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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| --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |
|  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Paperback Trade Fiction |
| This | On |  |
| Week | List |  |
| 1 | 1 | HOME BODY, by Rupi Kaur. (Andrews McMeel) Poems and illustrations by the author of ?Milk and Honey? and ?The Sun and Her Flowers.? |
| 2 | 71 | THEN SHE WAS GONE, by Lisa Jewell. (Atria) Ten years after her daughter disappears, a woman tries to get her life in order but remains haunted by unanswered questions. |
| 3 | 1 | SHUGGIE BAIN, by Douglas Stuart. (Grove) The winner of the 2020 Booker Prize. A boy?s ***working-class*** childhood in 1980s Glasgow is subsumed by his mother?s alcoholism. |
| 4 | 2 | THE QUEEN'S GAMBIT, by Walter Tevis. (Vintage) Sixteen-year-old Beth Harmon goes through changes as she plays chess in the U.S. Open championship. The basis of the Netflix series. |
| 5 | 1 | INTERIOR CHINATOWN, by Charles Yu. (Vintage) The winner of the 2020 National Book Award for fiction. Willis Wu discovers his family?s legacy as he uncovers the secret history of where he resides. |
| 6 | 12 | THE INSTITUTE, by Stephen King. (Gallery) Children with special talents are abducted and sequestered in an institution where the sinister staff seeks to extract their gifts through harsh methods. |
| 7 | 166 | MILK AND HONEY, by Rupi Kaur. (Andrews McMeel) A collection of poetry about love, loss, trauma and healing. |
| 8 | 21 | THIS TENDER LAND, by William Kent Krueger. (Atria) Four orphans escape a Minnesota school and encounter a cross-section of different people struggling during the Great Depression. |
| 9 | 25 | CIRCE, by Madeline Miller. (Back Bay) Zeus banishes Helios' daughter to an island, where she must choose between living with gods or mortals. |
| 10 | 2 | WHAT KIND OF WOMAN, by Kate Baer. (Harper Perennial) Poems on subjects such as freedom, the birth of a son and grandmother?s cake. |
| 11 | 2 | TEXAS OUTLAW, by James Patterson and Andrew Bourelle. (Grand Central) A Texas Ranger goes to a small town to investigate whether an accidental death was actually a murder. |
| 12 | 6 | THE 19TH CHRISTMAS, by James Patterson and Maxine Paetro. (Grand Central) In the 19th installment of the Women's Murder Club series, Detective Lindsay Boxer and company take on a fearsome criminal known only as "Loman." |
| 13 | 3 | MISS BENSON'S BEETLE, by Rachel Joyce. (Dial) A schoolteacher and a troublemaker leave London in 1950 to travel across the world in search of an insect that may or may not exist. |
| 14 | 7 | WALK THE WIRE, by David Baldacci. (Grand Central) The sixth book in the Memory Man series. Decker and Jamison investigate a murder in a North Dakota town in a fracking boom. |
| 15 | 1 | THE WATER DANCER, by Ta-Nehisi Coates. (One World) A young man who was gifted with a mysterious power becomes part of a war between slavers and the enslaved. |

**Load-Date:** December 7, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Three More Executed in Iran Over Protests***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6782-MYJ1-JBG3-632W-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 6, 2023 Friday 04:24 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; middleeast

**Length:** 2932 words

**Byline:** Farnaz Fassihi and Cora Engelbrecht

**Highlight:** The three executions added to the number of Iranians who have been hanged in a crackdown over protests last fall.

**Body**

The three executions added to the number of Iranians who have been hanged in a crackdown over protests last fall.

They include a doctor, a rapper, a barber, karate champions and sons, grandsons and fathers. They are among the people Iran has hastily sentenced to death in its campaign to quash the monthslong uprising against the Islamic Republic.

In December, two men were hanged in quick succession. On Jan. 7, two others met the same fate. On May 19, three men were executed.

After months of relative calm, the latest executions sparked sporadic protests in at least a dozen cities, including Tehran and Isfahan, with crowds chanting, “We don’t want a government that executes and kills” and calling for the death of the supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, according to [*videos posted on social media.*](https://twitter.com/Vahid/status/1659585883626979333)

At least 8 other men and boys remain at risk of execution. Some human rights groups cite higher numbers, which The New York Times was not able to independently verify.

Executed: *[karate champ, 36](#link-3eae1e1f)* / *[welder, 30](#link-7fc27a1)* / *[real estate agent, 37](#link-237c206e)* / *[a man visiting his parents’ graves, 39](#link-7a534211)* / *[a karate champ, 22](#link-1847df9b)* /*[a shop worker, 23](#link-de0aa36)* / *[a barista, 23](#link-46fa58f6)*

Sentenced to death: *[a teenager, 19](#link-4ca5d91d)* / *[a barber, 22](#link-377e1c53)* / *[a man with three jobs, 22](#link-475e7ba1)* / *[a father, 45](#link-2d2a204)* / *[a rapper, 24](#link-2e0f8b59)* / *[three protesters in Nowshahr](#link-6b6d108a)*

Death verdict reversed: *[a bodybuilder, 26](#link-388d648b)* / *[an actor, 26](#link-619697af)* / *[a radiologist, 53](#link-781ad53e)* / *[a father, 43](#link-258195cb)*

Most of the men have been charged with “moharebe,” a broad term that means waging a war on God and that typically carries the death penalty in Iran.

Their trials were fast-tracked behind closed doors by Iran’s Revolutionary Court system, with government-assigned lawyers representing the defendants. The evidence presented was often opaque, sometimes relying on coerced confessions or grainy video footage. Rights groups say that there are accounts and evidence of torture.

Not every detail of the judicial proceedings or the purported crimes could be confirmed, but The Times interviewed friends and relatives of some defendants and corroborated information with activists and reports by Amnesty International and other major human rights groups.

This article will be updated as individual circumstances change.

Executed

Saleh Mirhashemi Baltaghi, 36, hanged on May 19.

Mr. Mirhashemi Baltaghi was one of three men arrested in Isfahan on Nov. 16. All three were hanged on the same day. The court relied on forced confessions under torture as evidence to convict them, according to Amnesty International. They were charged with “moharebe.”

Mr. Mirhashemi Baltaghi was a karate champion and coach and owned a business breeding and training horses. He had just been married.

On his Instagram page, he wrote: “When we were children we thought our happiness awaits us in the future. Not realizing that the sweetness in life is in each passing moment.”

Mr. Mirhashemi Baltaghi was accused of wielding a weapon, “forming and managing a criminal group” and “collusion leading to crimes against internal security,” according to the judiciary.

In a [*video*](https://www.instagram.com/p/CnQKGzDMfL9/) posted on BBC Persian, his parents pleaded for intervention to stop their son’s execution. “God, he was our breadwinner,” his mother said. “He was the one who opened the doors for us.”

Majid Kazemi, 30, hanged on May 19.

Mr. Kazemi was charged with wielding a Kalashnikov, participating in “illegal gangs” and collusion, and participating in the killing of the security guards.

He was a welder who worked in a copper workshop in Isfahan, which is renowned for its artisan handcrafted copper products. A photo of his father holding a sign that says, “My son is innocent, he did not have a gun” was posted by his cousin [*on Twitter.*](https://twitter.com/FreeMajidKazemi/status/1658791918275530752/photo/1)

Mr. Kazemi’s brother Mohsen was also detained and tortured, according to rights groups. Mr. Kazemi was hanged upside down, was shown a video of security guards torturing his brother and was subjected to 15 mock executions, [*Amnesty International said in a statement.*](https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2023/05/iran-executions-of-tortured-protesters-must-trigger-a-robust-reaction-from-the-international-community/)

In an [*audio message*](https://www.instagram.com/p/CsOxCWeRCWU/) from inside prison, he said, “I told them [security forces]I would say whatever they wanted, just please leave my family alone. I did whatever they wanted because of the torture.”

Saeed Yaqoubi Kordafli, 37, hanged on May 19.

Mr. Yaqoubi Kordafli was accused of “drawing a weapon and using a belt clip” and colluding against the “internal security of the country,” according to a report by Mizan, a news agency overseen by the judiciary.

Mr. Yaqoubi Kordafli worked at a real estate agency, according to his family, and was an only son.

“He is innocent, he was working as a real estate agent and they arrested him,” his mother said in an i[*nterview on BBC Persian*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J34K1CSiIxs). “We have nobody else in this world except for Saeed.”

[*Videos of his funeral*](https://www.instagram.com/p/CsbgNivo3-g/) show his parents wailing and his mother at his grave holding his picture and screaming, “You held me yesterday and kissed me,” as she kisses the photo.

Sayed Mohammad Hosseini, 39, hanged on Jan. 7.

Sayed Mohammad Hosseini was hanged about two months after his arrest in early November. He was accused of killing a member of the Basij, a volunteer militia operating under the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps, during the protest in Karaj, a city about an hour from the capital, Tehran.

After a visit to the prison where Mr. Mohammad Hosseini was held, his lawyer, Ali Sharifzadeh Ardakani, [*said on Twitter*](https://twitter.com/Al_Sharifzadeh/status/1604573147050774529) that his client had suffered physical abuse: “He has been severely tortured, beaten up, with tied hands and closed eyes, kicked in his head and falling unconscious, beaten up with an iron bar to his soles of the feet and given electric shocks on different parts of his body.”

There was very little personal information about him, and his extended family has not spoken publicly to the media.

Mr. Mohammad Hosseini had [*said*](https://www.javanonline.ir/fa/news/1119577/%D9%BE%D8%AF%D8%B1-%D8%B4%D9%87%DB%8C%D8%AF-%D8%B9%D8%AC%D9%85%DB%8C%D8%A7%D9%86-%D8%AA%D9%82%D8%A7%D8%B6%D8%A7%DB%8C-%D8%A7%D8%B4%D8%AF-%D9%85%D8%AC%D8%A7%D8%B2%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%A8%D8%B1%D8%A7%DB%8C-%D9%82%D8%A7%D8%AA%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%86-%D9%81%D8%B1%D8%B2%D9%86%D8%AF%D8%B4-%DA%A9%D8%B1%D8%AF) he was on his way to the cemetery where his parents were buried when was arrested.

“The knife I had on me was for planting flowers and plants around their graves,” he testified.

Mohammad Mehdi Karami, 22, a karate champion, hanged on Jan. 7.

Mohammad Mehdi Karami was hanged on Jan. 7, also about two months after being arrested in Karaj. He was accused of the same crime as Mr. Mohammad Hosseini: the killing of the Basij member during protests in that city. The court relied on forced confessions that were broadcast on state television, according to Amnesty International.

Mr. Karami had won more than a dozen medals in national karate competitions, according to a [*video*](https://www.instagram.com/p/CmW_W3XuIZf/) message made by his parents. [*A video of Mr. Karami*](https://twitter.com/indypersian/status/1601148802538299393) competing in a karate match shows him with a red belt and a member of the audience cheering his name. He bows at the end and gives a high-five to another athlete.

His father told the newspaper Etemad that he sells napkins and tissues on the street.

Majid Reza Rahnavard, 23, a shop worker, hanged on Dec. 12.

[*Majid Reza Rahnavard*](https://www.instagram.com/majid_reza.963/?igshid=YmMyMTA2M2Y%3D) was arrested on Nov. 19 in the northeastern city of Mashhad and was hanged from a crane in public less than a month after his arrest. He was the second protester known to be officially executed.

He was accused of stabbing to death two members of the Basij militia and wounding four other people in Mashhad.

A video shared with The Times by one of Mr. Reza Rhanavard’s relatives shows family members bringing flowers to his grave. “There is nothing I feared more than them taking my 23-year-old son,” his mother can be heard saying through sobs. “God damn all of you who killed my son.”

Mr. Reza Rahnavard worked at a shop selling women’s clothing and shoes in Mashhad. He was an avid athlete who trained as a gymnast and a wrestler, relatives said.

In a video taken before his execution and verified by his family, Mr. Reza Rahnavard appears blindfolded with a hand in a cast. In the video, he tells a reporter: “I don’t want them to cry at my grave. I don’t want them to pray and recite the Quran for me.” He adds, “Be happy and play joyful music.”

Mohsen Shekari, 23, a barista, hanged on Dec. 8.

Mohsen Shekari was executed less than three months after his arrest. He was the first protester known to be killed in an official execution.

He was accused of burning a trash can, blocking a road, stabbing a member of the Basij militia with a machete and threatening public safety.

Mr. Shekari had lived in Tehran with his parents, where he was employed at a coffeeshop in a ***working-class*** neighborhood. He liked baggy cargo jeans and bandannas wrapped around his wrist, photos on social media show.

In one [*video*](https://twitter.com/ksadjadpour/status/1601024954191196161?s=20&amp;t=FBqgcflQUTg-ql4yEsPWkQ) posted on social media, he can be seen singing at a cafe accompanied by a guitar. “I now have one wish only, that is to see you one more time,” he sang. “You are my lone star.”

Sentenced to death

Mohammad Boroughani, 19.

Mohammad Boroughani was arrested in Pakdasht, an industrial city outside Tehran. He was accused of wielding a machete, setting fire to the governor’s building and injuring an official on duty with a knife. The court, citing Instagram messages, called him “a leader of the riots” in Pakdasht.

“I went out to the streets because of an Instagram story my friend posted. I don’t know anything about politics,” Mr. Boroughani said at his trial, according to a report by the semiofficial Tasnim News Agency. When the judge asked him why he took videos of the clashes he replied: “I ask for forgiveness and mercy. I got caught up in the moment and did these things.”

When Mr. Boroughani turned 18, [*he rapped about his life*](https://twitter.com/dw_persian/status/1601935985755193345):

“I won’t forget the games of childhood, bikes and playing — we were so happy — now we don’t know if we are down or up — only memories are left, the more we get older the less joy — now my only friend is a cigarette and I’m suddenly 18.”

His father makes his living by gathering metal scraps to sell, according to Iranian media reports.

Mohammad Ghobadlou, 22, a barber.

Mohammad Ghobadlou was arrested in Tehran on Sept. 22, and accused of running over a police officer with a car, killing one person and injuring five others. As evidence, the court relied on a confession that Amnesty International said was coerced under torture.

Mr. Ghobadlou worked at a barbershop in Tehran. In his Instagram videos, he jokes with his clients. [*In one video*](https://www.instagram.com/p/CiTPIlpDfRC/), he says that in Iran they call the sons of rich politicians “aghazadeh,” which translates roughly as “gentlemen,” but that “the real aghazadehs are the ones who earn their own living.”

After his arrest, his mother said in a video posted on social media that her son was bipolar and that he hadn’t taken his medicine for months. On Jan. 9, a group of 50 psychiatrists wrote a letter to the judiciary objecting to his death sentence.

The same morning, hundreds of protesters flocked to a prison on the outskirts of Tehran when word spread that Mr. Boroughani and Mr. Ghobadlou were at risk of imminent execution. Their parents were also present, wailing and sobbing.

Mahan Sadrat Marani, 22.

Mahan Sadrat Marani was arrested in late October in Tehran. He was accused of attacking a Basij member with a knife, setting a motorcycle on fire and damaging a mobile phone. The court’s evidence relied on low-quality video footage in which no knife is visible, according to Amnesty International.

Since his arrest, the Basij member and the cleric who filed the complaints have withdrawn them to try to save Mr. Sadrat Marani from execution, they said.

Mr. Sadrat Marani’s father told Iranian media that the family had “kissed the hands of the two men,” hoping to persuade them to speak out against their son’s sentence. Mr. Sadrat Marani’s grandmothers made [*a video*](https://twitter.com/MohajerMr/status/1601651620424523776) pleading for mercy.

After a public backlash and a campaign by the Basij member, Mr. Sadrat Marani’s execution was suspended just hours before he was scheduled to be hanged at dawn. His situation remains precarious.

Photos on his social media show Mr. Sadrat Marani riding motorbikes and wearing fashionably mismatched sneakers. He trained as a bodybuilder and lived with his parents and sisters, working three jobs to help his family get by, according his grandmothers said in the video.

Manouchehr Mehman Navaz, 45.

Manouchehr Mehman Navaz was arrested on Sept. 25 in Gharchak, in Tehran Province.

He was accused of setting fire to a government building and to several cars, and of attacking a security guard’s outpost by throwing Molotov cocktails. In its decision against him, the court relied on his text messages to a friend, which the judge said placed him in a protest, and grainy footage. Prosecutors requested he be hanged in public at the same place as the arson.

As with other defendants, very little information is publicly available about Mr. Mehman Navaz. He is married and has two teenage daughters, according to the Iran Human Rights Network.

Saman Seydi, 24, a rapper and graphic artist.

Saman Seydi, known professionally as Yasin, was arrested on Oct. 2 in Tehran. He was accused of possessing a pistol and shooting three times in the air during protests. As evidence, the court relied on confessions that Amnesty International said were forced under torture.

Mr. Seydi, a rapper and graphic artist, is a member of Iran’s Kurdish minority and lived with his parents and two sisters. He posted his music videos on his [*Instagram page*](https://www.instagram.com/samanyasinorg/), often rapping in Kurdish about social injustice.

“You never know how strong you are until you become someone’s rock,” he wrote on his page alongside a selfie.

Mr. Seydi’s father, a veteran of the Iran-Iraq war, [*told*](https://fararu.com/fa/news/592684/%D8%AF%D8%B1%D8%AE%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%B3%D8%AA-%D9%BE%D8%AF%D8%B1-%D8%B3%D8%A7%D9%85%D8%A7%D9%86-%D8%B5%DB%8C%D8%AF%DB%8C-%D8%A7%D8%B2-%D8%A7%DA%98%D9%87%E2%80%8C%D8%A7%DB%8C-%D8%B1%D8%A3%D9%81%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D8%B3%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%85%DB%8C-%D8%B4%D8%A7%D9%85%D9%84-%D8%AD%D8%A7%D9%84-%D9%BE%D8%B3%D8%B1%D9%85-%D8%B4%D9%88%D8%AF) the ILNA news agency that he worked in a wood factory and that he had lost one son in a car accident. He said that he and family members had dedicated their lives to defending the Islamic Republic and that many of them, including his brother, had been killed in the war and were its martyrs.

“My son is an artist, my son is not a rioter,” Mr. Seydi’s mother said in a [*video*](https://twitter.com/jiyargol/status/1600529896442400768) posted on social media.

Three protesters in Nowshahr

Iran’s judiciary has sentenced three men, including two 18-year-olds, for leading a violent protest on Sept. 21 in the northern city of Nowshahr.

This is what we know about them so far:

Javad Rouhi, 35, was accused of “leading a group of rioters” and “inciting people to create insecurity,” as well as setting fire to public property and burning the Quran, according to Tasnim News.

The court relied on Mr. Rouhi’s coerced confession as evidence.

In a [*video circulating on social media platforms*](https://twitter.com/FSeifikaran/status/1607503790558810114?s=20&amp;t=OnZQeS3fGC3-XKHMOqJRAA), Mr. Rouhi’s father said his son suffered from mental illness.

“We have not heard anything from him,” he said in the video. “My son has neurological disease. I call on the Iranian people to hear my voice.”

[*Arshia Takdastan*](https://www.mizan.news/4582672/%db%8c%da%a9%db%8c-%d8%a7%d8%b2-%d9%84%db%8c%d8%af%d8%b1%d9%87%d8%a7%db%8c-%d8%a7%d8%ba%d8%aa%d8%b4%d8%a7%d8%b4%d8%a7%d8%aa-%d9%86%d9%88%d8%b4%d9%87%d8%b1-%d8%a8%d9%87-%d8%a7%d8%b9%d8%af%d8%a7%d9%85/) and [*Mehdi Mohammadifard*](https://www.mizan.news/4579019/%d8%ac%d8%b2%db%8c%db%8c%d8%a7%d8%aa-%d9%be%d8%b1%d9%88%d9%86%d8%af%d9%87-%d9%84%db%8c%d8%af%d8%b1-%d8%a7%d8%ba%d8%aa%d8%b4%d8%a7%d8%b4%d8%a7%d8%aa-%d9%86%d9%88%d8%b4%d9%87%d8%b1%d8%9b-%d9%81%d8%b1/), both 18, received similar charges for allegedly galvanizing the crowd in the northern cities of Nowshahr and Chalous. In both cases, the court relied on forced confessions as evidence.

Mr. Takdastan was accused of arson and destruction of public property and inciting violence, according to the judiciary.

Mr. Mohammadifard was sentenced to death twice for leading the protest and for hurling a Molotov cocktail at a government building, according to a [*Mizan report*](https://www.mizan.news/4579019/%d8%ac%d8%b2%db%8c%db%8c%d8%a7%d8%aa-%d9%be%d8%b1%d9%88%d9%86%d8%af%d9%87-%d9%84%db%8c%d8%af%d8%b1-%d8%a7%d8%ba%d8%aa%d8%b4%d8%a7%d8%b4%d8%a7%d8%aa-%d9%86%d9%88%d8%b4%d9%87%d8%b1%d8%9b-%d9%81%d8%b1/).

He also received was sentenced to seven years in prison on a litany of charges including creating antigovernment propaganda and insulting Iran’s supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei.

Death Verdict Reversed

The individuals sentenced to death have appealed to Iran’s Supreme Court to have the their verdicts overturned.-

Sahand Nourmohammad-Zadeh, 26, a bodybuilder.

On March 30, Iran’s Supreme Court announced it had overturned the death sentence for Mr. Nourmohammad-Zadeh, a 26-year-old bodybuilding champion who had been on death row since September. But the judge upheld the initial charge of “moharebe” and sentenced him to 16 years in prison.

Hossein Mohammadi, 26, a theater actor.

Hossein Mohammadi was arrested on Nov. 5 at his home in Karaj, and accused in the killing of a Basij member during a protest in Karaj. The Supreme Court overturned his death verdict and in April sentenced him to 10 years in prison, according to the judiciary.

Mr. Mohammadi, an award-winning theater actor, wrote poems, sang and acted in several short films and plays, and won the best actor award at a local art festival.

Hamid Ghare Hassanlou, 53, a radiologist.

Hamid Ghare Hassanlou was arrested on Nov. 4 in Karaj and was accused of being involved in the killing of a Basij member during protests. On Jan. 3, the Supreme Court announced that it had overturned Dr. Ghare Hassanlou’s death sentence verdict, citing shortcomings in the investigation. In April the judiciary announced he was sentenced to 15 years in prison in exile in a remote prison near the city of Yazd.

The final verdict for his wife, Farzaneh, 46, who was with him, is five years in prison in exile in the city of Mashhad, the judiciary said in April.

Dr. Ghare Hassanlou is known in Iran’s medical community for having long served underprivileged areas. He built several schools in rural and low-income towns, donated medical equipment to clinics, treated patients for free and volunteered in a public clinic, according to his colleagues and his family’s online posts.

Reza Arya, 43, father of two.

Reza Arya was accused of killing a Basij member during a large protest in Karaj. [*In a video*](https://twitter.com/MizanNewsAgency/status/1599309693549088769?s=20&amp;t=hL_IRdQsVY6pt4MI-tu_NQ) published by Mizan, Mr. Arya said that he only kicked the officer twice and then left the scene.

On Jan. 3, the Supreme Court announced that it had overturned the verdict, citing shortcomings in the investigation, and in April the judiciary announced the final verdict was 10 years in prison.

Leily Nikounazar contributed reporting.

Leily Nikounazar contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: An image from social media of Iranians marking 40 days since the death of Mahsa Amini, who perished in the custody of Iran’s morality police. (PHOTOGRAPH VIA, AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page A6.

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[***The Space Between***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63CH-VG01-DXY4-X1RX-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Tressie McMillan Cottom

**Body**

DON'T LET IT GET YOU DOWN Essays on Race, Gender, and the BodyBy Savala Nolan

In ''The Art of the Black Essay,'' the scholar Cheryl Blanche Butler declared that ''the writer does not choose the essayistic form, the essay unfolds out of her.'' The essays in Savala Nolan's first collection, ''Don't Let It Get You Down,'' unfold out of her complex relationship with being a big-bodied, mixed-race Black woman.

Nolan is a law professor at Berkeley who clerked in the Obama administration's office of White House counsel; but these 12 essays are concerned less with her legal career than with her origin story and personal development, born as she was ''in between'' racial categories and their corresponding expectations. ''I'm a mixed Black woman and what folks have sometimes called 'a whole lot of yellow wasted,''' Nolan writes, ''meaning I have light (yellow) skin 'wasted' by Black features.'' Her father is not just Black and Mexican; he is also poor, ''so poor we went to the bathroom in buckets under a ceiling hole repaired with tarp.'' He was raised 20 miles from the Mexican border in California, and spent 20 years of his adolescence and early adulthood in and out of prison, condemned to stay poor. On the white, maternal side of her family, Nolan is a ''Daughter of the American Revolution,'' with a graduate education just like her mom has and trust-fund friends. Because of these mixed-status origins, the forces of social class hang over the entirety of this standout collection.

Nolan is writing into a long tradition, and its contemporary renaissance. From Du Bois's ''The Souls of Black Folk'' to slave narratives, the Black essay is rich with stories of otherness and duality. Writers like Clint Smith, Emily Bernard, Nishta J. Mehra, Ta-Nehisi Coates, Claudia Rankine, Mychal Denzel Smith and Robert Jones Jr. (among many others) bring the modern essay form to bear as much on how the experiences of Blackness differ as they do on how they cohere. This embrace of the heterogeneity of Black womanhood is part of this book's charm.

Another part is the author's voice -- vulnerable, but rarely veering into self-indulgence. Nolan is so hard on herself that at times one wishes she'd indulge herself more, with some grace, some forgiveness, perhaps a little humor. In ''On Dating White Guys While Me,'' she explores her naked desire for white male attention, a dynamic more commonly admitted by Black gay writers than by straight Black women. ''I'd long sensed that the most succinct, irrefutable way to move up in the world was to be loved by a prototypical white man,'' she writes of her relationship with an ex. ''I.e., someone at the top.'' It is a brutal, beautifully rendered narrative of the perceived ''cultural magic in their approval''; Nolan's holy grail, her passport to belonging. It is a gothic desire, to be objectified so totally that all of your Blackness and bigness disappears. But Nolan's writing, her stark honesty, conveys how entirely rational this is, as a response to the ways racism, colorism and the patriarchy apportion power to women based on their attractiveness to white men.

That white patriarchal gaze echoes across the collection, with sometimes devastating consequences. In ''White Doll,'' Nolan recounts the end of her pregnancy and birth of her daughter, Gemma, when her prenatal pain, irregular heartbeat and vomiting went unheeded by her white doctors, despite several trips to the E.R. ''We know Black women are more likely to die in childbirth regardless of socioeconomic status,'' she writes. ''I want credit for surviving a racialized pregnancy.''

''Don't Let It Get You Down'' dances in the spaces between binaries of Black womanhood. When Nolan met her future husband, a white, ***working-class*** high school dropout, she realized her earlier mistake in seeking white partners to improve her station in life: ''I'd always wanted to be the empress; I was becoming more interested in the gladiator.'' From her mother, ''thin and frail, like a glass of skim milk,'' she's inherited white diet culture (''I grew up with my WASPy family, with ceaseless diet-and-binge cycles and forced trampoline jumping before dinner''); but from her father she's inherited a body resistant to such punitive pressure to conform to white beauty standards. Taken together, these essays give the sense that Nolan has not yet solved herself for herself. But they also show how the pieces of our lives do not have to fit neatly in a frame in order to make a portrait worthy of attention.Tressie McMillan Cottom, a MacArthur fellow, is an associate professor at the U.N.C. School of Information and Library Science and the author of ''Thick.''DON'T LET IT GET YOU DOWNEssays on Race, Gender, and the BodyBy Savala Nolan195 pp. Simon & Schuster. $26.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/12/books/review/savala-nolan-dont-let-it-get-you-down.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/12/books/review/savala-nolan-dont-let-it-get-you-down.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Savala Nolan (PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDRIA LO)

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[***Democratic Dollars Flow to Candidates Who Are Unlikely to Win***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:658C-PT01-DXY4-X2RP-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Jonathan Weisman

**Body**

New fund-raising figures show emerging Democratic stars like Marcus Flowers in Georgia and Gary Chambers Jr. in Louisiana, with no clear path to victory.

Gary Chambers Jr. burst onto the national scene in 2020 with a viral video of him castigating the racism of the East Baton Rouge school district. Now, he has captured the hearts and wallets of young liberals with a video for his improbable Senate campaign that shows him smoking a large joint and calling for the legalization of marijuana.

He has almost no paths to victory over a sitting Republican senator in a red state like Louisiana. But he has raised $1.2 million.

The same most likely goes for the Rev. Jasmine Beach-Ferrara, a gay minister who has raised $1.4 million to oust Representative Madison Cawthorn, the far-right Republican, from his North Carolina seat. And for Marcus Flowers, a cowboy-hat-wearing veteran in Georgia who raised $2.4 million just in the first three months of the year to try to dislodge Marjorie Taylor Greene from a heavily Republican district.

Every election year in recent cycles, celebrity Democratic candidates have emerged -- either on the strength of their personalities, the notoriety of their Republican opponents or both -- to rake in campaign cash, then lose impossible elections. Some Democrats say such races are draining money from more winnable campaigns, but the candidates insist that even in losing, they are helping the party by pulling voters in for statewide races, bolstering the Democratic brand and broadening the party's appeal.

''We are asking folks to join us, join us in winning this race and doing the organizing we need,'' Ms. Beach-Ferrara said in an interview, ''and to say we can't look at the map and say we aren't running there. When you do that you get a Madison Cawthorn in office.''

As first-quarter fund-raising numbers roll in, the stars are emerging. The biggest bucks belong to incumbents. Senator Ron Johnson of Wisconsin, a Republican widely viewed as vulnerable this year, was criticized six years ago for anemic fund-raising; this time around, he raised nearly $8.7 million in the first quarter. Senator Raphael Warnock, a Georgia Democrat facing a difficult re-election, raised $13.6 million against the $5.2 million raised by his main Republican opponent, Herschel Walker.

Competitive races are already awash in money. Representative Val Demings, Democrat of Florida, raised more than $10 million to challenge Senator Marco Rubio, who raised $5.8 million.

Then there's Mr. Flowers, whose $2.4 million haul in the first quarter easily topped Ms. Greene's $1.1 million, in a Northwest Georgia district that has given Republicans 75 percent of the vote since it was created in 2012.

Mr. Flowers has proved remarkably adept at raising small-dollar donations with a barrage of emails -- sometimes multiple emails each day -- that capitalize on the behavior of the far-right congresswoman he is running against. An Army veteran who served in combat, he has emphasized his military service, talking tough while attacking Ms. Greene's sympathy for the Jan. 6 rioters and far-right conspiracy theories.

Jon Soltz, the co-founder and chairman of VoteVets.org, a liberal veterans organization that gave Mr. Flowers the maximum allowable contribution, said support was not necessarily about winning the seat but holding Ms. Greene in check and using his run to elevate her profile as the face of the Republican Party in suburban districts that are more winnable.

''She can't be free to travel around the country and spew her lies and disinformation,'' Mr. Soltz said. ''We're making her spend her money.''

In the process, Mr. Flowers can build name recognition for future runs and might energize the Democrats who live in Northwest Georgia to come out and vote for him, Mr. Warnock and the Democratic candidate for governor, Stacey Abrams.

Ms. Beach-Ferrara is similarly buoyed by her opponent, Mr. Cawthorn, the young face of far-right conservatism in the Trump era. A married lesbian mother of three, Ms. Beach-Ferrara insists her unlikely life story will help her in a district where an influx of politically active outsiders in the Asheville area could change the region's direction.

North Carolina's 11th House district, with new lines, is slightly less Republican than it was in 2020, when Mr. Cawthorn was first elected. She said Mr. Trump still would have won it by 10 percentage points but the state's Democratic governor, Roy Cooper, would have lost by only 4 points.

Her advantage two years later comes from disenchantment with Mr. Cawthorn, whose antics -- he has called Ukraine's president a thug and most recently said his colleagues had invited him to cocaine-filled orgies -- have prompted seven Republicans to challenge him in the upcoming primary.

''As people walk away from Cawthorn, our job is to meet them,'' she said, adding, ''For those who don't know what to make of a gay Christian minister, what is very clear with them is I'm being honest with them from the start.''

In Senator John Kennedy, Republican of Louisiana, Mr. Chambers does not have the villain that Democrats have made nationally of Ms. Greene. His campaign is based on his irreverent appeal -- an outspoken Black progressive voice willing to smoke weed in a commercial, burn a Confederate flag and call white school board members racist to their faces for defending a school named after Robert E. Lee.

He raised $800,000 in the first three months of the year from 18,500 donors. The average contribution was $41, many of those small-dollar donors youthful and excited, the campaign said.

Critics say such campaigns are more about building the brand of Democratic consultants than making a play for a Senate seat. The man who created Mr. Chambers's marijuana and Confederate flag ads, Erick Sanchez, helped run Andrew Yang's presidential campaign and also hawks ''Fouch on the Couch'' throw pillows of Dr. Anthony Fauci for $40 a pop.

But Randy Jones, one of Mr. Chambers's campaign chiefs, said the candidate should not be discounted. Mr. Chambers, he said, is taking a page from Ms. Abrams, who energized Georgia voters of color, urban liberals and the scatterings of rural Democrats to nearly win the governorship four years ago, build a political organization and set herself up for a rematch this year with the Republican governor, Brian Kemp.

Mr. Jones ran the campaign of another celebrity Democrat, Richard Ojeda of West Virginia, whose House campaign in 2018 was instructive in other ways. Mr. Ojeda, a trash-talking Bronze Star winner, sought to remake his party's image in his emerging Republican stronghold as more muscular and more ***working class***. He raised nearly $3 million, then lost by nearly 13 percentage points.

Embittered by the experience, Mr. Ojeda moved to North Carolina to leave a home state he describes with the same epithet Mr. Trump used for developing countries. He uses his political notoriety to lift his group No Dem Left Behind, which promotes candidates in rural Republican areas, as he builds a new house.

Even as he defended his campaign, Mr. Ojeda criticizes the party in ways that echo criticism of his own effort. Democrats across the country dumped hundreds of millions of dollars into the Senate campaigns of Jaime Harrison in South Carolina and Amy McGrath in Kentucky, when the money could have been spent on more winnable local races, he said. He insisted he could have won if Mr. Trump hadn't come to his corner of West Virginia twice.

But he also sees no point in ever trying again in a state so thoroughly Republican in the Trump era.

''West Virginia is going to have to burn to the ground before it will ever rise from the ashes -- that's it,'' Mr. Ojeda said. ''In West Virginia, all you can do as a Democrat is stand up, fight the battle so it's recorded and say, 'You guys are full of''' it.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/19/us/politics/democratic-midterm-fundraising.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/19/us/politics/democratic-midterm-fundraising.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Democratic upstarts who lack paths to victory have raised hundreds of thousands. Clockwise from above: The Rev. Jasmine Beach-Ferrara, a congressional candidate in North Carolina

Richard Ojeda, a West Virginia Senate candidate

and Gary Chambers Jr., a Senate hopeful from Louisiana. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANGELI WRIGHT/CITIZEN-TIMES.COM-ASHEVILLE

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[***New York's Mosaic of Religions***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6741-R5J1-DXY4-X03R-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By James Estrin and Liam Stack

**Body**

New York City is a place of maximum diversity in minimum space, to borrow a phrase from the writer Milan Kundera. Its spiritual communities are no exception. Last year, the Public Religion Research Institute underscored this in a first-of-its-kind study that measured the religious diversity of every county in the United States.

Three of the city's boroughs -- Manhattan, Brooklyn and Queens -- were among the 10 most diverse counties in the country, according to the survey. The other two, Staten Island and the Bronx, were not far behind.

There is a dizzying array of global faiths across the five boroughs, from Black Baptist churches and Buddhist temples to Islamic high schools and L.G.B.T.Q.-friendly synagogues.

But the city is not just a home for many different world religions; it is also a place that empowers New Yorkers to express their faith -- and share its treasures and ideals -- in a multitude of ways.

''We have different cultures in New York, so we get anything we need,'' said Frank Bell, a priest of Santería. His is an Afro-Cuban faith whose rituals require ceramics and other items found here affordably in abundance, from Yemeni bodegas in the Bronx to Ikea in Brooklyn.

''You can get herbs from the Arabs, fabric from the Indians or the Chinese,'' he said. ''This place, New York, is the best place in the world for our religion.''

In Queens, a Catholic church provides succor that extends beyond faith

Corona is home to a large ***working-class*** Latino immigrant community, and their commitment to Our Lady of Sorrows keeps its pews packed on Sundays.

''The Catholic Church in the United States, for Hispanic immigrants, is a place where people socialize,'' said the Rev. Manuel De Jesús Rodriguez, its pastor. ''People do their weddings here, people do their birthdays here, people do their quinceañeras and funerals here.''

Our Lady of Sorrows is woven into many aspects of neighborhood life, including some of its most troubled. The pastor said religion is ''perhaps the most important'' part of his work in Corona, ''but it is not the only one.''

Corona was part of the epicenter of the coronavirus pandemic in New York. Covid-19 killed at least 100 parishioners at Our Lady of Sorrows and drove away thousands more who never came back when restrictions on in-person events were lifted.

Few places on Earth are home to as much cultural diversity as Queens. Forty-seven percent of its residents were born overseas, according to the U.S. Census Bureau, and more than 300 languages are spoken within its borders.

The range of faiths practiced here is similarly vast. There are Buddhist and Jain temples, Sikh soup kitchens, Orthodox grade schools that teach in Greek, and communities that follow Bon, an ancient Indigenous Tibetan faith.

But for many, religious communities are more than a spiritual respite from city life. At Our Lady of Sorrows, Father Rodriguez spends more than half his time each week on what he calls ''spiritual counseling,'' which covers all manner of crisis and conflict.

''Priests are the psychologists for the immigrants,'' he said. ''Every issue that takes place in a family comes to our attention. Sex abuse. Domestic violence. 'My husband tried to kill me.' Overdose.''

The pastor said he has often helped parishioners file police reports. The church also has a close relationship with Elmhurst Hospital. Since he came to Our Lady of Sorrows two years ago, he has brought several people to its emergency room for drug overdoses or psychiatric care, he said.

''Because of the language barrier, it is difficult for people to understand what to do,'' he explained. ''So they come here first.''

In Brooklyn, a Black Baptist church takes on a gentrifying borough

Mr. Waterman has also taken to preaching in a tent behind the church. At first it was a temporary place to worship while Antioch was being renovated. But after the work had been completed and the church had reopened, the tent became a warm-weather fixture that he refers to as ''the Moses experience -- being in the wilderness.''

''In order for you to be effective in the community, you have to go out into the community,'' said Mr. Waterman, also known as Pastor Rob. ''When you open up wide, it lets people experience God wherever they are.''

People in Brooklyn experience God in a wide variety of ways, from Vodou practitioners in East New York and modern-day witches who make offerings in cemeteries, to Catholic parishes that offer Mass in numerous languages, including Spanish, Italian, Polish and Chinese.

Antioch Baptist views itself as a shelter against a world that is not designed to make life easy for its congregants, many of whom are working or middle class and are dealing with the impacts of gentrification, racism and poverty. That is never far from the pastor's mind when he takes the pulpit.

''You can't depend upon the system,'' he said during a tent sermon on a hot July day. ''Their job is to lock us up and throw away the key, and it's OK that we come out 20 years later and then we can't find a job.''

That day, Pastor Rob was preaching before 200 smartly dressed worshipers. More sat on stoops across the street or in double-parked cars to listen to the sermon and the hymns sung by Sheila Carpenter, the minister of music, and her three children.

''God don't want you to be poor another day in your life,'' he told the congregation. ''Everybody say, 'I haven't given up!' Everybody say, 'I am God's opportunity!' I need you to look at somebody and say, 'Neighbor, I am God's opportunity.'''

But he does more than preach about these issues. The church also hosts a job training program for young people, who can learn skills in technology, customer service and construction.

''Some of these young people were at Rikers,'' said Ms. Carpenter, who also serves as the training program's financial officer, referring to the jail. ''Now they are giving back to the community, helping the community to prosper.''

In Staten Island, an Islamic cultural center gains in strength, outreach and numbers

In the early days of the mosque, the worshipers were mainly Albanians, but today roughly half are Arabs, Turks, Uzbeks and others, said Imam Tahir Kukaj, the mosque's leader.

Staten Island is the least diverse, least populous and most politically conservative borough in New York City. Still, it is far more diverse than most places in the United States.

Most residents are white Catholics. But the borough is home to a thriving community of Muslims and Buddhists, among others.

Unlike many mosques in the United States, the cultural center, in Tompkinsville, has a minaret, a tower that historically would be used to broadcast the call to prayer but that often draws the ire of community and zoning groups.

Mr. Kukaj said its traditional purpose is not really needed in New York because so many here have phone apps that remind them to pray. But his mosque made sure to build a minaret ''for the cultural meaning,'' he said, to remind immigrants of their birth countries and to make a statement: This neighborhood is your home.

''We live in tough times,'' he said. ''Anti-Muslim and anti-Jewish sentiment is still here.''

For Idris Guven, a New York City police captain who moved to New York from Turkey, the mosque has been a safe place for his children to study. That day, Mr. Guven's daughter was awarded a merit scholarship by a local university that would cover 90 percent of her nursing school tuition.

''We live in the U.S.A., and we love what it offers, but we want them to know their culture and their identity,'' he said in June at his daughter's graduation ceremony, just after the imam had led the audience in the Pledge of Allegiance.

But Mr. Guven is still worried about mass shootings and Islamophobia, he said. Sitting in the school's brightly lit basement, he was glad to have his N.Y.P.D. service weapon tucked into his waistband.

Lamiaa Rafaey, the headmistress of Miraj, knows the world her students will graduate into, she said. For her, a core part of the school's mission is to remind children that no matter what anyone says -- on the street or on cable news -- they are just as American as anyone else.

''We always tell our students, 'If you are Muslim, Christian, Jewish or have no religion, we are all Americans','' she said. ''We are all New Yorkers. We are all people.''

In Manhattan, there is a synagogue for everyone, especially the L.G.B.T.Q. community

Manhattan is home to towering cathedrals and ornate synagogues, and it serves as the seat of power for mighty institutions, including the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York.

But since it was founded in 1625 as the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam, religious tolerance has been a bedrock of Manhattan's vibrancy.

The borough today is home to many groups that expand the boundaries of their faiths by exploring new ways of doing things.

This can be seen at Catholic parishes, like the Church of St. Francis Xavier in Chelsea, which organizes book clubs and discussion groups for L.G.B.T.Q. parishioners, or Hadar, a self-described traditional Jewish yeshiva on the Upper West Side that is open to Jews of all denominations, genders and sexual orientations.

Congregation Beit Simchat Torah began as a small volunteer-run effort. Dues were $50 a year, and it didn't hire a full-time rabbi for 19 years. But this grass roots ethos was impossible to sustain during the AIDS crisis.

Hired in 1992, Rabbi Kleinbaum was the synagogue's first paid staff member. In her first month on the job, she conducted four funerals for young men who died of AIDS. ''At 33, I was burying my own generation of gay men,'' she said.

She had been on the job for five years when treatments for H.I.V. started to become more effective. By then, 40 percent of the congregation had died of the disease.

Today, the synagogue has 1,200 members, ''big dreams,'' and a stubborn budget deficit, she said. ''The gay community thinks we are rich because we are Jewish, and the Jewish community thinks we are rich because we are gay.''

At first, Rabbi Kleinbaum's goal was to provide a safe harbor for people. Over the years, that mission has stayed the same, but its meaning and scope have evolved as the synagogue and the society around it have changed.

About a decade ago, the synagogue introduced a religious education program for children and teenagers. ''The founders of C.B.S.T. couldn't imagine gay families having kids,'' she said.

Currently, 50 children are enrolled in bar mitzvah classes. Others attend teen programs on civil rights history and current events.

The synagogue has also expanded into immigrant rights work. Most of the immigrants who benefit from its services are not Jewish, but some remain part of the synagogue community long after their cases have been settled.

''This is a value of ours, to take positions on issues we care about in the world,'' Rabbi Kleinbaum said. ''We are very liberal,'' she continued, touting her synagogue's politics and inclusivity. ''We welcome straight people here.''

In the Bronx, a Hindu temple focuses on 'food justice work'

The Bronx is the city's poorest borough. It is home to a large Catholic population, with 38 percent of its residents identifying as such in 2014, including 28 percent who are Latino.

Although the oldest and grandest Hindu temples are in Queens, Hindu New Yorkers in the other four boroughs often frequent small, intimate houses of worship like Vishnu Mandir, in Soundview.

It is a point of pride for the community that since it opened in the '90s, the temple has never shut its doors, even during the height of the pandemic, Ms. Kemraj said.

Pandit Vyaas took his father's place as the temple's pandit, or Hindu priest, after he died. Every Sunday he drives in from his home on Long Island to lead roughly 75 devotees in a two-hour service of chants and prayers.

After services, volunteers pass out vegan meals in to-go containers -- rice, dal, curries of pumpkin, eggplant -- and bags of fresh produce.

It is part of what Ms. Kemraj calls the temple's ''food justice work,'' which includes food giveaways and events aimed at people outside the temple, too. She believes Vishnu Mandir to be the first Hindu temple, perhaps in the world, she said, to book a Muslim drag queen to perform during Pride Month.

''We don't just serve the needs of the Hindu community or the South Asian community, but others in the Caribbean community, especially Guyana,'' she said.

On a recent windy Sunday, Mr. Sukul shared a teaching from the deity Hanuman, on the importance of appreciating God during the good times and the bad.

''If you use the name of God like medicine to get better, and then you leave it in the cabinet when you are not sick, it makes no sense,'' Pandit Vyaas said. ''Hanumanji says when you have a problem, chant the name of God. But also when you are happy and don't have a problem, chant the name of God.''

Afterward, the worshipers blessed themselves, put on their layers of heavy coats and headed out into the cold.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/15/nyregion/world-religions-new-york-city.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/15/nyregion/world-religions-new-york-city.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: At Wat Buddha Thai Thavorn Vanaram, a Thai Buddhist temple in Elmhurst, Queens. (MB1)

Above, a first communion service at Our Lady of Sorrows, a Roman Catholic church in Corona that is mostly Ecuadorean, Mexican and Central American. On this day, over 75 young people took part.

Above, Gurdwara Sikh Cultural Society, in Richmond Hill, which serves thousands of free meals a week. (MB6)

At right, the Good Friday procession in April near Our Lady of Sorrows. Spiritual counseling is part of the church's mission. (MB6-MB7)

The Bon Shen Ling temple in Woodside. Bon is an ancient Indigenous Tibetan religion that was influenced by Indian Buddhism.

A boy waiting as his grandmother picks out free groceries at a food pantry run by Faith Bible Church, an evangelical house of worship in Flushing.

Sunday prayer service at the Jain Center of America in Elmhurst. People washed statues as part of a ceremony to purify themselves.

At St. Demetrios Cathedral, a Greek Orthodox Church in Astoria that also has a school, students participated in a Good Friday service. (MB7)

The Rev. Dr. Robert M. Waterman at a Father's Day service at Antioch Baptist Church in Bedford-Stuyvesant. He encourages his congregation not to give up.

Deacon Anthony Mammoliti of St. Dominic Roman Catholic Church in Bensonhurst -- the last church in Brooklyn offering daily Masses in Italian -- led communion on a home visit.

Followers moved and swayed rapidly as they sang at a traditional outdoor celebration of the Lag B'Omer holiday in Borough Park.

Members of Ile Osunfikayo, a temple in Flatbush dedicated to Yoruba practices from West Africa, gave offerings to a river deity on the Hudson.

In the Mapleton neighborhood, a christening takes place at St. Athanasius Roman Catholic Church, which used to be mainly Italian American but today is more diverse. (MB8)

Antioch Baptist Church is a well-connected neighborhood hub that is sometimes called the town hall of Bed-Stuy. The church sees itself as a shelter against a world not designed to make life easy for its congregants.

In a backyard tent in East New York, the Haitian Vodou priestess Jocelyn Pierre-Louis, right, invoked spirits in Haitian Creole. Enslaved people from West Africa brought Vodou, a nature-based religion and way of life, to Haiti. And Haitians brought it to Brooklyn. (MB8-MB9)

Sierra and Pete Vasquez, center, hosted an evangelical gathering in Washington Heights. They are associated with Liberty Church, which conducts in-person and remote services.

Members of the New York Coven of Witches performing a private Wiccan harvest ritual at the Immigrant bar in the East Village.

Aurelio Santana, left, from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, prayed with Maria Tineo in her apartment in Washington Heights during a weekly visit.

Rabbi Aviva Richman led morning prayers at Hadar, an egalitarian yeshiva, or Jewish learning center, on the Upper West Side that is open to Jews of all denominations. (MB10)

At Congregation Beit Simchat Torah in Chelsea, a Torah was unrolled and displayed by congregants for the Simhat Torah holiday, above, while Rabbi Sharon Kleinbaum and Cantor Sam Rosen danced, right, in observance of the day marking a new cycle of Torah readings. (MB10-MB11)

A youth choir at Church of the Heavenly Rest, which is Episcopal, on the Upper East Side. (MB11)

Students during noon prayers at the Albanian Islamic Cultural Center on Staten Island. Enrollment at the mosque's school, Miraj, has increased greatly since it opened in the late 1990s.

Holy water being sprinkled on congregants during a Saturday service at the Virgin Mary & St. George Coptic Orthodox Church in Tottenville. The Coptic Church, an ancient religion, is based in Egypt.

A Sunday morning service at Christ Assembly Lutheran Church in Stapleton. The congregation is mostly from West Africa, and the pastor is from Liberia.

Shree Ram Mandir, also known as the Staten Island Hindu Temple, in Sunnyside. (MB12)

Bharati Kemraj, foreground, at a Janmashtami holiday service in August at Vishnu Mandir, a small Hindu temple in the Soundview neighborhood. Since opening in the 1990s, the temple has never shut its doors, even during the height of the pandemic.

An offering for a deity. Santería is based on Yoruba beliefs and traditions brought by enslaved West Africans to Cuba.

Sister Clara Bravo, who came to New York from an order in Puebla, Mexico, helped an altar server prepare for Sunday Mass at St. Luke Roman Catholic Church in the Mott Haven neighborhood.

During Eid al-Adha this summer, Yankasa Masjid, a mosque in Mount Hope, was so full that people prayed in an alleyway near the women's entrance. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JAMES ESTRIN) (MB13) This article appeared in print on page MB1, MB6, MB7, MB8, MB9, MB10, MB11, MB12, MB13.

**Load-Date:** December 18, 2022

**End of Document**



[***They're Working 9 to 5 On Their New Novel***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63C9-0101-JBG3-61DG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 14, 2021 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 735 words

**Byline:** By Alexandra Alter

**Body**

''Run, Rose, Run'' is set for publication in 2022, along with a Parton album whose 12 new songs were inspired by the book.

In February 2020, James Patterson flew to Nashville to visit Dolly Parton.

She was a fan of his ''Alex Cross'' thrillers, and he had a proposal for her: Would she work with him on a novel about an aspiring country singer who goes to Nashville to seek her fortune and escape her past?

Parton loved the idea. Two days later, she sent Patterson notes on the plot -- along with lyrics for seven new songs that she wrote, based on the story.

''She didn't want to get involved in something just to put her name on it. She really wanted to be involved,'' Patterson said in an interview on Wednesday. ''She's not going to do something if she doesn't think she's going to do it well.''

In March, Little, Brown plans to publish ''Run, Rose, Run,'' a collaboration between Patterson and Parton, in print, e-book and audio editions. The novel, about a young singer with a dark secret that inspires her music, draws on Parton's experiences in country music.

Parton will simultaneously release an album, also titled ''Run, Rose, Run,'' featuring 12 new songs inspired by the novel. The songs are ''based on the characters and situations in the book,'' Parton said in a news release, and the lyrics are threaded throughout the novel.

The creative partnership of Patterson and Parton -- a thriller writer known for his often grisly plots, and a musician beloved by Americans of all political and geographic persuasions -- struck some observers as odd. (''Huh,'' ''WHAT'' and ''Yo, What?!'' were common reactions on social media, as was enthusiastic befuddlement: ''I'm weirdly into this!!!'')

But Patterson noted that he and Parton have a good deal in common. ''We both consider ourselves storytellers,'' he said.

Both of them came from small towns and overcame the odds to build entertainment empires. They're both in their 70s, and neither shows any inclination of retiring soon. They both have nonprofits dedicated to childhood reading and literacy. Both of them are prolific writers in their genres.

''She didn't mess around, and neither do I,'' Patterson said. ''We both get down to business and chop wood.''

In the news release announcing the book, Little, Brown seemed giddy over the commercial prospects of a multimedia project targeting Patterson and Parton's audiences: ''This dual release will mark the first time a #1 best-selling author and an entertainment icon who has sold well over 100 million albums worldwide have collaborated on a book and an album.''

Patterson has long relied on a stable of collaborators to meet his frenetic publication cycle. According to his publicist, he's written 322 books and sold some 425 million copies. He's worked with around 35 co-writers and currently has multiple books on the best seller lists, including ''The Shadow,'' which he wrote with Brian Sitts, and ''The President's Daughter,'' a political thriller he wrote with former President Bill Clinton. It is a follow-up to their previous novel, ''The President Is Missing,'' which sold more than 3.2 million copies worldwide.

But joining forces with a celebrity as popular as Parton could generate even more interest in the forthcoming book. She is one of the few public figures with seemingly bipartisan appeal, celebrated by some as a ***working-class*** Southern hero and venerated by others for her support for L.G.B.T.Q. rights and unapologetic kitsch. (Parton created her own theme park in the foothills of the Smoky Mountains, ''Dollywood,'' which includes a water park, dinner theater, roller coaster rides and a replica of her two-room childhood home.)

''People love her,'' Patterson said, stating the blazingly obvious.

After their initial meeting, which was casual (''No agents, no lawyers,'' Patterson said), Parton and Patterson spent the next six to eight months hashing out scenes, going back and forth on chapters and notes. Parton nicknamed him J.J., short for Jimmy James, he said.

They kept the project secret, though Parton, in an interview with The New York Times late last year, let slip that she was a fan. When asked to name three writers she would invite to a dinner party, she listed him along with Maya Angelou and Charles Dickens.

''First would be James Patterson,'' she said. ''Since we're both in entertainment, we could write it off as a business expense.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/11/books/dolly-parton-james-patterson-book.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/11/books/dolly-parton-james-patterson-book.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Dolly Parton and James Patterson, who are producing ''Run, Rose, Run,'' which is to be published next year. Parton also plans to release an album by the same name next year. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOLLY PARTON)

**Load-Date:** August 14, 2021

**End of Document**



[***A Fateful Train Ride Connects Eras and Cultures in This Novel; Fiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64H9-3N11-JBG3-64CD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 11, 2022 Tuesday 22:58 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 980 words

**Byline:** TaraShea Nesbit

**Highlight:** Jonathan Evison’s novel “Small World” follows the lives of several travelers and their 19th-century ancestors.

**Body**

SMALL WORLD

By Jonathan Evison

Over a prolific decade, Jonathan Evison has been assessing America through novels about ***working-class*** folks — home health aides, lawn workers. His 2011 novel “[*West of Here*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/20/books/review/Peed-t.html)” seems most in companionship with his latest, “Small World”: Both are sprawling sagas with dual timelines that follow late-19th-century Westerners and their contemporary descendants. “Small World” opens with a train accident in 2019. The engineer, Walter Bergen, has had a perfect record until this, the final run of his career. The train, heading to Seattle, is “hurtling toward the unavoidable” — both the inevitable crash and, for Walter, an increasing awareness of that final movement in our lives.

The chapters alternate among story lines about a handful of travelers on this train journey, as well as their 1850s ancestors. Brianna Flowers has taken out a payday loan to get her high-achieving son, Malik, to the basketball invitational in Seattle. Her ancestors, George and Cora Flowers, have a tragic love story to tell. Laila Tully, a waitress and descendant of Miwok and Washoe ancestors, is fleeing her abusive white boyfriend and her hometown. Like Brianna’s, Laila’s trip requires a significant amount of her resources.

The Chen family is economically comfortable, the parents just looking for a weekend getaway, while the preteens wish they were back home with their screens. But the mother, a reformed workaholic named Jenny Chen, is partly responsible for the early retirement that Walter is taking from Amtrak. Her ancestor, Wu Chen, has immigrated to San Francisco from Guangdong and found solidarity in two brothers from the same province. They struck gold, but Wu is haunted by what followed.

The dual timeline sounds more complicated than it is. Evison’s characters are distinctive and the plot is well paced. Depictions of the sibling ache between the separated twins Nora and Finn Bergen (Walter’s ancestors), the survivor’s guilt of Wu and the longing Jenny has for a connection to her parents are deeply felt. Nora never loses hope to be reunited with her brother. Finn heads farther and farther west, building the rails, searching.

Hope is tempered by inequity and injustice. Brianna blames herself when she can’t find enough money to get Malik to Seattle: “She had invested in Malik over the past 16 years, how could she possibly come up $600 short?” Readers observing the context of her life — how she quit an appliance sales job when propositioned by the boss, for instance — can see how the problem is much larger.

But the novel is easy to love in part because it deals in generosity and hope. Part of the reading experience will hinge on how much evidence one needs to believe in humanity’s capacity for altruism. Tam, a server who works with Laila, gives her money that Tam must have been saving for months. Her reasoning is moving: “The whole hope was to save Laila from Tam’s life.” The two brothers from Guangdong invite Wu to search for gold with them, even though their profits will be diluted. And in an early chapter, an Irish immigrant and his daughter, who are struggling in a New York tenement, give what they have to the Bergens, so that they can head west. Did I believe that money would be given, so quickly? Not really. But did I enjoy reading that it was possible? Yes.

The lives of Evison’s characters require action, and this need — to act now and fast — along with the cast’s size, poses the hazard of skimming from their interiority. There might not have been time to linger on Cora’s decision to leave her established life in Chicago to go with George Flowers, who has fled enslavement; she shows him courtesy, but he deeply surprises her with his proposal. Jess Row aptly argues in “[*White Flights*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/06/books/review/white-flights-jess-row.html)” that many white novelists place their stories in diverse cities, but conveniently omit people of color from their cast. Evison does not omit, and the novel is more expansive because of it, but at times I wished to know more about the characters’ internal lives, the details and contexts outside of the immediate plot.

Does the railway bring us closer together, as promised? George’s captor, Worthy Warnock, pontificates about the transcontinental railroad: “Ah, but what a small world it shall be … when we connect the East and the West.” But is a small world a good thing? For characters in precarity, smallness keeps them trapped: “What a cruel place the world was to be so small,” George says. For Nora, we are connected, instead, by sorrow: “What need of iron horses? It was already a small world when it came to suffering.”

Walter (cisgender, male, white) drives the diverse cast of characters toward impending danger. He ruminates about his daughter’s upcoming marriage, about his own place in the world now that his career is closing: “He was certain he still had something to offer the world. But according to his own daughter … it was time for Walter and the rest of the old white guys to step aside.” An early chapter from Walter’s point of view, with his discomfort in his daughter’s use of the word “queer” to describe herself, suggests a preoccupation far narrower than the novel’s overall scope.

“Small World” is ambitious, showing our interconnectedness across time, place and cultures. What happens on the day of potential tragedy is revealed slowly throughout the book. I wanted to know the conclusion to every character’s story line so much that I wasn’t too concerned with how Walter’s train went awry. The final pages, earnest and direct, chance the sentimental, which might be the riskiest move of all.

TaraShea Nesbit is the author of “Beheld” and “The Wives of Los Alamos.” She is an associate professor at Miami University. SMALL WORLD By Jonathan Evison 480 pp. Dutton. $28.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Nhung Le FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Related Articles**

* [*‘This Is Your Life, Harriet Chance!’ by Jonathan Evison*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/27/books/review/this-is-your-life-harriet-chance-by-jonathan-evison.html)

1. [*Assisted Living*](https://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/09/books/review/the-revised-fundamentals-of-caregiving-by-jonathan-evison.html)

**Load-Date:** January 17, 2022

**End of Document**



[***A Biennale Wrestles With Big Issues (and Itself)***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6612-X051-DXY4-X0N1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 26, 2022 Tuesday

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 5; ART REVIEW

**Length:** 1779 words

**Byline:** By Siddhartha Mitter

**Body**

A powerful and relentlessly political exhibition takes on all the world's crises -- at the risk of conceptual overload.

BERLIN -- To imagine a new world, Karl Marx wrote in 1843 after studying in Berlin, you must first rigorously unpack the old one with ''a ruthless criticism of everything existing.''

That energy pervades this year's Berlin Biennale, which unfolds across five museums in the city, curated by the French Algerian artist Kader Attia. No matter how you approach the event, you are instantly met with art that grapples with the legacies of war and colonialism; domination by race, gender, class and caste; ecological damage; disinformation; and social control.

Begin at the KW Institute of Contemporary Art and you hit a wall-size installation of photographs and video interviews of ***working-class*** Portuguese and Turkish immigrants in Paris in the 1980s. Made by the feminist artist Nil Yalter, the work is titled ''Exile Is a Hard Job.''

At the Hamburger Bahnhof museum, the first room holds a continuous image of clouds in a horizontal band along four walls. It is not a photograph but a digital composition by Lawrence Abu Hamdan, built from data on 15 years of Israeli surveillance flights in Lebanon's airspace.

And at the Akademie der Künste, beside the Brandenburg Gate, you enter a space hung with enormous works on paper by Moses März that chart the political networks and intellectual histories of topics including radical ecology, the restitution of pillaged art, and Black politics and antiracism in Germany.

This Biennale, which runs through Sept. 18, is serious. Very serious. It verges on humorless, though it also contains moments of grace and some truly transporting pieces. Its roster of 69 artists and collectives includes familiar war horses from the circuit, but plenty of newcomers, too. It is not a ''global South'' exhibition -- Europe is well represented -- but still leans that way, including notable clusters from Vietnam, India, and Arabic-speaking countries.

A strong show more than a pleasant one, the Biennale wrestles with itself as well as with the issues. Biennials and museums are sites of power, after all; the curator is a gatekeeper. Attia's curatorial statement notes that today's ''profusion of sprawling, monumental exhibitions'' mirrors ''the material excesses'' of global capitalism, and asks: ''So why add yet another exhibition to this?''

The answer he reaches is that art -- perhaps uniquely -- can reclaim our attention from algorithmically enforced social control. The Biennale's title, ''Still Present!,'' rings as part exhortation, part proof of life. It aims for the transition point where that ruthless critique bears fruit, where the old is sloughed off for the new, with artists leading.

The experience can feel relentless. There are reams upon screens of documentary and investigative art. Forensic Architecture, the pioneering data and video research collective, has a strong presence, including a large installation that recapitulates some of its major investigations over the years, another on a Russian airstrike in Kyiv (timely, though not hugely illuminating) and separate projects by researchers associated with the group. Videos by Susan Schuppli examine Canadian police brutality against Indigenous people and migrant abuse by U.S. border agents; Imani Jacqueline Brown, in a more evocative and personal multimedia installation, travels Louisiana's polluted wetlands, mapping toxicity to propose reparation.

At KW, a text work by the distinguished scholar Ariella Aïsha Azoulay examines how visual records of the aftermath of World War II avoid dealing with the widespread rape of German women by Soviet soldiers. Her project is presented as small-print pages on the wall, plus a table display of related books that visitors are not allowed to pick up and browse -- a frustrating mise-en-scène for an important topic.

And midway through the section at the Hamburger Bahnhof sits a work so grotesquely and deliberately vile that it risks destabilizing the whole show. ''Poison Soluble,'' by Jean-Jacques Lebel, a French artist and veteran of activist causes, is a room-size maze installation with partitions covered by enormous blowups of the snapshots that American soldiers took when they abused Iraqi captives at the Abu Ghraib prison.

As art, it's obscene -- and certainly effective, at least at rekindling anger at these events, though as I attempted to linger in the installation to pick up any deeper signals, I was distracted by visitors turning on their heels in disgust and others pushing their way through, awkwardly navigating around me between the panels of gore.

''Poison Soluble'' previously featured in a 2018 joint exhibition in Paris by Lebel and Attia; the two are friends. It is by far the most shocking work in this Berlin Biennale. But Lebel is involved in another piece in the show, a half-century older: the ''Large Collective Antifascist Painting'' from 1960, created with five other European artists in response to the torture of the Algerian activist Djamila Boupacha by French soldiers, which became a cause célèbre. The painting is a somewhat garish period piece, violent in its own way.

The historical line between the two Lebel pieces is perhaps this Biennale's least productive vector -- except as an object lesson in how a certain European and masculine mode of antiracist and anticolonial art, though forged in real political battles, lost its way and lapsed into exploitation. Outside ''Poison Soluble,'' a warning sign advises that the work depicts intense violence, but without stating the topic. Its instruction that people ''who have experienced racial trauma or abuse'' should not enter feels paternalistic and exclusionary.

Fortunately, this Biennale operates in multiple registers. Though the show overall resonates closely with Attia's preoccupations as an artist, he was seconded by a cosmopolitan curatorial team of five women -- Ana Teixeira Pinto, Do Tuong Linh, Marie Helene Pereira, Noam Segal and Rasha Salti -- and it's a relief when their combined efforts open space for the poetic.

This is notable at the other location of the Akademie der Künste, in the western Hansaviertel district, where the exhibition takes on an environmental orientation while remaining animated by social and imperial history. An affecting installation by Sammy Baloji includes tropical plants in a small hothouse of the kind that traders used to ship specimens to Europe; a speaker softly plays drumming and singing by a Congolese veteran of the Belgian Army in World War I who was captured by the Germans and forced to take part in their ethnographic recordings. Nearby, exquisite drawings by Temitayo Ogunbiyi depict okra, water leaf and other vegetables in Nigerian cuisine, along with recipes.

Even when the show is examining current crises, it benefits from mixing documentary and other techniques. ''Oh Shining Star Testify,'' an installation by Basel Abbas and Ruanne Abou-Rahme on three large screens, is lyrical and dramatic, the projected images broken up by stacked boards that create a kind of stage set. The work uses surveillance tape of the killing by Israeli soldiers of a 14-year-old Palestinian boy who crossed a separation wall to pick an edible plant, plus other footage, a soundtrack and concise text cards. It has the force of ancient tragedy.

The French collective PEROU keys in on absurdity: It layers video documentation of the police crackdown and clearing of a Roma encampment in the Paris suburbs with a reading of the long, highly procedural municipal order that approved those actions, showing up the complete disconnect of bureaucratic imagination from the human stakes.

There is much else to enjoy in this Biennale, on a line-item basis. Mai Nguyen-Long's ''Vomit Girl'' and ''Specimen'' sculpture series hover between playful and macabre as they grapple with the aftermath of Agent Orange bombings in Vietnam. Mónica de Miranda's lush film made in the mangroves of the Kwanza River in Angola deftly connects matrilineal knowledge, civil war and ecological dreaming. A remarkable suite -- photography, sculpture, video, text -- by Deneth Piumakshi Veda Arachchige connects photographs and human remains of Sri Lankan Indigenous people in European museums with the island's landscape and even the artist's own body, by means of a sculptural self-portrait in the manner of an ethnographic exhibit.

Even blunter are Mayuri Chari's vulvas sculpted from cow dung and stitched works on cloth that address the shaming of women's bodies in India amid conservative Hinduism's obsession with purity. Chari and two others, Prabhakar Kamble and Birender Yadav, are Dalit artists, from the lowest-ranking communities in India's caste system. Their works come straight from the front lines, with a material urgency -- dung, brooms, urns, crude sandals from construction sites -- that is clearer than any political manifesto.

It could not be further in affect and lucidity from Lebel's Abu Ghraib monstrosity, or other more conceptually stale entries. This Biennale is assertive and committed, and one senses a broadly congruent global outlook across its roster and curatorial team. Yet the results are all over the place -- one must study the scatter in an attempt to understand the collision that produced it.

Its contradictions, I suspect, reflect those of the ''decolonial,'' a concept that Attia invokes abundantly in the exhibition texts as well as in his past projects. The term has spread in the art world for a decade or so since jumping from academia. It originated with Latin American scholars who contend that the whole construction of the modern world -- in effect, since 1492 -- is contaminated by colonialism's racial and other hierarchies.

Whereas decolonization in the classic sense was a political, territorial project with no inherent grievance against modernity, today's ''decolonial practice'' is about changing systems of knowledge -- a woolier, potentially endless project. This Biennale is presented as a gathering of ''decolonial strategies.'' The task, Attia writes, is tending ''all of the wounds accumulated throughout the history of Western modernity.''

If so, then every institution requires decolonization because it perpetuates harms, including biennials and museums. But the risk is solipsism: more institutional thinking, only different. This Berlin Biennale feels tangled in that way, overloaded by its own conceptual apparatus. Still, many of its parts point beautifully toward freedom.

Berlin Biennale for Contemporary ArtThrough Sept. 18 at various locations in Berlin; 12.berlinbiennale.de.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/22/arts/design/berlin-biennale-review.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/22/arts/design/berlin-biennale-review.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Clockwise, from top: An installation view of Mónica de Miranda's ''Path to the Stars''

an installation view of ''Air Conditioning,'' by Lawrence Abu Hamdan

''What Remains at the Ends of the Earth?,'' by Imani Jacqueline Brown

sculptures from Mai Nguyen-Long's ''Vomit Girl'' series

''Oh Shining Star Testify,'' a video installation by Basel Abbas and Ruanne Abou-Rahme. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SILKE BRIEL, VIA BERLIN BIENNALE

LAURA FIORIO, VIA BERLIN BIENNALE

DOTGAIN.INFO, VIA BERLIN BIENNALE)

**Load-Date:** July 26, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The Movement to End Homework Is Wrong; Jay Caspian Kang***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:660X-XXC1-JBG3-61FS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 25, 2022 Monday 22:53 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1767 words

**Byline:** Jay Caspian Kang

**Highlight:** Doing away with it would change the purpose of school itself.

**Body**

Do students really need to do their homework?

As a parent and a former teacher, I have been pondering this question for quite a long time. The teacher side of me can acknowledge that there were assignments I gave out to my students that probably had little to no academic value. But I also imagine that some of my students never would have done their basic reading if they hadn’t been trained to complete expected assignments, which would have made the task of teaching an English class nearly impossible. As a parent, I would rather my daughter not get stuck doing the sort of pointless homework I would occasionally assign, but I also think there’s a lot of value in saying, “Hey, a lot of work you’re going to end up doing in your life is pointless, so why not just get used to it?”

I certainly am not the only person wondering about the value of homework. Recently, the sociologist Jessica McCrory Calarco and the mathematics education scholars Ilana Horn and Grace Chen published a paper, “[*You Need to Be More Responsible: The Myth of Meritocracy and Teachers’ Accounts of Homework Inequalities*](https://osf.io/preprints/socarxiv/xf96q).” They argued that while there’s some evidence that homework might help students learn, it also exacerbates inequalities and reinforces what they call the “meritocratic” narrative that says kids who do well in school do so because of “individual competence, effort and responsibility.”

The authors believe this meritocratic narrative is a myth and that homework — math homework in particular — further entrenches the myth in the minds of teachers and their students. Calarco, Horn and Chen write, “Research has highlighted inequalities in students’ homework production and linked those inequalities to differences in students’ home lives and in the support students’ families can provide.”

Put a bit more simply: The quality of students’ homework production is linked to their socioeconomic status. This alone doesn’t seem particularly controversial. As I’ve [*discussed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/09/opinion/sat-standardized-tests-ucs.html) in this newsletter, many measures of academic achievement wind up being linked to wealth. The authors go on to argue that since this is the case, teachers should “interpret differences in students’ homework production through a structural inequalities frame.” What they have found, however, is that teachers don’t think of homework this way. Instead, they tend to rely on the “myth of meritocracy” to explain “homework inequalities.”

Calarco, Horn and Chen are all respected scholars at top-tier universities. Their paper was published in Educational Researcher, a journal of the American Educational Research Association, one of the pre-eminent research organizations in the education space. Homework reduction, or abolition, is part of an [*emerging*](https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2019/03/homework-research-how-much/585889/) [*educational*](https://www.gse.harvard.edu/news/ed/12/01/are-you-down-or-done-homework) movement. And while the authors acknowledge that eliminating homework would be difficult in the short term, given how rooted it is in American pedagogy, I imagine that many public schools over the next decade or so will start to de-emphasize homework as these ideas start to make their way to school boards and curriculum writers.

Trying to assess the value of homework, reduce it or at least make less of it busywork might very well be a useful endeavor. But Calarco, Horn and Chen are questioning something much more fundamental to the American educational system than homework. Whether they intend to or not, they are, in effect, reframing the purpose of schooling itself. Is school a place where a select group of children can distinguish themselves from their peers through diligence, talent and the pursuit of upward mobility? Is it a place where everyone should have equal access to learning and opportunity, whatever that might mean? And are these two ideals mutually exclusive?

The authors of “You Need to Be More Responsible” are part of a movement that argues, sometimes convincingly, that a meritocratic vision impedes true equal opportunity. In regards to homework, what they are saying, in effect, is that the idea of responsibility itself — requiring students to be accountable for completing assignments — exacerbates inequality. And that rather than trying to run all students through a hierarchical educational system in the hopes that they will end up in the same place, it appears that the authors would rather de-emphasize anything that reinforces the idea that one student is better than another.

According to the authors, then, teachers should factor in students’ socioeconomic status when evaluating their homework. Teachers should acknowledge that, even with completed assignments, structural inequalities may be why students with access to fewer resources got more questions wrong than their better-resourced peers did. And if they want to help these hypothetical poor students, they shouldn’t appeal to messages of personal responsibility and individual agency because those concepts reinforce the myth of meritocracy.

This all sounds a bit abstract. Having taught at a variety of schools, I agree that students’ socioeconomic status will likely be a better predictor of how they do on their homework than any personal traits, but I still can’t quite imagine how a structural inequalities frame would operate in the classroom. How would you even talk to your students?

Teacher: Hey there. You got half the questions wrong on your homework.

Student: I’m sorry about that. What do you think I could do to improve my performance?

Teacher: Well, you could boost your socioeconomic status. Otherwise, the deck’s extremely stacked against you getting any of these questions right.

To help combat the myth of meritocracy, the authors suggest that teachers not assign overly challenging homework and stop rewarding or punishing students based on the quality of the homework they produce. They also suggest that some teachers, if so inclined, could go “a step further in attempting to reduce homework’s harm” and just get rid of it altogether. They write:

More research is needed to understand the consequences of these more “progressive” homework policies. Yet, we suspect that while optional and ungraded homework may reduce inequalities in homework-related rewards and punishments, it may not prevent teachers from judging those students (and their parents) who do not complete the optional or ungraded work. No-homework policies have greater potential for alleviating the kinds of unequal practices we observed in the schools in our study.

In short, teachers can’t even be trusted to give out optional homework because they’re too meritocracy-brained and will still judge the students based on the results. The easiest solution is to just stop giving homework altogether, so the wrong-thinking teachers don’t have as much of a platform upon which to prop up their meritocratic myths.

I want to be fair to the authors and acknowledge that even if I’m a bit skeptical about how their prescriptions could operate in a classroom, there might be other good reasons for doing away with homework.

Evidence about the effectiveness of homework is pretty scattered. There are [*studies*](https://today.duke.edu/2006/09/homework_oped.html) and [*articles*](https://www.brookings.edu/research/homework-in-america/) saying that homework [*helps*](https://sci-hub.st/https://www.jstor.org/stable/3700582) students learn and that kids aren’t overly burdened with it. There are also studies and articles that say excessive homework [*shows diminishing returns*](https://www.edweek.org/teaching-learning/loading-homework-shows-diminishing-returns-in-math-and-science-study-says/2015/03) and can be harmful to students’ [*mental health*](https://news.stanford.edu/2014/03/10/too-much-homework-031014/). Having read some of these studies, I think the fairest assessment right now would be to say that the evidence about the benefits of homework is pretty inconclusive because of the inherent difficulties in isolating one part of a student’s academic life and drawing huge conclusions about how it affects everything else.

From a theoretical standpoint, I mostly agree with Calarco, Horn and Chen’s diagnosis of the American educational system. It does largely function as a way to sort and stratify children into different socioeconomic bands, which, again, in theory, means that it would be helpful for teachers to approach their work with that in mind. Many richer kids go to private schools that feed into elite colleges that will more or less ensure their alumni will be on the glide path to staying rich. Many poorer kids go to poorer schools that provide them, in many cases, with fewer opportunities that might help them advance socioeconomically. Some portion of middle-class and ***working-class*** people, including a lot of immigrants and children of immigrants, pragmatically use the school system to achieve class mobility.

When you break it all down, the amount of class mobility our education system can grind out each year [*falls well short*](https://www.brookings.edu/research/thirteen-economic-facts-about-social-mobility-and-the-role-of-education/) of what most people expect. The spoils of academic meritocracy, then, aren’t particularly widespread, which does bring up the question: If we all agree that everyone should go to school and if the class mobility part is working only for some families and not at all for others, why do we structure it in such a competitive way?

But there’s a defense of homework that doesn’t really have much to do with class mobility, equality or any sense of reinforcing the notion of meritocracy. It’s one that became quite clear to me when I was a teacher: Kids need to learn how to practice things. Homework, in many cases, is the only ritualized thing they have to do every day. Even if we could perfectly equalize opportunity in school and empower all students not to be encumbered by the weight of their socioeconomic status or ethnicity, I’m not sure what good it would do if the kids didn’t know how to do something relentlessly, over and over again, until they perfected it. Most teachers know that type of progress is very difficult to achieve inside the classroom, regardless of a student’s background, which is why, I imagine, Calarco, Horn and Chen found that most teachers weren’t thinking in a structural inequalities frame. Holistic ideas of education, in which learning is emphasized and students can explore concepts and ideas, are largely for the types of kids who don’t need to worry about class mobility.

A defense of rote practice through homework might seem revanchist at this moment, but if we truly believe that schools should teach children lessons that fall outside the meritocracy, I can’t think of one that matters more than the simple satisfaction of mastering something that you were once bad at. That takes homework and the acknowledgment that sometimes a student can get a question wrong and, with proper instruction, eventually get it right.

Jay Caspian Kang ([*@jaycaspiankang*](https://twitter.com/jaycaspiankang?ref_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Eserp%7Ctwgr%5Eauthor)), a writer for Opinion and The New York Times Magazine, is the author of “The Loneliest Americans.”

Have feedback? Send a note to [*kang-newsletter@nytimes.com*](mailto:kang-newsletter@nytimes.com).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Alberto Miranda FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 29, 2022

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[***The Strange History of American Conservatism; nonfiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6586-32F1-DXY4-X0XV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 19, 2022 Tuesday 12:06 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 1377 words

**Byline:** Jonathan Rauch

**Highlight:** Matthew Continetti’s “The Right” traces the twists and turns of the right wing’s policies and philosophy.

**Body**

THE RIGHT

The Hundred-Year War for American Conservatism

By Matthew Continetti

MAGA preceded Donald Trump. It created him at least as much as the other way around. My own first glimpse of it came at a Tea Party convention in downtown Phoenix in February 2011.

The Tea Party, in its early days, was anything but MAGA-like. Dominated by white, college-educated professionals and small-business owners who were fed up with politicians’ broken promises to shrink government, it was the first grass-roots movement to take reducing federal spending seriously. In Phoenix, at what they billed as their first national policy conference, Tea Partiers gathered for seminars on topics like the Constitution’s Ninth Amendment and the gold standard. Sure, some of their ideas were screwy, but they were striving earnestly to restore what they thought was the vision of the founders.

Another faction, however, was vying for control. It was interested in cutting immigration, not the budget. It was more focused on America’s complexion than its Constitution. At a plenary session in an acre-wide convention hall, I watched as the Republican president of the Arizona State Senate, a demagogue named [*Russell Pearce*](https://www.azcentral.com/story/opinion/op-ed/2021/11/21/what-recall-sb-1070-architect-russell-pearce-teaches-us-today/8656715002/), galvanized the crowd with a lacerating attack on the illegal migrants who, he said, were breaking into our country and stealing it.

Pearce, who would go on to support the [*sterilization*](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/russell-pearce-resigns_n_5822136) of Medicaid recipients, lost his seat later that year in a recall election. But he was an augury, not an outlier. Though his rhetoric shocked me at the time, it was mild compared with “rapists” and “criminals”, calves like cantaloupes, Muslim bans and more that followed. His faction swamped and then subsumed first the Tea Party, then the Republican Party and at last the conservative movement. A decade after Pearce’s stemwinder, as [*Matthew Continetti*](https://www.aei.org/profile/matthew-continetti/)writes in “The Right,” his superb new history of modern American conservatism, President Trump would leave the White House “with the Republican Party out of power, conservatism in disarray and the right in the same hole it had dug with Charles Lindbergh, Joe McCarthy, the John Birch Society, George Wallace and Pat Buchanan. Not only was the right unable to get out of the hole, it did not want to.”

A journalist and senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, Continetti is a career conservative. The movement, he writes, “has been my life.” He brings an insider’s nuance and a historian’s dispassion to the ambitious task of writing the American right’s biography, and he adds a journalist’s knack for deft portraiture and telling details. (Franklin Roosevelt was “wily, boisterous and charming”; Milton Friedman, “elfin, mischievous, implacable.”) His accuracy is impressive, too; in his 400-plus pages spanning 100 years, I found no claims to cavil with.

From his account a dramatic arc emerges, and it is a tragic one. In the early 20th century, conservatism was a loose bundle of temperaments and policies, not a philosophy or a movement. “The Republican Party of the 1920s stood for a popular mix of untrammeled commerce, high tariffs, disarmament, foreign policy restraint and devotion to the constitutional foundation of American policy.” Then came the Depression, the New Deal and the war. Alarmed by what they saw as Roosevelt’s socialism and the prospect of being dragged into Europe’s blood bath, the right veered toward isolationism, nostalgia and irrelevance. The Republican Party “tended to adopt an adversarial and catastrophizing attitude toward the government that it never quite shook off.” By the end of the 1940s, liberals had every reason to dismiss the right as the preserve of “irritable mental gestures which seek to resemble ideas” (as Lionel Trilling wisecracked in 1950).

And then, beginning in the Eisenhower era, came a Cambrian explosion of ideas. Much of it centered on William F. Buckley, the founder of National Review. Though not a great thinker, Buckley had a sharp pen, a magnetic personality, an eye for talent and a vision of conservatism as more than the sum of dyspeptic parts. Around Buckley swirled fearless and far-reaching debates involving intellectuals like Russell Kirk and Frank Meyer, Whittaker Chambers and James Burnham. Everything was discussed, everything was tried, and even failures, like Barry Goldwater’s wipeout in the 1964 presidential election, were learned from. By the time Daniel Patrick Moynihan declared, in 1981, “Of a sudden, the G.O.P. has become the party of ideas,” the right had assembled a three-pillared edifice of strong defense, traditional values and growth-oriented economics.

That was the right I encountered when I first came to Washington as a journalism intern in the summer of 1981. There was not a desk in the city that did not boast an open copy of the Heritage Foundation’s magnum opus, “[*Mandate for Leadership*](https://www.nytimes.com/1984/11/18/us/what-heritage-foundation-does.html?searchResultPosition=1),” a phone-book-thick compendium of conservative policy proposals, many of which inspired legislation. David Stockman, the wunderkind budget director under Ronald Reagan, was electrifying the capital with reforms culled from years of policy wonkery in journals like Irving Kristol’s The Public Interest. Bestriding the scene was President Reagan himself, a visionary whose optimism and confidence overthrew the gloom that had afflicted conservatism since the time of Calvin Coolidge.

Or so it seemed. We did not then know that Reagan’s triumph was also a culmination. The Cold War’s end dissolved the conservative coalition’s glue, Buckley’s sparkling generation receded, Kristol’s journal closed, Rush Limbaugh ascended. George W. Bush’s efforts to frame an activist, idealistic conservatism never took hold. Cheered on by the inflammatory rhetoric of conservative media and confrontation entrepreneurs like Newt Gingrich, the base steered straight for the abyss of pessimism, authoritarianism, nativism and grievance that Buckley and Reagan had labored so hard to escape.

As if cued in a screenplay, a celebrity demagogue arrived to complete the tragic arc. “Trump was the return of a repressed memory,” Continetti writes. He “looked to the past. His American right resembled conservatism before the Cold War.” Even Trump’s achievements, like his court appointments, his China and Middle East policies, and his elevation of ***working-class*** concerns, were overshadowed by his refusal to concede an election he lost — a lawless choice that, Continetti correctly says, consigns him to “the ranks of American villains.”

So here we are. The work of two conservative generations lies in rubble. “What began as an elite-driven defense of the classical liberal principles enshrined in the Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States ended up, in the first quarter of the 21st century, as a furious reaction against elites of all stripes,” Continetti writes. “Many on the right embraced a cult of personality and illiberal tropes. The danger was that the alienation from and antagonism toward American culture and society expressed by many on the right could turn into a general opposition to the constitutional order.” Some of us would say this is a fact, not a danger.

Continetti believes that de-Trumpifying the G.O.P. is not sufficient to restore constitutional conservatism, but it is necessary. “Untangling the Republican Party and conservative movement from Donald Trump won’t be easy,” he says. “But a conservatism anchored to Trump the man will face insurmountable obstacles in attaining policy coherence, government competence and intellectual credibility.”

Post-Trump, can conservatism reassemble and reinvent itself as it did once before, 70 years ago? We’ll see. On the strength of this authoritative and entertaining book, I hope Continetti will be around to write the next volume.

Jonathan Rauch, a senior fellow of the Brookings Institution, is the author of “The Constitution of Knowledge: A Defense of Truth.” THE RIGHT The Hundred-Year War for American Conservatism By Matthew Continetti 496 pp. Basic Books. $32.

PHOTO: Election Day, Nov. 3, 2020. (PHOTOGRAPH BY AMR ALFIKY/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Related Articles**

* [*Is Trump Really All That Holds the G.O.P. Together?*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/22/opinion/trump-republican-party.html)

1. [*The Two Crises of Conservatism*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/24/opinion/sunday/republicans-conservatism.html)
2. [*Will Trump Ruin a Red Wave in 2022?*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/18/opinion/trump-republicans-2022-midterms.html)
3. [*The Growing Religious Fervor in the American Right: ‘This Is a Jesus Movement’*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/06/us/christian-right-wing-politics.html)

**Load-Date:** August 22, 2022

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[***Down and Out in Portland***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62HN-4031-DXY4-X4D0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 25, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 16; FICTION

**Length:** 623 words

**Byline:** By Alanna Bennett

**Body**

THE NIGHT ALWAYS COMES By Willy Vlautin

Craftsman and small clapboard houses still dot the streets of Portland, Ore., as they have for over a century, but next to them now you will find walls of steel and glass stretching up into the city's gray skies. If you're familiar with the area, the sight may be chilling. These condos stand in the place of old churches and Boys & Girls Clubs, on lots purchased by developers and sold by families who often had little choice. You may get a sense, looking at half-built 12-unit condominiums with rents twice as high as those families' mortgages, that they're not just replacing the old ways of Portland. They may be replacing everyone who can't keep up.

Lynette, the protagonist of Willy Vlautin's determined new novel, ''The Night Always Comes,'' feels the dread of Portland's transformation down to her bones. This is a novel that lives firmly in the melancholia of the city's gentrification, hurtling readers through one woman's desperation to keep her life afloat in a city that's pushing its ***working class*** out, one razed lot at a time.

For years Lynette has been up at 4 a.m. every day. She works two jobs while attending community college and caring for a brother with developmental disabilities (Vlautin never specifies his condition). She does all this with a single goal in mind: to raise enough money to put a down payment on the house her family has lived in for Lynette's whole life. That down payment, in combination with a loan to be taken out by her mother, is the only way for the three to stay together. After years of depression and rage she's worked hard to control, Lynette is bent on controlling this as well. Her dream is simply to chart a future for her family that would allow them to live without the looming specter of displacement.

But when Lynette's mother reneges on the deal, that dream disappears in an instant. Lynette spirals, and most of the novel takes place over a single night as she tears feverishly through Portland, chasing down any lead that might result in some extra cash that could right the situation. Most of the people Lynette meets on this tragic, desperate night do not react kindly, and as the evening turns violent the exhaustion and isolation of her poverty ring clear as day.

The novel, Vlautin's sixth, stalls out during its many long monologues spelling out exactly what each character is thinking in clunky detail. Vlautin's etchings of the city's poor, white population are at times overwrought, especially around the topic of weight, as are the inner lives of anyone who's not the main character. That tendency is extra egregious when it comes to Lynette's mother, a dreary antagonist whose motives no number of monologues manage to three-dimensionalize.

The novel regains its footing, though, in the moments where we get to live in Lynette's inner world. ''The whole city is starting to haunt me,'' Lynette says in the novel's most potent scene. ''All the new places, all the big new buildings, just remind me that I'm nothing, that I'm nobody.'' The central question of her night resonates beyond this one family: Can one person be built to sink, or is she set up to fail by an entire system designed to keep the poor not just working, but hurting? Anyone who's scrambled within the confines of poverty may relate to Lynette's quest for agency over her own fate. With ''The Night Always Comes,'' Vlautin chronicles the downfall of a city. As Lynette's story illustrates, it's an undoing that is deeply personal, too.Alanna Bennett is a screenwriter for ''Roswell, New Mexico.'' Her culture writing has appeared in BuzzFeed, Teen Vogue, Eater and more.THE NIGHT ALWAYS COMESBy Willy Vlautin208 pp. Harper/HarperCollins Publishers. $26.99.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/06/books/review/the-night-always-comes-willy-vlautin.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/06/books/review/the-night-always-comes-willy-vlautin.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Agata Nowicka FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 25, 2021

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[***Dallas Schools Defy Governor on Masks***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63BN-SKP1-DXY4-X2CC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 11, 2021 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 17

**Length:** 751 words

**Byline:** By Daniel E. Slotnik

**Body**

The temporary rule contradicted an executive order by Gov. Greg Abbott that prohibits school districts from requiring masks.

The Dallas Independent School District said on Monday that everyone -- students, employees and visitors -- must wear a mask while on school property, starting Tuesday.

The mandate, which officials said was temporary, was imposed in defiance of an executive order by Gov. Greg Abbott that prohibits school districts from requiring masks.

The public school district, the second-largest in Texas according to its website, appears to be the first in the state to defy the order.

''Governor Abbott's order does not limit the district's rights as an employer and educational institution to establish reasonable and necessary safety rules for its staff and students,'' the Dallas district said on its website, adding that the mask mandate would remain in force as long as necessary.

Elsewhere in Texas, the superintendent of the Houston Independent School District announced last week that he would put a similar mask mandate up for a vote before the board of education this week. And municipalities, including Houston, have announced their own mask mandates for city workers.

New coronavirus cases and hospitalizations have risen sharply across Texas in the past few weeks, and Dallas is no exception. On Monday evening the top elected official in Dallas County sued Mr. Abbott, arguing the governor's ban on mask mandates violates Texas law.

Mr. Abbott, a Republican, has encouraged people to get vaccinated. Earlier in the pandemic, he imposed statewide restrictions, including closures and capacity limits for some businesses and a state mask mandate, which he lifted in March.

Since then, the highly contagious Delta variant has raged through Texas while the pace of vaccination lagged, with only 44 percent of the population vaccinated so far, according to federal data. While Texas is reporting about half as many new cases as at its peak in the winter, it is one of the states with the most patients being hospitalized with severe illness, according to a New York Times database.

Mr. Abbott has stood firm against calls to reimpose safety precautions, insisting that ''we must rely on personal responsibility, not government mandates,'' a spokeswoman for the governor said in a recent statement. ''Every Texan has a right to choose for themselves and their children whether they will wear masks, open their businesses, or get vaccinated.''

Mr. Abbott on Monday evening released a statement describing steps Texas would take to curb the spread of the coronavirus, which didn't mention masks.

Michael Hinojosa, the district's superintendent, said at a news conference on Monday to announce the mandate that the vast majority of his students and teachers were already wearing masks.

Asked why he wanted to impose a mandate when it seemed that people were taking the precaution on their own, Mr. Hinojosa said, ''Because if we can save one student, one teacher, from going through this awful pain it'll get them more prepared to learn, and I think that if you do this together you have a better chance for success.''

Federal guidance calls for students, teachers, parents and visitors at schools to wear masks to slow the spread of the virus. Vaccines protect against serious illness or death, but do not completely prevent infection, and no vaccine has yet been authorized for children under 12. So primary and secondary schools around the country will be reopening for a largely unvaccinated population at a time when the Delta variant appears to be sickening children more than earlier virus variants did.

The Dallas district serves nearly 154,000 students in 230 schools, most of which open on Aug. 16, according to its website. The district, which required masks during the last school year, largely serves nonwhite ***working-class*** families.

School districts in other states that ban mask mandates, like Florida and Arizona, have tried to require masks anyway because of the surging Delta variant. Gov. Asa Hutchinson, Republican of Arkansas, said on Sunday that he regretted signing his state's ban on mask mandates into law.

''Facts change, and leaders have to adjust to the new facts and the reality of what you have to deal with,'' Mr. Hutchinson said on the CBS program ''Face the Nation.''

Dana Goldstein, David Montgomery, Giulia Heyward, Edgar Sandoval contributed reporting.Dana Goldstein, David Montgomery, Giulia Heyward, Edgar Sandoval contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/09/us/dallas-school-masks-abbott.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/09/us/dallas-school-masks-abbott.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Angie Andrade and her three children walked through Saldivar Elementary School in Dallas last year. The Dallas Independent School District is defying Gov. Greg Abbott's executive order banning mask mandates. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Lynda M. Gonzalez/The Dallas Morning News, via Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 11, 2021

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[***Dolly Parton and James Patterson Are Working 9 to 5 on a Novel***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63BR-GG01-DXY4-X3DD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 11, 2021 Wednesday 23:33 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS

**Length:** 756 words

**Byline:** Alexandra Alter

**Highlight:** “Run, Rose, Run” is set for publication in 2022, along with a Parton album whose 12 new songs were inspired by the book.

**Body**

“Run, Rose, Run” is set for publication in 2022, along with a Parton album whose 12 new songs were inspired by the book.

In February 2020, James Patterson flew to Nashville to visit Dolly Parton.

She was a fan of his “Alex Cross” thrillers, and he had a proposal for her: Would she work with him on a novel about an aspiring country singer who goes to Nashville to seek her fortune and escape her past?

Parton loved the idea. Two days later, she sent Patterson notes on the plot — along with lyrics for seven new songs that she wrote, based on the story.

“She didn’t want to get involved in something just to put her name on it. She really wanted to be involved,” Patterson said in an interview on Wednesday. “She’s not going to do something if she doesn’t think she’s going to do it well.”

In March, Little, Brown plans to publish “Run, Rose, Run,” a collaboration between Patterson and Parton, in print, e-book and audio editions. The novel, about a young singer with a dark secret that inspires her music, draws on Parton’s experiences in country music.

Parton will simultaneously release an album, also titled “Run, Rose, Run,” featuring 12 new songs inspired by the novel. The songs are “based on the characters and situations in the book,” Parton said in a news release, and the lyrics are threaded throughout the novel.

The creative partnership of Patterson and Parton — a thriller writer known for his often grisly plots, and a musician beloved by Americans of all political and geographic persuasions — struck some observers as odd. (“Huh,” “WHAT” and “Yo, What?!” were common reactions on social media, as was enthusiastic befuddlement: “I’m weirdly into this!!!”)

But Patterson noted that he and Parton have a good deal in common. “We both consider ourselves storytellers,” he said.

Both of them came from small towns and overcame the odds to build entertainment empires. They’re both in their 70s, and neither shows any inclination of retiring soon. They both have nonprofits dedicated to childhood reading and literacy. Both of them are prolific writers in their genres.

“She didn’t mess around, and neither do I,” Patterson said. “We both get down to business and chop wood.”

In the news release announcing the book, Little, Brown seemed giddy over the commercial prospects of a multimedia project targeting Patterson and Parton’s audiences: “This dual release will mark the first time a #1 best-selling author and an entertainment icon who has sold well over 100 million albums worldwide have collaborated on a book and an album.”

Patterson has long relied on a stable of collaborators to meet his frenetic publication cycle. According to his publicist, he’s written 322 books and sold some 425 million copies. He’s worked with around 35 co-writers and currently has multiple books on the best seller lists, including “The Shadow,” which he wrote with Brian Sitts, and “[*The President’s Daughter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/08/books/review-presidents-daughter-bill-clinton-james-patterson.html),” a political thriller he [*wrote with former President Bill Clinton*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/08/books/review-presidents-daughter-bill-clinton-james-patterson.html). It is a follow-up to their previous novel, “[*The President Is Missing,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/08/books/review-presidents-daughter-bill-clinton-james-patterson.html)” which sold more than 3.2 million copies worldwide.

But joining forces with a celebrity as popular as Parton could generate even more interest in the forthcoming book. She is one of the few public figures with seemingly bipartisan appeal, celebrated by some as a ***working-class*** Southern hero and venerated by others for her support for L.G.B.T.Q. rights and unapologetic kitsch. (Parton created her own theme park in the foothills of the Smoky Mountains, “Dollywood,” which includes a water park, dinner theater, roller coaster rides and a replica of her two-room childhood home.)

“People love her,” Patterson said, stating the blazingly obvious.

After their initial meeting, which was casual (“No agents, no lawyers,” Patterson said), Parton and Patterson spent the next six to eight months hashing out scenes, going back and forth on chapters and notes. Parton nicknamed him J.J., short for Jimmy James, he said.

They kept the project secret, though Parton, in an interview with The New York Times late last year, let slip that she was a fan. When asked to name three writers she would invite to a dinner party, she listed him along with Maya Angelou and Charles Dickens.

“First would be James Patterson,” [*she said*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/08/books/review-presidents-daughter-bill-clinton-james-patterson.html). “Since we’re both in entertainment, we could write it off as a business expense.”

PHOTOS: Dolly Parton and James Patterson, who are producing “Run, Rose, Run,” which is to be published next year. Parton also plans to release an album by the same name next year. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOLLY PARTON)

**Load-Date:** August 13, 2021

**End of Document**



[***White Racial Anxiety Strikes Again; Charles M. Blow***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:640R-SDC1-JBG3-6244-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 3, 2021 Wednesday 17:19 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 913 words

**Byline:** Charles M. Blow

**Highlight:** The strategy of manufactured outrage has proved depressingly effective.

**Body**

Glenn Youngkin’s defeat of Terry McAuliffe in the Virginia governor’s race shocked some. But it resulted from multiple factors. Democrats still haven’t delivered on their promises or moved major legislation — their infrastructure, social spending and voting rights bills — through Congress. And McAuliffe ran a last-cycle campaign, an anti-Donald Trump campaign.

Of course, there are structural, historical patterns that still hold true in states like Virginia, where voters tend to punish whichever party controls the White House. But what can’t be denied is the degree to which Youngkin successfully activated and unleashed white racial anxiety, positioning it in its most potent form: as the protection of the vulnerable, innocent and helpless. In this case, the white victims in supposed distress were children.

Youngkin homed in on critical race theory, even though critical race theory, as Youngkin imagines it, isn’t being taught in his state’s schools. But that didn’t matter.

There are people who want to believe the fabrication because it justifies their fears about displacement, powerlessness and vulnerability.

In fact, the frenzy around critical race theory is just the latest in a long line of manufactured outrages meant to tap into this same fear, and the strategy has proved depressingly effective.

There was the fear of “race-mixing” among children — including the notion that Black boys might begin dating white girls following the desegregation ruling in Brown v. Board of Education. (By the way, this was a variation on the ancient and dusty fear peddled during Reconstruction that not only were Black men incapable of governing, but their rapacious nature also put white women at risk of rape and devilment.)

There was the fear of a collapse of the Southern way of life and society following the successes of the civil rights movement. That gave rise to the Republicans’ “[*Southern strategy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2006/12/10/magazine/10Section2b.t-4.html).”

Richard Nixon used the fear of a lost generation to launch his disastrous war on drugs, which was not really a war on drugs at all but yet another way to ignite white racial anxiety.

Nixon’s aide John Ehrlichman would later [*tell the journalist Dan Baum*](https://harpers.org/archive/2016/04/legalize-it-all/):

The Nixon campaign in 1968, and the Nixon White House after that, had two enemies: the antiwar left and black people. You understand what I’m saying? We knew we couldn’t make it illegal to be either against the war or black, but by getting the public to associate the hippies with marijuana and blacks with heroin, and then criminalizing both heavily, we could disrupt those communities. We could arrest their leaders, raid their homes, break up their meetings, and vilify them night after night on the evening news. Did we know we were lying about the drugs? Of course we did.

Ronald Reagan employed the myth of the welfare queen to anger white voters.

As The New Republic [*put it*](https://newrepublic.com/article/154404/myth-welfare-queen), “the welfare queen stood in for the idea that Black people were too lazy to work, instead relying on public benefits to get by, paid for by the rest of us upstanding citizens.”

This, even though, as the Economic Policy Institute [*pointed out*](https://www.epi.org/blog/black-womens-labor-market-history-reveals-deep-seated-race-and-gender-discrimination/), “Compared with other women in the United States, Black women have always had the highest levels of labor market participation regardless of age, marital status, or presence of children at home.” In fact, ***working-class*** white people have [*benefited most*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2017/02/16/the-biggest-beneficiaries-of-the-government-safety-net-working-class-whites/) from assistance from the government.

George H.W. Bush ginned up fears of white women being raped by Black former prisoners with his [*1988 Willie Horton ad*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AUxAMG8UqIw), hammering home a tough-on-crime message.

Even Democrats got in on the action during Bill Clinton’s presidency with their “crack baby” mythology, painting a dystopian portrait of an entire generation. Black children and young adults, they implied, were “[*superpredators*](https://www.nytimes.com/video/us/100000002807771/the-superpredator-scare.html),” unrepentant, incorrigible criminals who roamed the streets, willing “to knock my mother on the head with a lead pipe, shoot my sister, beat up my wife, take on my sons,” as then-Senator Joe Biden [*said*](https://www.cnn.com/videos/politics/2019/03/05/joe-biden-tough-on-crime-speech.cnn).

Sarah Palin tried her best to other Barack Obama and make white people afraid of him, [*accusing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2008/10/05/us/politics/05palin.html) the Illinois senator of “palling around with terrorists.” At the same time, birthers were questioning if Obama was born in the United States and wondering whether he was Christian or Muslim.

Then came Donald Trump, the chief birther, who ratcheted up this fear appeal to [*obscene levels,*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/01/15/opinion/leonhardt-trump-racist.htmlhttps://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/01/15/opinion/leonhardt-trump-racist.html) positioning Mexicans as rapists and Muslims as people who hate America. He disparaged Black countries, demonized Black athletes and found some “[*very fine people*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/15/us/politics/trump-charlottesville-white-nationalists.html)” among the Nazis in Charlottesville.

So it’s no wonder Youngkin’s critical race theory lie worked. The parasite of white racial anxiety needed a new host, a fresher one.

You could argue that the Democrats made missteps in Virginia. Absolutely. But, to win, Democrats also needed to tamp down white people’s fears, which is like playing Whac-a-Mole.

Some of the very same people who voted against Donald Trump because they were exhausted and embarrassed by him turned eagerly to Youngkin because he represented some of the same ideals, but behind a front of congeniality.

Youngkin delivered fear with a smile.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Andrew Harnik/Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 4, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Painful Changes in Society Eased Passage of Bold Safety Net Measure; News Analysis***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6441-T1W1-JBG3-613F-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 2049 words

**Byline:** Jonathan Weisman

**Highlight:** President Barack Obama barely muscled his health law through the House. But income inequality, economic stagnation and a pandemic propelled an even more ambitious bill.

**Body**

President Barack Obama barely muscled his health law through the House. But income inequality, economic stagnation and a pandemic propelled an even more ambitious bill.

WASHINGTON — In March 2010, with Tea Party activists protesting loudly in the hallways of Capitol Hill and the political wind in their faces, [*34 House Democrats*](https://clerk.house.gov/Votes/2010165?Date=03%2F21%2F2010) — including Representative Stephen F. Lynch of Massachusetts — broke with their president to vote against passage of the Affordable Care Act.

It was not enough to kill the bill, but more than enough to register deep concerns about its reach in American society — and its potential impact on the midterm elections.

On Friday, Mr. Lynch and [*every other Democrat but one*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/11/19/us/politics/social-policy-vote-tally.html) cast votes for about [*$2 trillion in spending on social welfare and climate change programs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/19/us/politics/house-passes-reconciliation-bill.html) that arguably go much further than the health law — further, in fact, than any government intervention in half a century. And the concerns that peeled so many Democrats away from the health measure more than a decade ago were hardly in evidence — at least on their side of the aisle.

“I’ve served a couple of times in the minority, a couple of times in the majority,” said Mr. Lynch, the last remaining House Democrat who voted against Barack Obama’s signature domestic achievement. “I’ve got a better sense of time and how these moments are rare when you can seize on something and make real change.”

The political and economic shifts in the United States in the decade between the first vote and the second may explain how a party still divided could unite around legislation of such sweep. The [*worst public health crisis in a century*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/us/covid-cases.html) laid bare economic stagnation in the middle class and the soaring wealth of the super rich. The recovery from the coronavirus crisis is still held back by child care costs and poor educational access that have kept parents home instead of working.

Searing heat waves, record wildfires and waves of battering hurricanes have underlined the [*reality of climate change*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/08/24/climate/warmer-wetter-world.html). And the killings of Black men and women, captured on video and spread instantly around the world, raised awareness of racial injustice and inequality just as a new generation of progressives was rising up in the Democratic Party.

“I’ve always said courage comes out of crisis,” said Representative Pramila Jayapal, Democrat of Washington and the leader of the nearly 100-member Congressional Progressive Caucus. “You just couldn’t ignore this stuff anymore. It was intolerable to watch.”

Those forces appeared to unite Democrats as they made their way to the Capitol to vote. There were no shouts from angry opponents, like the ones that greeted Democrats in 2010 as they prepared to approve the Affordable Care Act. Their main barrier to passage was an [*eight-hour speech by the House Republican leader, Representative Kevin McCarthy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/19/us/politics/kevin-mccarthy-speech.html) of California. Beyond the chamber, the only activists in evidence were a small clutch of supporters singing old union songs and someone dressed like the Build Back Better Act, modeled after [*the bill in the old “Schoolhouse Rock”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OgVKvqTItto) video.

The social safety net and climate bill still must navigate a tortuous road through the evenly divided Senate, where a single defection would bring it down. If it is able to clear that chamber, it most likely will have to go back to the House for a final vote, devoid of some of the items that drew Democrats to support it on Friday. But if it is enacted, it will touch virtually every American life, from birth to death, akin to Franklin D. Roosevelt’s New Deal or Lyndon B. Johnson’s Great Society.

Its [*generous subsidies for child care and universal prekindergarten*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/29/upshot/democrats-preschool-child-care.html) are designed to lift the struggling ***working class*** into a less precarious economic position. Ample housing support, more higher education aid and worker training programs in the bill would reach well into the middle class. Home and community health care, a new hearing benefit for Medicare and price controls for prescription drugs would ease the lives of older Americans.

All of that could reasonably be described as big-government excess, and Republicans have made that case repeatedly for months. The scope and cost of the bill, if anything, is understated by its roughly $2 trillion price tag because Democrats kept the cost down by phasing in some measures and arbitrarily ending others well before the expiration of the bill’s 10-year window, some after a single year. In all, according to the Committee for a Responsible Budget, if the entire Build Back Better Act were made permanent, the 10-year cost would be $4.9 trillion, which would exceed the inflation-adjusted, four-year cost of World War II, as Mr. McCarthy charged repeatedly over eight hours.

Yet a combined assault by business organizations like the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America, their political operatives at groups like American Action Network, and the intense focus of the Republican Party against what they call “socialist” early education, crippling tax increases and dangerous limitations on the drug companies was not enough to peel away even four House Democrats, the bare minimum that would have been needed to defeat the legislation.

Competitive races next year will test whether voters embrace Republicans’ grim view of the package or Democrats’ belief that they are delivering vital programs that will be broadly appealing. Representative Tim Ryan, a Democrat from a ***working-class*** region of Ohio who is running for an open Senate seat, said Republicans have dug themselves a political hole by railing against the bill.

“They’re getting themselves in a position where they’re putting themselves against universal preschool; they’re putting themselves against controlling child-care costs for people; putting themselves on the other side of a tax cut for families,” Mr. Ryan said. “You know, people have been screaming ‘socialism’ for a long time, and Roosevelt got elected four times.”

The social welfare and climate bill is not yet law, but to have gotten it even this far was a prodigious feat, and one that probably happened only because of the societal and economic changes that preceded it, Democrats from across the spectrum of their party say.

“Look at the millennials in my district, who can’t afford a house, who can’t afford to pay back their student loans, who can’t even dream about living the lives their parents lived,” Representative John B. Larson of Connecticut, a veteran Democrat, said. “You can’t tell people they are doing better than they are.”

And as society has changed, so has the Democratic Party. Representative Jamaal Bowman’s New York district stretches from the wealthy suburb of Scarsdale to the tougher streets of Mount Vernon, and for 32 years, was represented by a white establishment Democrat, Eliot L. Engel.

Mr. Bowman, a progressive Black man who defeated Mr. Engel in a Democratic primary last year, said his constituents acknowledge wealth inequality and income stagnation in their midst — in part, because he won’t let them deny it.

“If they tried to look the other way, they really can’t,” Mr. Bowman said. “And they know that whether it’s through government or private industry, or both, we have to do more to close the inequality gap.”

Republicans are still betting that voters will fixate on the spectacle of a Democratic president struggling for months to unite his divided majority around his agenda. They argue that the chaotic and deadly withdrawal from Afghanistan, rising inflation and unsteady economic growth have only added to a sense that the country is adrift, and say they are not about to allow Democrats to use the social safety net bill to distract from those concerns.

“We have a supply chain crisis that continues to rage on, exacerbating the skyrocketing prices and scarcity of goods our citizens are experiencing,” the House Republican leader, Mr. McCarthy, said Thursday. “And ask yourself this: What has this chamber done, especially this week, to alleviate any of these pressures on our fellow citizens, the people we were sent here to represent? The answer is absolutely nothing.”

Passage of the bill, Republicans say, will only stoke inflation, force the Federal Reserve to raise interest rates, and create “stagflation,” the combination of stagnant economic growth and rising prices that doomed Jimmy Carter’s presidency.

Democrats contend that their policies will offer real relief. Economic trends indicate a need for targeted assistance to the working and middle class, and it would be paid for largely by the richest Americans and largest corporations.

Median household income grew by 41 percent from 1970 to 2000, to $70,800, at an annual average rate of 1.2 percent, according to the [*nonpartisan Pew Research Center*](https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2020/01/09/trends-in-income-and-wealth-inequality/). From 2000 to 2018, that annual average slowed to 0.3 percent. During that time, the [*745 billionaires*](https://inequality.org/great-divide/updates-billionaire-pandemic/) in the United States added $2.1 trillion to their combined net worth over during the pandemic, which now totals $5 trillion, [*the liberal Institute for Policy Studies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/28/business/america-billionaires.html) recently found. And [*new revelations*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/08/us/politics/income-taxes-bezos-musk-buffett.html)have detailed how prominent billionaires like Jeff Bezos, Elon Musk and Michael R. Bloomberg have paid little — and sometimes nothing — in federal [*income taxes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/09/us/politics/propublica-taxes-jeff-bezos-elon-musk.html).

In 2009 and 2010, the barrage of legislation that flew through Congress with huge Democratic majorities helped give rise to the Tea Party movement and a backlash against an activist government. A large-scale stimulus bill, a “cash for clunkers” measure to help people swap their old cars for new, firm new regulations to combat the Wall Street excesses that led to the Great Recession, and near-universal health care may each have had support on their own, but collectively, they appear to have overwhelmed the electorate’s tolerance for action.

This time around, Democrats have passed a $1.9 trillion pandemic aid package, a $1 trillion infrastructure bill, and are driving forward with the most far-reaching social policy since Johnson’s War on Poverty — and hoping for different political results.

“The plans we’re working to advance today are policies that are hugely popular to people of all stripes,” said Representative Matt Cartwright, a Democrat whose Pennsylvania district voted for President Donald J. Trump’s re-election by nearly 10 percentage points. “Creating bricks-and-mortar jobs for people who work with their hands, cutting taxes for the middle class, lowering the cost of prescriptions — these are things that are going to help so many people in my district.”

In 2010, a moderate Democrat was socially liberal on issues like abortion and immigration but fiscally conservative on government spending, and many of them voted against the Affordable Care Act. Today, a new brand of moderates have emerged who are fiscally populist but more circumspect on progressive social causes, like immigration, defunding police forces and pressing responses to racial injustice. They voted for the bill on Friday.

Republicans warn that Democrats will pay a steep political price for doing so. They point to the accelerating pace of retirement announcements, the latest coming on Thursday from Representative G.K. Butterfield, a senior Black Democrat from North Carolina who would face a difficult re-election if a Republican-gerrymandered district map for 2022 passes court muster.

“Who can blame these Democrats for retiring?” Mr. McCarthy asked, almost taunting them before the vote. “They see the writing on the wall, and they know this reconciliation bill will be the end of their Democrat majority, and for many, their congressional careers.”

(Mr. Butterfield, who noted he was 74 years old, said Thursday night that he appreciated Mr. McCarthy’s sense of humor.)

Mr. Cartwright, who in 2012 unseated a fellow Democrat in Northeastern Pennsylvania because he had voted against the health law, said he did not fear the Republican attacks to come.

“Republicans have opposed things that help ordinary working people for generation after generation after generation,” he said. “They spoke of downfall of civilization when Roosevelt came up with Social Security.”

PHOTO: Although divisions among Democrats in the House remain, Speaker Nancy Pelosi was able to unite them around the sweeping social policy and climate change plan. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Tom Brenner for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 20, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Dallas school district defies governor’s ban and announces a mask mandate.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63B9-DNX1-DXY4-X4YH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 9, 2021 Monday 09:21 EST

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 797 words

**Byline:** Daniel E. Slotnik

**Highlight:** The temporary rule contradicted an executive order by Gov. Greg Abbott that prohibits school districts from requiring masks.

**Body**

The temporary rule contradicted an executive order by Gov. Greg Abbott that prohibits school districts from requiring masks.

The [*Dallas Independent School District said on Monday*](https://www.dallasisd.org/Page/77626) that everyone — students, employees and visitors — must wear a mask while on school property, starting Tuesday.

The mandate, which officials said was temporary, was imposed in defiance of an executive order by [*Gov. Greg Abbott*](https://www.dallasisd.org/Page/77626) that prohibits school districts from requiring masks.

The public school district, the second-largest in Texas according to its website, appears to be the first in the state to defy the order.

“Governor Abbott’s order does not limit the district’s rights as an employer and educational institution to establish reasonable and necessary safety rules for its staff and students,” the Dallas district said on its website, adding that the mask mandate would remain in force as long as necessary.

Elsewhere in Texas, the superintendent of the Houston Independent School District [*announced last week*](https://www.dallasisd.org/Page/77626) that he would put a similar mask mandate up for a vote before the board of education this week. And municipalities, including [*Houston*](https://www.dallasisd.org/Page/77626), have announced their own mask mandates for city workers.

New coronavirus cases and hospitalizations have [*risen sharply across Texas*](https://www.dallasisd.org/Page/77626) in the past few weeks, and [*Dallas*](https://www.dallasisd.org/Page/77626) is no exception. On Monday evening the top elected official in Dallas County [*sued Mr. Abbott*](https://www.dallasisd.org/Page/77626), arguing the governor’s ban on mask mandates violates Texas law.

Mr. Abbott, a Republican, has encouraged people to get vaccinated. Earlier in the pandemic, he imposed statewide restrictions, including closures and capacity limits for some businesses and a [*state mask mandate*](https://www.dallasisd.org/Page/77626), which he lifted in March.

Since then, the highly contagious Delta variant has raged through Texas while the pace of vaccination lagged, with only 44 percent of the population vaccinated so far, according to federal data. While Texas is reporting about half as many new cases as at its peak in the winter, it is one of the states with the most patients being hospitalized with severe illness, according to a New York Times database.

Mr. Abbott has stood firm against calls to reimpose safety precautions, insisting that “we must rely on personal responsibility, not government mandates,” a spokeswoman for the [*governor said in a recent statement*](https://www.dallasisd.org/Page/77626). “Every Texan has a right to choose for themselves and their children whether they will wear masks, open their businesses, or get vaccinated.”

Mr. Abbott on Monday evening released [*a statement*](https://www.dallasisd.org/Page/77626) describing steps Texas would take to curb the spread of the coronavirus, which didn’t mention masks.

Michael Hinojosa, the district’s superintendent, said at [*a news conference on Monday*](https://www.dallasisd.org/Page/77626) to announce the mandate that the vast majority of his students and teachers were already wearing masks.

Asked why he wanted to impose a mandate when it seemed that people were taking the precaution on their own, Mr. Hinojosa said, “Because if we can save one student, one teacher, from going through this awful pain it’ll get them more prepared to learn, and I think that if you do this together you have a better chance for success.”

[*Federal guidance*](https://www.dallasisd.org/Page/77626) calls for students, teachers, parents and visitors at schools to wear masks to slow the spread of the virus. Vaccines protect against serious illness or death, but do not completely prevent infection, and no vaccine has yet been authorized for children under 12. So primary and secondary schools around the country will be reopening for a largely unvaccinated population at a time when the Delta variant appears to be [*sickening children more*](https://www.dallasisd.org/Page/77626) than earlier virus variants did.

The Dallas district serves nearly 154,000 students in 230 schools, most of which open on Aug. 16, [*according to its website*](https://www.dallasisd.org/Page/77626). The district, which [*required masks*](https://www.dallasisd.org/Page/77626) during the last school year, largely serves nonwhite ***working-class*** families.

School districts in other states that ban mask mandates, like [*Florida and Arizona*](https://www.dallasisd.org/Page/77626), have tried to require masks anyway because of the surging Delta variant. Gov. Asa Hutchinson, Republican of Arkansas, said on Sunday that [*he regretted signing his state’s ban on mask mandates into law*](https://www.dallasisd.org/Page/77626).

“Facts change, and leaders have to adjust to the new facts and the reality of what you have to deal with,” Mr. Hutchinson said on the CBS program “Face the Nation.”

Dana Goldstein, David Montgomery, Giulia Heyward, Edgar Sandoval contributed reporting.

Dana Goldstein, David Montgomery, Giulia Heyward, Edgar Sandoval contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Angie Andrade and her three children walked through Saldivar Elementary School in Dallas last year. The Dallas Independent School District is defying Gov. Greg Abbott’s executive order banning mask mandates. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Lynda M. Gonzalez/The Dallas Morning News, via Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 16, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Creativity Behind Bars and Beyond***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66G8-8CX1-JBG3-61FN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 25, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section AR; Column 0; Arts and Leisure Desk; Pg. 16

**Length:** 2048 words

**Byline:** By Hilarie M. Sheets

**Body**

In 2010, in the recreation center of the Fairton Federal Correctional Institution, a medium-security prison for men in South New Jersey, an art collective was born.

Five years into a 13-year sentence on drug-related charges, Jared Owens rediscovered his childhood love of ceramics and taught himself to paint. He was overseeing the art room by the time Gilberto Rivera, a graffiti artist, and Jesse Krimes, with an art degree from Millersville University in Pennsylvania, transferred to Fairton to finish their terms. They shared art magazine subscriptions, supplies, ideas and camaraderie in resistance to their circumstances.

With the help of Owens and Rivera, Krimes covertly gathered prison bedsheets that he collaged with New York Times images, using hair gel and a spoon to lift and transfer the printed ink onto his contraband canvases. He smuggled pieces out, one by one, through the prison mail room. Over three years, the subversive practice evolved into a monumental mural, a Hieronymus Bosch-like allegory of heaven, earth and hell, that he titled ''Apokaluptein: 16389067'' -- Greek for apocalypse coupled with Krimes's inmate number. It stretched 15 feet by 40 feet when he was finally able to assemble the 39 segments for the first time upon his release in 2013, after serving six years on drug charges.

''This isn't about some outsider coming in and doing an arts program -- it was them on their own, seizing that space, whatever dignity they could craft, and then carrying that with them when they came home,'' said Alysa Nahmias, director of ''Art & Krimes by Krimes,'' a film that will be released in theaters on Sept. 30 by MTV Documentary Films and streamed by Paramount+ starting Nov. 22. It chronicles the making of ''Apokaluptein'' and Krimes's first five years out of prison as he struggles to forge a career in the art world with the support of friends. One of them is Russell Craig, who found art at age 7 while living in the foster care system. After serving 12 years on drug charges at prisons in Pennsylvania and Virginia, he met Krimes when both were newly released and working as assistants with Mural Arts Philadelphia's restorative justice program.

These artists were among several dozen in the landmark exhibition ''Marking Time: Art in the Age of Mass Incarceration,'' which debuted in 2020 at MoMA PS1 and has been touring since (it just opened at Brown University). Organized by Nicole Fleetwood, the MacArthur award-winning art historian, it gave new visibility to people fighting societal erasure in the U.S. carceral system, which now imprisons an estimated two million people annually -- a 500 percent increase since 1970. Black people are incarcerated for drug offenses at 10 times the rate of white people despite roughly equal use, according to the American Civil Liberties Union.

Now a small cadre of artists from the exhibition is gaining traction in the art world, with gallery representation, museum acquisitions, prestigious commissions, residencies and fellowships. With the aid of powerful donors, artists, arts leaders and activists, this vanguard is working structurally to pave the way for their peers. Whether museums nationwide will support such efforts has yet to be determined.

Fleetwood -- who described the peer mentoring at Fairton, echoed in prisons around the country, as ''inspirational'' -- hopes the exhibition ''helps to shake up cultural institutions in terms of their gate keeping around what they typically show.''

''Marking Time'' drew more than 35,000 visitors at MoMA PS1 despite Covid restrictions and won critical raves, with ''Apokaluptein'' hailed as a ''carceral magnum opus'' by Holland Cotter in The New York Times.

'''Marking Time' was definitely pivotal in all of our careers and pretty much legitimized folks who come from this incarcerated background,'' said Mary Enoch Elizabeth Baxter, an artist in the exhibition who was imprisoned for eight months on charges that included felony conspiracy. She is now on staff at MoMA PS1 as a project manager for learning.

She has received multiple fellowships, including a residency to examine adultification bias against Black girls -- how society tends to regard some children as older than they are, needing less protection -- as a root cause of incarceration. Baxter has just been commissioned to lead workshops with women incarcerated at Rikers Island, to culminate in a community mural.

The art dealer Barry Malin has seen a huge shift in collector interest since he started representing Krimes. In 2016, the artist walked into the new Chelsea space opened by Malin, a former surgeon with a focus on social justice, and on the basis of their personal connection, the gallerist offered to show his prison works. Nothing sold from that first exhibition, but it led to a string of grants for Krimes.

''There was a challenge to getting people to appreciate it just as art,'' said Malin, who also represents Craig and Owens. He says he has seen a new receptivity since ''Marking Time''; the 2020 national reckoning with race and justice; and shifting sympathies toward people ensnared by drugs, in the wake of the opioid crisis.

The term ''formerly incarcerated artist'' has become ''a favorable designation,'' Malin said. Owens's first solo exhibition of paintings and assemblage work just opened at 515 West 29th Street, through Nov. 19, with prices starting at $26,000.

Last month, Owens was finishing the works in his studio at Silver Art Projects, on the 28th floor of 4 World Trade Center. Co-founded by Joshua Pulman and Cory Silverstein and funded in part by Silverstein Properties, which redeveloped the World Trade Center complex, the nonprofit offers free studio spaces and career opportunities to 28 emerging artists from marginalized communities.

''Society can't really visualize prisoners as even human beings,'' Owens said. ''I'm going to bring your attention to that,'' he added. ''I'm going to keep it in your mind's eye.''

He was using shadow figures appropriated from an 18th-century diagram of the Brookes slave ship, reproducing them in rows as a serial motif across canvases that flicker between representation and smudgy abstraction and suggest the architecture of the prison.

With a grant this year from the Art for Justice Fund, founded in 2017 by the philanthropist Agnes Gund to support activists and artists working to reduce the prison population, Silver Art is now reserving several spots in the residency annually for formerly incarcerated artists. Baxter, Krimes and Craig joined Owens in the coveted studio spaces earlier this month.

''The alchemy of art as a tool for securing justice cannot be overstated,'' said Gund, who collects work by Krimes and Craig (as does the Brooklyn Museum).

In his recent first solo New York show at Malin Gallery, Craig showed autobiographical canvases often painted on leather purse fragments stitched together as a skin, referencing the Black body in the prison system.

''It took me years to decide to unpack my prison experience,'' Craig said. ''I didn't want to exploit my situation or anyone else's.'' Three-quarters of the exhibition sold, with prices starting at $35,000. Among his collectors were Tim and Stephanie Ingrassia (she is vice chair of the Brooklyn Museum).

Krimes has now had five exhibitions with the gallery. ''People aren't questioning anymore, is he an artist or is he this sort of curiosity?'' Malin said. Krimes's series of ''Elegy Quilts,'' pieced together from the clothing of incarcerated individuals and depicting their remembrances of home, started at $25,000 and sold out quickly to collectors including Beth Rudin DeWoody.

Malin has gradually raised Krimes's prices to $75,000. ''The next hurdle to overcome,'' Malin said, ''is, are people going to take it seriously enough to go above this price point?''

During a recent public discussion called ''Confronting Mass Incarceration'' at the Anderson Ranch in Aspen, the Brooklyn Museum's director, Anne Pasternak, who led the acquisition of works by Craig and Krimes, apologized to Krimes for an earlier comment about his work having gotten expensive.

''In retrospect, I realized that could have sounded like, because he had been incarcerated, he didn't merit the prices of other artists, which is not what I intended,'' she said in a recent interview, adding, ''It requires us all to be more conscientious of our biases that we may not be aware of.''

Early on, Krimes noticed he was often the only artist included in shows about incarceration who had actually served time. ''I'm a white guy from eastern Pennsylvania, I should definitely not be the only face of incarceration,'' said Krimes, who grew up in a ***working-class*** community in Lancaster.

The documentary compares the lighter sentence Krimes received (six years) to that of a Black man sentenced the same day for the same crime (20 years), from the same judge, who said he saw ''potential'' in Krimes. The artist said he experienced how penitentiaries intentionally stoked racial divisions between rival gangs as a means of control. He pointed out that visual artists were respected prisonwide for the tangible records of humanity, such as portraits, they could provide to other inmates.

''That's where I realized I could use artwork as a collective building tool to cross racial barriers,'' Krimes said.

Krimes and Craig received a grant from Open Philanthropy to co-found the Right of Return USA in 2017, which offers $20,000 fellowships to a half dozen formerly incarcerated artists each year.

Baxter received one of these inaugural fellowships after prison, when she had less than $5 in her bank account, and described the support as life-changing. ''It gave me an opportunity to find stable housing and revisit my art aspirations,'' she said. The grant funded her musical film ''Ain't I a Woman,'' in which Baxter told her life story, including giving birth in prison while shackled to a gurney.

(Other Right of Return fellows include the poet Reginald Dwayne Betts; the artist Sherrill Roland, represented by the Tanya Bonakdar Gallery; Gilberto Rivera; and Tameca Cole, whose 2016 collage of a face shrouded in a gray cloud, titled ''Locked in a Dark Calm,'' is the opening image in ''Marking Time.'')

Krimes and Craig recently received $1.1 million from the Mellon Foundation, to help expand Right of Return from a fellowship to a nonprofit called the Art and Advocacy Society, which will hire staff and encompass a school and residency program.

They are working with Kate Fowle, former director of MoMA PS1, who brought ''Marking Time'' to the museum, on the school's pilot program, being hosted by MoMA PS1 with $300,000 in additional funding from Gund's Art for Justice and the Ford Foundation. A cohort of six artists -- Krimes, Craig, Owens, Baxter, Cole and Rivera -- are receiving professional development and one-on-one mentorship from Sterling Ruby, Hank Willis Thomas, Rashid Johnson, Lorna Simpson, Derrick Adams and Rafael Domenech.

When asked why a limited number of opportunities seem to keep going to the same handful of artists, Fowle said, ''They are going to be the support structure for future artists coming through school, the mentors, the ones able to guide how these types of programs expand.'' She and Krimes envision an entry-level tier for artists getting out of prison to learn studio skills and art history. The Art and Advocacy Society would develop the core curriculum, to be implemented at museums across the country.

Whether museums broadly will fund such an initiative is an open question. MoMA PS1, for example, received the top end of what Art for Justice gives -- $200,000 -- but it was not enough to pay for both tiers of the school.

In November, Christie's will auction works by Johnson and Mickalene Thomas, among others, to benefit the Art and Advocacy Society and a permanent residency program. ''Our goal is to create a multiracial national movement that is foundational and lasts,'' Krimes said. His biggest fear is that the art world's interest will move on to the next thing before anything structural has changed.

''I recognize the power of calling yourself a 'formerly incarcerated artist,''' he said. But ultimately, he added, ''you want to be known as just an artist.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/22/arts/design/prison-art-gallery-museum.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/22/arts/design/prison-art-gallery-museum.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Top from left, the once-incarcerated artists Tameca Cole, Russell Craig, Jared Owens, Jesse Krimes, Gilberto Rivera and Mary Enoch Elizabeth Baxter. Right, an installation view of Krimes's ''Apokaluptein: 16389067'' (2010-13) at ''Marking Time,'' MoMA PS 1, in 2020. Below, Owens's studio in the Silver Art Project residency space. Bottom center, Craig's ''Idol Time'' (2022) was shown at the Malin Gallery. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHRISTOPHER GREGORY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMESï¿½ï¿½

RUSSELL CRAIG

VIA MALIN GALLERY)

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