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CHUNG SUNG-JUN/GETTY IMAGES

Clockwise from top: a memorial on Sunday for the victims of the crowd surge in the Itaewon district of Seoul; relatives of missing people weeping at a community center; the 11-foot-wide alleyway where most of the deaths occurred. Over 150 people suffocated.

Deadly Crush
Leaves Seoul
In Mourning

This article is by Choe Sang-Hun, John Yoon, Paul Mozur, Victoria Kim, Lee Su-Hyun and Jin Yu Young.

SEOUL — It was supposed to be a festive evening, throngs of raucous youngsters dressed as zombies, princesses and superheroes converging on one of Seoul’s most popular nightlife districts for their first restriction-free Halloween celebration since the pandemic began.

Late Saturday evening, they crowded into bars and nightclubs pumping out the latest K-pop hits and spilled into the tight alleys that wind through the city’s Itaewon neighborhood. They snacked on the Greek, Turkish, Italian and other international foods for which the diverse district is known.

As the night grew more frenetic and the mass of revelers swelled, many of them crammed into an alleyway barely 11 feet wide, in a bottleneck of human traffic that made it difficult to breathe and move. There were few police officers around, and from within the crowd came calls to “push, push” and a big shove, according to witnesses. Then, they began to fall, a tangle of too many bodies, compressed into too small of a space.

Zen Ogren, 32, found herself stuck in a packed and sweltering club alongside the narrow alleyway, a thoroughfare connecting a strip of bars to a busy subway station and a popular spot for taking photographs. Outside the club’s door, people were yelling, “Please don’t come out, people are dying,” she said. Security guards urged

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Brazil Rejects Bolsonaro and Brings Back ‘Lula’

By JACK NICAS

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. 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

After Prison, a Stunning
Revival for the Leftist

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.

It was the first time an incumbent president failed to win re-

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VICTOR MORIYAMA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva in São Bernardo do Campo, Brazil, on Sunday. Known simply as Lula, he faces a sputtering economy.

Researchers Defend Meat, With Industry’s Help

By HIROKO TABUCHI

In 2019, three dozen leading researchers sounded a stark warning in a prominent scientific journal: To fight climate change and improve human health, the world needed to dramatically cut back on eating red meat.

The findings were quickly attacked by Frank Mitloehner, the head of an agricultural research

center at the University of California, Davis, and a prominent critic of the journal’s research.

The report’s authors were spreading a “radical anti-meat agenda,” Dr. Mitloehner wrote on Twitter, where he led a backlash under the hashtag, #yes2meat. “Their so-called planetary diet is a quasi-vegan diet,” he said, calling the findings “anti-livestock.”

According to internal University of California documents re-

viewed by The New York Times, Dr. Mitloehner’s academic group, the Clear Center at UC Davis, receives almost all its funding from industry donations and coordinates with a major livestock lobby group on messaging campaigns.

The documents show that the center, which has become a leading institution in the field of agriculture and climate, was set up in 2019 with a \$2.9 million gift to be

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Senate Contests Are Tight
In 4 Key States, Polls Find

Fight Over the White
Working Class in
Pennsylvania

By SHANE GOLDMACHER

SCRANTON, Pa. — The fate of the Democratic Party in northeastern Pennsylvania lies in the hands of people like Steve Papp.

A 30-year veteran carpenter, he describes his job almost poetically as “hanging out with your brothers, building America.” But there has been a harder labor in his life of late: selling his fellow carpenters, iron workers and masons on a Democratic Party that he sees as the protector of a “union way of life” but that they see as being increasingly out of step with their cultural values.

“The guys aren’t hearing the message,” Mr. Papp said.

Perhaps no place in the nation offers a more symbolic and consequential test of whether Democrats can win back some of the white working-class vote than Pennsylvania — and particularly the state’s northeastern corner, the birthplace of President Biden, where years of economic decline have scarred the coal-rich landscape. This region is where a pivotal Senate race could be decided, where two seats in the House of Representatives are up for grabs and where a crucial governorship hangs in the balance.

No single constituency, of course, will determine the outcome of these races in a state as big as Pennsylvania, let alone the 2022 midterms. Turning out Black voters in cities is critical for Democrats. Gaining ground in the swingy suburbs is a must for Republicans. But it is among white working-class voters in rural areas and smaller towns — places like Sugarloaf Township, where Mr. Papp lives — where the Democratic Party has, in some ways, both the furthest to fall and the most to gain.

Sitting in the Scranton carpenters’ union hall, where Democratic lawn signs leaned up against the walls, Mr. Papp said that he often brought stickers to the job site for those he converted, but that he had recently been giving away fewer than he would like. He ticked through what he feels he has been up against. Talk radio. Social media. The Fox News megaphone. “Misinformation and lies,” as he put it, about the Black Lives Matter movement and the L.G.B.T.Q. community.

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Democrats Lead in
Arizona as Other
Races Teeter

By LISA LERER
and RUTH IGIELNIK

Control of the Senate rests on a knife’s edge, according to new polls by The New York Times and Siena College, with Republican challengers in Nevada and Georgia neck-and-neck with Democratic incumbents, and the Democratic candidate in Pennsylvania clinging to what appears to be a tenuous advantage.

The bright spot for Democrats in the four key states polled was in Arizona, where Senator Mark Kelly is holding a small but steady lead over his Republican challenger, Blake Masters.

The results indicate a deeply volatile and unpredictable Senate contest: More people across three of the states surveyed said they wanted Republicans to gain control of the Senate, but they preferred the individual Democratic candidates in their states — a sign that Republicans may be hampered by the shortcomings of their nominees.

Midterm elections are typically referendums on the party in power, and Democrats must defy decades of that political history to win control of the Senate, an outcome that has not completely slipped out of the party’s grasp according to the findings of the Times/Siena surveys. Democrats control the 50-50 Senate with Vice President Kamala Harris as the tiebreaking vote. To gain the majority, Republicans need to gain just one seat.

The polls surveyed likely voters across four key Senate races: Arizona, Georgia, Nevada and Pennsylvania. Mr. Kelly, the Democratic incumbent in Arizona, holds the biggest lead, ahead of Mr. Masters by a 51 percent to 45 percent margin. Nevada is the tightest of the races, with the Democratic incumbent, Senator Catherine Cortez Masto, and her Republican challenger, Adam Laxalt, locked in a dead-heat at 47 percent. In Georgia, Senator Raphael Warnock leads narrowly in a tight race over his Republican opponent, Herschel Walker, at 49 to 46 percent.

In Pennsylvania, voters were about evenly divided on which party they wanted to control the Senate. But Lt. Gov. John Fetterman, a Democrat, is up slightly against Mehmet Oz, the former

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STAR POWER A high-profile display of Republican and Democratic efforts in New York illustrates how many races are close. PAGE A10

GOING MODERATE Some Republicans are making headway by distancing themselves from the right wing of their party. PAGE A9

Years of Efforts to Vilify Pelosi
Preceded Brutal Attack in Home

This article is by Annie Karni, Catie Edmondson and Carl Hulse.

WASHINGTON — In 2006, as Nancy Pelosi was poised to become the first female speaker of the House, Republicans made a film spoof that portrayed an evil Democratic empire led by “Darth Nancy.”

In 2009, the Republican National Committee ran an advertisement featuring Ms. Pelosi’s face framed by the barrel of a gun — complete with the sound of a bullet firing as red bled down the screen — a takeoff on the James Bond film “Goldfinger” in which the woman second in line to the presidency was cast as Pussy Galore.

This year, a Republican running in the primary for Senate in Arizona aired an ad showing him in a

spaghetti western-style duel with Democrats, in which he shoots at a knife-wielding, mask-wearing, bug-eyed woman labeled “Crazy-face Pelosi.”

The name echoed former President Donald J. Trump’s many derisive monikers for Ms. Pelosi, including “Crazy Nancy.”

The attack on Ms. Pelosi’s husband, Paul Pelosi, on Friday, which left him with a fractured skull and appeared to be part of a planned attack on the speaker herself, came after a yearslong campaign by Republicans to demonize and dehumanize Ms. Pelosi in increasingly ugly ways.

For the better part of two decades, Republicans have targeted Ms. Pelosi, the most powerful woman in American politics, as the most sinister Democratic vil-

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Catching Waves in Britain

On the North Devon coast, the surfing scene can hold its own among the best in Europe. PAGE A4

Grain Blockade in Black Sea

Moscow dismissed accusations that it was using food as a weapon after suspending a grain shipment deal. PAGE A8

NATIONAL A9-16

Abortions Fall 6% in 2 Months

The rise of abortions in some states where it remains legal did not make up for the decline in states that banned or restricted it, new data shows. PAGE A13

Task of Picking a Trump Jury

Lawyers for both sides were challenged by having to find people without disqualifying opinions to serve. PAGE A15

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A Persuasive Politician

Roz Wyman convinced the owner of the Dodgers to move the team to Los Angeles from Brooklyn. She was 92. PAGE B8



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Arias of the Mind

A new production fuses elements of opera, artificial intelligence and neuroscience. Above, Shanta Thake. PAGE C5

Dancing on a New Knee

James Whiteside, who ruptured a tendon in December, has recently made his return to the ballet stage. PAGE C1

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Salaries Are Less Secret

Laws in New York City and a handful of states are forcing companies to disclose pay ranges in their job postings. Proponents hope to narrow disparities for women and workers of color. PAGE B1

The Math at Twitter

Twitter has not turned a profit for eight of the past 10 years. Can the new owner Elon Musk make the numbers work in ways that they haven’t before? And what if he can’t? PAGE B1

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Charles M. Blow

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A Star’s Special Spectators

It took years for Yordan Alvarez’s parents to reach the U.S. from Cuba to see him play for the Astros. They are soaking in every second. PAGE D1



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