



Patrolling the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele in Milan on Monday. Italy, Germany and France suspended use of the AstraZeneca vaccine.

Stimulus Helps Public Transit Stave Off Cuts

By CHRISTINA GOLDBAUM
and PRANSHU VERMA

For nearly a year, public transportation systems across the country have teetered on the edge of a financial cliff as the pandemic starved transit agencies of riders and revenues and threatened to decimate service.

But those systems, and the people who rely on them, have been pulled from their worst crisis in decades by President Biden's sweeping \$1.9 trillion stimulus package, which includes \$30.5 billion for transit agencies—the largest single infusion of federal aid public transportation has ever received.

Transit leaders from New York to Washington to San Francisco quickly announced that they would shelve plans for deep service cuts and restore some train and bus service.

New York's transit agency said that it would begin ramping up service on its commuter rail lines; Washington said that it would keep open nearly two dozen stations that it had considered closing next year; and Amtrak announced it would restore daily service on 12 of its 15 long-distance routes.

"Congress has once again stepped up to address the needs of Metro and the regional transit systems that will be critical to our region's economic recovery," said Paul C. Stedberg, chairman of the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority.

The large infusion of funds reflects a concerted push under Mr. Biden, who is both a rider and a strong supporter of Amtrak, to revitalize the country's transportation systems, many of which faced shaky finances and crumbling infrastructure before the pandemic.

Continued on Page A20

Obama's Caution Serves as Lesson for Democrats

By ASTEAD W. HERNDON

As Democrats pushed this month to pass the \$1.9 trillion coronavirus relief package, they were eager to rebuke Republicans for opposing en masse a measure filled with aid to struggling Americans. But they had another target as well: the core policy of President Barack Obama's first-term agenda.

Party leaders from President Biden on down are citing Mr. Obama's strategy on his most urgent policy initiative — an \$800 billion financial rescue plan in 2009 in the midst of a crippling recession — as too cautious and too deferential to Republicans, mistakes they were determined not to repeat.

The pointed assessments of Mr.

Party Sees Major Risks in Limiting Agenda for Unity's Sake

Obama's handling of the 2009 stimulus effort are the closest Democrats have come to grappling with a highly delicate matter in the party: the shortcomings in the legacy of Mr. Obama, one of the most popular figures in the Democratic Party and a powerful voice for bipartisanship in a deeply divided country.

The re-examination has irked some of the former president's allies but thrilled the party's progressive wing, which sees Mr. Bi-

den's more expansive plan as a down payment on his ambitious agenda. And it has sent an early signal that Mr. Biden's administration does not intend to be a carbon copy of his Democratic predecessor's. Times, all concede, have changed.

"This time, the feeling was, 'We're not very willing to negotiate what we think is needed,'" said former Senator Byron Dorgan, a Democrat from North Dakota who retired ahead of the 2010 midterm elections. "In 2009, I think the feeling was, 'Oh we wanted more, but we didn't get what we wanted.'"

The careful dance around Mr. Obama and his accomplishments continues a dynamic from the Democratic presidential primary. While taking care not to dis-

Continued on Page A16



HERSEY FORNBERG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Pandemic Postcards

With their country's borders closed, Russians are flocking to Lake Baikal in Siberia. Page A12.

For Met's Musicians, a Labor Battle Fuels Lockdown Anxieties

By JULIA IACOBIS

As the months without a paycheck wore on, Joel Noyes, a 41-year-old cellist with the Metropolitan Opera, realized that in order to keep making his mortgage payments he would have to sell one of his most valuable possessions: his 19th-century Russian bow. He reluctantly switched back to the inferior one he had used as a child.

"It's kind of like if you were a racecar driver and you drove Ferraris on the Formula One circuit," Mr. Noyes said, "and suddenly you had to get on the track in a Toyota Camry."

The Metropolitan Opera House has been dark for a year, and its musicians have gone unpaid for almost as long. The players in one

Unions Are Resisting Long-Term Pay Cuts

of the finest orchestras in the world suddenly found themselves relying on unemployment benefits, scrambling for virtual teaching gigs, selling the tools of their

trade and looking for cheaper housing. About 40 percent left the New York area. More than a tenth retired.

After the musicians had been furloughed for months, the Met offered them reduced pay in the short term if they agreed to long-term cuts that the company, which estimates that it has lost \$150 mil-

Continued on Page A20

Vaccine Turmoil in Europe Over AstraZeneca Worries

Pandemic's 3rd Wave Shakes Continent — 3 Big Nations Halt Company's Shots

By JASON HOROWITZ

ROME — As a third wave of the pandemic crashes over Europe, questions about the safety of one of the continent's most commonly available vaccines led Germany, France, Italy and Spain to temporarily halt its use on Monday. The suspensions created further chaos in inoculation rollouts even as new coronavirus variants continue to spread.

The decisions followed reports that a handful of people who had received the vaccine, made by AstraZeneca, had developed fatal brain hemorrhages and blood clots.

The company has strongly defended its vaccine, saying that there is "no evidence" of increased risk of blood clots or hemorrhages among the more than 17 million people who have received the shot in the European Union and the United Kingdom.

"The safety of all is our first priority," AstraZeneca said in a statement Monday. "We are working with national health authorities and European officials and look forward to their assessment later this week."

The timing of the pause in inoculations by some of Europe's largest countries — which followed a flurry of similar actions

by Denmark, Norway and several others — could not have been worse.

Europe's vaccine rollouts already lag far behind those in Britain and the United States, and there is dawning realization that much of the continent is suffering a third wave of infections. Leading immunologists fretted on Monday that the decision by several of Europe's leading nations to suspend the use of AstraZeneca would make vaccination efforts even harder by emboldening vaccine skeptics in countries where they are particularly entrenched.

The European Medicines Agency and the World Health Organization warned against an exodus from vaccines that would undermine rollout efforts at a pivotal moment.

"We do not want people to panic," the W.H.O.'s chief scientist, Soumya Swaminathan, said at a news conference, adding that no link had been found between the clotting disorders reported in some countries and COVID-19 shots. A W.H.O. advisory committee is to meet on Tuesday to discuss the vaccine.

The European Medicines Agency, or E.M.A., said Monday

Continued on Page A9

Republicans Wary of Covid Shots Pose Challenge to Biden Rollout

By ANNIE KARNI and ZOLAN KANNO-YOUNGS

WASHINGTON — As President Biden pushes to vaccinate as many Americans as possible, he faces deep skepticism among many Republicans, a group especially challenging for him to persuade.

While there are degrees of opposition to vaccination for the coronavirus among a number of groups, including African-Americans and antivaccine activists, polling suggests that opinions in this case are breaking substantially along partisan lines.

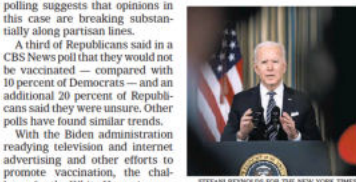
A third of Republicans said in a CBS News poll that they would not be vaccinated — compared with 10 percent of Democrats — and an additional 20 percent of Republicans said they were unsure. Other polls have found similar trends.

With the Biden administration readying television and internet advertising and other efforts to promote vaccination, the challenge for the White House is complicated by perceptions of former President Donald J. Trump's

stance on the issue. Although Mr. Trump was vaccinated before he left office and urged conservatives last month to get inoculated, many of his supporters appear reluctant to do so, and he has not played any prominent role in promoting vaccination.

Asked about the issue on Monday at the White House, Mr. Biden

Continued on Page A8



STEVE GRANITZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Biden hopes to sway skeptics with an ad campaign.

China Is Giving Latin America Vaccines and Gaining Leverage

By ERNESTO LONDOÑO and LETICIA CASADO

RIO DE JANEIRO — China was on the defensive in Brazil.

The Trump administration had been warning allies across the globe to shun Huawei, a Chinese telecommunications giant, denouncing the company as a dangerous extension of China's surveillance system.

Brazil, ready to build an ambitious 5G wireless network worth billions of dollars, openly took President Donald J. Trump's side, with the Brazilian president's son — an influential member of Congress, himself — vowing in November to create a secure system "without Chinese espionage."

Then pandemic politics upended.

With Covid-19 deaths rising to their highest levels yet, and a dan-

gerous new virus variant stalking Brazil, the nation's communications minister went to Beijing in February, met with Huawei executives at its headquarters and made a very unusual request of a telecommunications company.

"I took advantage of the trip to ask for vaccines, which is what everyone is clamoring for," said the minister, Fábio Faria, recounting his meeting with Huawei.

Two weeks later, the Brazilian government announced the rules for its 5G auction, one of the biggest in the world. Huawei, which the government appeared to have banned just months before, will be allowed to participate.

The about-face is a sign of how politics in the region have been

Continued on Page A8



INTERNATIONAL A10-14

Sandstorm Blankets China
Northern winds and an industrial rebound created dangerous pollution levels in Beijing and beyond. PAGE A10

Rethinking a U.K. Policing Bill
Lawmakers are re-examining the legislation after clashes at a vigil in London for a woman who was slain. PAGE A33

NATIONAL A15-20

A Crisis at the Border

More than 9,400 minors arrived without parents along the border in February, a nearly threefold rise over last year, giving the government an urgent humanitarian challenge. PAGE A17

Staying on the Sidelines

President Biden could prevent a stand-off between Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo and the Democratic Party, but he's avoided getting pulled into the issue. PAGE A19

Charges for Two in Riot

Two men were charged with assaulting the Capitol police officer who died the day after the attack. PAGE A15



SPORTSTUESDAY B7-10

Women's Field Is Set
UConn, whose coach tested positive for the virus, is one of the four No. 1 seeds for the N.C.A.A. tournament. PAGE B7

Quicker Quarantines?

The N.C.A.A. quietly changed a virus safety protocol for its Division I basketball tournaments. PAGE B9

BUSINESS B1-6

No Longer Counted (for Now)

A hidden casualty of the pandemic is the group of more than four million people who have quit the labor force. Will they return? PAGE B1

SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

Learning From the Virus

Scientists know a whole lot more about Covid-19 than they did a year ago, and they have some advice on what to do when the next outbreak occurs. PAGE D1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Mitt Romney

PAGE A23



ARTS C1-6

A More Diverse Oscars
The film "Mank" earned 10 nominations, and for the first time, two women, including Chloë Zhao, above, were recognized for directing. PAGE C1



Make sense of the news, every day, with David Leonhardt.

The Morning

A Newsletter

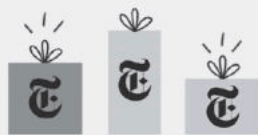
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Inside The Times

THE STORY BEHIND THE STORY



Illustration by SCOTT GELLER. PHOTOGRAPH BY TOM BRENNEN. THE NEW YORK TIMES

Internet giants like Facebook, led by Mark Zuckerberg, and Amazon have streamed some pro sports, but the companies might be looking to get more action on their platforms.

A Key to Web Entertainment: Sports

Sports, especially the National Football League, are instrumental to charting the future of entertainment on the internet. Maybe you think that's nuts. But Edmund Lee, a New York Times media reporter, said we should pay attention to current negotiations over where Americans will watch football games in coming years. They may determine which television companies thrive in the digital age, and offer a glimpse at what types of programming will dominate our favorite websites. To conventional television companies like Disney and CBS, the N.F.L. is essential to prevent TV viewership from shrinking too quickly and to support their future in streaming. And internet stars like Amazon and Facebook might — maybe? — want big ticket sports for themselves. Below, Edmund answered a few questions about the N.F.L.'s role in all this. **SHIRA OVIDE**

Why is the N.F.L. so important?

Fewer Americans are watching sports, but football is still by far the most popular TV programming. The N.F.L. needs TV, and TV network owners need the N.F.L. And whether you watch football or not, the billions of dollars that the TV networks pay for the N.F.L. translates into higher bills for cable or satellite television, or online TV packages such as YouTube TV.

The TV networks hate paying so much to air the N.F.L. to shrinking audiences. But you say they're going to pay maybe twice as much in the next contract. Why?

It's a complicated dance. Disney, Fox, CBS, NBC and others are trying to become streaming video companies. But they're still losing money on streaming and making billions of dollars of profit from conventional TV. If TV networks can make N.F.L. games available to watch on TV and on their streaming services, they hope viewers will stay glued to TV and get pulled into streaming services.

Are you saying that sports, and especially the N.F.L., are key to whether entertainment companies live or die?

Pretty much! I'll give you a personal example. English Premier League soccer matches are one of the few things I consistently watch on Peacock, NBC's streaming video service. Sports, particularly live sports and most of all the N.F.L., are still a huge draw. The entertainment companies that have must-watch programming will be the ones that make the transition to streaming.

There are billions of people on YouTube and Facebook. Why aren't big sports like the Olympics, European soccer and the N.F.L. there?

There have been experiments. Facebook has live streamed some professional baseball games and Indian cricket matches. Amazon's Prime Video streams a handful of N.F.L. games on Thursdays, and it seems Amazon is willing to pay for more games. But the reality is, sports on those big websites are just one piece of programming in an ocean. When games are on these big tech websites, fewer people watch.

Why?

Maybe people aren't in the habit of watching sports there. When an N.F.L. game is broadcast at the same time on Amazon Prime Video and on cable TV, many millions of people watch on TV but only a few hundred thousand on Amazon.

I've been surprised that sporting events on Amazon or Facebook aren't very internet-like. It's mostly the same as a TV broadcast.

Watch what the National Basketball Association does. It has started to incorporate digital features into the N.B.A. app like statistics that pop up in games and choices of camera angles. The internetification of sports isn't there yet. But whatever the N.B.A. does will likely be widely copied.

This article first appeared in the On Tech newsletter. To sign up to receive it, go to nytimes.com/newsletters/signup/OT.

On This Day in History

A MEMORABLE HEADLINE FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES

RARE HEALTH ALERT IS ISSUED BY W.H.O. FOR MYSTERY ILLNESS

March 16, 2003. As a mysterious respiratory illness spread to more countries, the World Health Organization declared the disease, Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome, or SARS, "a worldwide health threat" and pleaded for countries to help control it. Scientists suspected the disease, which could begin with a dry cough and flu-like symptoms and was caused by a novel coronavirus, could have originated in live animals found in market stalls of China's Guangdong Province. During the 2002-2003 outbreak, nearly 8,000 died and more than 8,000 people were sickened with SARS, according to the W.H.O.

Subscribers can browse the complete Times archives through 2002 at timesmachine.nytimes.com.

The Newspaper And Beyond

CORRECTIONS A16
CROSSWORD C3
OBITUARIES A21, A24
OPINION A22-23
WEATHER A11

VIDEO

The \$27 million settlement that the city of Minneapolis agreed to pay the family of George Floyd was announced while a court was pursuing juries for the criminal trial of Derek Chauvin, the former police officer who is charged with murdering Mr. Floyd. The timing could impede the trial. nytimes.com/video



AUDIO

On "Sway," a podcast from Times Opinion, the economist Mariana Mazzucato says governments should act more like venture capitalists, rather than let the private sector hog all the glory and the rewards. nytimes.com/sway



PHOTOGRAPHY

In Romania, the Southern Carpathian mountains are lush with primeval forests and wildlife. A conservation group is trying to establish a vast new national park there. Check out the effort in the latest installment of The World Through a Lens from the Travel desk. nytimes.com/travel



EVENT

Meet the team behind The Morning newsletter. At a virtual event for subscribers, David Leonhardt will talk through the most important stories of the moment, and attendees will have an opportunity to ask questions. April 15 at 7 p.m. E.D.T., for information, visit timesevents.nytimes.com.

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Of Interest

NOTEWORTHY FACTS FROM TODAY'S PAPER

Rates of suicidal thinking and behavior in young people are up by 25 percent or more from similar periods in 2019, according to a just-published analysis of surveys of young patients coming into the emergency room.

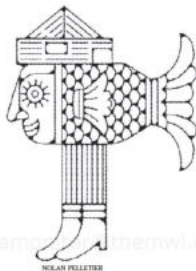
For Some Teens, a Year of Anguish D3

At museums, maquettes — mockups of original artworks that are sometimes made of wood or cardboard — function as stand-ins for pieces, enabling curators and designers to determine gallery layouts.

The Stout Doubles of the Art World C2

The pathogen that caused the Spanish flu pandemic of 1918-19, an H1N1 influenza A virus, was not identified until the 1950s.

Living Science, in Real Time D2



NIKAN PELLETIER

In Russia, what some call the "gender holiday" travel period occurs around Defender of the Fatherland Day on Feb. 23 (when Russia celebrates men) and March 8 (International Women's Day).

A Siberian Lake Becomes An In-Country Hotspot A12

About three-quarters of wars today are fought by mercenaries and other so-called nonstate combatants, rather than by members of nations' armed forces, according to Varvara Pakhomenko, a human rights consultant.

Killing in Syria Spawns a Legal Case Against Mercenaries A14

The college now known as Georgetown University was the nation's first Catholic institution of higher learning.

Jesuits Vow to Raise \$100 Million to Atone for Role in Slavery A15

Enacted in 1978, Section 8 is a \$22 billion annual program managed by the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development that provides housing vouchers to tenants of lesser means.

88 New York Landlords Accused Of Housing Bias A18

The Conversation

FOUR OF THE MOST READ, SHARED AND DISCUSSED POSTS FROM ACROSS NYTIMES.COM

Piers Morgan Can't Wait to Bring The Worst of America Home

British TV executives see opportunity and profit in bringing American cable-style clashes to their screens, the Times media columnist Ben Smith writes. After leaving "Good Morning Britain" last week, Piers Morgan is being courted by two news networks. This was Monday's most read article.

2021 Grammys Winners: The Full List

Women won in all of the major categories in the 63rd annual Grammy Awards held in Los Angeles on Sunday. Two of Monday's most popular articles were about the show, which our reporters said proved that an awards ceremony in a pandemic doesn't have to look like a video conference.

Oscar Nominations 2021: 'Mank' Leads Nominations And Chloë Zhao Makes History

"Mank," a black-and-white meditation about old Hollywood that was produced by Netflix, received 10 nods, and for the first time, two women were recognized for directing: Chloë Zhao, the first woman of color in the category, for "Nomadland," and Emerald Fennell for "Promising Young Woman."



NETFLIX/NETFLIX, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

In Rage Over Sarah Everard Killing, 'Women's Bargain' Is Put on Notice

In response to the death of a young woman in London, the "Reclaim These Streets" movement is asking that the police, the government and men collectively ensure female safety.

Quote of the Day

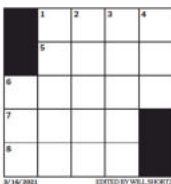
PAGE A15

"They did not come running to us, but because we went to them with open arms and open hearts, they responded."

JOSEPH M. STEWART, a descendant of slaves who were sold to finance the creation of Georgetown University, on how the Jesuit conference of priests vowed to raise \$100 million to benefit the descendants of the enslaved people it once owned and to promote racial reconciliation initiatives.

The Mini Crossword

BY JOEL FAGLIANO



ACROSS

- The slightest amount
- Airport boarding area
- Eye, ear or heart
- Fishing line spool
- Depend (upon)

DOWN

- Feel the same way
- Roll with a hole
- Country where Elizabeth Gilbert eats in "Eat, Pray, Love"
- Prime Minister's address on Downing Street
- Hockey legend Bobby

SOLUTION TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE



Spotlight

ADDITIONAL REPORTAGE AND REPARTÉE FROM OUR JOURNALISTS

At the Grammys on Sunday, many music fans were surprised when Billie Eilish won for record of the year (Ms. Eilish included). On Monday, Joe Coscarelli, a Times pop music reporter, posted on Twitter an outtake of a video discussion among Times music writers — recorded before the awards — about the nominated song, "Everything I Wanted." Mr. Coscarelli began by asking if it was too soon for Ms. Eilish to win again after receiving the award last year for "Bad Guy." Caryn Ganz, The Times's pop music editor, said, "yes." Here is an edited portion of the conversation.

Caryn Ganz This is typical Grammys stuff: "Hey, that work! Let's do it again!"

Jon Caramanica I mean, what are you going to say? It sounds exactly like a Billie Eilish song.

Jon Pareles Even though it's strange and electronic-sounding, it's still very classic construction.

Joe Coscarelli In that way, she's the perfect Grammys artist, which is the cloak of young and progressive and cool and popular, and the heart of a traditionalist.

Coscarelli This is a sort of in-between single for her. It's not from an album.

Caramanica We're moving away from albums. We're moving toward drip, drip, drip, drip music releases. I don't think it's any less deserving just because it's not connected to a project. So maybe this is a way in which the Grammys are doing something right?

See the full video on Twitter, @jcoscarelli. To read more about Sunday's show, see our coverage in today's Arts section.

A HAVEN. A SANCTUARY. AND NOW, YOUR OFFICE!

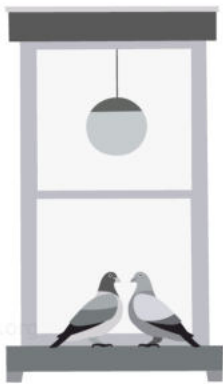
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Here to Help

A RECIPE FOR SPICED IRISH OATMEAL WITH CREAM AND CRUNCHY SUGAR

A shower of heavy cream and plenty of caramelized Demerara sugar may make this Irish oatmeal seem more like dessert than something you'd serve first thing in the morning. But that's all the more reason to bake it for a special breakfast or brunch. Cardamom and cinnamon give the oats an earthy, perfumed aroma, and coaxing them in butter before baking them lends nuttiness and depth. You can assemble the easy-to-make dish the night before, then bake it in the morning. Just add about 10 minutes to the baking time if you're putting the oatmeal in the oven cold from the fridge. **MELISSA CLARK**

TIME: 1½ HOURS
YIELD: 8 SERVINGS

- 6 tablespoons unsalted butter, plus more for greasing the pan
- 2 cups steel-cut oats
- 1 teaspoon ground cardamom
- 1 teaspoon ground cinnamon
- 6½ cups boiling water
- ½ cup heavy cream, plus more for serving
- ½ teaspoon kosher salt
- ½ cup Demerara sugar, plus more for serving
- Flaky sea salt, for serving

- Heat oven to 350 degrees. Butter a 2-quart shallow gratin or baking dish.
- Cut 2 tablespoons of butter into small cubes, and put them in the refrigerator until needed.
- In a large skillet, melt 4 tablespoons of butter. Add the oats, and sauté until they smell nutty and toasted, 2 to 4 minutes. Stir in the cardamom and cinnamon, and sauté for another minute, until fragrant. Scrape oats



DAVID MAZOUZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES. FOOD STYLING: KIMBERLY ANDERSON

into the buttered baking pan and stir in the boiling water, cream and salt.

4. Bake oats for 40 minutes, then give them a stir. Sprinkle sugar all over the oats, and scatter reserved cubed butter on top. Bake for 15 to 20 more minutes, until the top is glazed and bubbling.

5. Sprinkle oatmeal with flaky sea salt, if you like. Serve oats with more cream and sugar on the side.

For more recipes, visit NYT Cooking at cooking.nytimes.com.

Tracking an Outbreak

The New York Times

Coronavirus Update

Rise in Travel Prompts Health Warnings

109 Million Have Had at Least One Shot

4,700 Infections Are Linked to Variants

By JAMES BARRON

More people getting vaccinations and more people traveling: It is a combination that has public health officials worried.

More than 5.9 million people were vaccinated in the United States on Saturday and Sunday, while 2.5 million passed through American airport checkpoints over the weekend. Another 2.6 million travelers had done so on Thursday and Friday, the government said — the most since the World Health Organization declared a global pandemic last March.

But the travel numbers prompted warnings despite a 19 percent drop in the 14-day average for new coronavirus cases in the United States. On Monday, Dr. Rochelle P. Walensky, the director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, mentioned seeing footage of people who had presumably traveled to places like Florida “enjoying spring break festivities maskless.”

Dr. Anthony S. Fauci, President Biden’s chief medical adviser on Covid-19, had been blunter on Sunday. “You know that metaphor that people say, ‘If you’re going for a touchdown, don’t spike the ball at the 5-yard line,’” he said on the NBC program “Meet the Press.” “Wait until you get into the end zone.”

Dr. Walensky noted on Monday that “this is all in the context of still 50,000 cases per day,” warning that the case counts will climb again “if we stop taking precautions.” In fact, the seven-day average stood at 54,832 on Sunday, and on Friday, more than 64,000 new cases were reported. The numbers dropped over the weekend, with 38,034 new cases reported on Sunday, still more than on any day since Oct. 4.

As for vaccinations, the C.D.C. said on Monday that 109 million Americans had been vaccinated, with 3.2 million shots administered on Saturday and 2.7 million on Sunday. The vast majority of vaccines continue to be the two-shot drugs from Pfizer-BioNTech and Moderna. The C.D.C. said that only 1.4 million shots of the one-dose Johnson & Johnson vaccine had been given.

But having to go back for a second dose does not appear to be an obstacle. The first federal study to look at how many people are following through on second doses found that 95.6 percent of those who received a first vaccine got their second. The study from the C.D.C. tabulated figures on 12.5 million people who received their first dose from Dec. 14 to Feb. 14, the first two months of the rollout in the United States. Dr. Walensky said that systems were in place to see that missed doses did not go to waste.

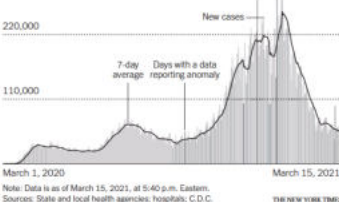
She also said that 4,700 cases of new and increasingly contagious variants had been found in the United States. They are “not evenly distributed” across the country, she said, noting that in Florida and California, the variant first identified in Britain now accounts for 25 percent of new cases.

Evidence indicates that the variants came from people with weak immune systems, meaning that people with cancer and other conditions may be incubators of mutant viruses. A coronavirus typically adds two mutations a month. But the variant first identified in Britain carried 23 variations that were not on the virus when it was discovered in China.

Experts say that the best explanation seems to be that the virus must have infected someone with a weak immune system and that it adapted and evolved in that person’s body — perhaps for months — before it was transmitted to other people. Putting a priority on inoculating people in that group should reduce the chance of breeding the next mutant.

New Coronavirus Cases Announced Daily in U.S.

As of Monday evening, more than 29,507,100 people across every state, plus Washington, D.C., and four U.S. territories, have tested positive for the virus, according to a New York Times database.



Flaws in Past C.D.C. Said, Some

The C.D.C. also said that some of its guidance during the Trump administration was not grounded in science and was not “primarily authored” by members of the C.D.C. staff. A memo from Dr. Anne Schuchat, the agency’s principal deputy director, said she had identified “a variety of issues,” including guidance that had been “developed or finalized outside of the agency” or used less direct language than agency officials believed was supported by scientific evidence.

She said in the memo, first reported by The Washington Post, that three coronavirus guidance documents had been removed from the agency’s website by late January. One, posted last July 23 and taken down in October, was titled “The Importance of Reopening of America’s Schools This Fall.” Another, titled “Opening Up America Again,” released last April 16, was taken down last month as the C.D.C. reviewed documents issued during the pandemic. The third, posted in August and removed in September, dealt with coronavirus testing.

The Deepest Vaccination Skeptics

As President Biden urges Americans to get vaccinated and limit the spread of the coronavirus, he is looking for ways to overcome skepticism among one group that is particularly challenging for him: white conservatives. A third of Republicans said in a CBS News/YouGov poll that they would not be vaccinated, compared with 10 percent of Democrats, and another 20 percent of Republicans said they were unsure. Other polls have found similar trends.

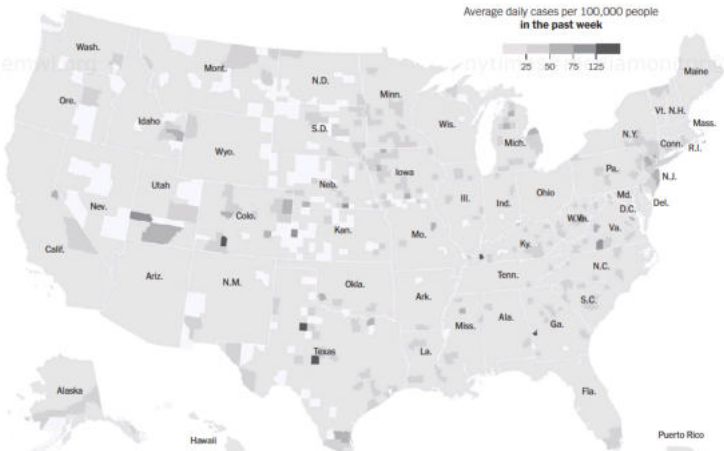
But there could be other factors. Would fear of needles keep some people from getting a vaccine? A study from the University of Michigan found that 16 percent of adults from several counties avoided annual flu vaccinations because of a fear of needles.

Mary Rogers, a retired University of Michigan professor and one of the authors of the study, said it was too soon to know if a similar number would abstain from the Covid-19 vaccine. But that fear tends to lessen as people age. That is a concern because surges have been driven by younger people. The study said researchers should study “non-needle approaches” to standard injections.

Coronavirus Update wraps up the day’s developments with information from across the virus report.

Hot Spots in the United States

As of Monday evening, more than 29,507,100 people across every state, Washington, D.C., and four U.S. territories, have tested positive for the novel coronavirus, according to a New York Times database. More than 535,100 people with the virus have died in the United States.



Sources: State and local health agencies. The map shows the share of population with a new reported case over the last week. Data for Rhode Island is shown at the state level because county level data is infrequently reported. Data is as of March 15, 2021, at 5 p.m. Eastern.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

EVOLUTION OF THE VIRUS

Weak Immune Systems Can Turbocharge Variants

By APOORVA MANDAVILLI

The version of the coronavirus that surfaced in Britain late last year was shocking for many reasons. It came just as vaccines had offered a glimpse of the end of the pandemic, threatening to dash those hopes. It was far more contagious than earlier variants, leading to a swift increase in hospitalizations. And perhaps most surprising to scientists: It had amassed a large constellation of mutations seemingly overnight.

A coronavirus typically gains mutations on a slow-but-steady pace of about two per month. But this variant, called B.1.1.7, had acquired 23 mutations that were not on the virus first identified in China. And 17 of those had developed all at once, sometime after it diverged from its most recent ancestor.

Experts say there’s only one good hypothesis for how this happened: At some point the virus must have infected someone with a weak immune system, allowing it to adapt and evolve for months inside the person’s body before being transmitted to others. “It appears to be the most likely explanation,” said Dr. Ravindra Gupta, a virologist at the University of Cambridge.

If true, the idea has implications for vaccination programs, particularly in countries that have not yet begun to immunize their populations. People with compromised immune systems — such as cancer patients — should be among the first to be vaccinated, said Dr. Adam Lauring, a virologist and infectious disease physician at the University of Michigan. The faster that group is protected, the lower the risk that their bodies turn into incubators for the world’s next supercharged mutant.

“We should give the best shot we can, both literally and figuratively, to protect this population,” Dr. Lauring said.

That might be complicated, he added. For the same reason that these people don’t mount a strong immune response to the virus, vaccines might not work well in them. So they may need to be treated with cocktails of monoclonal antibodies as well, he said.

Like other viruses, the coronavirus collects mutations every time it replicates. The overwhelming majority of those genetic glitches are insignificant and transient. In most people, an active infection lasts only about a week, not long enough for the virus to acquire more than one noteworthy mutation, if any.

Mutations that make the coronavirus more contagious or enable it to dodge the immune system are extremely rare, researchers reported in a study published last week in the journal Science. “But if they do occur, and if they can get transmitted, then it’s open season,” said Katrina Lythgoe, an evolutionary biologist at the University of Oxford who



A patient in Sarasota, Fla. The virus can persist for months in those who are immunocompromised.

led the study.

Over a period of months to years, the virus may string together several such mutations. Scientists can observe this slow evolution using a molecular “clock” that captures the changes over time. But in a person with a weak immune system, this timeline can be greatly accelerated.

Multiple studies have shown that in some people who are immunocompromised, the virus can persist for more than eight months, ample time and opportunity to keep evolving.

“If we look at several time points through that course of infection, and we look at the virus population in that patient, we see — every time — different variants popping up with a large turnover rate,” said Vincent Munster, a virologist at the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases who led one of the studies.

If one of these variants that has gained important mutations is transmitted to someone else, it may spread quickly through the population and seem to have



Mutations that make the virus more contagious are rare, but “if they can get transmitted, then it’s open season,” a scientist said.

emerged out of nowhere — as in the case of the variant that walloped Britain, and perhaps others identified in South Africa and Brazil.

“That’s a pretty decent hypothesis that they’ve come from people with persistent infection,” Dr.

Growing evidence that people’s bodies may act as incubators.

Lythgoe said of the variants, “By keeping infection rates low, you’re going to reduce the number of immunocompromised people who are infected and reduce the chance that they occur.”

“Immunocompromised” is a nebulous term encompassing a wide range of conditions — from diabetes and rheumatoid arthritis to leukemia and lymphoma — and experts disagreed on which condi-

tions may lead to variants.

Some say the list should include older people, as well as those who take medications that suppress the immune system and anyone who does not produce a robust set of antibodies.

“We learned from the vaccines that antibodies matter,” said Paul Duprex, director of the Center for Vaccine Research at the University of Pittsburgh. “It’s very important to keep an eye on people who are immunosuppressed, who don’t have fully functional immune systems.”

Dr. Lauring said he was most worried about people with blood-related cancers like leukemia, but did not have strong concerns about those taking drugs like Humira or Enbrel, which are used to treat rheumatoid arthritis.

“It’s a different kind of immunosuppression that I’m not sure would lead to this, but no one knows for sure,” he said.

Some people with weak immune systems have been known to transmit other viruses over long periods, Dr. Lauring noted. One man in England has shed poliovirus for at least 28 years. Others have had persistent infections with norovirus or influenza.

“We’ve been dealing with this for a long time,” he said. “But just like everything with Covid, we’re dealing with it on a big scale.”

He and the other experts emphasized that regardless of the risks, it is important not to stigmatize or blame people who have compromised immune systems. Instead, they said, the focus should be on limiting their exposure to the virus.

“Let’s get the vaccines into people, let’s do good distancing, let’s do good masking,” Dr. Duprex said. “Everything that we can do to stop the virus spreading is really very important.”

Tracking an Outbreak What Was Lost

EDUCATION

No Football, No Dance, No Y.M.C.A.: Students Mourn an After-School Outlet

By JULIANA KIM

From 3 p.m. to 6 p.m. That block of time, between the end of classes and the beginning of dinner, were for millions of teenagers everywhere the golden hours of the day. They provided a release from the pressures of school or an escape from a stressful home. It was a time for friendship and fun.

Some students spent their time hanging out aimlessly, shuffling through nearby eateries, parks and friends' houses. But many others had more structured routines, at school clubs, on sports teams or in after-

Photographs by LILA BARTHI for The New York Times

school programs. City-funded spaces like public libraries, community centers and recreational facilities offered havens for free-form socializing.

In New York City, as in much of the rest of the country, the pandemic made those golden hours go dark, as sports were suspended and playing fields closed, and as recreation centers, public libraries and even church buildings

were shuttered to the public.

Now, as New York City begins to loosen restrictions, there are glimmers of hope that 3-to-6 will return, if slowly. The city is allowing some sports to resume in April. Y.M.C.A. programs are gradually reopening. But many school clubs are still virtual, and the city's indoor recreational centers remain closed for youth programming.

For most students reopening can't happen soon enough. Here are a few of their stories, which have been lightly edited for clarity and length.

'What's the whole point of opening up schools if you can't go to the library?'

SAM BILAL, EAST HARLEM



While living in homeless shelters as a child, Sam Bilal, 18, a senior at the Lowell School in Queens, could count on any public library to be a free, clean and quiet place to study. For the past year, the city's public libraries have been open mainly as grab-and-go centers for books reserved online.

The 96th street library on the East Side was my second happy place, after home. I would go there after school, get my work done, then go home. The security guard knows me, some staff know me. It was like a family to me over there.

Sometimes, I would hang out with people after school but most times, I would just take the train with some of them, then we would go our separate ways and I would go to the library.

Libraries were the place you could rely on and have peace. I've been through shelters since I was 8 years old. My dad kicked out my mom, and she took me and my little sister with her. It was a lot of back and forth.

When I was in elementary school, right across the street was a library that my little sister, my mom and I would go to. We helped each other out with homework, played computer games, talked for a bit until the library was closing or it got dark.

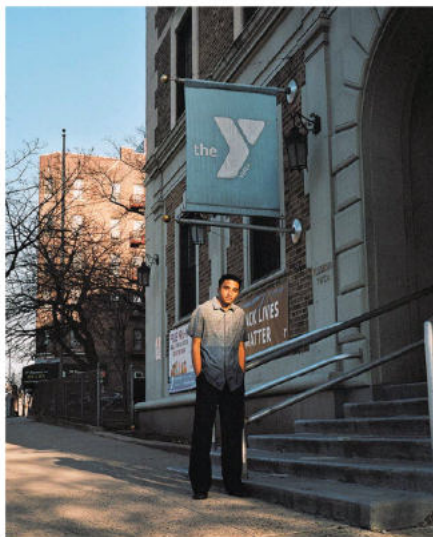
But since 2017, I've been living in a NYCHA apartment. It can be a little distracting at home. My mom would have the TV up. My little sister would be somewhere around the room, playing her music.

Some kids out there might go to a cafe, but they have to buy something if they want to study. So it's hard. The library is really the only option.

When they were opening up schools, I was like, "OK, are they going to open up the library?" But they mentioned nothing about the library. What's the whole point of opening up schools if you can't go to the library?

'I haven't gone to the Flushing Y in a year; it's tough. I really miss going.'

SAMIR GHIMIRE, FOREST HILLS, QUEENS



Samir Ghimire, 16, went to the Y.M.C.A. in Flushing six days a week before the pandemic. Though Y.M.C.A. locations are gradually bringing students back in person, Samir, a junior at Long Island City High School, still participates virtually.

I've done the Y.M.C.A. from sixth grade onward. It started because my mom was working, my dad was working, my sister was working, so my mom needed to find somewhere I could spend my time instead of staying home alone.

In middle school and high school, from Monday through Saturday, the Y.M.C.A. was my second home. My mom and dad would joke, "You know what, just get a sleeping bag and stay there so you can wake up and go to school from there," because I spent more time at the Y than I did at home.

I would say 75 percent of who I am is because of the Y.M.C.A. If I were to take out that 75 percent, I would still be that shy kid who had a superquick temper, didn't want to talk to people, didn't want to try new things. But because of the Y, I'm the total opposite. I have a lot of friends. I love trying new things. I want to talk to new people every day.

I haven't gone to the Flushing Y in a year; it's tough. I really miss going. We still have our meetings but they're online — very rarely do I get to go outside and see my friends or counselors, so it's a big adjustment. Sometimes I feel like I'm just far away from the world.

I understand why in the first five months of the pandemic, New York closed things down. But people need to understand trust is a two-way street. We, teenagers, are trusting the city that they're keeping us safe and we need them to trust that when they open stuff up for us, like recreation centers and the Y, we'll make sure that we're not socially distancing and that we're not transmitting the virus.

If you give us a chance, we'll make sure we don't waste it.

'All I had after school was homework. There was nothing to look forward to.'

MANASVI SALUJA, RICHMOND HILL, QUEENS



No longer staying late at school to work on the robotics team was difficult for Manasvi Saluja, 18, a senior at Richmond Hill High School. But her luck changed in the fall when she scored an internship through Commonpoint Queens, a local organization.

I had robotics club until 7 or 8 p.m. Sometimes, I would stay until 11 p.m. That's why I was genuinely depressed during the pandemic. All I had after school was homework. There was nothing to look forward to. As soon as I heard about this internship, I was like, "finally."

I applied for the program before the pandemic so I almost expected for it to not run. It was amazing how they came through. We're being paid to learn and to get that firsthand experience.

I moved to the United States in 2016 from India, in eighth grade. If it wasn't for these youth work force programs, I don't think I would have realized I wanted to be a mechanical engineer. Back home in India, being a female, I was never exposed to the field of technology.

I grew up watching those Bollywood movies about people moving to the United States. I would see them carry coffees into high-rise buildings, spending forever in the elevator. To me, that

was the dream. I grew up hoping that I would have one of those experiences. When I found out I was going to work in the Microsoft building, I was hoping we would have weekly or biweekly meetings in person but it ended up not being that way.

I think about it constantly — what it would have been like to get that skyscraper view. I know it would have been 10 times better if it was in person.

'These activities and organizations are so important. They might just save somebody's life, you know?'

RAFAEL RODRIGUEZ, BUSHWICK, BROOKLYN



To Rafael Rodriguez, 15, a freshman at MESA Charter High School, Monday night Bible study at TENT Ministries in Brooklyn was his hideaway spot when things at home grew tense or when his friends were misbehaving. Bible study has been virtual for a year.

Every Monday since I was in the sixth grade, I would go to Bible study at TENT Ministries. I always wanted to go, even if I was busy. It was an escape.

One time, I was in an argument with my family and I just needed to take a break. But I didn't know where to go. Then I remembered, I could see Pastor Jason and Lily at the office. I knew, even if they weren't there, they would come eventually if I called them. So that's where I went. It's a 30-minute walk but it was my runaway place.

Before that, my second home was the streets. I would hang out with the wrong crowd and people who did the wrong stuff. Growing up, I was of the

mind-set that I'm not going anywhere. I felt like everything was against me. I wouldn't take school seriously.

But Pastor Jason also came from the hood. He had that mind-set, too. And I see where God had placed him and it was just an awakening.

Bible study hasn't been the same at all. Still, I might have dropped out of school during the pandemic if it weren't for TENT. There were moments where I just didn't see the point anymore. I lost concentration and started to spiral.

That's why these activities and organizations are so important. They might just save somebody's life, you know?

'A lot of private school kids had a season. I would see their highlights on social media, and be like, "Wait, do they have a season?"'

PATRICK AMOYAW, MOUNT EDEN, THE BRONX



As soon as the season ended last year, I started getting ready. I went into the weight room that day and was like, "OK, these are my goals. I want to make sure next year I get this many carries, this many tackles." I was excited. Then one random day in March, everything closed down.

It's been really difficult. I get that we have to be patient but it's tedious staying inside. I just feel in confinement. There's nothing to look forward to in school right now.

A lot of private school kids had a season. I would see their highlights on social media, and be like, "Wait, do they have a season? Are they playing football right now? How about us?" Even though it wasn't like full football with gear and pads, private schools gave their students some type of football. And it's not because they're special. It's not like they have some divine protection in the school buildings. It's just because they're trying, they're putting more effort in. This is not to throw a shot at public schools. It's just what I want to see, more effort.

It really breaks my heart that I didn't get to suit up with my brothers one last time. It's a moment I wanted to hold on to for the rest of my life.

Patrick Amoyaw, 18, a senior at Frederick Douglass Academy in Harlem, hasn't worn his football gear in more than a year. As Patrick waited for New York City to lift its restrictions on public school sports, he watched his friends on expensive travel teams and in private school leagues still competing.

nytimes=mediamonitor@themwl.org

'We were so tired of waiting to go that even though there was snow on the field, we didn't care. We had to go play.'

ADRIAN ROSALES, WILLOWBROOK, STATEN ISLAND



For Adrian Rosales, 17, Greenbelt Recreation Center in Staten Island helped him stay close to his childhood friends after they went off to different high schools. Since last March, all of the city's 36 recreation centers have been closed to the general public. But that didn't stop Adrian, a senior at Susan E. Wagner High School, and his friends.

I would end school around 2:30 p.m. My school is very close to Greenbelt, less than a 10-minute walk, so my friends and I would walk right to the rec center. Once we got there, we would do our homework in the computer room. Then, we would go to the weight-lifting room and work out together. After, we would go out to the field and play a game of football. We would play for hours, as much game time as we could until it got dark.

My friend group are kids I met in elementary school. A lot of us were

scattered across high schools but our meeting point was Greenbelt. We basically grew up there. We have a group chat, I believe it's with 22 people, called Greenbelt Gang.

Right now, the rec center is closed but the field has been open to the public. I'm just so happy they didn't close the field down.

Once June came around, we went back to the field almost every day. Once school started, it was a little harder. We would go once or twice a week. When it got cold, we would go once a month.

But three weeks ago, we were so tired of waiting to go that even though there was snow on the field, we didn't care. We had to go play. So we literally brought shovels with us. It was almost an hour of shoveling but we still played and it was really fun.

Without that, it would've been very, very tough on me to go through all these months without going to school. Knowing you're gonna see your friends for at least a couple of hours in the week, it's something we all look forward to.

'The best way to take care of myself was through my extracurriculars. I feel like a part of myself has been erased.'

MERIL MOUSSOM, JAMAICA, QUEENS



Because her parents worked late into the evening, Meril Moussom, 17, a senior at Stuyvesant High School in Manhattan, sought community in an array of school clubs. All of those activities were virtual last March.

I was part of a lot of clubs. I was on the Frisbee team, art crew for theater, dance crew, artistic beading and the human geography club. I also tried cheerleading for a little bit.

I normally came home around 7:30 p.m. because it would take me around two hours to get home.

Stuyvesant High School is a STEM school. There was a lot of pressure to do well in STEM and to have a great G.P.A. I particularly struggled with math. But after-school activities redefined the school for me. It wasn't just the place where I failed my first test. It was where I learned how to sew. And I wasn't just a person with a bad grade. I was a dancer.

My teachers also saw me as something other than a student. For the dance crews, we would have to practice in the hallways. Sometimes the teachers would see us dancing and they

would be like, "Wow, I didn't realize you were so creative, Meril."

This year, remote learning has been very isolating for me. My mom works at a hospital and my dad is a taxi driver so it can feel very lonely at home. There's no space to dance but also, I've become more self-conscious. I realize how important it is to have company when you do activities that might spark insecurities.

Virtual school isn't super bad, but when I look at the virtual practices and virtual performances, they're a real tangible reminder of what's been lost.

I feel like there's been an insensitivity about youth mental health. There's a huge emphasis on taking care of and making time for yourself, but the best way to take care of myself was through my extracurriculars. I feel like a part of myself has been erased.

Tracking an Outbreak Political Calculations

PROMOTING VACCINATION

Republicans Wary of Covid Shots Pose Challenge to Biden's Rollout Effort

From Page A1
said Mr. Trump's help promoting vaccination was less important than getting trusted community figures on board.

"I discussed it with my team, and they say the thing that has more impact than anything Trump would say is the MAGA folks is what the local doctor, what the local preachers, what the local people in the community say," Mr. Biden said, referring to Mr. Trump's supporters and the campaign slogan "Make America Great Again." Until everyone is vaccinated, Mr. Biden added, Americans should continue to wear masks.

Widespread opposition to vaccination, if not overcome, could slow the United States from reaching the point where the virus can no longer spread easily, setting back efforts to get the economy humming again and people back to more normal lives. While the problem until now has been access to relatively light supplies of the vaccine, administration officials expect to soon face the possibility of supply exceeding demand if many Americans remain reluctant.

But many conservative and rural voters continue to point to a variety of worries. Some conservatives harbor religious concerns about the Johnson & Johnson vaccine, which uses abortion-derived fetal cells.

Republicans often cite distrust of government as a reason to not be vaccinated, the CBS poll found. They worry the vaccines were produced too quickly. And in some communities, so many people have already had the coronavirus that they think they have developed herd immunity and do not need the shots.

Other supporters of Mr. Trump believe Democrats exaggerated the toll of the pandemic to hurt him.

That presents a major challenge to a Democratic administration whose success depends on

persuading Americans who did not vote for Mr. Biden to trust that the vaccines are safe, effective and necessary.

"We are not always the best messengers," Jen Psaki, the White House press secretary, said last week.

That has meant outsourcing a crucial piece of the administration's coronavirus response.

"It's not an easy undertaking," said John Bridgeland, a founder and the chief executive of the Covid Collaborative, a bipartisan group of political and scientific leaders working on vaccine education, who has regular meetings with the White House on the issue of vaccine hesitancy.

"The good news is the White House has been all over these populations, including recognizing that they're not beautifully positioned to reach conservatives," he said. "That's why they're reaching out to us and others."

Governors have pressed the Biden administration on the need for clear communication about the vaccines.

The White House officials said their research showed that making the vaccines more accessible and having local buy-in from doctors and pharmacists were the best ways to get skeptical conservatives to sign up for shots. They are planning an advertising blitz on television, radio and the internet to target problem areas: young people, people of color and conservatives, an administration official said.

Even as they are working to ramp up vaccine availability across the country, administration officials are also working with groups like the N.T.C.A. — the Rural Broadband Association and the National Farmers Union to reach rural communities on their behalf.

Shirley Bloomfield, the chief executive of the association, has been working with the White House to share what she is hearing from her members in the field who set up broadband lines in rural areas.

"We worked to make sure they



Vaccinations in St. Albans, Vt., last month. Opinions on getting a shot break largely on party lines, a CBS News poll found.

were designated as essential workers on the federal level," she said. "I didn't realize we had this problem until people came back and said less than 30 percent of my team will take the shot."

Ms. Bloomfield said the office of the second gentleman, Doug Emhoff, reached out to her directly to ask about her members and their attitudes toward the vaccines.

Mr. Trump got his vaccine in secret before leaving office. He was notably absent from a public service announcement featuring all of the former living presidents — Barack Obama, George W. Bush, Bill Clinton and Jimmy Carter — getting vaccinated and encouraging others to follow suit.

Mr. Trump was not asked to participate, as the others were, because at the time it was filmed, during Mr. Biden's inauguration, he had not yet disclosed that he had been vaccinated.

But behind the scenes, there has been a quiet effort to persuade Mr. Trump to get involved. Joe Grogan, the director of the White House's Domestic Policy Council under Mr. Trump, has been working with the Covid Collaborative on addressing vaccine hesitancy among conservatives.

Mr. Grogan has fielded calls about what the best message would be to take to Mr. Trump to persuade him to get involved — one that would inevitably underscore his desire for credit for developing the vaccines under Operation Warp Speed.

"As soon as we found out he was vaccinated, I reached out to Joe Grogan," said Mr. Bridgeland, who helped organize the commercial featuring the former presidents. "We were thrilled he got vaccinated and very much want him to encourage his supporters to get the vaccine."

A Trump adviser said the former president had not been approached in any formal way to speak directly to his supporters.

"Having President Trump doing a public service announcement would be very helpful," Mr. Grogan said. The Biden White House, however, appears split on how active Mr. Trump's involvement would really be.

Although Mr. Biden appeared dismissive on Monday of the need for Mr. Trump's help, his chief medical adviser, Dr. Anthony S. Fauci, said Sunday on Fox News that it would "make all the difference in the world." And Andy Slavitt, a senior White House pandemic adviser, said on Sunday that "this is an effort, the Republicans should know, began before we were here, and we are carrying it out."

Frank Luntz, a Republican strategist, said the best course for the White House would be to take the message from the issue.

"That means Joe Biden should be acknowledging what Donald Trump did to speed the vaccine to fruition," Mr. Luntz said. He has been working with the de Beaumont Foundation, an organization focused on improving public health through policy, to encourage conservatives to get vaccinated.

"I don't believe the Trump administration understood the role of communication," Mr. Luntz said, "and I don't think the Biden administration understands what it means to communicate to Trump voters."

On Saturday, Mr. Luntz hosted a focus group of about 20 conservatives to hear from Tom Frieden, the former head of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention; Chris Christie, the former governor of New Jersey; and multiple Republican members of Congress.

Some of the conservatives on the call initially described the vaccines as "rushed" and "experimental" and the coronavirus as "opportunistic" and "government manipulation." More than half of those on the call said their fears of getting vaccinated were greater than their fears of the virus.

But nearly all on the call said they had a more positive view on the vaccines after Mr. Frieden gave them five facts about the virus, including, "The more we vaccinate, the faster we can get to growing the economy and getting jobs."

Mr. Christie emphasized how random the virus can be in how it affects people, including younger adults. Not only did he and Mr. Trump get severely sick with it, but he also reminded the group that Hope Hicks, the 32-year-old former Trump adviser, was also very ill.

"She was out of it for a good 10 days and never had to be hospitalized, but called me and said this is the sickest she's ever been," Mr. Christie said.

For now, the White House is relying on the work of political advisers like Mr. Christie to sell the message from the issue. One surrogate from inside the Biden administration that they view as effective among conservatives is Dr. Francis Collins, the director of the National Institutes of Health, who is a scientist and an evangelical Christian with standing in both religious and scientific communities.

In recent weeks, Dr. Collins has appeared on the Christian Broadcasting Network's "700 Club," a show popular among evangelical Christians, and for decades has been hosted by Pat Robertson. Dr. Collins is also planning to address the National Association of Evangelicals, although to someone familiar with the planning.

Joshua DuBois, head of the White House Office of Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships under Mr. Obama, said he had been impressed by the Biden administration's efforts to reduce vaccine hesitancy.

He said top advisers for Mr. Biden, like Marcella Nunez-Smith and Cameron Webb, had led calls for the religious community to answer questions about the vaccines. The calls included Black and Hispanic organizations and white evangelicals.

Mr. DuBois acknowledged that the hesitancy in minority communities was rooted in history. When coronavirus vaccines were introduced in the past year, researchers tracked a rise in social media posts about the infamous Tuskegee study in which health officials followed African-American men infected with syphilis and did not treat them.

"There's a history of distrust, but a present devastation happening around us," Mr. DuBois said, "and in response to that devastation, people are choosing to be vaccinated."

A REJUVENATED IMAGE

China Gives Latin America Vaccines and Gets Leverage

From Page A1
scrambled by the pandemic and Mr. Trump's departure from the White House — and how China has begun to turn the tide.

China spent months battling away resentment and distrust about the place where the pandemic began, but in recent weeks, its diplomats, pharmaceutical executives and other power brokers have fielded scores of requests for vaccines from desperate officials in Latin America, where the pandemic is taking a devastating toll.

Beijing's ability to mass-produce vaccines and ship them to countries in the developing world — while rich countries, including the U.S., are hoarding many millions of doses for themselves — has offered a diplomatic and public relations opening that China has readily seized.

Suddenly, Beijing has enormous new leverage in Latin America, a region where it has a vast web of investments and ambitions to expand trade, military partnerships and cultural ties.

Last year, President Jair Bolsonaro of Brazil, a right-wing leader who was closely aligned with Mr. Trump, disparaged the Chinese vaccine during its clinical trials in Brazil, and shut down an effort by his health ministry to order 45 million doses.

"The Brazilian people WON'T BE ANYONE'S GUINEA PIG," he wrote on Twitter.

But with Mr. Trump gone and Brazilian hospitals overwhelmed by a surge of infections, Mr. Bolsonaro's government scrambled to mend fences with the Chinese and asked them to expedite tens of millions of vaccine shipments, as well as the ingredients to mass-produce the shots in Brazil.

The precise effect of the vaccine request to Huawei and its inclusion in the 5G auction is unclear, but the timing is striking, part of a stark change in Brazil's stance toward China. The president, his cabinet and the foreign ministry stopped criticizing China, and cabinet officials with inroads to the Chinese, like Mr. Faria, worked to get new vaccine shipments approved. Millions of doses have arrived in recent weeks.

"With the desperation in Latin America for vaccines, this creates a perfect position for the Chinese," said Evan Osnos, a senior editor at the American Studies at the United States Army War College, who specializes in the region's relationship with China.

political jockeying worldwide, including in countries like Brazil and Germany — Huawei has mounted a well-timed charm offensive in Brazil.

It supplied hospitals with software to help doctors deal with the hot lines of the pandemic. More recently, it donated 20 oxygen-making machines to the city of Manaus, where Covid patients suffered to death as the city's hospitals ran out of oxygen.

"May our joint efforts save lives!" the Chinese embassy in Brazil said in a message on Twitter, announcing the deal.

Before the first vaccines rolled off assembly lines, Huawei seemed to be losing the 5G contest in Brazil, knocked to the sidelines by the Trump administration's campaign against it. Latin America's largest nation was only months away from holding an auction to create its 5G network, a sweeping upgrade that will make wireless connections faster and more accessible.

Huawei, and the European competitors Nokia and Ericsson, aspired to play a leading role in teaming with local telecommunications companies to build the infrastructure. But the Chinese company needed the green light from Brazilian regulators.

The Trump administration moved aggressively to thwart it. During a visit to Brazil last November, Keith Krach, then the State Department's top official for economic policy, called Huawei an industry pariah that needed to be locked out of 5G networks.

"The Chinese Communist Party cannot be trusted with our most sensitive data and intellectual property," he said in a Nov. 11 speech in Brazil, also referring to Huawei as "the backbone of the CCP surveillance state."

Mr. Krach argued that "free nations" needed to agree to coalesce around a "clean network" that excluded Huawei, because "our claim of security is only as strong as its weakest link."

Weeks after the visit, Brazil appeared to be on board with banning Huawei. In a statement after Mr. Krach's meeting, Brazil's foreign ministry said Brazil "supports the principles contained in the Clean Network proposal made by the United States."

China had already faced scorn in some corners of Latin America early in the pandemic, as companies of doses abroad, offering free samples to 33 countries and exporting it to 22 nations that placed orders.



VICTOR MONTAÑA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



FRANK OLIVIERO/REUTERS

early misstep in the country's efforts to rein in contagion.

But China found an opportunity to shift the narrative early this year, as its CoronaVac became the cheapest, most accessible inoculation for countries in the developing world.

With the pandemic under control in China, Sinovac, the maker of CoronaVac, began shipping millions of doses abroad, offering free samples to 33 countries and exporting it to 22 nations that placed orders.

As the first doses of CoronaVac were administered in Latin America, China took a swipe at wealthy nations that were doing little to guarantee prompt access to vaccines in poorer countries.

"Global distribution of vaccines must be fair and in particular, ac-

cessible and affordable to developing countries," the foreign minister, Wang Yi, said in a speech late last month. "We hope that all countries that have the capability will join hands and make due contributions."

In late February, as the first doses of China's vaccines were being administered in Brazil, the country's telecom regulatory agency announced rules for the 5G auction, which is scheduled to take place in July, that do not exclude Huawei.

The change in Brazil reflects how the campaign against Huawei driven by Mr. Trump has lost momentum since his defeat in the November election. Britain said it would not ban equipment made by Huawei from its new high-speed 5G wireless network.

Germany has signaled a similar approach to Britain's.

Thiago de Aragão, a Brasília-based political risk consultant who focuses on China's relationships in Latin America, said two factors saved Huawei from a humiliating defeat in Brazil. The election of President Biden, who has harshly criticized Brazil's environmental record, and the Brazilian government's unenthusiastic about being in lock step with Washington, he said, and China's ability to make or break the early phase of Brazil's vaccination effort made the prospect of angering the Chinese by banning Huawei untenable.

"They were facing certain death by October and November and now they're back to the game," Mr. de Aragão said of

Doses of China's CoronaVac vaccine being prepared and distributed in Brazil. The Chinese are becoming a go-to source as countries like the United States hoard doses.

Huawei. The request for vaccines by the Brazilian communications minister, Mr. Faria, occurred as it became clear Beijing held the keys to accelerate or throttle the vaccination campaign in Brazil, where more than 270,000 people have died of Covid-19.

The only reason Brazil has a few million doses of CoronaVac on hand in early February was that one of Mr. Bolsonaro's rivals, São Paulo Gov. João Doria, had negotiated directly with the Chinese.

In an interview, Mr. Faria said there was no quid pro quo suggested in his request to Huawei for help with vaccines. In fact, he said, he also asked executives at competing telecommunications companies in Europe if they could help Brazil obtain doses.

"It wasn't put on the table, vaccines versus 5G," he said, describing the request for help with vaccines as appropriate.

On Feb. 11, Mr. Faria posted a letter from China's ambassador to Brazil in which the ambassador noted the request and wrote that "I give this matter great importance."

In a statement, Huawei did not say it would provide vaccines directly but said the company could help with "communication in an open and transparent manner" in a process involving the two governments.

China is also the dominant supplier of vaccines in Chile, which has mounted the most aggressive inoculation campaign in Latin America, and it is shipping millions of doses to Mexico, Peru, Colombia, Ecuador and Bolivia.

In a sign of China's growing leverage, Paraguay, where Covid-19 cases are surging, has struggled to gain access to Chinese vaccines because it is among the few nations in the world that have diplomatic relations with Taiwan, which China considers part of its territory.

In an interview, Paraguay's foreign minister, Euclides Acevedo, said his country is seeking to negotiate access to CoronaVac through intermediary countries. Then he made an extraordinary admission: Paraguay has spent years trying to get the last few countries that recognize Taiwan to switch their alliances.

"We would hope the relationship between China and vaccines, but takes on another dimension in the economic and cultural spheres," he said. "We must be open to every nation as we seek cooperation and so we must have a pragmatic vision."

Tracking an Outbreak New Questions



A testing site in Munich. The health minister in Germany called the decision to pause AstraZeneca shots "purely precautionary."

A THIRD WAVE

Vaccine Turmoil in Europe Over AstraZeneca Fears

From Page A1

that it would continue to investigate a possible connection between the AstraZeneca shots and blood clots or bleeding in the brain. But the agency said the numbers of such problems reported in vaccinated people did not seem higher than those usually seen in the general population. Germany, for instance, reported seven cases of a "rare cerebral vein thrombosis" out of 1.6 million people who received the vaccine there.

"While its investigation is ongoing, E.M.A. currently remains of the view that the benefits of the AstraZeneca vaccine in preventing COVID-19, with its associated risk of hospitalization and death, outweigh the risks of side effects," the agency said.

The European Union beat heavily on AstraZeneca, a British-Swedish company, last year. In France, where AstraZeneca is being relied on to accelerate the country's vaccination campaign, and where top officials had urged people to trust the vaccine only days ago, President Emmanuel Macron called the suspension a "precaution" and expressed "hope of quickly picking them up again."

In Italy, the police on Monday began seizing nearly 400,000 doses of AstraZeneca vaccine on the orders of local prosecutors investigating the death of a teacher. The Italian Medicines Agency said the suspension of the vaccine, among the most commonly distributed in the country, was "precautionary and temporary."

"We are confident that after the investigation by the E.M.A. we can pick it up," said Cesare Bucicchio, a spokesman for Italy's health minister.

In Germany, which had previously supported the vaccine despite other countries' concerns, the health minister, Jens Spahn, called the decision to pause shots "a purely precautionary measure."

Reporting was contributed by Melissa Eddy and Christopher Schuetz from Germany; Constantine Meloni and Benjamin Broder from France; Emma Bubola from Milan; Martina Stevis-Griffin and Monika Pronczuk from Brussels; Benjamin Mueller and Marc Santoro from London; Benjamin Novak from Hungary; Niki Katsantonis from Greece; Gaia Pignatelli from Siena, Italy; Thomas Erdbrin from Amsterdam; Raphael Minder from Madrid; and Rebecca Robbins from Bellingham, Wash.



On the tram in Milan. At a park, one woman said, "The second, the third wave, I have lost count."



Socializing in Athens. The Greek authorities last week reported the nation's highest daily rate of infections since mid-November.

"a purely precautionary measure." More than 1.6 million doses of AstraZeneca have been administered in Germany, which has relied heavily on the BioNTech-Pfizer vaccine.

But the country's Paul Ehrlich Institute said the country decided to suspend AstraZeneca shots because cases of a "rare cerebral vein thrombosis" had been reported in the country following vaccinations.

Mr. Spahn acknowledged the seven cases of thrombosis made it very rare, but he defended the decision to pause shots as necessary to ensure trust in the vaccine moving ahead.

"For nearly everybody there is no risk, but a connection cannot be fully ruled out," Mr. Spahn said. "That is why we decided to make this decision."

Spain followed suit Monday night. At a news conference, Carolina Darias, Spain's health minister, said she had been in touch with European counterparts before ordering a two-week suspension of the vaccine. That should give time for the relevant medical agencies "to offer responses" about the cause of thrombosis recently detected, she said.

Throughout Europe, officials and immunologists worried that the actions would cost vital time in the race against fast-spreading variants.

"This is a catastrophe," said Heike Werner, the minister for health in the eastern German state of Thuringia, who was already grappling with learning that her region would receive just 9,500 of 31,200 doses of AstraZeneca because of a reported shortage of supplies. "Many people are desperately waiting for this vaccine."

Roberto Baroni, a leading Italian virologist, voiced his worries on Twitter that people would now avoid the vaccine.

"I understand if you will decide not to get vaccinated, scared by inexplicable decisions," he said. "I understand and I am sorry because you will expose yourself to a serious risk to avoid a negligible one."

Dr. Michael Head, Senior Research Fellow in Global Health, University of Southampton said "the decisions by France, Germany and other countries look baffling." He said that the delay in inoculations, and "the potential for increased vaccine hesitancy," belied any new or conclusive data. Britain authorized the AstraZeneca vaccine in late December, and it had administered 9.7 million doses as of late February.

Its medicines regulator has not reported any concerns about blood clotting for that vaccine or the Pfizer shot, saying in its latest safety report that "the number and nature of suspected adverse reactions reported so far are not unusual in comparison to other types of routinely used vaccines."

Among the millions of people who have received the AstraZeneca shot in Britain, 14 reported cases of deep vein thrombosis and 13 reported cases of a pulmonary embolism, conditions that can both be caused by blood clots. Only one of those people died. There were 35 reported cases of thrombocytopenia, a condition involving a low blood platelet count. That also led to one death.

The World Health Organization signed off on the safety of the vaccine developed by researchers at the University of Oxford in partnership with the pharmaceutical

company AstraZeneca. The European Medicines Agency, the European Union's regulatory authority, also approved its use, after monitoring some five million vaccinations already administered across the continent. Its guidance as of Monday remained the same.

Norwegian authorities held a news conference Monday to explain their earlier decision to suspend using the vaccine.

They said a 50-year-old patient who had died was in good health before she received the vaccine, but then suffered a fatal "intracerebral hemorrhage."

Another health care worker who died on Friday was described as being in her 30s, and dying of the same cause 10 days after receiving a shot.

The doubt, merited or not, around the AstraZeneca vaccines comes as more countries embrace or contemplate broad new restrictions — in some places for a third or fourth time in a year.

As of now, just about 8 percent of Europeans have received vaccines, even as new variants threaten to outpace and overwhelm the effort.

Short of widespread inoculations, and with the more easily transmissible and potentially more lethal British variant dominating infections, Italy extended tough new restrictions on movement nationwide on Monday, deepening a year's worth of economic and psychic damage.

"The second, the third wave, I have lost count," said Barbara Lasco, 43, in a park in Milan. "I am puzzled and disappointed; one year was enough time to keep this from happening again."

Advances against the virus, nearly everywhere, have been maddeningly halting. In Germany, even as many nonessential stores opened last week for the first time in months, health officials called for caution.

People are seeing clear signs: In Germany the third wave has already begun, Lothar H. Wieler, the president of the Robert Koch Institute, Germany's equivalent of the C.D.C., said on Friday. Since then, the daily numbers of infections have increased.

The virus is also spreading, and hospitals are again buckling, across Central Europe.

Prime Minister Viktor Orban of Hungary predicted that this week would be the most difficult since the start of the pandemic in terms of allocating hospital beds and ventilators, as well as mobilizing nurses and doctors.

In Germany, where infections are being driven by the British variant, a more lasting suspension of AstraZeneca could delay vaccination of the population by a month, according to the Central Institute for Registered Doctors.

France is hoping to stave off a new surge of infections with local restrictions, but some health officials think the time for a third national lockdown has come because intensive care units are swamped.

Italy's prime minister, Mario Draghi, warned on Friday that the country was facing a "new wave of contagion," driven by more infectious variants of the coronavirus.

He has put an army general in charge of the vaccine rollout and hoped to increase inoculations from 100,800 a day to 500,000.

But that was before the AstraZeneca fears spread more widely.

On Monday, Jacopo Benini, a 22-year-old professor, had his AstraZeneca vaccination appointment canceled 20 minutes before he arrived for his shot in Milan. "Who is going to accept getting AstraZeneca now?" he said.

ASTRAZENECA UPROAR

Abnormal Bleeding? Clots? Explaining the Safety Scare.

By DENISE GRADY and REBECCA ROBBINS

Millions of people in dozens of countries have received the AstraZeneca Covid vaccine with reports of ill effects, and its prior testing in tens of thousands of people found it to be safe.

But recently, blood clots and abnormal bleeding in a small number of recipients in European countries have cast doubt on its safety, although no causative link has been found between the adverse reactions and the vaccine. The reports have prompted a dozen or more countries to either partly or fully suspend the vaccine's use while the cases are investigated. Most of the nations said they were doing so as a precaution until leading health agencies could review the cases.

It has not been authorized for use yet in the United States, although a review of its U.S. trial is expected soon.

What types of reactions caused the countries to take precautionary steps?

The cascade of decisions to pause the use of AstraZeneca's vaccine, mainly by European countries, followed reports of four serious cases in Norway, which were described among health workers under age 50 who received the vaccine. Most developed clots or bleeding abnormalities and had low platelet counts, health authorities there said. Two of them have died from brain hemorrhages, and the other two are hospitalized. The death of a 60-year-old woman in Denmark and a 57-year-old man in Italy also prompted quick decisions, although none of the deaths have been thoroughly investigated to determine whether there is any link to the shots they received.

What is a blood clot and what causes them generally?

A blood clot is a thickened, gelatinous blob of blood that can block circulation. Clots form in response to injuries and can also be caused by many illnesses, including cancer and genetic disorders, certain drugs and prolonged sitting or bed rest. Clots that form in the legs sometimes break off and travel to the lungs or brain, where they can be deadly.

Can the vaccine cause blood clots?

Vaccines have not been shown to cause blood clots, said Daniel Serfaty, director of the Institute for Vaccine Safety at Johns Hopkins University.

Blood clots are common in the general population, and health authorities suspect that the cases reported in vaccine recipients are most likely coincidental and not related to the vaccination.

"One of a lot of causes of blood clotting, a lot of predisposing factors, and a lot of people who are at increased risk — and these are often also the people who are most likely to get them," said Mark Slika, a vaccine researcher at Oregon Health and Science University.

From 300,000 to 600,000 people a year in the United States develop blood clots in their lungs or in veins in the legs or other parts of the body, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

Based on that data, about 1,000 to 2,000 blood clots occur in the U.S. population every day, according to Stephen Moll, a hematologist and professor of medicine at the University of North Carolina.

"The United States has 253 million adults," Dr. Moll said. "So, if every day 2.3 million people in the United States get Covid-vaccinated, that means about 1 percent of the adult population gets vaccinated every day."

That means, he said, roughly 1 percent of the 1,000 to 2,000 daily blood clots — 10 to 20 a day — would occur in the vaccinated population as part of the normal background rate.

"Only if epidemiological data show that that rate is higher, would one start to wonder about a causative relationship," Dr. Moll said.

What can existing data on AstraZeneca vaccine tell us?

Dr. David Wohl, director of the vaccine clinic at the University of North Carolina, said he had seen no evidence that any of the Covid vaccines had caused blood clots, also called thrombosis, in the large clinical trials that led to their authorization.

But Dr. Wohl also noted, "There are differences between trials and real life."

The most extensive safety results from the real-world rollout of AstraZeneca's vaccine come from Britain, where 67 million doses of the vaccine had been given out through last month. Britain's data found that at least some clotting conditions, while extremely rare, were equally rare in people vaccinated with AstraZeneca's

vaccine compared to those who got Pfizer's product. But abnormally low platelet levels were more common among people who got AstraZeneca's vaccine.

"We don't want to ignore a signal that could indicate a larger problem," he said. "But at this point it's premature to think AstraZeneca causes thrombosis."

Do vaccines cause other bleeding disorders?

Other vaccines, particularly the one given to children for measles, mumps and rubella, have been linked to temporarily lowered levels of platelets, a blood component essential for clotting.

Lowered platelet levels have been reported in small numbers of patients receiving the Moderna, Pfizer and AstraZeneca vaccines. One recipient, a physician in Florida, died from a brain hemorrhage when his platelet levels could not be restored, and others have been hospitalized. U.S. health officials have said that the cases are being investigated, but have yet to indicate there is any link to the vaccines.

How will investigators determine whether there is a link?

The European Medicines Agency said on Monday that it was working with AstraZeneca and health authorities to scrutinize "all the available data and clinical circumstances" surrounding specific cases.

The authorities have not detailed what that assessment will look like. But when assessing a possible connection between vaccine and a serious side effect, investigators generally focus on estimating how often such medical problems would be expected to turn up by chance in the group of people in question.

That might mean looking at people in the same group as before they got vaccinated. It could also mean looking at a similar group of people. If the rate of these problems is higher in the vaccinated group than would be expected in a comparable population, that's a sign that the safety issue may be real, or at least worth more scrutiny.

Such investigations typically do not hinge on figuring out whether the vaccine was the cause of a death or a serious medical problem, because in most cases that is a comparable population, that's a sign that the safety issue may be real, or at least worth more scrutiny.

Investigators also keep in mind factors that might make a group of people more likely to fall ill. Older people, who have been prioritized in vaccination campaigns around the world, are at higher risk of developing blood clots than younger people.

Individual health ministries also are conducting investigations, and the health authorities in those countries are awaiting results of autopsies. In Italy, in addition, authorities have ordered doses of the vaccine in the Piedmont region as part of an inquiry into the teacher's death there over the weekend.

What has the company said about the safety scare?

AstraZeneca first publicly addressed the safety concerns a week after Austria halted vaccinations from one batch of AstraZeneca's vaccine. A company spokesman said at the time that no vaccine-related side effects had been confirmed.

On Thursday, after Denmark moved to halt all vaccinations with AstraZeneca's product, the company later said it was more pointedly defending its vaccine's safety. AstraZeneca's safety data, a trove of more than 10 million records, had shown no increase in the risk of blood clot-related problems in any demographic group or country, the company said.

On Sunday, after several more countries had announced plans to suspend their vaccination campaigns, AstraZeneca issued a news release with more specifics on the numbers of side effects reported and people vaccinated in clinical trials and in immunization campaigns in Europe.

On Monday, an AstraZeneca spokesperson said the company was "working with national health authorities and European officials and look forward to their assessment later this week."

What is the vaccine's status in the United States?

While more than 70 countries have authorized the vaccine, the United States' Food and Drug Administration has not yet applied to the Food and Drug Administration for approval and is waiting for results from its U.S. trial that enrolls more than 32,000 participants.

International

The New York Times

Sandstorm in China Wraps Millions in Dusty Yellow Haze

Flights Are Grounded, And Schools Are Closed

By STEVEN LEE MYERS

When China's leader, Xi Jinping, met with Communist Party delegates from Inner Mongolia last week, he urged them not to relent in the fight to improve the environment.

"We must adhere to the concept that clear waters and green mountains are as good as mountains of gold and silver," he said.

On Monday, large parts of China experienced just how bad the environment can still be.

The largest and strongest dust storm in a decade swept across northern China, grounding hundreds of flights, closing schools in some cities and casting a ghastly shroud over tens of millions of people — from Xinjiang in the far west across to the Bohai Sea, according to China's meteorological service.

The storm, coming after weeks of smog, recalled the "airpocalypse" that the country routinely experienced a few years ago, forcing crash government efforts to address what had become a political and public health crisis.

Those efforts improved the air quality significantly, especially around the capital. But this week, three forces — the post-Covid industrial rebound, the continued impact of climate change on the deserts of northern China, and a late winter storm — combined to create a dangerous, suffocating pall.

"Beijing is what an ecological crisis looks like," Li Shao, the policy director for Greenpeace China, wrote on Twitter.

In an interview, Mr. Li said Monday's storm was "the result of land and ecological degradation in the north and west of Beijing." He added that industrial pollutants around Beijing had so far this year exceeded the yearly average of the last four years.

The dust was churned up by a snowy squall that moved through Mongolia over the weekend. The storm threw toppled electrical towers, knocking out power in several regions, and killed at least nine people.

The smog was felt across most of northern China. Measurements of the Air Quality Index — set by the United States Environmental Protection Agency — exceeded the hazardous level for particles associated with airborne sand and dust. Pollutants measured by the concentration of PM2.5, or particulate matter of a size deemed especially harmful, were also dangerously high.

In Beijing, the authorities ordered children, older people and the sick to remain indoors, and for everyone else to avoid unnecessary activity outside. The pollution, which turned the air yellow orange in the morning and a soupy gray by afternoon, was expected to last until Tuesday morning.

Many residents responded with dark humor.

One meme that spread online grafted an image of the iconic headquarters of China's state television network with a still from "Blade Runner 2049," the dystopian 2017 science fiction film. Another showed spacecraft and figures from "Star Wars" in a desert landscape.

Abhee Zhang and Elsie Chen contributed research.



A sandstorm left Beijing with air quality index levels not seen in years. China's air quality had improved significantly after emergency ecological reforms.



Above left, a wedding photo shoot near the Forbidden City. Right, Beijing's business district. "I didn't think the sky could be this yellow," one new resident said.

traman, a Japanese superhero franchise, marching through Beijing's gloom. Given the improvements in air quality in recent years, newcomers in Beijing experienced air like this for the first time. "I couldn't see the building across the street," said Wang Wei, a 23-year-old college graduate who recently moved to Beijing from Henan, a province in central China. "I didn't think the sky could be this yellow."

The environment remains a politically

sensitive issue for the Communist Party leadership. Mr. Xi has repeatedly called for a "green revolution" in China's economy.

Pollution has proved to be a pernicious challenge, though, as officials continue to prioritize economic development.

Recently concluded legislative meetings took place during several days of heavy pollution that has been attributed to rising steel and cement production. Many environmental groups were disap-

pointed that the new five-year development plan adopted at those meetings in Beijing did not include more specific government proposals on tackling climate change.

Even so, Mr. Xi's exhortations appear at times to scramble officials into action. Last week, the Ministry of Ecology and Environment warned the authorities in Tangshan, the country's steel-making hub in Hebei Province, after finding that four steel mills had failed to reduce pro-

duction to lower pollution.

In Inner Mongolia, a northern Chinese region whose delegates Mr. Xi met in Beijing, the local edition of The People's Daily featured an article about efforts to combat desertification, which has contributed to the dust storms. The article appeared on Monday just as the worst pollution in years hit.

"Yellow sands are going away and green trees are flourishing," it proclaimed.

'Enough Is Enough': Women Protest Sex Abuse in Australia

By YAN ZHUANG

MELBOURNE, Australia — Wearing black and holding signs reading "enough is enough," thousands took to the streets across Australia on Monday to protest violence and discrimination against women, as a reckoning in the country's halls of power spurred by multiple accusations of rape continued to grow.

The marches in at least 40 cities represented an outpouring of anger from women about a problem that has gone unaddressed for too long, said the organizers, who estimated that 110,000 people attended the demonstrations nationwide.

With the next national election potentially coming as early as August, experts say it is something that the conservative government, which has come under stinging criticism for the way it has handled the accusations, ignores at its own peril.

The public anger in Australia over violence against women came as thousands in London joined protests last week in support of the 33-year-old Sarah Everard, who disappeared while walking home at night this month.

In Australia, the message to the government was that "there are huge numbers of women around the country that have had enough, quite frankly, of their appalling response to sexual assault and harassment," said Janine Hendry, the main organizer of the marches. "We want to end it and we want it now."

In Canberra, Australia's capital, the police estimated that 5,000 to 6,000 protesters gathered Monday on the lawn outside Parliament House, where legislators meet.

Brittany Higgins, a former political

aide whose accusation that she was raped in Parliament House in 2019 rocked the nation's halls of power and prompted Monday's marches, appeared at the Canberra protest. She said there was a "horrible societal acceptance" of sexual violence in Australia.

"My story was on the front page for the sole reason that it was a painful reminder to women that if it can happen in Parliament House, it can truly happen anywhere," she said.

She said she had felt treated like a "political problem" after she made her accusation to colleagues in the governing center-right Liberal Party. "I was raped inside Parliament House by a colleague, and for so long it felt like the people around me only cared because of where it happened and what it might mean for them," she said.

On the other side of the doors of Parliament House, Prime Minister Scott Morrison drew jeers from the opposition Labor Party. On Sunday, he declined to join the protests and instead invited a small delegation of organizers to meet with him in his office.

The organizers refused, saying on Twitter: "We have already come to the front door, now it's up to the government to cross the threshold and come to us. We will not be meeting behind closed doors." The prime minister told Parliament that the government "understands and shares the frustrations of women and men across the country."

But he called for unity. "We must not let our frustration with the failure to achieve so many of the results we would hope for to undermine the unity needed to continue our shared progress," Mr. Morrison said.

The opposition leader, Anthony Al-



Demonstrators in Melbourne, Australia, chanted "to hell with the patriarchy."

banese, and a number of senior Labor leaders, as well as a handful of Liberal ministers, attended the march in Canberra.

Australia's next federal election must be held by May 2022, and experts said the marches should sound a warning for the governing Liberal Party.

His leader, Mr. Morrison, has been criticized after saying that the gravity of Ms. Higgins' accusation hit him only after his wife had told him to imagine that one of their daughters had been assaulted. And his defense minister, Linda Reynolds, settled a defamation complaint and agreed to pay damages to Ms. Higgins after calling her a "lying cow."

"A government that's been described as having a 'women problem' for several years is now really in trouble with women," said Sarah Maddison, a politics professor at the University of Melbourne.

"I can't remember a time I've seen and personally experienced the level of dis-

tress women are experiencing now," she said. "I think there's something here with this level of distress that is producing quite an extraordinary moment in our politics."

Support for the Liberal Party has been slowly declining among women for years, said Sarah Cameron, a lecturer in politics at the University of Sydney, although it was not enough to stop the party from winning the last federal election in 2019. Dr. Cameron added that the party "ignores this trend at their peril."

In Sydney, organizers estimated that at least 10,000 people gathered in the central business district.

There, Michael Bradley, the lawyer for a now-deceased woman who had said she was sexually assaulted in 1988 by a man who is currently a member of Parliament, called for reforming the justice system. This month, Attorney General Christian Porter, 50, confirmed that he was the subject of the accusation.

An outpouring of anger draws tens of thousands throughout 40 cities.

Mr. Porter has strongly denied the accusation, and the police said this month that it had closed an investigation, citing a lack of evidence.

The woman died by suicide last year. It is not known if her death was related to her rape accusation.

"It is not fair that the whole burden of the system is on survivors," Mr. Bradley said.

In Melbourne, organizers unfurled a banner listing the names of women and children who have died as a result of gender-based violence since 2008. Protesters chanted "to hell with the patriarchy." Organizers estimated that at least 5,000 people attended — the maximum number allowed under the state's coronavirus restrictions.

"We're here today because for some reason men are still able to control us," said Ebony Grinlaubs, 21, a bartender. "We start on the streets, we start marching, and eventually it gets all the way to the top."

"In the 1970s and '80s we were doing this work, and we're still doing it now," said Jill Wilson, a 62-year-old educator who said she had been campaigning for women's rights for decades. "It's time for men and women to make change," she said.

The marches happened on the same day that Mr. Porter started a defamation lawsuit against the Australian Broadcasting Corporation over an online article about the 33-year-old assault accusation. The statement of claim filed by his lawyers said that the article, which did not name Mr. Porter, made defamatory imputations.

In an emailed statement, the ABC said it "will be defending the action."

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Among the attractions for visitors to Russia's Lake Baikal are Buryat traditional pagan holy poles, left, a music festival, center, and an impressive snow-covered landscape near the lake.



With many international borders closed, and to the surprise of many locals, Russians are arriving at Baikal's icicle-draped shores in droves to make TikTok videos and snap Instagram photos.

RUSSIA DISPATCH

A Siberian Lake Becomes an In-Country Hotspot

Written by ANTON TROIANOVSKI
Photographs by SERGEY PONOMAREV

ON LAKE BAIKAL, Russia — She drove 2,000 miles for this moment: Hanging out the sunroof of her white Lexus SUV, that glinted under the blinding sun, face to smartphone selfie camera, bass thumping, tires screeching, cutting doughnuts over the blue-black, white-veined ice.

"It's for Instagram and TikTok," said the woman, Gulnara Mikhailova, who drove two days and two nights to get here with four friends from the remote Siberian city of Yakutsk.

It was about zero degrees Fahrenheit as Ms. Mikhailova, who works in real estate, put on a swimsuit, climbed up onto the roof of her car, and, reclining, posed for pictures.

This is winter on the world's deepest lake, 2021 Pandemic Edition.

The tour guides are calling it Russian Season. Usually, it is foreigners who flock to Siberia's Lake Baikal this time of year to skate, hike, hike, run, drive, hover and ski over a stark expanse of ice and snow.

But Russia's borders are still closed because of the pandemic, and to the surprise of — most of all — the locals, countless Russian tourists have traded tropical beaches for Baikal's icicle-draped shores.

"This season is like no other — no one expected there to be such a crush, such a tourist boom," said Yulia Mushinskaya, the director of the history museum on the popular Baikal island of Olkhon.

People who work with tourists, she said, "are just in shock."

If you catch a moment of stillness on the crescent-shaped, 400-mile-long, mile-deep lake, the assault on the senses is otherworldly. You stand on three feet of ice so solid it is crossed safely by heavy trucks, but you feel fragile, fleeting and small.

The silence around you is interrupted every few seconds by the cracking underneath — groans, bangs and weird, techno-music twangs. Look down, and the imperfections of the glass-clear ice emerge as pale, shimmering curtains.

Yet stillness is hard to come by. While Western governments have been discouraging travel during the pandemic, in Russia, as is so often the case, things are different. The Kremlin has turned coronavirus-related border closures into an opportunity to get Russians — who had spent the last 30 years exploring the world beyond the former Iron Curtain — hooked on vacationing at home.

A state-funded program launched last August offers \$270 refunds on domestic leisure trips, including flights and hotel

stays. It is one example of how Russia, which had one of the world's highest coronavirus death tolls last year, has often prioritized the economy over public health during the pandemic.

"Our people are used to traveling abroad to a significant degree," President Vladimir V. Putin said in December. "Developing domestic tourism is no less important."

Recent months have seen a monumental crush of tourists at Black Sea beaches and Caucasus ski resorts. This winter, during what some call the "gender holiday" travel period around Defender of the Fatherland Day on Feb. 23 (when Russia celebrates men) and March 8 (International Women's Day), Lake Baikal has been the place to be.

It is a distillation of tourism in the Instagram age.

Some visitors bring their own smartphone tripods, jumping up and down repeatedly for the perfect snapshot of themselves in midair before a wall of ice. Others pilot drones or set off bright-colored smoke bombs. At sunset recently, tourists lay on the frozen lake on their bellies inside a natural grotto in the shoreline cliffs, taking pictures of the rose-glinting icicles hanging from the ceiling.

"Get out!" some yelled when another group arrived. "Take a hike, all of you! You're blocking the sun!"

"The social networks have led to all

this," said a guide at the grotto, Elvira Dorzhiyeva. "There's these top locations, and it's like — 'All I care about is that I want what I saw online.'"

The most in-demand photos involve the clear ice, so some guides carry brushes to sweep away the snow.

In a typical winter, it's foreign tourists — many from nearby China — who descend on Baikal, while Russians escape the cold to Turkey or Thailand.

Nikita Bencharov, who learned English competing in international table tennis tournaments in the Soviet era, first started hosting foreign tourists on Olkhon in the 1990s. Now he runs a sprawling hotel complex on the island and estimates that in a normal year, more than 70 percent of the wintertime visitors are foreigners.

This year, just about all his guests are Russian, which has presented a bit of a problem. Russians who vacation abroad are used to cheap, comfortable lodgings, which are hard to find in the far reaches of their own country. At Olkhon hotels this season, unassuming double rooms have gone for as much as \$200 a night; at an ice-sculpture festival by the frozen harbor and some of the cafes, the restaurants are unbeatable outdoor pit toilets.

"The foreigners are already a bit prepared and thank the Lord that there's a normal bed here, at least, and that they're not sleeping on a bearskin," Mr. Bencharov said. "They understand bet-



Lake Baikal is about a mile deep and frozen three feet thick in the winter.

ter than the Russians where they're traveling to and why."

Many operators geared toward foreign tourists have scrambled to adjust. On Olkhon, the once-Chinese restaurant now serves borscht.

At the island's northern tip, where orange cliffs tower over a blue-white labyrinth of ice formations, fleets of tour vans deposit hundreds of people to slide and

clamber around, and then to slurp fish soup heated by fires set directly on the ice.

A couple from Moscow, two engineers in their 30s, said they were visiting Siberia for the first time. One said he was thrilled by the landscape but shocked by the region's poverty and felt sorry for the people and how they have to live.

About 50 miles away, at a fishing camp across the lake, three men bunked in a metal shack on the ice, the air inside tinged with the scent of cured fish, damp bedding and pine-nut moors. One of the men, firefighters, said they made around \$300 a month and took several weeks off in the fall to supplement their income by harvesting pine nuts in the forest.

"We make the minimum and complain and complain — and that's it," one of the firefighters, Andrei, 39, said. "And, what, we listen to Putin on TV..."

He let his voice trail off, with a nervous laugh. He declined to give his last name, worried about retaliation at his government job.

Baikal's alien landscape offers an escape from hardship and crisis — temporary and, perhaps, deceptive. The coronavirus, for one, seems not to exist, with not a mask in sight on the visitors' packing tour vans and restaurants. Their dismissive attitude mirrored an independent poll this month that found that fewer than half of Russians worried about catching the virus and that only 30 percent were interested in getting the Russian coronavirus vaccine.

"It's a psychosis," a park ranger, Elena Zelenkina, said of the global fear of the virus as she served tea and homemade doughnut holes at a gift shop next to hot springs on the lake's quieter eastern shore.

A group of music aficionados in the nearby city of Irkutsk even went ahead with their annual indoor winter music festival. One of the spectators, Artyom Nazarov, was from Belarus — one of the few countries whose nationals can now easily enter Russia.

Belarus, like Russia, has been wracked by anti-government protests. But like Mr. Putin, President Aleksandr G. Lukashenko of Belarus has held on, deploying an overwhelming show of force to put down unrest.

Mr. Nazarov said he had supported the protesters — but because it seemed their victory was neither imminent nor assured, he was moving on.

He had spent an exhilarating week walking and skating around Olkhon Island. He was looking forward to doing more outdoor tourism, on Russia's Kamchatka peninsula or in Iceland if the borders open.

"We all have our dreams and our goals that we want to achieve," Mr. Nazarov said. "Life goes on."



"This season is like no other — no one expected there to be such a crush" of tourists, Yulia Mushinskaya said.

Oleg Matsnev contributed research from Moscow.

E.U. Says Britain Broke Law By Extending a Grace Period

By STEVEN IRLANGER

BRUSSELS — The European Union announced on Monday that it is taking legal action against Britain for what it called a violation of a legal agreement over Brexit and Northern Ireland that was part of a trade pact forged between the two sides last year.

European officials said Brussels was responding to a move this month by the British government to unilaterally ease trading and border rules for Northern Irish businesses by extending a grace period for implementation of the Brexit accord.

Under a protocol on Northern Ireland that was part of the pact, Britain is required to consult the European Union on changes to its implementation — which it did not do. The protocol was aimed at ensuring that there was no hard border between Ireland, a member of the bloc, and Northern Ireland, which is part of the United Kingdom.

The officials said Britain had twice in the last six months unilaterally broken the agreement, first with a bill last December that dropped some elements objected to by the European Union, and then with the unilateral decision earlier this month to extend a grace period for British goods arriving in Northern Ireland until Oct. 1.

The Northern Ireland protocol draws a border between Britain and the European Union in the Irish Sea, effectively keeping Northern Ireland within the European single market for goods. Britain has left the single market, so keeping goods flowing smoothly from the mainland to Northern Ireland, despite new legal checks for sanitary and health regulations and considerable paperwork, has been a significant problem.

That is why both sides agreed to a grace period on numerous border requirements, to run until the end of March, to adjust to the deal, which went into effect on Jan. 1.

But trade disruptions for Northern Ireland have been so severe that Britain decided to extend the grace period for food and parcels and horticultural products — and include other issues, like pests, which had not been agreed upon — for six months, until October.

The British government has denied breaching the agreement, arguing that the unilateral extension of grace periods was common under trade agreements, a position rejected by European officials.

Speaking in Coventry on Monday, Prime Minister Boris Johnson said the British actions were “temporary and technical measures that we think are very sensible.” He said that Britain looked

forward “to our discussions with our E.U. friends and see where we get to.”

A Downing Street spokesperson said on Monday that the measures were “temporary to avoid disruption in Northern Ireland.”

Britain remains committed to the Northern Ireland protocol, the spokesperson said, and wished to address issues that had arisen at the border with Brussels through the proper channels.

But so far a European Union official said, that stated British desire has not been reflected in fact or action. Britain’s actions had undermined trust in its word, the official said, arguing that the only way forward was to try to reestablish trust and the commitment of both sides to the deal they negotiated. Britain has also violated the “duty of good faith” requirement in Article Five of the withdrawal agreement that governed Brexit, the official said.

The European officials said that despite the initiation of legal action, they hoped that further discussions between Brussels and London would resolve the problems before the issue came before any court.

Maros Sefcovic, the bloc’s top Brexit official, has written to David Frost, his British counterpart, urging Britain to refrain from putting the unilateral steps into practice and instead work with Brussels to find joint solutions that could provide British business stability and predictability. “The E.U. and the U.K. agreed the protocol together,” Mr. Sefcovic wrote. “We are also bound to implement it together. Unilateral decisions and international law violations by the U.K. defeat its very purpose and undermine trust between us.”

Relations between Britain and the European Union have been tenuous for some time over issues surrounding the Northern Ireland protocol, the larger agreement on Britain’s withdrawal from the bloc, and over vaccine supplies.

Brussels has accused Britain of holding back vaccines scheduled for Europe and even of a ban, which does not exist, on vaccine exports. In return, the British government has touted the speed and success of its vaccine procurement and rollout, comparing it to the slower pace of the European Union, and argued that Brexit has made that success possible.

The legal process over the grace period allows Britain a month to respond, and another month for examination. If not resolved before then, Britain could be brought before the European Court of Justice and face trade sanctions.



DAVID YOUNG, PRESS ASSOCIATION, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS
Trade disruptions for Northern Ireland have been severe.



Police officers attempting to break up a vigil in London on Saturday for Sarah Everard and to end violence against women.

U.K. Policing Bill Scrutinized After Clashes at Vigil

By ISABELLA KWAI

LONDON — Prime Minister Boris Johnson was meeting with law enforcement officials on Monday after the London police drew widespread criticism for their handling of a vigil on Saturday to mark the killing of a 33-year-old woman.

The fallout comes as a proposed police bill that would grant more powers to control protests in Britain is set to be debated in Parliament this week and faces renewed scrutiny from opposition lawmakers and rights groups.

An investigation has been ordered into the policing of a vigil in South London on Saturday night for Sarah Everard, 33, whose killing touched off a national outcry over misogyny and violence. The vigil had been declared unlawful because of coronavirus restrictions, a move denounced by rights groups, and officers from the Metropolitan Police, the main London force, clashed with some attendees.

Ms. Everard, a marketing executive, disappeared near Clapham Common while walking home from a friend’s house on the evening of March 4. Her body was identified on Friday and a Metropolitan Police officer has been charged in her killing.

Mr. Johnson was scheduled to meet on Monday with ministers, senior police officers and prosecutors to discuss steps to improve safety on the streets for women and girls.

“Like everyone who saw it, I was deeply concerned about the footage from Clapham Common on Saturday night,” Mr. Johnson said, referring to the open space in South London where the vigil was held.

Speaking to reporters on Monday, he said he had confidence in Cressida Dick, the head of the Metropolitan Police, but that he supported a review into what had happened on Saturday evening. Measures in the new policing bill, he said, would increase sentences for rapists and tackle domestic violence.

Priti Patel, the British cabinet



Crowds crossing Westminster Bridge and a woman lighting a candle, below, for Ms. Everard in London on Monday.



VIGIL MEMORIALS FRANCE PRESS — GETTY IMAGES

minister overseeing policing, and Sadiq Khan, the mayor of London, both called on Sunday for an independent review of policing tactics at the vigil.

Ms. Dick said on Sunday that a review would be good for “public confidence,” but resisted calls for her resignation and defended her officers, citing concerns over the coronavirus.

“Unlawful gatherings are unlawful gatherings,” she said. “Officers have to take action if people are putting themselves massively at risk.”

Since last week, women in Britain, shaken by Ms. Everard’s disappearance and then news of her

killing, have shared experiences of harassment and voiced a long-enduring anger over violence against women at the hands of men, culminating in the vigil on Saturday night.

Women’s rights activists and lawmakers have denounced heavy-handed policing at the vigil and called it particularly upsetting given that the event had been staged to decry violence against women, and that a police officer had been arrested in Ms. Everard’s case.

“There were so many of them, it literally felt like they were against us,” Danish Al-Obeid, a woman who was arrested at the protest, said to

the BBC on Monday, adding that the police had dragged her along the ground. “It was unnecessary.”

Fallout from the event and the timing of the government bill that would grant police more power to control protests could lead to more unrest.

Hundreds of people attended a protest on Monday outside Parliament, closely watched by police officers wandering around the perimeter. They chanted “Sisters united will never be defeated,” and “Kill the bill,” in reference to the proposed policing bill, and laid down flowers in Ms. Everard’s memory.

Many young women said they had shown up because they were shocked at how the police had treated women at the vigil on Saturday night.

“I was harassed at work on Saturday, on Saturday night I saw the police beating women,” said Lydia Pooley, 21. “I haven’t stopped crying. I haven’t stopped feeling scared.”

Later, some protesters marched on Westminster Bridge, next to the Parliament, shutting it down for a period of time before going to Scotland Yard, where they booted at a line of police officers standing behind barricades. Parts of central London were brought to a standstill as protesters streamed through the streets.

Attention is now focusing on the proposed policing bill, which will be debated in Parliament this week. The bill would introduce tougher penalties for serious crimes and end a policy that releases prisoners after serving half of a fixed sentence for some crimes, in addition to giving broader authority to police protests.

Lawmakers from the opposition Labour Party have said they will now vote against the bill over concerns it would impede the rights of protesters.

“This is no time to be rushing through poverty thought-out measures to impose disproportionate controls on free expression and the right to protest,” said David Lammy, a Labour lawmaker who is the party’s justice spokesman.

Vatican Prohibits Blessing of Same-Sex Unions

By ELISABETTA POVOLEDO and RUTH GRAHAM

ROME — The Vatican said on Monday that priests could not bless same-sex unions, calling any such blessing “not licit.”

The ruling said that the church should be welcoming toward gay people, “with respect and sensitivity,” but not endorse their unions.

The Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, the Vatican’s doctrinal watchdog, issued the judgment in response to questions raised by some pastors and parishioners that sought to be more welcoming and inclusive of gay couples.

The issue of inclusiveness came to the fore in recent years after the pope asked bishops to develop projects and proposals “so that those who manifest a homosexual orientation can receive the assistance they need to understand and fully carry out God’s will in their lives.” Blessings for same-sex unions had emerged as one possibility, requiring official clarification.

The decision did not imply a judgment on people involved nor a “homophobic” discrimination, but rather a reminder of the truth of the liturgical rite “of the sacrament of matrimony, Cardinal Luis F. Ladaria, the prefect of the congregation, said in an explanatory note. Cardinal Ladaria wrote that

Pope Francis, who has staunchly opposed gay marriage in the church, had given “his assent to the publication.”

In the United States, where more than 6 out of 10 Catholics support same-sex marriage, according to a 2019 Pew survey, many gay Catholics and their advocates mourned the announcement, and said it would inevitably lead to more gay people and those who support them leaving the church.

“The Vatican does what the Vatican does, and sometimes the Vatican

only lurches into it and perform their own rituals, gestures, and words of support.”

Francis has repeatedly expressed support for gay people. Only a few months after his election in 2013, he famously said, “Who am I to judge?” when asked during a papal flight from Brazil about priests who might be gay. The pope also made headlines in October when he appeared to endorse same-sex civil unions. The Vatican later clarified that the pope believed that gay couples deserved civil protections, including legal rights and health care benefits, but that his comments had not marked a change in church doctrine.

The Catholic Church considers homosexual acts “intrinsically disordered.”

In 2003, the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith ruled that the church’s “respect for homosexual persons cannot lead in any way to approval of homosexual behavior or to legal recognition of homosexual unions.” That document, which was signed by Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, said the prefect of the congregation and who went on to become Pope Benedict XVI, sought to sway Catholic lawmakers as an increasing number of countries were ratifying legal rights for same-sex couples.

In the ruling made public on Monday, the Vatican said that Catholic teaching held that marriage between a man and woman



St. Peter’s Square in Vatican City. God “does not and cannot bless sin,” a ruling said on Monday.

was part of God’s plan, and that since gay unions were not intended to be part of that plan, they could not be blessed by the church.

In explaining the ruling on Monday, the Vatican said that relationships involving “sexual acts outside of marriage,” which the Vatican described as an “indissoluble union of a man and a woman open in itself to the transmission of life” did not follow the “Creator’s plans,” even if those relationships had “positive elements.” The Vatican also said that the risk

existed that same-sex unions could be misconstrued as constituting “a certain imitation” of the marital blessing that is invoked in matrimony, which is a sacrament in the Catholic Church. In fact, “there are absolutely no grounds for considering homosexual unions to be in any way similar or even remotely analogous to God’s plan for marriage and family,” the Vatican wrote, citing Pope Francis’ landmark 2018 document on the theme of family, “Amoris Laetitia,” or “The Joy of Love.” Though few were surprised by

the Vatican’s decision, critics said the statement’s tone was notably harsh. A line saying that God “does not and cannot bless sin” stood out in its reduction of loving relationships to moral offenses. “That line in particular is going to cause tremendous pain and anger,” said Marianne Duddy-Burke, executive director of DignityUSA, a national advocacy group for gay Catholics. “The fact that our church still denies people a sense of sacredness about their relationships is deeply painful to those of who hold fast to our faith.”

Elisabetta Povoledo and Ruth Graham from Rome, N.J.

Killing in Syria Spawns a Legal Case Against Mercenaries

BY ANDREW E. KRAMER

MOSCOW — Three human rights groups announced on Monday a legal action that they say is the first to target soldiers from the Russian mercenary organization Wagner for crimes committed in Syria, highlighting growing efforts to hold accountable contract soldiers in war zones.

The case arose from the swirl of violence in Syria as multiple factions, contract soldiers and proxy forces fought one another outside the Geneva Conventions or other treaties on the laws of war. The legal filing tries to use a patchwork of national legislation and treaties to plug that hole, what the rights groups called an impunity gap for mercenaries even as they proliferate on modern battlefields.

"We are seeing a resurgence of mercenaries in armed conflicts around the world," Ilya Nuzov, director for Eastern Europe and Central Asia at the International Federation for Human Rights, one of the groups that brought the legal action, said in a telephone interview. "Unfortunately, they commit grave human rights abuses."

The case, if it ever comes to court, would seem easy to prosecute because those accused filmed themselves killing a man who they claimed was a member of the Islamic State militant group. It is not clear why they recorded the killing, but analysts said it might have been for propaganda reasons or as a horrific form of advertising.

In the video segments that have circulated online since 2017, a group of Russian-speaking men in the darkly theatrical, almost post-apocalyptic setting of the ruined Al Shera gas plant in the city of Homs, in northern Syria, filmed themselves beating their victim with a sledgehammer, then dismembering and burning the body.

Rights organizations and analysts of the Syrian conflict have studied the clips for years. But the killing remained a crime without punishment because of the complicated jurisdictional issues related to contract soldiers.

Novaya Gazeta, an independent Russian newspaper, identified one of the attackers two years ago as a member of the Wagner mercenary group, which the United States government has said in sanctions documents is financed by Yevgeny V. Prigozhin, an oligarch who has been called "Putin's chef" for winning cash prizes for the Kremlin.

The Kremlin has denied any ties to Wagner or to the Russian-



POOL PHOTO BY ALEXIS DIZENHAUS

The U.S. says Yevgeny Prigozhin, accused of Russia's president, center, finances a mercenary group speaking of crimes in Homs, Syria. Suspects shot video showing them dismembering a man.



SERGEY POPOV/MAGNET FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

speaking men who appear in the video.

Rights groups have compared the videotaped killing to shootings in Nisour Square in Baghdad in 2007 by security contractors with Blackwater, the American security company, an episode that became emblematic of the difficulties of prosecuting contractors.

Four Blackwater guards were convicted in an American court but were pardoned last year by

President Donald J. Trump.

Russian prosecutors have so far not opened an investigation. With their filing, the International Federation for Human Rights and other organizations — the civil rights society Memorial and the Syrian Center for Media and Freedom of Expression — formally requested that they do so.

While the litigants concede it is unlikely that Russia will pursue an inquiry, they say that the filing

is part of a legal strategy to move the case to the European Court of Human Rights, whose rulings Russia is bound by treaty to observe. To do so, they must first exhaust appeals in Russia's domestic judicial system.

The case was filed on behalf of a brother of the man killed, who has been identified as Mohammad al-Abdullah. Rights groups say Mr. al-Abdullah defected from the Syrian Army but had no known connection to the Islamic State.

In the video of the killing, one Russian speaker says, "This will happen to every member of ISIS."

Alexander Cherkasov, chairman of Memorial, said the Russian authorities should prosecute the case to remove violent criminals from society and to uphold rules on the humane treatment of prisoners of war.

"Any cruelty to a captive will be answered by cruelty to Russian

prisoners," he said. "A responsible officer in any army would be interested in this investigation."

Mercenaries and other so-called nonstate combatants are a rising concern for human rights groups. About three-quarters of wars today are fought by such soldiers, rather than by members of nations' armed forces, said Varvara Pakhomenko, a human rights consultant.

Western governments have accused Russia of deploying Wagner contract soldiers in the Central African Republic, Libya, Sudan, Syria and Ukraine.

In Syria, it was partly a money-making strategy. Under a program first revealed by Russian investigative reporters in 2017, the Syrian government granted companies with ties to the Russian security services mining, oil or natural gas rights in territories outside the Syrian state's control. The practice was seen as an incentive for the companies to hire contract soldiers to capture the areas.

Biden's Goals Converge In Top Envoys' Trip to Asia

This article is by Lara Jakes, John Ismay and Steven Lee Myers.

WASHINGTON — Two ambitions lie at the center of President Biden's foreign policy agenda: rebuilding ties with the United States and assembling a united front on China.

This week, he is attempting both as he sends two of his most senior envoys to Japan and South Korea in his administration's highest-level foreign travel since it took office in January.

The visits to the United States' strongest partners in East Asia are a prelude to the Biden administration's opening round of face-to-face contact with Beijing. One on one, Secretary of State Antony Blinken will travel on to Alaska and join Jake Sullivan, the national security adviser, in meeting China's two top diplomats.

The administration sees the gathering as a chance to establish ground rules and set red lines for a relationship that Mr. Blinken has called "the biggest geopolitical challenge of this century." American officials have described it as "a one-off session" to identify issues where Washington can work with China — and then "lay out, in very blunt terms, the United States' demands that we have," Mr. Blinken told Congress last week.

The flurry of diplomacy, begun again on Friday with a virtual summit between the United States and so-called Quad allies — Australia, India and Japan — establishes the Asia-Pacific as a top priority for the Biden administration. Under Barack Obama's legacy "pivot" to Asia and Donald J. Trump's bluntly transactional approach to alliances in the region.

The dialogue with allies less than two months into the new administration also underlines the president's goal of shoring up international partnerships to face down adversaries, in particular, China and Russia, in turn, further American interests.

"The more China hears, not just our opprobrium, but a course of opprobrium from around the world, the better the United States will get some chances," Mr. Blinken said at a House Foreign Affairs Committee hearing in Washington last week.

It will not be easy. China, having

brought the coronavirus to heel early in the pandemic, has only bolstered its economic position as rivals in the West struggle to recover. And militarily it has narrowed the gap with the United States through huge investments.

Those strengths have helped embolden China on the global stage. Even as Washington tries to chart a new, still wary, relationship with Beijing, American officials on Friday played down the notion that China would overshadow the three days of discussions in Tokyo and Seoul. Mr. Blinken and Defense Secretary Lloyd J. Austin III are expected to discuss a range of subjects, including the pandemic, climate change and the large U.S. troop presence in the region.

Relations between Japan and South Korea, which have reached a low point over historical disputes, are likely to be a topic of conversation. Also on the agenda will be the military coup last month in Myanmar and North Korea's nuclear and missile programs, which remain firmly in place after the Trump administration's failed flirtation with the North's leader, Kim Jong-un.

The decision to make Japan the first destination for Mr. Blinken and Mr. Austin was seen as a significant and reassuring development in Tokyo, which worked hard to maintain close ties with Mr. Trump even as the demanded huge increases in payments to keep American troops in the country. On Friday, the White House announced that Prime Minister Yoshihide Suga would be the first foreign leader to meet with Mr. Biden in Washington.

"At the end of the Trump administration, with regard to Asia, we were backtracking with our allies over how much to pay for the cost sharing in terms of defense," said Victor Cha, who oversaw Asia policy at the White House during the George W. Bush administration and advises the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. "We had a very unilateral view when it came to alliances as a nation, almost a disdainful view with regard to them."

"At the same time," Mr. Cha said, "China was using its economic leverage all around the region to bully other countries."

The Trump administration took an often contradictory approach toward China. Mr. Trump often flattered its authoritarian leader,



AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE — GINTY BRANDE

Chinese officials bristle at American attempts to confront Beijing over rights abuses in Xinjiang.

Xi Jinping, as he tried to strike trade deals. At the same time, his administration criticized Beijing's human rights abuses, military and cyberspace incursions, and assaults on democracy.

The Biden administration's strategy could prove just as dizzying. Mr. Blinken has described seeking a relationship based at once on cooperation, competition and, as needed, confrontation with China.

To make it work, the United States is banking on backup from allies like Japan and South Korea. Both walk a fine line on China: Their prosperity depends on trade with Beijing, but they break with China on matters of security, democracy and human rights.

Tokyo has grown more vocal as the Chinese military has made incursions around islands that Japan administers in the East China Sea, known in Japan as the Senkaku and in China as the Diaoyu. Seoul has used its temperate relations with Beijing as a pressure tactic against North Korea, which depends on China for its economic aid.

For their part, China's leaders have said they are eager to get the relationship with the United States back on an even keel. Some analysts have warned that any steps toward a détente could just buy China more time to develop technological and military capabilities before a diplomatic breakdown.

As the countries with different social systems, China and the

United States naturally have differences and disagreements," Wang Yi, the Chinese foreign minister, said in Beijing on March 7. He and Yang Jiechi, China's top diplomat, will be meeting with Mr. Blinken in Alaska.

Yet Chinese leaders also appear concerned about the Biden strategy of rallying allies into a coherent bloc against China, something that could hurt it politically and economically. Last week, for example, the Quad countries announced an effort to ship coronavirus vaccines to Southeast Asia, countering China's own efforts at so-called vaccine diplomacy.

Mr. Wang cited the pandemic, the economic recovery from it and climate change as areas where China and the United States could cooperate, though he provided no details. But he said that the United States and others had no right to interfere in what he described as internal matters: human rights abuses against ethnic Uighurs in China's western Xinjiang region, efforts to subvert democracy in Hong Kong and surveillance and repression in Tibet.

He also drew a "red line" on the question of Taiwan, the self-governing democratic island that Beijing claims as an inalienable part of a greater China.

Days later, an American destroyer passed through the Taiwan Strait. The United States describes such voyages as routine, but they are seen as hostile by China. It was the third since Mr. Biden came into office, signaling

support of Taiwan.

While Japanese officials are sure to seek assurances from Mr. Austin that the U.S. military would come to Japan's aid in the event of a conflict with China over the Senkaku Islands, his time in Seoul is expected to be consumed with the question of whether to resume regular large-scale military exercises with South Korea, which Mr. Trump abruptly canceled.

Last week, the two countries agreed a cost-sharing agreement for stationing American troops in South Korea, a precedent that Mr. Trump had also threatened to end.

After the meetings in Tokyo and Seoul, Mr. Austin will travel to India, which is at its lowest point in relations with China in decades after a deadly border incursion last summer. Mr. Blinken will arrive in Alaska on Thursday for the meeting with the Chinese envoys.

As he wished Mr. Blinken luck for the talks, Representative Michael McCaul of Texas, the top Republican on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, warned that "we cannot treat them as a normal adversary."

"We are truly in an ideological struggle fighting for democracy against authoritarianism and promoting freedom over oppression," Mr. McCaul said. He added that the United States had for four decades "turned a blind eye" to China's ruling Communist Party in hopes of persuading its leaders to follow international norms.

"Unfortunately, it just didn't work," Mr. McCaul said.

In a Message, Navalny Tells Of a Dystopia Inside Prison

BY ANTON TROIANSKOVI

MOSCOW — The Russian opposition leader Alexei A. Navalny greeted his supporters via Instagram on Monday from the prison where he is likely to spend the next two years, referring to his new confines as "our friendly concentration camp."

Mr. Navalny, whose whereabouts had been unknown for days, said in a message posted on his Instagram page that he had been transferred to Penal Colony No. 2 in the Vladimir Region east of Moscow. Mr. Navalny had passed the message along to his lawyers, who were able to visit him in the penal colony earlier in the day for the first time.

It was the prison, known for harsh conditions even by Russian standards, where Russian media reported Mr. Navalny had been sent two weeks ago. But it later emerged that Mr. Navalny was dispatched from the Moscow jail where to he had been held since January to a different detention center first.

"I must admit that Russia's prison system managed to surprise me," Mr. Navalny said in the Instagram post. "I did not imagine that it was possible to set up a real concentration camp 100 kilometers from Moscow."

Mr. Navalny, the most prominent political opponent of President Vladimir V. Putin, returned to Russia in January after having recovered from a near-fatal poisoning in Siberia last year. He was arrested at passport control, then sentenced to two-and-a-half years in prison for violating parole on a suspended sentence he had received in 2014.

The sentence was widely seen as an attempt by Mr. Putin to silence his loudest domestic critic. The initial wave of nationwide protests prompted by Mr. Navalny's arrest has now passed, but his political machine remains potent and is preparing to challenge Mr. Putin's re-election in parliamentary elections scheduled to take place in September.

Mr. Navalny appears determined to keep encouraging his supporters from prison via Instagram account, where he has more than four million followers. He wrote in Monday's post, which was paired with an old photo, that he had seen "not even a hint of violence at his new pentagonal home, but that his fellow prisoners appeared to be terrorized by beatings widely reported to have been carried out at Penal Colony No. 2 in the past."

"The methods have now changed and, I'll be honest, I can't even remember a place where everyone speaks so politely and, in a way, welcomingly," Mr. Navalny wrote. "Video cameras are everywhere, everyone is being watched, and a report is written up in response to the slightest violation."

Even profanity was prohibited, Mr. Navalny wrote. Shockingly for a Russian prison, "this ban is strictly followed."

The prison, referred to by its Russian initials IK2, has long been known for strict enforcement of rules. Lawyers and former inmates have described a separate, harsher punishment facility within its walls where inmates are not allowed to mingle or even talk among themselves.

The site is typical for Russia's colony-type prisons that evolved, with a few improvements, from the gulag camps established in the 1920s. Many are crowded with groups of several dozen called brigades in low-level, two-story buildings surrounded by walls and topped with razor wire.

Discipline is enforced by prisoners in cabots with the warden, according to former inmates, an arrangement that will allow the warden to avoid direct eye contact with the guards, one former inmate, the nationalist politician Dmitri Dymovskikh, told a Moscow newspaper last week.

Mr. Navalny, in Monday's post, said he remained classified as a flight risk, meaning that he was woken up every hour at night by a buzzer and a camera reporting on his condition.

The constant surveillance, Mr. Navalny wrote, reminded him of a dystopian novel. "I think that the best dystopian novel is '1984' and said, 'Oh, awesome. Let's do that. Education through dehumanization.'"

But as he has done repeatedly in the past, Mr. Navalny sought to radiate optimism. He has used his imprisonment to try to show Russians that they need not fear Mr. Putin, as long as they believe in freedom or later, their side will prevail.

"If you deal with everything with a sense of humor, you can live with it," Mr. Navalny wrote. "So, all in all, it is well here."

Lara Jakes and John Ismay reported from Washington, and Steven Lee Myers from Seoul, South Korea.

National

The New York Times

Jesuits Vow to Raise \$100 Million to Atone for Role in Slavery

By RACHEL L. SWARNS

In one of the largest efforts by an institution to atone for slavery, a prominent order of Roman Catholic priests has vowed to raise \$100 million to benefit the descendants of the enslaved people it once owned and to promote racial reconciliation initiatives across the United States.

The move by the leaders of the Jesuit conference of priests represents the largest effort by the Roman Catholic Church to make amends for the buying, selling and enslavement of Black people, church officials and historians said.

The pledge comes at a time when calls for reparations are ringing through Congress, college campuses, church basements and town halls, as leaders grapple with the painful legacies of segregation and the nation's system of involuntary servitude.

"This is an opportunity for Jesuits to begin a very serious process of truth and reconciliation," said the Rev. Timothy P. Kesicki, president of the Jesuit Conference of Canada and the United States. "Our shameful history of Jesuit slaveholding in the United States has been taken off the dusty shelf, and it can never be put back."

The money raised by the Jesuits will flow into a new foundation established in partnership with a group of descendants, who pressed for negotiations with the Jesuits after learning from a series of articles in The New York Times that their ancestors had been sold in 1838. The order relied on slave labor and slave sales for more than a century to sustain the clergy and to help finance the construction and the day-to-day operations of churches and schools, including the nation's first Catholic institution of higher learning, the college now known as Georgetown University.

Father Kesicki said his order had already deposited \$15 million into a trust established to support the foundation, whose governing board will include representatives from other institutions with roots in slavery. The Jesuits have also hired a national fund-raising firm with a goal of raising the rest within the next three to five years, he said.

The pledge falls short of the \$1 billion that descendant leaders had called on the Jesuits to raise. Father Kesicki and Joseph M. Stewart, the acting president of the newly created foundation, the Descendants Truth & Reconciliation Foundation, said that remained a long-term goal as the organization moves to support institutions and initiatives focused on racial healing.

"We now have a pathway forward that has not been traveled before," said Mr. Stewart, a retired corporate executive whose ancestors were sold in 1838 to help save Georgetown from financial ruin.

"They did not come running to us, but because we went to them with open arms and open hearts, they responded," Mr. Stewart said of the Jesuits. "They have embraced our vision."

Roughly half of the foundation's annual budget will be distributed

as grants to organizations engaging in racial reconciliation projects, Jesuit and descendant leaders said. About a quarter of the budget will support educational opportunities for descendants in the form of scholarships and grants. A smaller portion will address the emergency needs of descendants who are old or infirm.

Bishop Shelton J. Fabre, the chairman of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops' Ad Hoc Committee Against Racism, described the plan as the church's "largest financial commitment" to "heal the wounds" caused by its participation in slavery.

About 5,000 living descendants of the people enslaved by the Jesuits have been identified by genealogists at the Georgetown Memory Project, a nonprofit group.

Craig Steven Wilder, a historian at M.I.T. who has written about universities, the Catholic Church and slaveholding, described the move as an important initial step. "It will put tremendous pressure on other institutions in the United States — universities and churches — that share this history," Dr. Wilder said.

Faith institutions have been at the forefront of the growing reparations movement. In 2018, the Catholic sisters of the Religious of the Sacred Heart created a reparations fund to finance scholarships for African-Americans in Great Coteau, La., where the nuns had owned about 150 Black people.

The following year, Virginia Theological Seminary, which relied on enslaved laborers, created a \$1.7 million reparations fund, and Princeton Theological Seminary announced it would spend \$27 million on scholarships and other initiatives to make amends for its ties to slavery.

Several Episcopal dioceses with ties to slavery, including ones in Maryland, New York and Texas — have also created reparations funds.

Georgetown, which was founded by the Jesuits, has promised to raise about \$400,000 a year to benefit the descendants of people enslaved by the order. The university, which holds a seat on the board of the newly created foundation and contributed \$1 million to get it off the ground, plans to distribute the first grants this year.

This is not the first time the Jesuits have reckoned with their history.



The Rev. Timothy P. Kesicki, a Jesuit leader, and Mr. Stewart negotiated the settlement. Right, a record of slave sales from 1832.



Joseph M. Stewart's ancestors were sold in 1838 to help save Georgetown from financial ruin.

in the 1960s, the Maryland Jesuits established the Carroll Fund for Black students in need with the proceeds from the sale of property that had been part of one of their plantations. The fund provided between \$15 million and \$25 million in scholarships to Black students at Jesuit schools, Jesuit officials said. But money from the fund also went to unrelated purposes.

Some descendants fear that the new plan — which was hammered out over three years during a series of private meetings that in-

cluded representatives from the Jesuits, Georgetown and three descendant leaders, Mr. Stewart, Cheryllyn Branche and Earl Williams Sr. — will also fall short, noting that the foundation was developed without input from the wider descendant community.

Sandra Green Thomas, the founding president of the GU272 Descendants Association, called the \$100 million pledge from the Jesuits "more than I ever thought we would see."

"But my concern is whether or not this foundation is going to ben-

efit descendants or those who are in control of the foundation," she said, expressing concern over administrative costs, such as salaries and fund-raising. "If the money is not earmarked for the descendants, then it really isn't reparative. We need more details."

Richard J. Cellini, the founder of the Georgetown Memory Project, worried that descendant leaders had agreed to a deal prematurely, without "a full accounting from the Maryland Jesuits of the proceeds generated by nearly 150 years of Jesuit slaveholding."



The Rev. Timothy P. Kesicki, a Jesuit leader, and Mr. Stewart negotiated the settlement. Right, a record of slave sales from 1832.

Two Men Are Charged With Assault on Officer Who Died After Capitol Riot

By KATIE BENNER and ADAM GOLDMAN

WASHINGTON — Two men were charged with assaulting Officer Brian D. Sicknick of the Capitol Police and other officers with chemical spray during the Jan. 6 riot, the Justice Department said on Monday, but prosecutors stopped short of linking the attack to Officer Sicknick's death the next day.

The F.B.I. arrested George Pierre Tanius, 39, of Morgantown, W.Va., and Julian Elie Khater, 32, of State College, Pa., on Sunday. Mr. Tanius was arrested at home and Mr. Khater as he stepped off a plane in Newark, the department said.

They were charged with conspiracy to elude an officer, assaulting an officer with a dangerous weapon, civil disorder, obstruction of an official proceeding and other crimes related to violent conduct on the grounds of the Capitol, the Justice Department said.

Both appeared via video before federal magistrate judges on

Monday. Mr. Tanius, who joined his hearing dressed in orange, will appear in court again on Thursday to determine whether he will remain detained while awaiting trial. In a separate hearing, a lawyer for Mr. Khater indicated that his client intended to plead not guilty.

Among other charges, they face up to 20 years for assaulting a federal officer with a dangerous weapon.

Officer Sicknick and two other police officers were injured "as a result of being sprayed in the face" with an unidentified substance by Mr. Khater and Mr. Tanius, the F.B.I. said in search warrant applications filed in court. The officers were temporarily blinded and had to stop working to get medical attention, the bureau said.

Officer Sicknick was one of five people left dead by the attack, and his death was a major focus for law enforcement officials conducting a sprawling inquiry. The Justice Department has said it court filings that the investigation is most likely "one of the largest in American history," with more than 900 serious warrants executed in nearly every state.

The Capitol Police thanked federal prosecutors in a statement for charging the two men. "Those who perpetrated these heinous crimes must be held accountable," the acting chief of the force, Yogananda D. Pittman, said in a statement.

Law enforcement officials described the suspects briefly plotting before the attack. The men, who were among the thousands who traveled to the Capitol to protest Congress's certification of the election results on Jan. 6, spoke to each other animatedly, surrounded video showed, and worked together "to assault law enforcement officers with an unknown chemical substance by spraying officers directly in the face and eyes," an F.B.I. agent said in a court document.

Mr. Khater and Mr. Tanius were seen on video early in the afternoon standing five to eight feet away from police officers, including Officer Sicknick, the F.B.I. said.

In a video of the attack, Mr. Khater said, "Give me that," and then reached into Mr. Tanius's backpack, the F.B.I. said. Mr. Ta-

nus protested that it was too early, apparently to attack the officers with the spray. Mr. Khater countered that he had just been sprayed and held up the can of chemical spray.

At 2:23 p.m., as other rioters began to pull away a barrier between them and the Capitol, Mr. Khater aimed his spray can toward officers, the F.B.I. said, citing video footage including a body camera worn by an officer from Washington's Metropolitan Police Department. The officers reacted "one by one, to something striking them in the face," the F.B.I. said. "The officers immediately retreat from the line, bring their hands to their faces and rush to find water to wash out their eyes."

They were unable to defend the Capitol for at least 20 minutes while they recovered, video showed, according to the F.B.I. Two other officers who were assaulted "described the spray to their face as a substance as strong as, if not stronger than, any version of pepper spray they had been exposed to during their training as law enforcement officers," the F.B.I. said.

Officer Sicknick was later

rushed to a hospital, where he died. Investigators opened a homicide investigation immediately after the death of the officer, a 42-year-old Air National Guard veteran who served in Saudi Arabia and Kyrgyzstan.

Both officers and rioters deployed spray, mace and other irritants during the attack. Given that evidence, prosecutors brought assault charges rather than a murder charge, law enforcement officials said, speaking on the condition of anonymity to discuss a continuing investigation.

It remains unclear whether Officer Sicknick died because of his exposure to the spray. On Jan. 7, the day that he died, the Capitol Police said in a statement that he "was injured while physically engaging with protesters" at the riot and then "returned to his division office and collapsed."

In the hours after Officer Sicknick was taken to the hospital, Capitol Police officials initially said that he had been struck with a fire extinguisher, but later said that his death was not caused by blunt force trauma. In the following days, investigators looked on the potential role of an irritant

"We need to be looking at balance sheets, current and historical," Mr. Cellini said. "Until we know the size of the wealth taken from these families, we can't judge the appropriateness of the remedy presented to them."

Enslaved people have been largely left out of the origin story traditionally told about the Catholic Church in the United States.

But in the early decades of the American republic, the church established its foothold in the South, relying on plantations and enslaved laborers for its survival and expansion, according to historians and archival documents.

The Jesuits believed that the enslaved had souls, but they also viewed Black people as assets to be bought and sold. At the time, the Catholic Church did not view slaveholding as immoral, according to the Rev. Thomas R. Murphy, a historian at Seattle University.

So priests baptized the children of the enslaved, blessed their marriages and required the people they owned to attend Mass. Jesuit records show. But the records also document whippings, harsh plantation conditions, families torn apart by slave sales, and hardships experienced by people shipped far from home as the church expanded.

Still, the decision to sell virtually all of the enslaved people owned by the Maryland Jesuits in the 1830s to raise money to save Georgetown and to support the financially strapped order left some priests deeply troubled. Life on plantations in the Deep South was notoriously brutal.

"To sell our slaves," some Jesuits argued, "was the same thing as to sell their souls."

But Jesuit leaders prevailed, signing an agreement in 1838 to sell 272 men, women and children in one of the largest recorded slave sales at the time.

Their story largely faded from public memory until 2015, when Georgetown's president, John I. DeGioia, announced the creation of a working group on slavery and called for a campuswide discussion after reopening a building named for one of the early presidents involved in the slave sale.

After student protesters demanded that the names of the presidents be removed from campus buildings, Mr. DeGioia established the Georgetown Memory Project and hired a team of genealogists to identify and locate the descendants of the people who had been sold.

Mr. Stewart, who is Catholic, was one of them. "I had to process that this was done by the Catholic Church to my ancestors," he said. Then, Mr. Stewart said, he started focusing on the Jesuits, "looking for a way to hold them accountable."

In May 2017, Mr. Stewart wrote to the Jesuit leadership in Rome on behalf of the GU272 Descendants Association, calling for formal negotiations.

A month later, the Rev. Arturo Sosa, the superior general of the order, responded, describing Jesuit slaveholding as "a sin against God and a betrayal of the human dignity of your ancestors."

Father Sosa called for a "dialogue" process between Jesuits in the United States and descendants.

In August of that year, Father Kesicki flew to Michigan to meet with Mr. Stewart and his wife, Clara. He blessed their home. Then the two men sat down for a conversation that would lay the groundwork for their negotiations.

as a primary factor in his death.

The arrests came weeks after investigators pinpointed one of the men in a video of the riot, in which he was seen attacking officers with an unknown chemical spray, according to law enforcement officials.

After the F.B.I. posted fliers with photographs of Mr. Khater and Mr. Tanius seeking information about the Jan. 6 attack, a tipster told the F.B.I. that the two men had grown up together in New Jersey.

Another person told the F.B.I. that one of the men in the photos looked "very close" to Mr. Tanius, who had "barged about going to the insurrection at the Capitol on Facebook."

The tipster also identified Mr. Khater as a former colleague at a food establishment in State College.

The assault on the Capitol was among one of the most violent and destructive injuries since the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. Two other officers who tried to stop the siege died by suicide, according to the latest report. At least 138 officers were injured.

Alan Feuer and Bailey Fuchs contributed reporting.

Biden Plays Up Relief Actions: ‘Shots in Arms and Money in Pockets’

By JIM TANKERSLEY
and ALAN RAPEPORT

WASHINGTON — President Biden said on Monday that his administration was on pace to achieve two key goals by March 25: 100 million shots of Covid-19 vaccines since his inauguration and 100 million direct payments under his economic relief bill.

The announcement was the first in what promises to be a series of end-zone dances that Mr. Biden and administration officials are set to stage this week as they promote the \$1.9 trillion package that the president signed into law last week.

“Shots in arms and money in pockets. That’s important,” Mr. Biden said in a brief address from the White House. “The American Rescue Plan is already doing what it was designed to do: make a difference in people’s everyday lives.”

Over the weekend, the Treasury Department began issuing direct electronic payments of \$1,400 per person, as authorized by the law, to low- and middle-income Americans. The United States has administered 92.6 million vaccine doses since Jan. 20, when Mr. Biden took office, according to data released on Monday by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. At the current pace of vaccinations, the country will pass 100 million doses before the end of the week, well ahead of the president’s promise of March 25.

Mr. Biden had set the goal of 100 million doses before taking office, and he has repeatedly heralded the country being on pace to meet that goal through mass public health efforts say it is relatively easily attainable.

The relief plan also includes dozens of other provisions that have yet to be carried out, such as new monthly checks for parents, \$350 billion for state and local governments and additional relief for the unemployed.

With much money at stake and Republicans criticizing the package as wasteful, Mr. Biden vowed to bring “fastidious oversight” to the relief bill in order to ensure that it is distributed quickly and equitably.

He introduced Gene Sperling, a longtime Democratic policy aide who advised Mr. Biden’s presidential campaign last year, as his pick to oversee spending from the relief package. Mr. Sperling will be a senior adviser to the president and a White House employee, opening independently from the oversight commission established by Congress during the pandemic that consists of inspectors general from various agencies.

“We’re going to provide the American people that their government can deliver for them, and do it



President Biden vowed on Monday to bring “fastidious oversight” to the provisions of the American Rescue Plan to ensure that it is carried out quickly and equitably.

without waste or fraud,” Mr. Biden said.

His remarks came as his team prepared to fan out across the country for a week of sales pitches for a bill that has proved very popular with voters but garnered zero Republican votes.

Mr. Biden will visit Delaware County, Pa., on Tuesday and appear with Vice President Kamala Harris on Friday in Atlanta, which helped deliver Democrats the Senate majority that made the relief plan possible.

A group of administration officials, including the first lady, Jill Biden, and Mrs. Harris’s husband, Doug Emhoff, will make their own trips. Mrs. Harris and her husband landed in Las Vegas for an event on Monday afternoon, while Dr. Biden finished an event in New Jersey.

The road show is an effort to avoid the messaging mistakes of President Barack Obama’s administration, which Democrats be-

lieve failed to convince vocally building support for his \$780 billion stimulus act after it passed in 2009. The challenge for the Biden administration will be to highlight less obvious provisions, including the largest federal infusion in generations of aid to the poor, a substantial expansion of the child tax credit and increased subsidies for health insurance.

Mr. Sperling’s challenge will be to meet Mr. Biden’s promises of transparency and accountability for those programs.

The president and White House officials called Mr. Sperling well-qualified for the task. He was the director of the National Economic Council under Mr. Obama and President Bill Clinton. In the Obama administration, where he first served as a counselor in the Treasury Department, Mr. Sperling helped to coordinate a bailout of Detroit automakers and other parts of the administration’s response to the 2008 financial crisis.

He advised Mr. Biden’s campaign informally in 2020, helping to hone the campaign’s “Build Back Better” policy agenda. Friends have described Mr. Sperling in recent months as eager to join the administration; he had been mentioned as a possible appointee to lead the Office of Management and Budget after Mr. Biden’s first nomination for that position. Neera Tanden, withdrew amid Senate opposition.

Mr. Sperling’s challenge with the rescue plan will be different than the one Mr. Biden faced in 2009, because the relief bill differs starkly from Mr. Obama’s signature stimulus plan. The Biden plan is more than twice as large as Mr. Obama’s. It includes money meant to hasten the end of the pandemic, including billions for vaccine deployment and coronavirus testing. The plans also have similarities, including more than \$400 billion each in total spending for school districts and state and

local governments.

Oversight of the \$1.9 trillion relief legislation is currently expected to rely on the byzantine oversight architecture that was established in the stimulus packages Congress passed last year.

The new effort will continue to rely on the Government Accountability Office and the Pandemic Response Accountability Committee, a panel of inspectors general from across the federal government.

Less clear is the fate of the Congressional Oversight Commission, the five-person bipartisan panel that was created to oversee the \$500 billion Treasury Department fund that supported the Federal Reserve’s emergency lending programs and loans to airlines and companies that are critical to national security. The commission currently has only three members, and the Fed programs concluded at the end of last year.

The commission’s report in Jan-

uary said that it planned to continue “analyzing loans, loan guarantees and investments that were made prior to program termination” and producing reports.

It is not clear if the existing mechanisms will be sufficient for overseeing the money in the new relief package, which will pump billions of dollars into states and cities. Additional oversight measures are likely to be needed.

A Treasury official said that the department would set up a process to monitor the use of funds that are being sent to states to ensure that they are used according to the eligibility requirements in the law.

Like many Americans in the pandemic, Mr. Sperling will have to coordinate and navigate those efforts virtually, at least at first. Jen Psaki, the White House press secretary, said on Monday that Mr. Sperling would work remotely from his home in California until he is vaccinated.

Democrats Learned Hard Lessons From Obama’s Cautious Approach

From Page A1

his administration, several candidates addressed the need for the party to embrace a more take-no-prisoners political approach with Republicans; others criticized Mr. Obama’s policies on immigration. Though he used an executive order to aid the Dreamers, he also pushed deportations and border detentions.

It also highlights the rapid change in Washington over a decade of partisan brawling. Both Mr. Obama and Mr. Biden came into office on promises of unity and bipartisanship in the face of an economic crisis, but Mr. Biden is the beneficiary of a changed landscape in the party. Democrats are now more cognizant of Republican obstruction, less deferential to the deficit hawks and energized by a growing progressive wing that has pulled the party’s ideological midpoint to the left.

A decade ago, Mr. Obama’s strategy reflected the Democratic Party’s mainstream, an insistence on negotiating with Republicans, keeping the Senate filibuster and trimming his own ambitions for a nation that he and others worried should handle only its own problems after electing its first Black president. Now, the progressive criticism of that posture has become party canon.

Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York, a leading progressive voice, said the changes should be attributed partly to the growth of the left, but partly to an inadequate Democratic response to the Great Recession, which she said “created so much damage economically, for political damage, that a lot of people being not being in the scope.”

“I came of age watching Democratic governance fail me and fail my family,” Ms. Ocasio-Cortez said.

strategy, and through a spokesman he declined a request for comment for this article.

But for friends and allies who are close to him, the characterizations of Mr. Obama’s 2009 efforts sting.

Some describe it as an attempt, in a different political era, to act as Monday-morning quarterback, and bristle that figures who were involved in the 2009 negotiations — like Senator Chuck Schumer or Mr. Biden — have now publicly expressed regret over them. Others describe it as the natural course of politics: past actions being used as a baseline for improvement.

Valerie Jarrett, Mr. Obama’s former senior adviser, said the administration was acting on the evidence and the political possibilities of the time.

This was the worst economic recession since the Great Depression.

A re-examination of a presidential legacy and its shortcomings.

“It’s really about Obama versus Bush, and Biden versus Trump, not the other way around,” Mr. Emanuel said. “We built long-lasting, robust economic growth. And I think comparing one to the other is, historically not accurate. And also, more importantly, it’s strategically not advantageous.”

David Axelrod, who served as a chief strategist to Mr. Obama, said he believed the current criticism was born of a desire to avoid a midterm shelling similar to the one Democrats suffered in 2010.

“It is irksome only in the sense that it was an entirely different situation,” Mr. Axelrod said. “If the Obama economic record were deficient, I’m pretty sure Joe Biden wouldn’t have run on it.”

In many ways, the maneuvering is a stand-in for larger tensions within the party. Mr. Obama’s close-knit circle is keenly devoted to protecting his policy legacy. A growing left wing wants more investments in health care and combating climate change, and a break from hard-line policy on immigration. Mr. Biden’s administration is seeking to chart its own path.

In a recent address to House Democrats, Mr. Biden argued that it was Mr. Obama’s “humility” that cost Democrats at the time, because the president didn’t spend enough time explaining the benefits of his stimulus package to the American people.

“Barack was so modest, he didn’t want to take, as he said, a ‘victory lap,’” Mr. Biden said. “I kept saying, ‘Tell people the good stuff.’ He said, ‘We don’t have time, I’m not going to take a victory lap,’ and we paid a price for it, ironically, for that humility.”

The White House recently announced that Mr. Biden, Vice President Kamala Harris and some key administration figures would travel the country.

In the former president’s recently released memoir, he often returns to a familiar argument: that the ambitions of his legislation were hamstringing by an obstructionist Republican Party and moderate Democrats who were unwilling to go it alone without any bipartisan support.

Options like budget reconciliation, the parliamentary tactic Mr. Biden used to pass the coronavirus relief plan by a simple majority vote, were not even proposed by most progressives, former aides to Mr. Obama said. That



BUTH FRENCH/REUTERS

meant that any legislation would need a filibuster-proof 60 vote.

“Between Republican attacks and Democratic complaints I was reminded of the Yeats poem ‘Second Coming,’” Mr. Obama wrote in the book. “My supporters lacked all conviction, and my opponents were full of passionate intensity.”

But Mr. Obama’s own public comments since his presidency hint at a changing worldview. At the funeral for Congressman John Lewis, the civil rights icon who died in 2020, Mr. Obama seemed to endorse ending the Senate filibuster as a way to expand voting rights — a move he had long avoided. He said during the Democratic primary that while he was proud of his presidential campaign, the landscape had changed and required more expansive policy proposals.

“I want candidates now to go beyond what we were able to get done then, because the politics have changed,” he said at a 2019 fund-raiser.

That task is now left to Mr. Biden, who lacks the cult of personality that surrounded his former boss but is also less interested in cultivating one. In passing his first piece of signature legislation without a Republican vote, the president has subtly rejected the way Ms. Jarrett framed unity — he will pursue it not by endlessly wooing Republicans but by passing legislation that most Americans support.

Senator Susan Collins of Maine, a moderate Republican who backed Mr. Obama’s stimulus measure after it was pared back, said Mr. Biden’s approach was a reversion on his campaign promise to be a unifying figure.

Corrections

FRONT PAGE

An article on Saturday about steps President Biden took to address the global vaccine shortage

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misstated which countries are receiving Russia’s vaccine, Sputnik V. Though the Czech Republic is seeking the vaccine from Moscow, it has not yet received it.

ARTS

An article on Saturday about the Desert X biennial misstated who read passages from Catherine Venn’s homecoming diary in a project by the artist Kim Stringfellow. It was the musician Claire Campbell, not Stringfellow.

A theater review on Thursday about “Duchess! Duchess! Duchess!” misstated the year of Prince

Critics say President Barack Obama’s strategy to pass an \$800 billion rescue plan in 2009 was too deferential.

Mr. Biden “showed that he had absolutely no interest in trying to negotiate a bipartisan agreement.” Ms. Collins recently told reporters.

Progressives like Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont and Ms. Ocasio-Cortez say the willingness to forgo Republican buy-in is proof the entire party now agrees on the need for structural reform, and the hardball tactics that may be required.

“Schumer picked the very wrong choice of a self-inflicted wound, I would say, for the party,” Ms. Ocasio-Cortez said. “Where you delay and you water down, and you just kind of hand Susan Collins a pen, to have her diminish legislation for months, just for her to not even vote for it in the end.”

But Mr. Emanuel advised Democrats to remember the lessons of the presidential primary. After one debate in Detroit, when candidates repeatedly remarked on the failures of Mr. Obama’s tenure and how they would do better, voters rushed to defend the nation’s first Black president, and the running mate who stood with him.

“When the Democrats were criticizing President Obama, it was Biden that said, ‘What are you guys doing? He’s our president,’” Mr. Emanuel said. “So I’m with Joe Biden on that analysis.”

Harry and Meghan Markle’s wedding. They were married in 2018, not 2019.

A music review on Feb. 5 about the box set “The Boyz Multi-National Crusade for Harmony” described incorrectly the saxophonist and composer Julius Hemphill’s role on a tour in support of Beyoncé’s album “Demon” in 1993-94. Hemphill did not participate in the tour.

Errors are corrected during the press run whenever possible, so some errors noted here may not have appeared in all editions.

Democrats Set Sights on Passing Major Immigration Bill in House This Week

By NICHOLAS FANDOS
and TOLAN KANNO-YOUNGS

Democrats are preparing to push legislation through the House this week that would create a path to citizenship for millions of undocumented immigrants, posing the first test of President Biden's immigration agenda just as an influx of migrants is creating a new challenge at the border.

Facing internal divisions and mounting Republican pressure, Democrats plan to take a notably narrow approach for now. Instead of bringing up Mr. Biden's immigration overhaul, which would legalize most of the 11 million unauthorized immigrants in the United States, the House will start with two measures covering groups regarded as the most sympathetic: people brought to the country as children, known as Dreamers; and other immigrants with Protected Status for humanitarian reasons; and farm workers.

But with thousands more migrants, many of them unaccompanied children, showing up at the border daily, even these modest steps face an increasingly uphill climb. Democrats concede they do not have sufficient Republican support to pass them in a year-and-a-half lead, eager to turn Democrats' difficulties on the issue into a political liability, are using the mounting problems to stoke fear and opposition to any but the most punitive of changes. "Why would you legislate anything, sending another incentive to keep coming, until you stop the flow?" said Senator Lindsey Graham, Republican of South Carolina and a leader of past bipartisan immigration efforts. "I just don't see the politics of it—it's just too out of control."

Democratic leaders had hoped that by passing two of the most popular bills in the House immigration system, they could break a logjam that has doomed attempts

Luke Broadwater contributed reporting.

by the last three presidents to broker more a comprehensive overhaul or deliver modest changes. Now, even their optimism for that approach is waning, and progressives and moderates remain at odds over Mr. Biden's sweeping U.S. Citizenship Act.

"Speaker Pelosi has discovered that she doesn't have support for the comprehensive bill in the House, and I think that indicates where it is in the Senate as well," said Senator Richard J. Durbin of Illinois, the No. 2 Democrat and chairman of the Judiciary Committee. "I wish we could move just one piece at a time, but I don't think that's in the cards."

Sensing a political opening, Republicans have moved quickly in recent days to reprise some of the most pointed attacks of the Trump presidency based on the deterioration of the situation at the border, where thousands of unaccompanied children and teenagers are in U.S. custody.

On Monday, Representative Kevin McCarthy, the Republican House speaker, urged his colleagues to the border near El Paso, to witness firsthand what he branded "Biden's border crisis." Senator Tom Cotton of Arkansas attacked the strategy during a private lunch at the Capitol Hill Club in Washington last week, privately telling Republican senators that Democrats' "toxic" immigration policy would cost them their House and Senate majorities.

Top immigration aides to Mr. Biden argue that the bills the House is taking up this week are a starting point for his broader plan, part of a pragmatic "multiple trains" strategy to avoid the pitfalls that have bedeviled prior administrations.

Mr. Biden's border legislation would also seek to tighten border security and address the root causes of the migration surge by allocating funding for scanning technology at the southwestern border and providing aid to bolster the economies of the countries



Minors were separated from other migrants by Border Patrol agents after crossing the Rio Grande into Pecos, Texas.

tries that are the main sources of the influx. But those long-term solutions are bumping up against the urgent need to move thousands of migrant children and teenagers out of border detention facilities.

The surge in migration has been fueled in part by natural disasters and the pandemic's toll on the economy in Central America, as well as violence and poverty in the region. But it is also the result of a perception among some migrants that Mr. Biden is working to unwind many of former President Donald J. Trump's most draconian immigration policies and taking a more humane approach.

Alejandro N. Mayorkas, the homeland security secretary, said this month that the administration's message was not "don't come" but rather "don't come now." Top officials have said that Mr. Biden would restore the asylum process at the border but that it will take time to unravel the Trump administration's policies.

Yet pressure is also building among the most progressive Democrats in Congress for the administration to move more decisively, as they regard the situation at the border with increasing

alarm and fear that it is weakening the resolve of some of their colleagues to push for wholesale changes.

Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, Democrat of New York, said in a recent interview that she was worried that moderates in her party were trying to water down a plan that was "already pretty standard and not very controversial."

Ms. Ocasio-Cortez said it took "so much work to get President Biden to a place that immigration advocates felt comfortable calling a positive step."

"To see folks in our caucus try to undo some of that progress," she said, "I think is really concerning."

Progressives have also criticized Mr. Biden's team for continuing to expel migrant families and for their handling of migrant children arriving without parents.

Mr. Biden has been gradually welcoming a limited number of asylum seekers into the United States who were forced to wait in Mexico for months under a Trump-era policy. But he has kept in place a sweeping pandemic emergency rule Mr. Trump issued that empowered border agents to rapidly turn back migrants to

their home countries without providing them the chance to ask for asylum, a policy both administrations have said is necessary to prevent the spread of the coronavirus in detention facilities.

The Biden administration has not applied the pandemic rule to unaccompanied minors at the border, whom the United States government is required to care for until it can find suitable sponsors for their release. But the shelters where such children are supposed to be housed—which are managed by the Department of Health and Human Services—until recently had restricted capacity because of the pandemic. As a result, many of the young migrants have remained instead in jails managed by the Border Patrol, administration officials said.

The situation has fed anxiety among immigration activists that the political will for long-needed changes to the system could dissipate just as Democrats are positioned to deliver them, with control of Congress and the White House.

Todd Schulte, the president of fwd.us, a pro-immigrant rights group, said Republicans' contention that Mr. Biden had lost control of the border was a "bad faith argument" meant to galvanize their supporters against immigration legislation. Whether border crossings are up or down, "the answer is always, 'We need fewer immigrants, we can't possibly talk about a pathway to citizenship,'" Mr. Schulte said.

"This has been a losing political issue, but they're still going to be doing it," Mr. Schulte added. "It's up to Democrats to decide. The Republican Party cannot stop the Democrats from passing the DREAM Act."

The White House shares frustration.

"We have a lot of critics, but many of them are not putting forward a lot of solutions," Jen Psaki, the White House press secretary, said on Monday.

Democrats expect only a handful of Republicans to vote for the Dreamers bill, which also passed in 2019, and slightly more to approve the farmworkers bill, which is the product of bipartisan negotiations and would also revamp an agricultural visa program for future migrants. Together, they would affect as many as 5 million people.

Mr. Biden's more comprehensive plan has even less support. Moderate Democrats have been hesitant to take difficult votes on a bill they know will be pilloried by Republicans and are pushing for a change in approach to more closely resemble past efforts that traced legalization of undocumented workers for higher security at the border.

Representative Henry Cuellar, a centrist Democrat from a border

Aiming to open a path to citizenship for millions of people.

district in Texas, said he would like to see "something a little more moderate, especially when it comes to border security." But he conceded finding a deal was like a balloon: "You press on one side, it expands on the other and you lose some people."

In the meantime, Republicans smell a potent political weapon.

Mr. Biden and those around him in the White House recognize this is a political catastrophe for them. "Mr. Cotton said in an interview, 'They are caught between a rock, and a hard spot. On the one hand, you have large numbers of the American people who disapprove of what they see at the border. On the other hand, you have a strong voice in the Democratic Party that disparages borders in general, that thinks we should be granting asylum to all these people.'"

U.S. Struggling to Shelter Surge of Migrant Children Along Border With Mexico

This article is by Miriam Jordan, Simon Romero and Tolán Kanno-Youngs.

Migrant children are being forced to sleep on gym mats with foil sheets and go for days without showering as the Border Patrol struggles to handle thousands of young Central Americans who are surging across the southwestern border, some of them as young as a year old.

Children are arriving in groups and alone, some of them clutching phone numbers of relatives scrawled on little pieces of paper, according to two court-appointed lawyers who are monitoring conditions at facilities along the border. Many of the children interviewed by the lawyers in recent days said they had not been allowed outdoors for days on end, confined to an overcrowded tent.

"It's an urgent situation. These children are caught up in a crisis," said Leetia Welch, a lawyer who visited a holding facility for migrant children in Donna, Texas, that was built to house 250 people but which last week was holding about 1,000.

More than 9,400 minors—ranging from young children to teenagers—arrived along the border without parents in February, a number that has increased steadily at the same time, presenting the Biden administration with an urgent humanitarian challenge as it opens the door to children and gradually welcomes in families fleeing violence and poverty in Central America.

Two Department of Homeland Security officials confirmed on Monday that the administration planned to shelter thousands of teenage boys at a convention center in downtown Dallas. The administration is also considering a proposal to temporary facility in Midland, Texas, at a former camp for 68 field workers. The Department of Health and Human Services is also considering a proposal to house migrants at a NASA site, Moffett Federal Airfield, in Mountain View, Calif.

The backlog in migrant sheltering, which until recently was limited by coronavirus occupancy strains, has caused a logjam in Border Patrol processing facilities and is now resulting in thousands of migrant children for several days longer than the maximum 72 hours allowed under federal law.

Toy Miller, the acting commissioner of Customs and Border Protection, said last week that those housed at the border stations had full access to meals and medical care, and are provided showers every 48 hours.

Erin Coulehan contributed reporting.

The southwestern border typically sees a surge in migration during the spring months, ahead of the lethal summer heat. During the current fiscal year that started Oct. 1, Customs and Border Protection has recorded more than 396,000 migrant crossings, including at official ports of entry, compared with about 201,600 during the same period last fiscal year.

A majority of those crossings involved single adults, who under current rules are often quickly expelled back to Mexico or their home countries. But President Biden has declined to expel adults and companioned children back to uncertain fates in Mexican border cities, and the number of those cases has reached more than 2,700 this fiscal year—about twice as many as in the same time last year.

There is widespread concern that their numbers in coming months could break the record set in May 2019, when 11,000 underage migrants were encountered by the Border Patrol.

Operators of private shelters along the border said the numbers were expected to increase substantially between now and June, and said there appeared to be no movement plan in place to handle any additional increase.

The tent facility erected just a month ago in Donna, Texas, in the Rio Grande Valley, is crisscrossed with more than 100 children and teenagers, some as young as 1, according to the lawyers who recently visited.

Their interviews with about 20 children at the facility under a court settlement guaranteeing protections for migrant children, provide the only window so far into conditions during the current surge at border facilities, which normally are not open for public access.

The Border Patrol is operating the Donna facility, holding 40 children to a room in white tents partitioned with clear plastic sheets until a government shelter can receive them.

The two lawyers, Ms. Welch and Neha Desai, visited on Thursday; under a court guarantee protections known as Flores, they are permitted to inspect facilities holding children to monitor the government's compliance with the agreement, which also guarantees protections for migrant children held in government custody.

Some of the children told the visiting lawyers that there were no blankets available for them sleeping, forcing some of them to sleep directly on the ground or on a metal bench. Many said they had been confined to their rooms for the duration of their stay.



A makeshift Customs and Border Protection processing center under the Anzalduas International Bridge in Grapen, Texas.

Ms. Welch said the lawyers were not allowed by the Justice Department to go inside the facility, but instead were allowed to interview about 20 children brought to a portable unit.

She said that they received a list, several pages long, of more than 1,000 children who were being housed at the facility, and that a "staggering" number of them were children under the age of 10. "One child told me that she had 17 brothers and sisters," Ms. Welch said. "Obviously, the border authorities are overwhelmed with the numbers."

She said most of the children interviewed, who ranged in age from 8 to 13 years, said they had been in the tent for five to seven days, in violation of acceptable practice designed to safeguard their well-being.

The American Civil Liberties Union on Monday sent a letter to Alejandro Mayorkas, the homeland security secretary, calling on the Biden administration to limit detention of migrants at the border, hold its staff members accountable and establish a humane asylum system.

Border Patrol has a long history of holding people in inhumane conditions, Shaw Drake, staff attorney for the A.C.L.U. of Texas, said. "These facilities should keep migrants for as little time as possible, especially children."

"The Biden administration needs to work quickly to find alternatives."

In response to the recent surge

in arrivals, the Biden administration is directing the Federal Emergency Management Agency to assist in processing and finding shelters for the children. The agency, which normally provides financial assistance during natural disasters, will help find shelter space and provide "food, water and basic medical care" to thousands of young migrants. The Biden administration has also deployed Health and Human Services officials to border facilities, where the children are held before being moved to shelters, to help quickly identify their sponsors.

The administration also has asked officials in the Department of Homeland Security to volunteer "to help care for and assist unaccompanied minors" who have been held in border facilities.

But the infrastructure along the border, largely designed for single men, has not adjusted to the demographic shift to children and families, who began to arrive in large numbers in 2013. Finding suitable housing has been a challenge for several administrations.

Most of the children are being placed under Covid-19 quarantine for 10 days in shelters around the country, which is delaying their release to family members or

other sponsors—and creating the bottleneck in border facilities like the one in Donna.

The government last month opened an emergency shelter in Carrizo Springs, Texas, with a 700-bed capacity.

Jeff Hild, deputy assistant secretary for legislation at the Department of Health and Human Services, said the agency expected to decide soon about the feasibility of the NASA site in California.

He said that another such site in Homestead, Fla., which has previously housed more than 1,700 migrant youth, is in "warm status." Immigrant advocates have reported construction activity there in recent weeks.

Gov. Greg Abbott of Texas blamed the border crisis on the Biden administration's immigration policies.

"The Biden administration's reckless open-border policies have created a humanitarian crisis for unaccompanied minors coming across the border," he said in a statement. "With no plan in place, the administration has created heart-breaking and inhumane conditions for children who are being held in Texas."

Despite the current space constraints, immigration groups that have long worked along the border cautioned against describing the situation with a sense of alarm.

Marisa Linón Garza, deputy director of the Hope Border Institute in El Paso, said various factors were contributing to the rising numbers of migrants at sev-

eral border sites—including the changing of the seasons, hurricanes in Central America and the gradual phasing out of a requirement that many asylum seekers wait in Mexico while their applications are being considered.

"We don't see this as a crisis," said Ms. Linón Garza, whose organization has been briefed by administration officials on the treatment of migrant families at border facilities. "Spring is the natural time for migration because of the cold of the winter and the heat of the summer. We also know that the Trump administration really did quite a bit of damage within the bureaucracy, so putting that all together, that's the context we're in."

Similarly, Linda Rivas, the executive director at Las Americas Immigrant Advocacy Center in El Paso, said the uptick this year resembled the migration flows she had seen in seven years as a practicing immigration lawyer, with more people heading north than in the spring approaches.

But Ms. Rivas also expressed concern over the challenges the Biden administration faced as it tried to work with an immigration system that the previous administration overhauled with the aim of making it exceptionally difficult to apply for asylum in the United States because there's still a lot of rebuilding to do."

88 New York landlords Accused of Housing Bias

By MATTHEW HAAG

The caller was a woman looking to move with her boyfriend into a studio apartment on the Upper East Side of Manhattan, advertised for \$1,751 a month. The man, who answered, the real estate broker, on the listing, said he would be happy to show them the place.

The woman, however, had one last question: Would the landlord accept her federal housing voucher for tenants of lesser means, known as Section 8?

"I see accept what? Oh, no, she would not," Harris Philip, an independent broker, told the woman, who was actually an undercover investigator for a watchdog group. "She just doesn't. She wants well-qualified people."

That exchange, secretly recorded by the group, Housing Rights Initiative, in February 2020 and shared with The Times, is part of a sweeping lawsuit filed on Monday in federal court in Manhattan that accuses 88 brokerage firms and landlords in New York City of discriminating against people with housing vouchers.

The suit records dozens of conversations recorded by investigators, who posed as prospective tenants, that detail the extraordinary challenges faced by renters using Section 8, essentially a guarantee of housing from the federal government that has been a pillar of rental support for many American families.

Enacted in 1978, Section 8 is a \$22 billion annual program managed by the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development but administered by local housing authorities. New York City receives the largest share in the country.

In New York, those renters are primarily Black and Latino. More than 125,000 households in the city use Section 8 housing vouchers.

The companies named in the suit include small landlords and brokers, as well as large, national companies, like Comstock, the Corcoran Group and a Century 21 franchise office in Manhattan.

For landlords and brokers, particularly in the City, the program can involve bureaucratic challenges, including having to inspect and review and sign off on the health and safety of a unit before it is rented. But those additional steps cannot be used as grounds to deny a Section 8 tenant.

A spokeswoman for the Corcoran Group said that the company was committed to "upholding the principles of the Fair Housing Act," referring to the 1968 federal law, as well as "offering comprehensive education and training programs for our employees and affiliated sales agents."

"We take these allegations seriously," the spokeswoman said. A spokesman for the Century 21 corporate office declined to discuss the case but said that the company does not tolerate any discrimination. Compass did not respond to a request for comment.

Mr. Philip, the broker for the Upper East Side apartment, said in an interview that he did not recall that conversation last year but knew it was illegal in New York to discriminate against someone because of their source of income.

"I would never say anything straightforward like this because I do consider Section 8 qualified," Mr. Philip said, adding that he had been a broker for 40 years but had never rented to someone with a voucher. "Maybe she rubbed me the wrong way."

For years, undercover operations have been frequently used to expose potential discrimination in both the rental and homeowner markets. The method is also used by government investigators, including those who target Section 8 discrimination.

The lawsuit raises questions not only about widespread bias against voucher recipients but also about the blatant flouting by agents and property owners of both New York City and New York State laws that prohibit discrimination against people because of their source of income.

Because unused vouchers expire in 120 days without an extension, each rejection is a significant setback in trying to find an apartment, which is already difficult in New York's expensive rental market.

Our goal here is simple: It's to get real estate companies to abandon their discriminatory housing practices and follow the damn law," said Aaron Carr, the founder and executive director of the Housing Rights Initiative, which started in 2016. "They are the gatekeepers of housing and get to decide where families live, where they work and where children go to school. Housing discrimination goes beyond the walls of housing."

The lawsuit seeks unspecified



Nancy Padilla spent hundreds on nonrefundable apartment application fees before finding one that would accept her housing voucher.

monetary damages and for the discriminatory practices to be stopped.

The Community Housing Improvement Program, an organization that represents landlords in New York, called the Section 8 program a "bureaucratic nightmare" that needs to be overhauled. The group was not named in the suit.

"Tenants, housing providers and elected officials all see the failings of the current voucher system," Jay Martin, the group's executive director, said on Monday. "There must be no tolerance for income discrimination."

During its yearlong investigation, the Housing Rights Initiative identified apartments across the city that would have been affordable to a renter with a housing voucher. The group built a profile of a prospective tenant, often that of a working-class woman with good credit, and recorded 477 telephone conversations about units found on the listing site StreetEasy.

Many calls lasted several minutes, as the broker or landlord described the unit and asked about the tenant's background. In 49 percent of those conversations, however, the broker or landlord ended the conversation as soon as

the undercover investigator mentioned the voucher — with some even hanging up, according to the suit.

The group heard a range of reasons for a rejection. Some were subtle — "I don't think this apartment would work for your needs," a Corcoran broker said about a Manhattan apartment — while many were explicit, stating outright that the vouchers would not be accepted.

Tamaine Hamilton grew up in the foster care system, moved into transitional housing three years ago and has spent that time trying to find an apartment that will accept his Section 8 voucher. He said he has submitted more than 75 apartment applications and has yet to be accepted.

"I'll never give up because I don't have the luxury to give up," Mr. Hamilton, 26, said.

Some of the allegations in the lawsuit mirror findings by the New York City Commission on Human Rights, the agency that investigates claims of income discrimination and that since 2014 has obtained more than \$1.2 million in penalties and damages from landlords.

The pandemic has hampered the commission's work — its in-

come discrimination unit is down to three people after two employees left last year, though the commission's larger staff of attorneys helps out on cases. They cannot be replaced until the city lifts a hiring freeze that has been continued during the outbreak, a commission spokeswoman said.

"The cases that are filed are a fraction of the discrimination that's actually experienced," said Katherine Carroll, an assistant commissioner in its Law Enforcement Bureau.

The New York Attorney General's office also investigates allegations of income discrimination and has a form for tenants to submit complaints. A spokeswoman said most complaints are resolved with the office sending a cease-and-desist letter to end the discriminatory practices.

The suit accuses brokers and landlords of violating the city's and state's income discrimination laws, among the most protective in the country for tenants with housing vouchers.

"Between legal services providers, civil rights law firms and oversight agencies, there aren't enough people to deal with this widespread issue," said Robert Desir, an attorney at the Legal Aid Society, which was involved in the

lawsuit. "Our hope is that through these lawsuits and publicizing the situation, we can bring people to task, especially owners who have access to a large number of apartments."

The New York City Housing Authority, the country's largest Section 8 provider, has a wait list of 36,000 applicants, the agency said. People trying to leave shelters and survivors of domestic violence are given preference.

Section 8 housing recipients typically pay 30 percent of their monthly income toward rent, with the voucher covering the balance of the rent and utilities.

For Nancy Padilla, who spent 20 years living in shelters after leaving an abusive relationship, the excuses and rejections cited in the lawsuit sounded familiar.

After bouncing among shelters, Ms. Padilla finally found an apartment in Queens in 2018 that would accept her Section 8 voucher. But she said she spent hundreds of dollars on nonrefundable apartment application fees, just to be denied when she mentioned the voucher.

"The roller-coaster ride they put me in, I had a mental break down," Ms. Padilla, 58, said. "You are playing with someone's life."

As Cuomo Confronts Crisis, His Lieutenant Balances Loyalty and Political Future

By KATIE GLUECK

BUFFALO — On the day that embattled Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo lost the support of the New York State Senate leader, marking the start of the most perilous week of his career yet, the woman who could succeed him in office was celebrating National Cereal Day.

"Nothing like waking up to the smell of Cheerios in the air," Lt. Gov. Kathy Hochul wrote on Twitter last Sunday, in a parochial nod to the Buffalo-based General Mills plant. "Hope everyone enjoys a bowl of NY-made cereal this morning."

With Albany engulfed in controversy, Ms. Hochul has sought to exude an attitude of normalcy through her carefully controlled public appearances and statements. In recent days, she has tended to local Chambers of Commerce, addressed events focused on women and deployed a stream of often-chipper, emoji-laden tweets. On Friday, she livestreamed her Covid-19 vaccination.

Yet as Mr. Cuomo confronts the greatest political crisis of his decade in power, it is clear that the 40-year-old lieutenant governor has entered a new, challenging and increasingly high-profile phase of her own.

Ms. Hochul, a veteran politician who would be New York's first woman governor if Mr. Cuomo resigns or is removed from office, has earned coverage in Vogue and on the cover of *Elle* magazine, and has been the subject of a search interest in her name.

The chairman of the Republican Party of New York inveighed against Ms. Hochul at an event last week in her hometown, Buffalo, seeking to tie her to the governor's challenges. People around her describe bursts of new outgoing energy from party members, lobbyists and county chairs.

And some lawmakers across the state are openly discussing their desire to deal with her in secret with Mr. Cuomo, who has been a vocal supporter of her.



Lt. Gov. Kathy Hochul after a debate against her primary challenger, Jumaane Williams, in 2018.

day opened an impeachment inquiry into Mr. Cuomo.

Ms. Hochul has indicated that she supports an independent investigation into allegations of sexual harassment against Mr. Cuomo, who is now facing a chorus of calls to resign from lawmakers in Albany and Washington, D.C., and has apologized for very little about the governor recently.

"She's in a difficult position," said former Representative John J. LaFalce, a longtime boss of Ms. Hochul's, describing her as having been both an "extremely loyal" lieutenant to Mr. Cuomo, and typically "one of the most outspoken persons against any type of sexual harassment."

The governor has strenuously insisted that he never "touched anyone inappropriately," though he has apologized for other aspects of his conduct. He has also made clear that he has no intention of resigning, and may seek a fourth term, all real possibilities at an extraordinarily fluid and unpredictable moment in New York politics.

Still, Mr. Cuomo's turf has never been more rocky.

He faces an independent investigation into accusations of sexual harassment, and separately, a federal inquiry into his administration's handling of nursing home deaths during the pandemic.

Much of New York's congressional delegation has called for his resignation. And if impeachment proceedings reached the point of a trial, Ms. Hochul would serve as acting governor.

It is against this uncomfortable backdrop that Ms. Hochul, 62, is being reintroduced to New Yorkers.

While she has been part of the Cuomo administration as it moved to the left in recent years and has certainly embraced that shift, Ms. Hochul has generally been perceived as a relative moderate, and earlier in her career, even as a more conservative Democrat on some matters.

Indeed, as the Erie County clerk, she was a vocal opponent of efforts to offer driver's licenses to undocumented immigrants. As a member of Congress, she received an "A" rating from the National Rifle Association, though over the years she has said that her views on both matters have changed, and, her allies note, she has long been supportive of other top Democratic priorities, including abortion rights.

"I would call Kathy a Joe Biden Democrat," said Len Lennihan, formerly the longtime chairman of the Erie County Democratic Committee. "She's very good with the base of the party but has ability to appeal to people beyond the solid base."

There are still signs that Mr. Cuomo has maintained support in the state: A Siena College poll released on Monday suggested that more New Yorkers than not believe that he has committed sexual harassment, but half of those surveyed say that he should not immediately resign.

Outside of a prominent local pub, where a Democratic councilman was hosting a fish fry fund-

New scrutiny on Kathy Hochul as she navigates rocky turf.

raiser, Lori Murrone, 51, said that Mr. Cuomo "has maintained more than I think she seems more fair." But, she said, "I don't know if he needs to be impeached."

Troy Brabashat, 38, added, "I don't think it's fair to rush any decision. He's been the only level-headed thing that helped us get through the pandemic."

As for Ms. Hochul, he said, while her office has been helpful, "I don't really have opinions."

Polls show that Ms. Hochul is well-liked among voters around New York despite twice winning

statewide office after a steady rise in politics, beginning as a Capitol Hill aide to Mr. LaFalce and Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

In 2011, she made national headlines for winning a special election for a congressional seat that favored Republicans, after the Republican incumbent, Christopher Lee, resigned after a shillier piece of himself that he sent to a woman surfaced online. Ms. Hochul ran as an energetic campaigner who skillfully turned the race into a referendum on Republican plans for Medicaid.

But after a redistricting process that made her the most Republican district in the state — and after, according to The Buffalo News, Mr. Cuomo did not act on her request to intervene in the reapportionment process — she was out at the end of 2012.

Two years later, Mr. Cuomo named her to his ticket.

She was seen as adding a measure of diversity to the team, because of both her gender and her geographic ties to western and upstate New York. But she was not a popular lieutenant governor, said that he gave Ms. Hochul some advice.

"I told her that Andrew had a big ego and that the best thing she could do would be to avoid anything he would consider to be threatening," Mr. Ravitch said. She emphasized the Cuomo administration's record, so much so that in one re-election debate in 2018, she declined to specify an area of disagreement with Mr. Cuomo or an area where she had changed his mind.

Yet the two have rarely appeared together. And, generally, out of Mr. Cuomo's day-to-day decision-making, Ms. Hochul has spent much of her time away from Albany, making a habit of visiting the state's 62 counties each year and revving in regional politics. She has also been engaged around a number of policy priorities, including promoting gender equality and economic development and combating the opioid epidemic.

Many who know Ms. Hochul describe her as accessible, sharp and even-tempered. "She's the former team 'likable' is often a fraught one when used to assess female politicians," Mr. LaFalce helpfully aid. "I've never met anybody as likable as Kathy," he said. Taken together, her personality cuts a sharp contrast with Mr. Cuomo's famously domineering approach.

At one point, Mr. Cuomo pub-

licly suggested that she would be a strong candidate for a deeply Republican Buffalo-area congressional seat in 2018, which was perceived by many as a barely veiled effort to coax her off the ticket. At the time, there were initial internal discussions about whether he needed a more progressive running mate or a person of color, with ties to downstate, people familiar with the conversations said.

A spokesman for Mr. Cuomo declined to comment.

Ms. Hochul declined to stay put, and won more counties in the 2018 Democratic primary than Mr. Cuomo did — though he won his primary contest by around 30 percentage points. The lieutenant governor defeated Jumaane D. Williams, now the New York City public advocate, by just under seven percentage points in her primary contest.

If Ms. Hochul becomes governor, people close to her say, she will seek election for a full term next year. But short of that, any number of scenarios are possible, with or without Mr. Cuomo's support. "I haven't heard her say much," Mr. Williams said. "I do hope she'll say a little bit more soon."

Asked if he expected that Ms. Hochul would face a challenge from Mr. Ravitch, the former lieutenant governor, she said there was little Ms. Hochul could accomplish by speaking out further against a boss who had been advising that she stay the course of saying little and watching how the developments unfold.

Asked how she should navigate this moment, he replied, "She doesn't."

Senate Vote Confirms First Native American As Cabinet Secretary

By CORAL DAVENPORT

WASHINGTON — Representative Deb Haaland of New Mexico made history on Monday when the Senate confirmed her as President Biden's secretary of the Interior, making her the first Native American to lead a cabinet agency.

Mrs. Haaland in 2018 became one of the first two Native American women elected to the House. But her new position is particularly redolent of history because the department she now leads has spent much of its history abusing or neglecting America's Indigenous people.

Beyond the Interior Department's responsibility for the well-being of the nation's 1.9 million acres of public land, about 500 million acres of public land, federal waters off the United States coastline, a huge system of dams and reservoirs across the Western United States and the protection of thousands of endangered species.

"A voice like mine has never been in a cabinet secretary or at the head of the Department of the Interior," she wrote on Twitter before the vote. "Growing up in my mother's Pueblo household made me fierce. It'll be fierce for all of us, our planet, and all of our protected land."

Republican opposition to her confirmation centered on Ms. Haaland's history of advocacy against oil and gas exploration, and the deliberations around her nomination highlighted her emerging role in the public debate on climate change, energy policy and racial equity. She was confirmed on a 54-40 vote.

Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the Republican leader, said supporting her confirmation "would be voting to raise gas prices for families who are already struggling, to raise fuel and heating bills for seniors on a fixed income, to take the tough times we've been going through and make them even tougher."

The new interior secretary will be charged with essentially reversing the agency's mission over the last four years. The Interior Department, led by David Bernhardt, a former oil lobbyist, played a central role in the Trump administration's systematic rollback of environmental regulations and the opening up of the nation's lands and waters to drilling and mining.

Mrs. Haaland is expected to quickly halt new drilling, reinstate wildlife conservation rules, rapidly expand wind and solar power on public lands and waters, and place the Interior Department at the center of Mr. Biden's climate agenda.

At the same time, Ms. Haaland will likely assume a central role in realizing Mr. Biden's promise to no racial equity in the role in his administration. Ms. Haaland, a member of the Laguna Pueblo who identifies herself as a 35th-generation New Mexican, will assume control of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Bureau of Indian Education, where she can address the needs of a population that suffered from forced relocation at the hands of the United States government for generations, and that has been disproportionately devastated by the coronavirus.

"You've heard the Earth referred to as Mother Earth," Mrs. Haaland said at her Senate confirmation hearing. "It's difficult to not feel obligated to protect that land. And I feel every Indigenous person in the country understands that."

Lynn Scarlett, who served as deputy interior secretary under George W. Bush and is now a senior official at the Nature Conservancy, warned, "It's an enormous job, an enormously complex job."

"The Interior Department has a footprint in all 50 states," she said. "Its policies touch each and every American."

As the agency takes on a newly muscular role in addressing climate change, she added, the department "will have to deal with new strategies for managing more intense wildfires on public land and chronic drought in the West. It's hard to overstate the challenges ahead."

Among the first and most contentious items on Ms. Haaland's to-do list will be enacting Mr. Biden's campaign pledge to ban new permits for oil and gas projects on public lands.

Already, the White House has placed a short-term halt on issuing new oil and gas leases on public lands, which have been the target of attacks from Republicans and the oil and gas industry.

Mrs. Haaland's ability to implement the ban successfully could have major consequences both for the climate and for the Biden administration. According to one study by Interior Department scientists, the emissions associated with fossil fuel drilling on public lands account for about a quarter of the nation's greenhouse gases. But the policy will most likely be enacted at a time when gasoline

prices are projected to soar — spurring almost certain political blowback from Republican ahead of the 2022 midterm elections.

For the drilling ban to survive legal challenges, experts say, Mrs. Haaland will have to move with care.

"They may attempt a total ban, but that would be more vulnerable to a court challenge," said Marcella Burke, an energy policy lawyer and former Interior Department official. "Or there's the 'death by a thousand cuts' approach."

That approach would make oil drilling less feasible by creating such stringent regulations and cleanup rules that exploration would not be worth the cost.

"Each step will be challenged in the courts, but it's like diversifying your portfolio," Ms. Burke said. "It lowers the risk that one single ban will be thrown out in courts."

Complicating Ms. Haaland's efforts to formulate new land management policies will be a logistical hurdle: the planned relocation office, the Bureau of Land Management, an agency within the Interior Department that oversees oil and gas drilling policies. The bureau is expected to move back to Washington from Grand Junction, Colo., where it was moved by the Trump administration.

"You need to move that back to D.C. and build it back," said Joel Clement, a former Interior Department expert in climate change policy who resigned from the agency in protest of the Trump administration policies. "The



PHOTO BY GREGG JENNINGS
Representative Deb Haaland

A 35th-generation New Mexican leads the Interior Dept.

staff, the budget — all these people who were supposed to work with Congress on these policies were pushed out West, or they left," he said. "They are hugely demoralized."

Mrs. Haaland is also expected to revisit the Trump administration's rollback of habitat protections under the Endangered Species Act. Under the Trump rules, it became easier to remove a species from the endangered list, and for the first time, regulators were allowed to conduct economic assessments — for instance, estimating lost revenue from a prohibition on logging in a critical habitat — when deciding whether a species warrants protection.

Such rules led to an exodus of staff, particularly from the Fish and Wildlife Service, Mr. Clement said.

"There's a rebuilding that needs to happen there," he said.

The Interior Department also must submit a detailed new plan by June 2022 that lays out how the federal government will manage the vast outer continental shelf off the American coastline, an area rich in marine wilderness and undersea oil and gas resources.

Given Mr. Biden's pledge to ban new drilling, the new offshore management plan will quite likely reimpose Obama-era policies that barred oil exploration on the entire East and West coasts of the United States — while possibly going further, by limiting drilling along the coasts of Alaska and in the Gulf of Mexico. But writing the legal, economic and scientific justifications will be difficult.

"They have to get started and really get cracking," said Jacqueline Savitz, a vice president of Oceana, an environmental group. The department is expected to help ramp up offshore wind farms. Last week, the agency took another step toward approving the nation's first large-scale offshore wind farm, near Martha's Vineyard, Mass., a project that had been in the works for years.

"This administration is in a position to make large-scale offshore wind a reality for the first time," Ms. Savitz said. "But the transition in the ocean from offshore fossil fuels to wind farms needs to happen in the next four years, so it's in place before the next administration."

By MAGGIE HABERMAN and SHANE GOLDMACHER

So far, President Biden has made only a passing comment on the crises that have engulfed Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo, and he seems to be hoping to avoid getting pulled in any further.

But as a longtime friend of the New York governor, Mr. Biden is one of the very few people in the nation with the potential to prevent a protracted standoff between an increasingly isolated Mr. Cuomo and the rest of the Democratic Party. That has strained Mr. Biden's efforts to stay firmly on the sidelines as the governor faces a fusillade of calls to resign.

Mr. Cuomo is confronting a spiraling set of allegations and investigations involving sexual harassment, a toxic workplace, the manipulation of the number of deaths at New York nursing homes and perceived loyalty tests from police officers.

Mr. Biden and Mr. Cuomo have not spoken, people close to both men said. Asked on Sunday night whether Mr. Cuomo should resign, Mr. Biden's attorney, had tried to say that investigation is underway, and we should see what it brings us.

The governor and his allies have urged people to wait for the results of investigations to buy time, in the hope of stabilizing Mr. Cuomo's support. And Mr. Biden appears inclined to give him that time — at least for now.

But a prolonged period of intraparty sparring over Mr. Cuomo's future could be problematic for Mr. Biden. It threatens to distract from his early priorities, including mass vaccination efforts, and his party's imperative to sell the public on the nearly \$2 trillion stimulus package Mr. Biden signed into law last week.

The New York Times and Washington Post reported over the weekend that Larry Schwartz, the governor's vaccine czar and a longtime lieutenant, had tried to assess the loyalty of county executives to Mr. Cuomo during phone calls about vaccine distribution — drawing particular attention at the White House on Monday.

Jen Psaki, the White House press secretary, said that the reports were "concerning" and that Mr. Schwartz's calls were "inappropriate reported behavior."

The calls prompted one executive to file a preliminary complaint with the state attorney general's office, Mr. Schwartz said. Mr. Schwartz denies that he discussed vaccines in a political context.

Ms. Psaki insisted there were "checks" in the system to prevent the vaccine from being distributed based on favoritism.

On Tuesday, the White House will hold its weekly call on the coronavirus with the National Governors Association, which Mr. Cuomo typically leads as chairman of the group. Ms. Psaki said she expected Mr. Cuomo would join the call, adding, "We'll leave that up to him."

Both of New York's senators, Chuck Schumer and Kirsten Gillibrand, called on Mr. Cuomo to resign last Friday, along with most of the state's Democratic congressional delegation. One factor in the timing for members of Congress to make these announcements in quick succession was the desire not to overshadow Mr. Biden's signing of the pandemic relief package, according to people involved in the discussions.

Mr. Cuomo was surprised by the statement from Ms. Gillibrand and Mr. Schumer; he had believed earlier that day that they would not join the calls against him, according to someone familiar with his thinking.

Still, the governor has flatly refused to contemplate resignation while questioning the motives of the women who have accused him of sexual harassment, invoking "cancel culture," a favorite Republican talking point, as he dug in on Friday.

"There's a job to do, and New Yorkers elected the governor to do it," Richard Azzopardo, a senior adviser to Mr. Cuomo, said Monday. "He remains focused on vaccine distribution and a state budget that's due in two weeks, and we're thankful for the help that the White House has provided on both those fronts."

During the presidential campaign, Mr. Biden successfully avoided getting dragged into controversies that didn't directly relate to him. But the bullying behavior Mr. Cuomo is accused of is contrary to the standard Mr. Biden has set for his own White House.

There are two investigations into the sexual harassment allegations against Mr. Cuomo, one overseen by the state attorney general's office and another by the State Assembly.

A senior administration official said Mr. Biden's desire to stay away from driven partly by his personal relationship with Mr. Cuomo and partly by pragmatism.

Should he eventually become drawn into the issue, Mr. Biden's options range from encouraging Mr. Cuomo to resign to asking him not to run for office again in 2022, as the governor has indicated he still plans to do.

"Biden has a long friendship

Biden Stays on the Sidelines of the Cuomo Saga



ANDREW KUROMA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
If drawn into the issue, President Biden could encourage Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo to resign or to not seek a fourth term in 2022.

with Cuomo, and I think he and [Nancy] Pelosi and others are clearly hoping the situation will resolve itself through this investigative process, and they're giving him that much less, but how tenuous that will be over time is very questionable," said David Axelrod, a former senior adviser to then-Gov. David Patterson.

While it would be an extraordinary move for Mr. Biden to intervene, there is precedent for a Democratic president wading into a messy situation involving a New York governor of his own party. In 2009, Mr. Obama delivered a message through intermediaries to then-Gov. David Patterson that he wanted him not to run for another term the following year.

Mr. Patterson, mired in constant controversy, had become an unwanted distraction for the Obama administration; he soon announced he would not run again, opening the way for Mr. Cuomo to run in 2010.

But there was a significant difference between Mr. Patterson and Mr. Cuomo: Mr. Patterson's poll numbers were dismal, at 21 percent approval in June 2009, and threatened the Democrats' hold on a seat that a Republican, George Pataki, had held for three terms, until 2006.

Mr. Cuomo has much stronger support from his constituents. A new Siena College poll on Monday showed that only 33 percent of New York voters want Mr. Cuomo to resign immediately (and only 25 percent of Democrats), though the survey was taken mostly before the wave of congressional denunciations.

Still, support for Mr. Cuomo has eroded significantly from the

heights of his coronavirus press briefings in the spring of 2020 — when he hit 71 percent approval — and even from February, when his approval among all voters was 56 percent in a Siena College poll.

His current approval rating, 43 percent, is lower than his disapproval rating, 45 percent. Among Democrats, however, his support remains high, at 59 percent, the survey showed, and 61 percent among Black voters.

Already, a majority of state legislators — and more than 40 percent of Democratic lawmakers in

Hoping to avoid getting pulled into an intraparty clash.

Albany — have called for Mr. Cuomo's resignation. The State Assembly has launched an impeachment inquiry, and beyond Mr. Biden, the politician with the most control over Mr. Cuomo's fate is the Assembly speaker, Carl E. Heastie, who will determine if and when to proceed.

Impeaching and removing a governor is a serious undertaking, and Mr. Cuomo can hope that it is too big a leap even for those who signed a letter urging his resignation.

"Calling the Legislature's bluff on an impeachment vote, he recognizes casting a vote for impeachment is a heavy vote for many to make," said Eileen Sellers, a former member of the South Carolina House of Representa-

tives, who voted to impeach then-Gov. Mark Sanford in 2009. (Mr. Sanford was eventually censured.)

"The state is about to be flush with Covid cash," Mr. Sellers said. "Better days ahead for constituents. Hang on until you become everyone's favorite bank."

Some members of Congress and their aides were put off by a statement that the former senator member of the delegation, Representative Nita Lowey, of Westchester, had made in defense of Mr. Cuomo, according to a person familiar with the matter. The members had the sense that Ms. Lowey was inappropriately "instrumentalized" as a shield for Mr. Cuomo, the person said, adding that while it wasn't the precipitating event for other members to speak out last Friday, it had left an impression.

A member of the Cuomo family had reached out to Ms. Lowey before her statement, according to another person familiar with the events.

"That's ridiculous," Ms. Lowey added. "I don't get used for things like that." She said she's known the Cuomos for decades, since they were neighbors in Queens.

Mr. Biden and Mr. Cuomo have been relatively close politically in recent years. In 2015, when Mr. Biden was considering a belated run for president, they met in New York; though Mr. Cuomo was formally backing Hillary Clinton at the time, he did not discourage Mr. Biden from a White House run.

In 2018, when Mr. Cuomo faced a primary challenge of his own from Cynthia Nixon, the actress and activist, Mr. Biden offered a full-throated endorsement of Mr. Cuomo at the New York Democratic Party convention.

Mr. Biden's fondness for Mr. Cuomo does not necessarily extend to the staff level. The governor's sharp-edged political operation has jaded at many people in his path over the years.

Mr. Biden tapped Mr. Cuomo for a prime-time speech on the first night of the Democratic convention last year at the height of the governor's popularity. The pre-recorded address, which did not mention Mr. Biden by name until near the end, was thrust on convention organizers with little opportunity for revision, according to people involved in the process; they said the Cuomo team was among the most difficult to work with in planning the entire four-day event.

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Labor Battle Spikes Anxiety at Met Opera

From Page A1

lion in earned revenues, says it will need to survive. When the musicians resisted, the Met offered to begin temporarily paying them up to \$1,534 a week — less than half their old pay, but something — if they simply returned to the negotiating table, a proposal the musicians are weighing.

Now the Met's increasingly rancorous labor battles — it has locked out its stagehands, and outsource some set construction to Wales — are adding more uncertainty to the question of when the opera house can reopen after its long pandemic shutdown.

The toll on the players has been steep.

Benjamin Bowman, 41, is one of the orchestra's two concertmasters — a leader of the first violin section who serves as a conduit between players and maestros. He and his family moved to Stuttgart, Germany, where he took a temporary job with the state orchestra. Daniel Khalikov, 37, a violinist, has been struggling to make the \$2,600-a-month loan payments for his two violins. Angela Qianwen Shen, 30, a violinist who is not able to collect unemployment because she is in the United States on a visa, picked up some translation work.

And Evan Epifanio, 32, the orchestra's principal bassoonist, put his belongings in storage in June and left the city for the Midwest, where he said he and his husband have been dividing their time between the homes of his parents and his in-laws.

"I'm living in my in-laws' basement at the peak of my career," Mr. Epifanio said. "I'm a one-trick pony, and now I can't even do that."

Over the past year, 10 of the orchestra's 97 members have been fired, a stark increase from the two to three who retire in an average year, said Brad Gershenhain, the chairman of the orchestra committee, which negotiates labor issues on behalf of the musicians. Prominent figures in the music world are sounding warnings about the peril the orchestra faces: Riccardo Muti, the revered conductor, said in a statement this year that the "artistic world is in disarray" because of the existence of a great orchestra like the Met's could be in danger and even at risk of disappearing.

But the Met has been financially fragile even before the virus, was forced to shut its doors on March 12, 2020, and it furloughed most of its workers, including those in its orchestra and chorus, in April. (It continued to pay for their health coverage.) In the fall, the Met presented an offer to its employees, which included pay reductions in exchange for significant long-term pay cuts and concessions. The unions resisted. By the end of the year the Met orchestra

was the only major ensemble without a deal to receive pandemic pay, according to the International Conference of Symphony and Opera Musicians.

Then, in December, the company locked out its roughly 300 stagehands after their union, Local One of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, rejected the Met's proposed pay cuts. (In a letter to the union last year, Peter Gelb, the Met's general manager, wrote that the average full-time stagehand cost the Met \$260,000 in 2019, including benefits; the union disputes that number, saying that when the steady extra stage hands who work at the Met regularly, and sometimes full-time, are factored in, the average pay is far lower.)

Mr. Gelb said that the company had no choice but to seek cuts when the pandemic left it in a perilous financial situation.

"Suddenly we had no revenue, we had shut our doors and we had to do immediate triage so that the company would not fall apart and fold," Mr. Gelb said. "We are doing the best we can in terms of keeping the company viable so that they will have jobs to return to."

At the end of last year, the Met offered the unions that represent the orchestra and chorus an olive branch: reduced paychecks for simply coming to the bargaining table. The American Guild of Musical Artists, which represents chorists, dancers and others, accepted the arrangement in January, and its members are receiving paychecks. Local 802 of the American Federation of Musicians has not yet accepted the offer, Adam Krauthamer, the union's president, said, but it is in the final stages of reaching a deal that the orchestra is voting on.

Jeremy McCoy, who rose to assistant principal double bass while playing in the orchestra for 35 years, retired in May. Mr. McCoy, 57, said that he had been contemplating an early retirement, but not quite this early. When he realized that the Met's furlough could last a long time, he said he put in his papers, a decision that would allow him to begin collecting his pension rather than having his expenses eat into his savings indefinitely.

Mr. McCoy said he was repelled by the idea of returning to an adversarial relationship between the musicians and management.

He said he was looking for big concessions and to a toxic environment, he said. The Met said it was seeking to cut the payroll costs for its high-paid musicians by 30 percent — the change in take-home pay would be approximately 20 percent, it said — and that when the first federal stimulus package was returned to pre-pandemic levels, it would restore half of what had been cut. The Met declined to disclose the current aver-



A 2017 rehearsal for the Metropolitan Opera's orchestra. The Met closed in March 2020, and furloughed many workers that April.



Joel Noyes, a cellist with the orchestra, sold his 19th-century Russian bow to continue making his mortgage payments.

age pay of its musicians, but during the run-up to contentious labor negotiations in 2014, officials said that the players had been paid an average of around \$202,000 the prior year.

Many orchestras have reached agreements for lasting pay cuts, including the New York Philharmonic, whose musicians agreed to 25 percent cuts to their base pay through August 2023. Mr. Krauthamer said that the Met Orchestra union had put forward its own proposal, which would cut pay but preserve work rules that the Met was seeking to change.

Some orchestra members have said that they felt betrayed that the opera was not using its musicians in "Met Stars Live in Concert," the pay-per-view recitals it has been producing from opulent settings in Europe. Most feature only piano accompaniment. A Met official with knowledge of the situation

said that for the other performances, members of the company's orchestra were not included because of the difficulties of travel during the pandemic and because of continuing labor negotiations.

The Met Orchestra has started staging its own virtual concerts and collecting donations to distribute to musicians in need. The most recent, starring the soprano Angela Gheorghiu, singing from Romania, began by clarifying that the performance was "not affiliated with the Metropolitan Opera."

Between stagehands and management, the temperature is even higher.

Since the lockout, the work of preparing sets for the coming season has gone to numerous shops elsewhere in this country and overseas. The Met regularly commissions set-building outside the institution, but these jobs had



Tanya Thompson, a union carpenter who has worked at the Met for 15 years, works as a home health aide to make ends meet.

been slated to be done internally.

Sets for two operas scheduled to premiere at the Met next winter, "Rigoletto" and "Don Carlos" are being built by Bay Productions, a company in Cardiff, Wales; the set for "Fire Shut Up in My Bones," will be built in California. With the sets being built elsewhere, the Met's scenic painters are losing work even though they have not been locked out because there is nothing for them to paint, so they remain on furlough, said Cecilia Friederichs, a national business agent for the United States Artists union.

But the company will still need stagehands if it wants the show to go on this fall, said James J. Claffey Jr., the president of Local One. "You don't even get to an opening night without us," he said.

The International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees has launched a lobbying effort urging

lawmakers to support a measure that would block stimulus funds from going to arts organizations that, like the Met, have locked out union employees.

Mr. Gelb said the effort seemed "self-destructive" and that "any attempt to damage the institution will only make it harder for the employees once we return."

Tanya Thompson, a union carpenter who has worked at the Met for 15 years, had planned to return to work there in December. When Local One was locked out, she decided to continue in the new job she had taken over the summer to make ends meet: as an overnight home health aide for older patients.

Mrs. Thompson, 52, said she plans to go back to the opera house as soon as there's a deal.

"I'm a lifer," she said. "We care about what we do and we want the Met to succeed."

Aid Will Help Mass Transit Avoid Harsh Service Cuts

From Page A1

"Transit agencies have taken an enormous hit to revenue," Pete Buttigieg, the transportation secretary, said in a statement on Friday. "To maintain their routes and their employees — they need this federal relief."

The next big piece of legislation Mr. Biden will try to push through Congress, a multibillion-dollar infrastructure spending plan, is also likely to include support for public transit, though the details have not been hammered out.

In New York, home to the largest public transportation network in North America, the transit budget is critical to the region's economic recovery, which depends on trains and buses to carry riders to businesses, like theaters, stores and restaurants, that have been crippled by the pandemic.

"The mortal threat to transit agencies basically comes to an end with the passage of this bill," said Michael A. Sussman, a spokesman for TransitCenter, an advocacy group. "There is still a lot of risk and uncertainty down the line, but it is not going to be on the same scale as what we're seeing talking about as recently as a month or two ago."

Still, transportation experts worry that while the federal aid will help transit agencies avoid immediate respite, state revenue sources the agencies tend to rely on — state and local subsidies and fares — will likely remain suppressed for years.

State and local governments are facing their own economic challenges, while ridership will likely not rebound to pre-pandemic levels anytime soon as many employers continue to allow remote work. Nationwide ridership has plateaued at about 40 percent in recent months, according to the American Public Transportation

Association, a lobbying group.

Last year transportation agencies received a total of \$39 billion from the first two stimulus packages, which helped keep trains and buses running after revenues plummeted and officials scrambled to provide service needed to carry essential workers.

Each city has now scrapped those cuts.

In Washington, transit officials proposed plans to shut down up to 22 of the system's 91 stations, cut nearly half its bus lines, and close stations two hours early each night in 2022. The transit agency in Los Angeles extended a 20 percent service cut on buses and rail lines that had been imposed in April as a temporary measure.

But facing huge deficits in the years to come, many agencies drafted doomsday plans to balance their books.

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Another major city, Boston, said it might resist plans to cut commuter rail service by 11 percent, and would seek to raise fares for commuter rail lines and suspend nine bus routes.

With lawmakers in a rush to distribute emergency aid last spring, the first federal stimulus package provided funds to transit agencies in ways that resulted in less support for larger systems than for smaller agencies, transit experts said.

Mr. Biden's plan, known as the American Rescue Plan, distributed funds according to a formula that would send more money to an agency's budget, directing more money to larger cities, which have borne the brunt of the pandemic.

Washington now likely to be as well as money to provide major sums of money once the pandemic subsidies, transportation experts say transit agencies must walk a fine line, raising fares to make up for lost revenue while finding savings by adjusting train and bus schedules for new commuting patterns.

The federal aid gives them



REAR VIEW FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

three years to restructure their operations to be more efficient," said Andrew Rein, the president of the Citizens Budget Commission, which helped keep trains and buses running after revenues plummeted and officials scrambled to provide service needed to carry essential workers.

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have not yet said when the system, which now closes from 2 a.m. to 4 a.m., will return to round-the-clock service.

There is 100 percent certainty that we are bringing back 24-hour subway service. Period. Full stop," said Patrick J. Foye, the chairman of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, which runs the city's subway, buses and two commuter rail lines.

But the agency — which ended the biggest financial losses of any system in the country — still faces a \$1.5 billion operating shortfall through 2024 and a commuting culture that may look far different even after the pandemic ends.

Major employers in the city expect that over half of office employees will continue to work remotely at least part of the time in the coming years, according to a survey released recently by the Partnership for New York City, an influential business group.

The state's 9-5 commute into a central business district, that pattern, has been broken," said Kathryn Wyldie, the president of the partnership.

Transit officials have already begun tinkering with schedules to

fit new ridership patterns, like adding trains during rush hours that now begin earlier in the morning and afternoon, a reflection of the work schedules of essential workers who compose the bulk of current ridership. Subway ridership has remained at around 30 percent of prepandemic levels in recent months, while bus ridership is around 40 percent of usual.

On the Long Island Rail Road, the M.T.A. has replaced some express service, which caters to suburban white-collar office workers, with more local trains that service riders who live near stations usually bypassed by express routes. The agency is also exploring new fare structures aimed at office workers who will not return to offices five days a week and may not want to buy monthly passes, according to Mr. Foye.

Tasneem Daulta, 33, who lives in Bayside, Queens, and uses the Long Island Rail Road to reach her job as a nanny in Stamford, Conn., said she has commuted by bus in the past because it is cheaper, but prefers the comfort of train cars.

Standing on a platform in Flushing, Queens, on a recent afternoon, she said she was thrilled

Transportation experts warn that while the federal aid offers transit agencies some immediate respite, ridership will likely not rebound to prepandemic levels anytime soon.

that the Long Island Rail Road would discontinue service cuts — which she says has led to crowding — and that her line would provide more local service.

Her station is on a local stop and to get home she usually has to take an express train past her stop and then double back. "I want to save the time," she said.

Still, the ability of the M.T.A. and other transit agencies to improve service and attract more riders will depend on restarting plans put on hold during the pandemic to modernize aging rail networks that are prone to breakdowns and delays.

New York transit officials recently announced that they would commit at least \$6.2 billion to upgrade this year in an effort to jump-start the M.T.A.'s comprehensive effort to overhaul the century-old system.

The latest round of federal aid could raise that commitment to as much as \$10 billion, transit officials say.

The M.T.A. plans to move forward with track work critical to avoiding breakdowns and adding elevators to at least nine stations to make them accessible. The agency also plans to upgrade signals on lines that have retained the most pandemic riders.

Transit officials have signaled that transit agencies should expect aid tailored to capital projects in an infrastructure aid package. Mr. Biden plans to tackle next, including the \$11.3 billion project to build new rail tunnels under the Hudson River.

"I'm going to make sure mass transit gets a good and fair amount of those capital improvements," said Senator Chuck Schumer, the Senate majority leader and a New York Democrat who played a critical role in securing financing for transit agencies during stimulus negotiations. "This is vital to New York's recovery. We could not exist as a city without mass transit."

Nicholas Bogel-Burroughs and Nate Schweber contributed reporting.

Opinion

The New York Times

EDITORIAL

Can Mr. Cuomo Continue to Lead?



DAVID W. HUNTER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Few political families have had more of an impact on New York politics than the Cuomos. Father and firstborn son both had public service woven deep in their DNA, and both developed a reputation for toughness in service of the common good and their own political ambitions.

When we endorsed Andrew Cuomo for another term as governor in 2018, we noted that he was "strategic and at times bullying in his use of power, driven and maddeningly evasive." Supporters and critics, we wrote, agree that Mr. Cuomo is "a formidable political animal."

There is a lot Mr. Cuomo can be proud of. The governor used his considerable political talents to great effect. He persuaded the State Legislature to legalize same-sex marriage, pass strong gun-control legislation and raise the minimum wage, and he saw New York through several crises, from Superstorm Sandy in 2012 to the coronavirus pandemic. Few people understand how to make government work as Mr. Cuomo does.

But those traits translated into a ruthlessness and power that Mr. Cuomo failed to control. Several female staff members have come forward with accounts of sexual misconduct and harassment. These allegations are under investigation by New York Attorney General Letitia James and the State Assembly. Mr. Cuomo says he is confident that investigations will clear his name.

Undergirding these specific accusations is the widespread description of his administration by many former aides as a toxic workplace in which Mr. Cuomo and others ruled by fear and emotional abuse — and drew women whom Mr. Cuomo saw as attractive closer into his orbit, actively encouraging them to wear heels and dress in tight-fitting clothing whenever he was around. In New York politics, Mr. Cuomo's bullying style was an open secret. But the public caught only a glimpse of the dangers of Mr. Cuomo's behavior recently.

It is always preferable to let official investigations run

their course, to establish evidence from accusation. If crimes were committed, they should be fairly adjudicated. But the question of the governor's continued fitness for office is about more than a criminal matter, with different standards.

The reality is that Mr. Cuomo has now lost the support of his party and his governing partners. The Democrats who control the State Legislature appear willing to impeach him, to say nothing of the Republicans. New York's congressional delegation and city leaders, key to his base, have called on him to resign.

Voters, who returned him easily to office, will not have their say until the next election, should he decide to run for re-election.

The governor has jeopardized the public's trust at the worst possible moment. The state is facing the hard and urgent task of vaccinating millions of people and recovering from a pandemic that has killed nearly 50,000 of its residents, sickened hundreds of thousands more and devastated the economy.

Mr. Cuomo, unsurprisingly to anyone who knows him, brushed off calls to step down and railed against what he called "cancel culture." Asked whether he had a consensual relationship with any of the women who have come forward, Mr. Cuomo dodged: "I have not had a sexual relationship that was inappropriate. Period."

What the governor failed to grasp during his news conference on Friday was that he owes the public a far more robust explanation for the slew of credible harassment complaints against him, as well as an articulation of why the public should give him its trust.

At this point, it is hard to see how Mr. Cuomo can continue to do the public's important business without political allies or public confidence.

PAUL KRUGMAN

The Pandemic and the Future City

IN 1957 ISAAC ASIMOV published "The Naked Sun," a science-fiction novel about a society in which people live on isolated estates, their needs provided by robots and they interact only by video. The plot hinges on their lack of physical contact stunts and warps their personalities.

After a year in which those of us who could worked from home — albeit served by as few fortunate humans rather than robots — that sounds about right. But how will we live once the pandemic subsides?

Of course, nobody really knows. But maybe our speculation can be informed by some historical parallels and models.

First, it seems safe to predict that we won't fully return to the way we used to live and work.

A year of isolation has, in effect, provided remote work with a classic case of infant industry protection, a concept usually associated with international trade policy that was first systematically laid out by none other than Alexander Hamilton.

Hamilton asserted that there were many industries that could flourish in the young United States but couldn't get off the ground in the face of imports. Given a break from competition, for example through temporary tariffs, these industries could acquire enough experience and technological sophistication to become competitive.

The infant industry argument has always been tricky as a basis for policy — how do you know when it's valid? And do you trust governments to make that determination? But the pandemic, by temporarily making our former work habits impossible, has clearly made us much better at exploring the possibilities of remote work, and some of what we used to do — long commutes so we can sit in cubicles, constant flying to meetings of dubious value — won't be coming back.

If history is any guide, however, much of

our old way of working and living will, in fact, return.

Here's a parallel: what the internet did and didn't do to the way we read books.

A decade ago many observers believed that both physical books and the book stores that sold them were on the verge of extinction. And some of what they predicted came to pass: e-readers took a significant share of the market, and major bookstore chains took a significant financial hit.

But e-books' popularity plateaued around the middle of the last decade, never coming close to overtaking physical books. And while big chains have suffered, independent bookstores have actually been flourishing.

Why was the reading revolution so limited? The convenience of downloading e-books is obvious. But for many readers

Lessons from Alexander Hamilton and the book trade.

this convenience is offset by subtle factors. The experience of reading a physical book is different and, for many, more enjoyable than reading e-ink. And browsing a bookstore is also a different experience from purchasing online. I like to say that online, I can find any book I'm looking for; in fact, I downloaded a copy of "The Naked Sun" a few hours before writing this article. But what I find in a bookstore, especially a well-curated independent store, are books I wasn't looking for but end up treasuring.

The remote work revolution will probably play out similarly, but on a much vaster scale.

The advantages of remote work — either from home or, possibly, in small offices located far from dense urban areas —

are obvious. Both living and work spaces are much cheaper; commutes are short or nonexistent; you no longer need to deal with the expense and discomfort of formal business wear, at least from the waist down.

The advantages of going back to in-person work will, by contrast, be relatively subtle — the payoffs from face-to-face communication, the serendipity that can come from uncheduled interactions, the amenities of urban life.

But these subtle advantages are, in fact, what drive the economies of modern cities — and until Covid-19 struck these advantages were feeding a growing economic divergence between large, highly educated metropolitan areas and the rest of the country. The rise of remote work may dent that trend, but it probably won't reverse it.

The revival of cities won't be entirely a pretty process; much of it will probably reflect the preferences of wealthy Americans who want big-city luxuries and glamour. "The main problem with moving to Florida is that you have to live in Florida," one money manager told Bloomberg.

But while cities thrive in part because they cater to the lifestyles of the rich and famous — like it or not, their wealth and power do a lot to shape the economy — cities also thrive because a lot of information-sharing and brainstorming takes place over coffee breaks and after-hours beers; Zoom calls aren't an adequate substitute.

Or as the great Victorian economist Alfred Marshall said of his own era's technology centers, "The mysteries of the trade become no mysteries; but are as it were in the air."

So the best bet is that life and work in, say, 2022 will look a lot like life and work in 2019, but a bit less so. We may commute to the office less than we used to; there may well be a glut of urban office space. But most of us won't be able to stay very far from the maddening crowd. □

LETTERS

The Calls for a Resignation in Albany

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Cuomo Is Defiant as Top Democrats Tell Him to Resign" (front page, March 13).

Democrats seem to be forgetting about due process and innocent until proven guilty. If Andrew Cuomo committed crimes, such as reaching inside a woman's blouse without her consent, he is unfit for office. If Mr. Cuomo's behavior is offensive, but not illegal, it should be up to the voters whether this is the guy they want to be their governor.

I am a former prosecutor, and I don't believe that expressing a preference for young, blond women who wear high heels or making inappropriate remarks is a crime. Offensive? Sure. A reason for Chuck Schumer, Kirsten Gillibrand et al. to urge Mr. Cuomo to resign? Doesn't sound right to me. What is the harm of letting the attorney general, Letitia James, complete an investigation?

MICHAEL TIMKO, HOLMDEL, N.J.

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Democratic Lawmakers Initiate Inquiry Into Impeaching Cuomo" (front page, March 13).

For four years we had a president who had paid off former mistresses and reportedly assaulted or harassed many other women. We have Supreme Court justices accused of sexual misdeeds.

I'm old, which doesn't make me tolerant of abuse of women, whether in the home or the workplace, far from it. But women my age distinguished — and I still do — between the Trumps, Kava-nauhs, Weinstains, Cosbys and the millions of males flirring or leering, making suggestive or provocative remarks. The remarks could be laughed off. Yes, and even the occasional pat or kiss at a party. Not the assault in the bedroom, nor the casting couch.

Until someone proves that Gov. Andrew Cuomo actually assaulted a woman or made sex the price of a hire, I see the cries for impeachment and resignation as ridiculous. He guided New York through the worst of the pandemic, a reliable captain through stormy seas. I want him still at the helm.

Baby Bust Is Not the Point

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Our Future With Fewer Births" (Sunday Review, March 7); Melissa S. Kearney and Phillip B. Levine set off a false alarm when their jeremiad about a baby bust triggered in part by Covid-19.

They pointed to a decline in fertility rates in the U.S. when our leaders are reckoning seriously, for the first time, with the imperative of shrinking the devastating environmental footprint of the world's biggest economy.

What America needs is not more people, but more people gainfully employed in high-productivity jobs that are well matched to the overwhelming challenge facing us: ensuring a high quality of life for all segments of American society while reducing to zero the net carbon emissions of our homes, our transportation systems, our offices and retail establishments, our cultural sectors, and our industries. That is the goal that President Biden has set for our country by 2050.

Freeing America from its reliance on fossil fuels is not a burden. It is an opportunity for America to shine as a leader in developing and deploying new technologies that can benefit our own clean-energy ambitions while opening up new global markets for U.S. goods.

Instead of worrying about an utterly predictable dip in pandemic births, let's focus our creativity on managing this gravely battered planet.

PHILIP WARBURG, NEWTON, MASS.

The writer is a senior fellow at Boston University's Institute for Sustainable Energy.

When the Dancing Returns

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "We Longed for Parties" (Sunday Review, March 14).

What a beautiful tribute to touch the to the corporate release of nightlife. As a D.J., I also miss it all.

I miss the great rumbling of bass beats that dancing bodies amplify. I miss the spontaneous high-fives and hugs after a roaring set. I even miss the half-dram drink tickets.

Here's to hoping that we can safely dance and kiss again soon. In the meantime, we'll all have to dance with body pillows in our kitchens.

MEL-ODY CAO, SAN JOSE, CALIF.

As a woman I laughed off many provocative remarks in my career. This is why I don't believe that the real abusers like our former president.

EMITA HILL, LONG ROCHELLE, N.Y.
The writer is former vice president of Lehman College, CUNY.

TO THE EDITOR:

There is no doubt that Gov. Andrew Cuomo is a proud man. But the handwriting is on the wall, as the pressure mounts for him to resign. Yet, there is still time for Mr. Cuomo to leave office with an ounce of dignity, and gracefully resign for the good of New York. Leaving on his own terms would be better than going through an impeachment trial, only to be convicted and forced out. It is time for Mr. Cuomo to swallow the bitter pill.

JOANN LEE FRANK
CLEARWATER, FLA.

TO THE EDITOR:

Let the man stay and let the legal process continue. I'm a 73-year-old woman. I'm also a couples therapist. I know that two people can live the exact same moment and come away with two totally different realities.

I'm not of the mind to "believe all women"; just because they are of my gender. Everyone reacts to things that are said differently. It does sound as if Andrew Cuomo thinks flirting can include invasive, inappropriate questions or remarks. But it's also possible that this has gotten him dates in the past. There are women who would be happy to date Mr. Cuomo, no matter if his version of the come-on was crude.

He clearly hasn't gotten the memo about the current rules of workplace behavior. He has a lot of introspective, psychological work to do. Whether he will do that remains to be seen.

Now that I invite disagreement here. Even my own husband thinks that I'm wrong and that Mr. Cuomo should resign. But people can grow and change.

If he physically assaulted a woman, he has no business holding office. Let the investigators figure out what he did or did not do.

KATHRYN JANUS, CHICAGO

Unionizing at Amazon

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Union Drive at Amazon Turns Into Star-Studded Labor Battle" (front page, March 3).

Heather Knox, an Amazon spokeswoman, says that "Amazon workers vote unionize." It's important for Amazon associates to understand what that means for them and their day-to-day life working at Amazon.

The answer to that, despite Amazon's relentless anti-union propaganda campaign, is pretty simple: Workers will be able to join with others to collectively bargain or wage for benefits and working conditions. That's what unions do, and that's why unions improve workers' lives.

THOM THACKER, IRVINGTON, N.Y.

A Strong Privacy Law

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "America's Privacy Settings Are Wrong" (editorial, March 7).

Changing the default to opt-in for the use of personal data would be a good starting point for a national privacy law, but much more is needed for meaningful data protection.

A baseline federal privacy law should make clear the responsibilities for those companies that choose to collect and use personal data. And the law should establish clear rights for those whose personal data is held by others. Every effort should be made to minimize the collection of personal data where possible.

The United States also needs to update its privacy infrastructure. The Federal Trade Commission can be an effective consumer protection agency, but it has not done well with privacy. We should follow the lead of other democratic countries and establish a data protection agency.

There is real urgency in a comprehensive approach to data protection for the United States. The recently settled privacy case against TikTok made clear that the Chinese government has the twin goals of world domination in A.I. and population surveillance and control.

MARC ROTENBERG, WASHINGTON

The writer is executive director of the Center for A.I. and Digital Policy at the Michael Dukakis Institute.

BRET STEPHENS

America Could Use A Liberal Party

LAST MONTH, Gallup released the results of a survey showing that public support for a third party was at an all-time high: 62 percent, up from 40 percent when Gallup first started polling the issue in 2001. Only 33 percent of Americans are members of "third parties" (no adequate job of representing the American people).

To the extent that the results attracted any notice, it was mainly in the form of a knowing yawn. The reasons a third party probably can't win an election in the U.S. are well known.

Among them: The electoral system, with its first-past-the-post voting and an Electoral College that magnifies margins, is geared toward political duopoly. Just because people claim to want a third party doesn't mean they want the same third party: Libertarian-leaning voters want a free-market party, environmentalists a green one, Trumpians a Trumpy one — but none wants the other in their imaginary third party.

To the extent that third parties have had any traction in the U.S., they have more often been built around regional support (Sirom Thurmond in 1948, George Wallace in 1968) compelling personalities (Teddy Roosevelt in 1912, Ross Perot in 1992), or protest votes (John Anderson in 1980, Ralph Nader in 2000), than on national movements or coalitions.

And so on. But three things are different this time.

First, the Republican and Democratic brands are weak. Party decline is an old story. But in 2016 the Republican Party collapsed in the face of what amounted to a hostile takeover. Democrats are at least risk, helped by Joe Biden's politically astute combination of leftist policies and a centrist tone. But the fact that the Senate majority leader is afraid of a second-term congressman from Queens also says something about the inner weakness of the Democratic Party establishment.

Second, the people who now seem most eager for a third party are at the political extreme. The striking, if unsurprising,

The neglected territory of U.S. politics isn't at the fringes, but the center.

finding of the Gallup survey is that Republican support for a third party jumped by 23 percentage points in the wake of Donald Trump's defeat and his talk of forming a new party. The possibility of a full-blown G.O.P. split in 2024 is obvious.

Third, the neglected territory of American politics is no longer at the liberal fringes. It's at the liberal center. It's the place most Americans still are, temperate and morally sane, big yet still returning to it given the choice.

By "liberal," I don't mean big-state-welfarism. I mean the tenets and spirit of liberal democracy. Respect for the outcome of elections, the rule of law, freedom of speech, and the principle (in courts of law and public opinion alike) of innocent until proven guilty. Respect for the free market, cravenly by sensible regulation and cushioned by social safety nets. Deference to personal autonomy but skepticism of identity politics. A commitment to equality of opportunity, not "equity" in outcomes. A well-governed faith in the economic system, free trade, new technology, new ideas, experiments in living. Fidelity to the ideals and shared interests of the free world in the face of dictators and demagogues.

All of this used to be the more-or-less common ground of American politics, inhabited by Ronald Reagan and the two Bushes as much as by Barack Obama and Mitt Romney. The debates that used to divide the parties — the proper scope of government, the mechanics of trade — amounted to parochial quarrels within a shared liberal faith. That faith steered America in the face of domestic and global challenges from the far right and far left alike.

But now the basic division in politics isn't between liberals and conservatives, as it has been used to be understood. It's between liberals and illiberals.

The illiberalism of the right is typified by the likes of Stephen Miller on immigration, Steve Bannon on trade, Josh Hawley on elections and Marjorie Taylor Greene on every manner of innuendo and bigoted conspiracy theory. It is by far the most dangerous form of illiberalism today, because it is driven by a narcissistic and globalizing elections and, when it loses, subverting them.

But there's also the illiberalism of the left, typified by the excesses of the McTeo movement. The debaters believe the left is anti-Semitism among some leaders of the Women's March, the "antiracism" pedagogy that casts people who disagree with its Manichean worldview into supposed racists, and the cancellations of books, book contracts, speeches and dissenting opinions at places like State and other presumptively liberal institutions. Anyone on the left who hasn't noticed the climate of fear that now grips liberal institutions needs to start paying closer attention.

The new liberalism is frightening. It could also be productive. Everyone who has been bitten by it, left or right, is redemptive. The debaters believe the old liberal faith was, how trivial its internal differences really were, how much they might yet have in common — including common enemies — with people they once regarded as ideological opposites.

This is not a political party, yet. But it could be the seeds of a party. America needs a Liberal Party that represents what we used to be and what we desperately need to become again. □

The Right Way to Boycott the Beijing Olympics

Mitt Romney

AS THE Beijing Olympic Games approach, it is increasingly clear that China, under the control of the Chinese Communist Party, does not deserve an Olympic showcase. Because it is too late to move the Winter Games scheduled for Beijing next February, some have proposed, understandably, that the United States boycott the Games.

China deserves our condemnation. The Chinese Communist Party has reneged on its agreement to allow Hong Kong self-rule; it has brutally suppressed peaceful demonstrators and incarcerated respected journalists. It is exacting genocide against Uighurs and other ethnic minorities; Uighur women are forcefully sterilized or impregnated by Han

Chinese men. Adults, ripped from their families, are sentenced into forced labor and concentration camps. Among ethnic Chinese, access to uncensored broadcast news and social media is prohibited. Citizens are surveilled, spied upon and penalized for attending religious services or expressing dissent.

Prohibiting our athletes from competing in China is the easy, but wrong, answer. Our athletes have trained their entire lives for this competition and have primed their abilities to peak in 2022. When I helped organize the Salt Lake City Games in 2002, I gained an understanding of the enormous sacrifice made by our Olympic hopefuls and their families. It would be unfair to ask a few hundred young American athletes to shoulder the burden of our disapproval.

It could also be counterproductive. The Olympic Games aren't just a show-

case for the host nation, but a platform for values both American and universal. If our athletes skip the Games, millions of young Americans at home might skip watching it. And the Olympic Games are one of the most enduring demonstrations of the great qualities of the human spirit on the world stage: We witness determination, sacrifice, patriotism, endurance, sportsmanship. We would also lose the global symbolism of our young American heroes standing atop the medals podium, hand to their hearts, as "The Star-Spangled Banner" plays on Chinese soil.

Moreover, if an athlete boycott is meant to influence the behavior of the home country or delegitimize its government, it probably won't work. When President Jimmy Carter applied an athlete boycott to the Moscow Olympics in 1980, the result was more medals for

Russians and dashed dreams for American athletes. No one seriously believes it improved Soviet behavior.

So if we should't forbid American athletes to compete, then how should we meaningfully repudiate China's atrocities? The right answer is an economic and diplomatic boycott of the Beijing Olympics. American spectators — other than families of our athletes and coaches — should stay at home, preventing us from contributing to the enormous revenues the Chinese Communist Party will raise from hotels, meals and tickets. American corporations that routinely send large groups of their customers and associates to the Games should send them to U.S. venues instead.

Rather than send the traditional delegation of diplomats and White House officials to Beijing, the president should invite Chinese dissidents, religious leaders and ethnic minorities to represent us.

An economic and diplomatic boycott should include collaboration with NBC, which has already done important work to reveal the reality of the Chinese Communist Party's repression and brutality. NBC can refrain from showing any jingo-

Repudiate China's abuses without unfairly punishing our athletes.

istic elements of the opening and closing ceremonies and instead broadcast documented reports of China's abuses.

We should enlist our friends around the world to join our economic boycott. Limiting spectators, selectively shaping our respective delegations and refraining from broadcasting Chinese propaganda would prevent China from reaping many of the rewards it expects from the Olympics.

Finally, America and the nations of the free world need to have a heart-to-heart with the International Olympic Committee. The I.O.C. has hoped that awarding Games to repressive regimes would tend to lessen their abuses. But hope has too often met a different reality — in Hitler's Germany, Putin's Russia and Xi's China. In authoritarian states, the Olympics has more often been a tool of propaganda than a lever of reform.

Let us demonstrate our repudiation of China's abuses in a way that will hurt the Chinese Communist Party rather than our American athletes: reduce China's revenues, shut down its propaganda, and expose its abuses. An economic and diplomatic boycott of the Beijing Olympics — while proceeding with the Games — is the right answer. □

MITT ROMNEY is a U.S. senator from Utah and former governor of Massachusetts.



DAVID CHAPMAN

Justice Breyer Should Retire Right Now

Paul F. Campos

JUSTICE RUTH BADER GINSBURG was widely, and deservedly, criticized for her refusal to retire from the Supreme Court at a time when a Democratic president could have chosen her replacement.

Justice Stephen Breyer is making a similar and arguably even more egregious mistake.

The evident indifference on the part of Democrats regarding the failure of Justice Breyer, 82, to announce his retirement is apparently a product of the assumption that he will do so at some point during the current Congress but that when exactly is not particularly important.

This is a grave mistake. Consider that the shift of a single Senate seat from the Democrats to the Republicans or even one vacancy in the 50 seats now controlled by the Democratic caucus would probably result in the swift reinstallation of Mitch McConnell as the majority leader.

What are the odds that something like this — a senator's death, disabling health crisis or departure from office for other reasons — will happen in this Congress's remaining 22 months?

Alarmingly for Democrats, if history is any guide, the odds are quite high. Since the end of World War II, 27 of the 38 Congresses have featured a change in the party composition of the Senate during a session.

The probability that such a shift may occur during this particular Congress may well be even higher than that. At the moment, no fewer than six Democratic senators over the age of 70 represent states where a Republican governor would be free to replace them with a Republican, should a vacancy occur.

Five other Democratic senators represent states for which a vacancy would go unfilled for months, until a special election to fill the seat was held — a situation that would hand the Republicans control of the Senate at least until that election and likely for the rest of the current Congress if a Republican wins that contest. (In the case of Wisconsin, such a vacancy might not be filled until 2023.)

All things considered, the odds that Democrats will lose control of the Senate in the next 22 months are probably close to a coin flip.

Under the circumstances, for Democrats to run the very real risk that they would be unable to replace Justice Breyer is unacceptable. Of course, the only person who is in a position to ensure

Odds are quite high that Democrats will soon lose control of the Senate.

that this does not happen is Justice Breyer himself.

It is true that, under normal circumstances, a Supreme Court justice planning to retire generally waits until the end of a court term to do so. But these are not normal circumstances.

Nothing illustrates the anti-democratic dysfunction of our political system more clearly than the current makeup of the Supreme Court. Two-thirds of the sit-

ting justices were nominated by Republican presidents, even though Republican presidents have lost the popular vote in seven of the nine elections that determined who nominated these justices.

These justices were confirmed by a Senate that has become skewed so radically in favor of elected Republicans that the 50 senators who caucus with the Democrats represent about 41.5 million more Americans than the 30 Republican senators do.

Under the circumstances, it would be a travesty if the Supreme Court seat occupied by Justice Breyer was not filled by a replacement chosen by Democrats.

He should announce his retirement immediately, effective upon the confirmation of his successor. For him to continue to make the same gamble that Justice Ginsburg lost runs the risk of tainting his legacy as a justice and has the potential to be an anti-democratic disaster for the nation as a whole. □

PAUL F. CAMPOS is a law professor at the University of Colorado, Boulder, and writes about law and politics at Lawyers, Guns & Money.

MICHELLE GOLDBERG

How the Left Made Cuomo Vulnerable

THROUGHOUT HIS time as governor of New York, Andrew Cuomo has tried to crush the Working Families Party, a progressive third party founded in 1998 by an alliance of union leaders and community activists.

The Working Families Party doesn't act as a spoiler, like the Green Party. It tries to push the Democratic Party leftward by backing progressives in Democratic primaries, while supporting Democrats in general election contests against Republicans. Because New York has what's called fusion voting, progressives can vote for Democratic candidates on the Working Families ballot line, allowing the party to show its strength and maintain the threshold of votes required to stay on the ballot from year to year.

Cuomo has tried all sorts of things to kill the W.F.P. In 2014, he created the shell Women's Equality Party to siphon votes from Working Families. Unions allied with Cuomo have left the W.F.P., threatening its funding. W.F.P. leaders believe Cuomo twisted their arms. The governor reportedly pressured Lestita James, New York's attorney general and a longtime W.F.P. stalwart, to reject the party as a price of his support in her 2018 race.

He maneuvered to end fusion voting — while denying that that was what he was doing — and used the state budget to triple the number of votes third parties need to keep their ballot lines. According

to Politico, the governor has told people he wants to destroy the party.

Even allowing for his reputation as a vindictive court freak, I never fully understood the amount of energy Cuomo seemed to put into this vendetta. But it turns out he wasn't being paranoid in seeing the W.F.P. as a threat. The 2018 victories of W.F.P.-backed state legislative candidates, part of that year's blue wave, set the stage for Cuomo's current crises. Among the state's progressive activists, Cuomo has long been seen as a thugish

York created new vulnerabilities for him. Before 2018, a bizarre and infrequent deal between Republicans and a conservative Democratic faction called the Independent Democratic Conference prevented Democrats from controlling the State Senate, despite holding a majority of seats. Though Cuomo has denied it, he was reported to be deeply involved in creating the coalition that kept his own party from taking power in the chamber. The arrangement served Cuomo's interests by ensuring that the left couldn't push him farther than he wanted to go, solidifying his control over the state's political agenda.

Defeating the I.D.C. was a major goal of the Working Families Party, and in 2018, a year of historic progressive victories, it succeeded. W.F.P.-backed candidates, including Biaggi, ousted six of the eight I.D.C. senators. Democrats took control of the Senate, and they did so with a bloc of people not beholden to Cuomo.

Speaking of the W.F.P., Biaggi said, "To say that they're critical is not even giving them the credit, frankly, that they deserve for the significance of the role that they played in ushering in new leadership." That new leadership, in turn, has made it easier for Democrats to stand up to Cuomo.

Perhaps the key figure in throwing open the anti-Cuomo floodgates has been As-

semblyman Ron Kim of Queens. He was one of the first Democrats to press for an investigation of Cuomo's handling of nursing homes during the pandemic, and later went public about what he said was the governor's threat to "destroy" him.

When Cuomo started attacking Kim, Kim told me, he was a child. "The impact of his presence, and his orbit of power, is terrifying to a person like me and my family, an immigrant family," he said. (Kim's parents brought him to the U.S. from South Korea when he was a child.) His wife, he said, initially told him, "Stop everything you're doing."

But he didn't, in part because of the new lawmakers backing him up. "Definitely those elections mattered because I found strength in those individual members who won those critical seats," he said.

It's not clear what happens to Cuomo now. As the accusations against him have mounted, so have the calls for him to step down, but a Siena College poll released Monday shows that only 25 percent of New York voters want him to resign immediately.

New York politics, however, have changed irrevocably. The "no I.D.C." campaign was an earthquake that really did shatter the New York political landscape," said Soche Nnaemeka, director of the W.F.P.'s New York chapter. It turns out that Cuomo was right to fear it. □

Those We've Lost

Faces From the Coronavirus Pandemic

Fred Figa, 65

Exposed Risks of a Drug

By GLENN THRUSH

In late 1983, a staff member in the neonatal ward of Fairfax Hospital in Falls Church, Va., had a question for Fred Figa, a young pharmacist who belonged to the hospital unit that investigated the safety of new medicines.

A pharmaceutical company was pitching a new vitamin E injection, marketed under the brand name E-Ferol, as a nutritional supplement for premature babies. It seemed harmless enough. Should they buy it?

Mr. Figa made a flurry of phone calls and discovered that the injection had in fact not been reviewed by the Food and Drug Administration. No, he replied. Hold off. Then he alerted federal investigators.

His diligence would save an untold number of babies' lives.

Mr. Figa and the investigators had stumbled onto a deadly product safety crisis, and a scandal. Officials, aided by Mr. Figa's dogged research, would later find that the F.D.A. had failed to enact safeguards pertaining to E-Ferol's side effects in low-weight newborns — side effects that resulted in the deaths of 38 infants from organ failure in hospitals around the country.

Mr. Figa became a star witness at congressional hearings, and E-Ferol's distributor, O'Neal, Jones & Feldman Pharmaceuticals, was forced to pull the drug from the market in mid-1984.

"He wouldn't let it go — he was the kind of person who would follow something to the nth degree," said his wife, Janice Russell Figa, who was pregnant when Mr. Figa began calling hospitals around the country to map the pattern of problems with E-Ferol.



VIA FIGA FAMILY

Fred Figa's warning saved lives.

Mr. Figa, who went on to work for decades as an in-house legal counsel for the regulatory compliance units of drug companies, died on Feb. 16 in a hospital in Morristown, N.J., near his home in Randolph, he was 65. The cause was complications of the coronavirus, his family said.

Along with his wife, he is survived by two daughters, Elise and Stefanie; a son, Paul; three sisters, Rerik Kimball, Felicia Peterson and Heidi Wolf; and a brother, Romeo.

Solomon Fred Figa was born on Oct. 20, 1955, in Portland, Maine, to Jewish refugees who had fled the Holocaust: Paul Figa, who founded a leather shoe business that specialized in moccasins, and Karola (Holzman) Figa, a seamstress. Fred was one of six children.

He graduated from the pharmacy school at Northeastern University in Boston in 1979 with a bachelor of science degree in pharmacy.

When he exposed the problems with E-Ferol, he was attending night classes at George Mason University's law school in Washington and working part time at the F.D.A., which aided him in his investigation. (He received his law degree in 1989.)

Mr. Figa never sought the spotlight. At first he refused to testify or speak to reporters, puzzled that simply paying attention to the details of his work would garner attention.

He was ever on the lookout for lurking hazards. His daughter Elise said in a phone interview that when she was a teenager, she appeared in a community production of "Peter Pan" as Liza, the maid, a role that required her to simulate flight on suspended wires.

Her father demanded to inspect the apparatus. The director obliged, then told Mr. Figa that they were short a few pirates in the chorus.

"He went to the costume place and got a fake earring and removable tattoo of a big scar across his cheek, and he just had the best time," Mrs. Figa said.

"So, every weekend for about a month, he'd be a pirate, then on Monday he'd go to work as the pharmaceutical lawyer."



OSCAR ELIAS/ARUKÁ JUMA REAL

Aruká Juma said he often thought "about back when there were many of us."

Aruká Juma

Last Man of His Amazon Tribe and Safeguard of Now-Lost Rituals

By MICHAEL ASTOR

Aruká Juma saw his Amazon tribe dwindle to just a handful of people during his lifetime.

Numbering an estimated 15,000 in the 18th century, they were ravaged over years by disease and successive massacres by rubber tappers, loggers and miners. An estimated 100 remained in 1943. A massacre in 1964 left only six, including Mr. Juma, who, like many Indigenous Brazilians, used his tribe's name as his surname.

In 1999, with the death of his brother-in-law, he became the last remaining Juma male. The tribe's extinction was assured. Mr. Juma died on Feb. 17 in a hospital in Porto Velho, the capital of Rondônia state, in western Brazil. He was believed to have been between 86 and 90. The cause was Covid-19, his grandson Pure Juma Uru Eu Wau Wau said.

With the death of Mr. Juma, the last fluent speaker of the tribe's language, many of his people's traditions and rituals will be forever lost.

While most Brazilians would be hard-pressed to recognize his name or even locate his nearly 100,000-acre jungle reservation on a map, Mr. Juma's tribe achieved a certain degree of notoriety. Anti-Indigenous interests often pointed to the tribe as an example of how the government went too far in protecting native peoples, like granting ancestral lands regardless of a tribe's size. Indigenous groups countered that their dwindling numbers resulted from centuries of attacks and government neglect, and that denying the tribes their traditional lands would only reward genocide.

In 1998, under murky circumstances, federal officials removed Mr. Juma and his family from their land and brought them to neighboring Rondônia state in the hope that they would marry into the related Uru Eu Wau Wau tribe as a way to partly preserve their culture.

But Mr. Juma suspected that the move was intended to deprive his family of their

land. He sued to be returned, a case that dragged on for 14 years.

In the meantime, all three of his daughters married Uru Eu Wau Wau men. Mr. Juma also had a daughter with a member of the tribe, Boropo Uru Eu Wau Wau, from whom he separated in 2007. His first wife, Mboreh, died in 1996, while he was in court. The Juma returned to their land in 2012. Mr. Juma was pleased, but some of his daughters' husbands refused to live there. The grandchildren, who speak only Portuguese, had to return to Rondônia to attend school. Mr. Juma, who spoke no Portuguese, expressed frustration about being unable to communicate with his grandchildren and teach them the Juma traditions.

"These days, I feel alone and I feel a lot about back when there were many of us," he told the photographer Gabriel Uchida, who spent time living among the Juma and photographing them, in a 2016 article on the cultural and lifestyle website Rascalab.com. "We were many before the rubber tappers and the prospectors came to kill all the Juma people. Back then, the Jumas were happy. Now there is only me."

Mr. Juma was born in the 1930s in a jungle village on the Açuá River in the state of Amazonas. His father was Aguir Juma and his mother was Borea Juma.

His face was tattooed with lines extending from the ears to the mouth and around the lips, in the warrior tradition. He often wore the warrior's thick belt made from vines, extending up from his waist to cover his lower ribs. In his later years he hunted, fished and farmed in maize, fruits and beans.

Along with his grandson Pure, Mr. Juma is survived by his daughters Mandel, Maiã and Borehã, all from his first marriage, and Juvy, from his second. He had 13 other grandchildren.

To preserve the tribe's memory, some of his grandchildren have included Juma in their surnames before Uru Eu Wau Wau, something anthropologists said was rare among patrilineal Amazon tribes.

Annamarie Reinhart Smith, 61

Labor Advocate Who Stood Up for Toys "R" Us Employees

By STEPHEN KURCZY

Annamarie Reinhart Smith had worked for Toys "R" Us for nearly three decades before the company filed for bankruptcy protection in 2017, leading to store closings and the layoffs of 33,000 workers, including her. Left without severance pay, she vented her frustration on a Facebook page called the Dead Giraffe Society, named after the store's mascot, Geoffrey the Giraffe.

A labor advocacy group that was helping Toys "R" Us workers mobilize to demand compensation, like severance and back pay, took notice and recruited her.

Mrs. Reinhart Smith was soon on Capitol Hill, chasing down legislators and meeting with Senators Bernie Sanders and Cory Booker, among others, to ask for their support. She joined with other former employees to march in protest through Manhattan, shouldering a mock coffin for Geoffrey.

"It was the start of something that we didn't think would ever amount to anything," said Maryjane M. Williams, a friend and 20-year employee of Toys "R" Us who joined the protests. "She was like, 'What have we got to lose? Let's go.'"

After a monthlong public pressure campaign against the private equity owners of Toys "R" Us, a \$20 million hardship fund was set up for the laid-off workers. Mrs. Reinhart Smith also became the lead plaintiff in a class-action lawsuit in bankruptcy court seeking fair compensation, which won \$2 million for former employees.

"She was our voice," said Alison M. Paoletti, who worked alongside Mrs. Reinhart Smith for a decade. "She fought for us."

Mrs. Reinhart Smith died on Feb. 17 at a hospital in Durham, N.C. She was 61. The cause was Covid-19, her family said.

Annamarie Reinhart was born in Levittown, N.Y., on June 11, 1959. Her mother, Diane Patricia (Switzer) Reinhart, was a homemaker who later worked in factory administration. Her father, William Louis Reinhart III, owned a flooring business. She was the oldest of their three children.

She attended Huntington High School and later what is now Farmingdale State College. With her partner, Aaron J. Smith, whom she married in 2011, she had two sons, Brandon P. Smith and Jordan J. Smith.

Her husband and sons survive her, along with a sister, Carleen P. Reinhart; a brother, William IV; a half brother, Kenny Johnson; two stepbrothers, Dean Malazzo and Paul

Malazzo; and two grandsons.

Mrs. Reinhart Smith joined Toys "R" Us in 1988 as a cashier in Huntington. Over years she worked her way up to managerial roles on Long Island and in Durham.

A warm woman proud of her Irish heritage (she had shamrock tattoos on her right ankle), Mrs. Reinhart Smith watched children grow up as they came to her store year after year. She also dealt with ornery customers, as she told the Progressive magazine for a recent profile, like one who threw a Power Ranger figurine at her, leaving a scar on her forehead.

In 2005, the private equity firms Bain Capital and Kohlberg Kravis Roberts and the real estate firm Vornado Realty Trust took control of the company with a leveraged buyout that left it burdened with \$5 billion in debt.

Ferrysa Gaur, the political director of United For Respect, the group that recruited Mrs. Reinhart Smith, credited her with helping push Bain and K.K.R. to create the hardship fund. "People saw her as a leader and a trusted voice," Ms. Gaur said.

On the Dead Giraffe Society's Facebook page, people who once mocked Mrs. Reinhart Smith's seemingly futile battle thanked her and the other labor leaders for winning the payouts, even if it was only enough to buy a week of groceries.

While Mrs. Reinhart Smith called the subsequent \$2 million bankruptcy settlement "a slap in the face," the case was considered precedent-setting. Former employees at Shopko and Art Van Furniture have since followed a similar pathway in fighting for hardship funds. Ms. Gaur said.

Mrs. Reinhart Smith remained involved in labor advocacy — helping workers from other retailers organize, pushing for Congress to pass a bill called the Stop Wall Street Laid-off Act, aimed at private equity, and campaigning for a \$15 minimum wage.

"If she thought people were being stepped on, she would just step up and be the spokesman, whether that person wanted it or not," Mr. Smith's husband, said. "She was just that type of person."

Erica Faye Watson, 48

'Gem of Chicago' Whose Comedy Empowered Women

By CLAY RISEN

When a candidate for state's attorney in Cook County, Ill., held a luncheon fund-raiser in downtown Chicago in 2016, the campaign hired a local comedian and television personality named Erica Faye Watson to warm up the crowd.

Mrs. Watson had never met the candidate, Kim Fox, but that didn't keep her from diving into an extended riff about Ms. Fox's hair. "I'd never been publicly roasted before," Ms. Fox said in an interview. "I was like, who is this woman?"

But the jokes were just a setup for Ms. Watson's real point: what it would mean to have a Black woman as the county's chief prosecutor, and how proud she would be to see Ms. Fox in that role. The two became fast friends.

"She was very funny about empowering Black women," said Ms. Fox, who is now in her second term. "She was fighting not just for herself but for people like her." Ms. Watson was a Chicagoan celebrity, best known as a regular on "Windy City Live," a morning talk show on WLS-TV, Chicago's ABC affiliate. She also performed stand-up comedy, wrote and directed plays and acted in movies.

Mrs. Watson died on Feb. 27 in Montego Bay, Jamaica, where she was staying while working on a writing project. She was 48. The cause was Covid-19, Patti Gill, her former agent, said.

"Erica was a hidden gem of Chicago and a voice for overlooked businesses and causes," said Ms. Gill, who in 2017 cast her in "BlackKoreana," a short film she wrote.

Erica Faye Watson was born on Feb. 28, 1973, in Chicago, to Henry and Willie Mae Watson. Her father was a postal worker, her mother a homemaker.

Her survivors include her parents and her brother, Eric.

Mrs. Watson attended the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, where she was prominent in its Black arts and culture scene. "If there was something involving the Black community on campus, Erica was going to be a part of it," said John Jennings, a professor of media and cultural studies at the University of California, Riverside, who was a graduate student at Illinois when she arrived.

Peter Semler, 89

Seasoned Diplomat Who Saw the Cold War Unfold

By SAM ROBERTS

Peter Semler could trace his career in the Foreign Service to Vienna in 1952, when the United States and the Soviet Union were testing each other in the early days of the Cold War.

Spending his junior year at Yale abroad, he witnessed Communist demonstrations and was interrogated by a Soviet Army patrol.

"I had been infected by the excitement of history," he wrote in an unpublished memoir.

Mrs. Semler became a senior career foreign service officer who represented Washington in Moscow, Bonn, Paris, Berlin, Rome and Manila from 1960 to 1993. He died on March 2 in a Manhattan hospital at 89. The cause was the coronavirus, his daughter Tatiana Poushina said.

Mr. Semler glided through embassy ballrooms, coded-coded offices and covert conversations with local dissident groups opposed to the governments he was dealing with day to day. His wife, Helen (Bolydier) Semler, a Russian interpreter who translated for Presidents Richard M. Nixon and Bill Clinton, often accompanied him on his excursions.

Mr. Semler's experiences while working in Moscow during the Cuban Missile Crisis inspired the 2008 novel "Leningrad Prospect" by his friend Katherine Bucknell, to whom he recounted episodes.

Peter Semler was born on June 19, 1931, in Manhattan to G. Herbert Semler, a partner at the law firm of Winthrop, Stimson, Putnam & Roberts, and Grace (Parker) Semler. His grandfather was Horatio W. Parker, the composer and dean of the Yale School of Music. Peter became an accomplished pianist himself.

He attended St. Bernard's School in Manhattan and St. Paul's School in Concord, N.H., before graduating from Yale in 1953. He served in the Army in Korea from 1953 to 1955.

He married Ms. Bolydier in 1957; she was the daughter of White Russians who had fled the Russian Revolution. (Her father, Count Vladimir W. Bolydier, was a head of the Russian department at Georgetown University.) She died in 2001.

In addition to his daughter Tatiana, Mr. Semler is survived by



PATTI GILL

Erica Watson wrote and acted.

rived. Ms. Watson later transferred to Columbia College Chicago, from which she graduated in 1998 with a degree in film directing. She received a master's in arts, entertainment and media management from Columbia in 2005.

After working as a writer and director for several years, she took up comedy in 2006, soon after moving to New York. In 2010 she presented a one-woman show, "Fat Bitch," at the Laurie Beechman Theater in Manhattan's theater district. In the show, she explored issues of race and body image through the eyes of a plus-size Black woman, which she unabashedly was.

Mrs. Watson was featured in a campaign for Avenue, a clothing brand aimed at plus-size women, and in 2018 she launched her own line of beauty products, Fierce, catering to the same demographic.

After taking her show on tour, she returned to Chicago and joined "Windy City Live" as a regular contributor and made frequent appearances on other local TV shows, as well as on cable channels like BET and Oxygen.

She also began to win small roles with directors like Lee Daniels, in "Precious," and Spike Lee, in "Chi-Raq," as well as parts in TV dramas, many of them filmed in Chicago, like "Empire" and "The Chi."

Mrs. Watson moved to Jamaica in September, planning to stay for a month so that she could concentrate on the writing project. But she kept extending her time there; her latest plan was to return to Chicago in early March.

"She was absolutely blossoming here in Jamaica," said a friend, Tina Strawn. "She was always talking about how this was the happiest she had ever been."



VIA SEMLER FAMILY

Peter Semler in 1962.

another daughter, Helen Kirwan-Taylor; a son, Peter; and four grandsons.

Another daughter, Tasha, was murdered in 1973 when she was a 14-year-old student at the Marymount School in Virginia. The killer had two years earlier been sentenced to 20 years in prison for sexual assault, but the sentence was suspended and he was committed to a psychiatric hospital; it released him for outpatient treatment three months before Tasha's murder. He was sentenced to 50 years in prison, and the courts upheld the family's claim in a lawsuit that the psychiatric hospital had failed to exercise reasonable care.

Mr. Semler was respected by his colleagues, but also by his diplomatic adversaries. Still, even he was surprised at the candor of a Cold War foe during a lunch at the Soviet Embassy in East Berlin in the late 1970s. Piotr Andreychev, a Soviet ambassador to Moscow, were there with him.

"With a broad smile on his face, Abramson said that one of your pilots apparently lost something while salvaging the beauties of the G.D.R.," Mr. Semler recounted in his memoir. "He had dropped this camera from his aircraft."

Abramson proudly displayed a high-tech spy camera, and said: "We so appreciated the gift that we decided to be helpful and develop the film. But instead of pretty pictures of forests and lakes, what do we find: pictures of our military bases?"

Then the Soviet ambassador handed over the photos. He kept the camera.

Volkswagen outlines ambitious goals to build battery factories as it ties its fate to electric cars.



The \$1.9 trillion stimulus package includes an expansion of Medicaid coverage for new mothers.



Louisville is standing by in case virus protocols knock a team out of the N.C.A.A. men's basketball tournament.

Business

The New York Times

nytimes#mediamonitor@themw1.org

Why China's Jaded Techies Can't Get Enough of Musk



The Tesla founder is seen as a visionary, in contrast to local tycoons.

By **RAYMOND ZHONG**
China is having its techlash moment. The country's internet giants, once celebrated as engines of economic vitality, are now scorned for exploiting user data, abusing workers and squelching innovation. Jack Ma, co-founder of the e-commerce titan Alibaba, is a fallen idol, with his companies under government scrutiny for the ways they have secured their grip over

the world's second-largest economy. But there is one tech figure who has managed to keep the Chinese public in his thrall, whose mix of impish bomb-throwing and captain-of-industry bravado seems tailor-made for this time of dashed dreams and disillusionment: Elon Musk. "He can fight the establishment and become the richest man on earth — and avoid getting beaten

down in the process," said Jane Zhang, the founder and chief executive of ShellPay, a blockchain company in Shanghai. "He's everybody's hope." Whether out of hope, envy or morbid curiosity — like spectators hoping to see one of his rockets go down in a fiery blast — China cannot get enough of Mr. Musk. Tesla's electric cars are big sellers in the country, and the government's growing space ambitions have

spawned a community of fans who track SpaceX's every launch. Social platforms brim with videos and articles pondering whether the South African-born billionaire is a trailblazer or a fraud, and examining everything from his upbringing to his taste in Beijing hot pot joints. Start-up founders swear by his belief in "first-principles thinking," which looks for solutions by examining

CONTINUED ON PAGE B5

nytimes

Amid Slump, How the U.S. Got It Right, Or Close to It

Early economic relief eased the blow, but more could have been done.

By **BEN CASSELMAN**

When the coronavirus pandemic ripped a hole in the economy a year ago, many feared that the United States would repeat the experience of the last recession, when a timid and short-lived government response, in the view of many experts, led to years of high unemployment and anemic wage growth.

Instead, the federal government responded with remarkable force and speed. Within weeks after the virus hit American shores, Congress had launched a multi-trillion-dollar barrage of programs to expand unemployment benefits, rescue small businesses and send checks to most American households. And this time, unlike a decade ago, Washington is keeping the aid flowing even as the crisis begins to ease: On Thursday, President Biden signed a \$1.9 trillion aid bill that will pump still more cash into households, businesses, and state and local governments.

The Federal Reserve, too, acted swiftly, deploying emergency tools developed in the financial crisis a decade earlier. Those efforts helped safeguard the financial system — and the central bank has pledged to remain vigilant.

The result is an economy far stronger than most forecasters expected last spring, even as the pandemic proved much worse than feared. The unemployment rate has fallen to 6.2 percent, from nearly 15 percent in April. Consumer spending is nearly back to its prepandemic level. House-

CONTINUED ON PAGE B4

Far Right Expands Web Reach

By **DAVEY ALBA**

Youmaker, a little-known video site, prominently featured a video alleging that a far-left extremist movement was plotting to destroy America.

On Sagebook, a Twitter-like social network filled with posts from right-leaning users, a sidebar of trending topics contained the hashtags for "Stop the Steal," "Censorship" and "Facebook." And Right on Times, an obscure

123.7M

The number of "likes" and shares The Epoch Times received on social media in the last year.

right-wing news aggregator, recently promoted favorable articles about Republican officials who refused to recognize Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s victory in the 2020 election.

All three are among about a dozen websites spreading misleading information with ties to the Epoch Media Group, a news organization that has become a top purveyor of conspiracy theories and political misinformation, according to data provided by the research group Advance Democracy and analyzed by Global Disinformation Index, a nonprofit that studies disinformation.

Youmaker hosts the videos on The Epoch Times website. Sagebook was recently used to run The Epoch Times's comments system. When Right on Times launched a few months ago, numerous Epoch employees promoted the site on their social-media feeds, and Right on Times ran many articles from Epoch properties. Researchers found that the other sites have Google+ fingerprints, like using identification tags, that match

CONTINUED ON PAGE B5

Uncounted Among the Unemployed Are Dropouts Eager to Return to Work

By **SYDNEY EMBER**

Robert Hesse was expecting an imminent promotion to manager of Sub Zero Ice Cream, a nitrogen ice cream shop in Ventura, Calif., when it shut down in March because of the pandemic.

"I like to work," said Mr. Hesse, a college graduate who turns 26 on Tuesday. "Otherwise I feel like I'm useless." But he has been reluctant to seek a new job because he lives with his parents, who are not yet vaccinated, and is afraid of bringing the virus home to them. "It's just health concerns — I

don't really want to be around the general public yet," he said.

Mr. Hesse represents what economists say is one of the most striking features of the pandemic-driven economic downturn: the tide of workers who, as the government counts things, have left the labor force.

In the year since the pandemic upended the economy, more than four million people have quit the labor force, leaving a gaping hole in the job market that cuts across age and circumstances. An exceptionally high number have been

sidelined because of child care and other family responsibilities or health concerns. Others gave up looking for work because they were discouraged by the lack of opportunities. And some older workers have called it quits earlier than they had planned.

These labor-force dropouts are not counted in the most commonly cited unemployment rate, which stood at 6.2 percent in February, making the group something of a hidden casualty of the pandemic.

Now, as the labor market begins

CONTINUED ON PAGE B6



Heather Kilpatrick had to stay home with her daughter during the pandemic.

The Digest

MEDIA

Grammys Viewership Fell 53% From Last Year

The collapse of awards show ratings continues.

Viewership for Sunday's Grammy Awards on CBS fell to 8.8 million viewers, according to Nielsen, the television research firm.

That's a new low for the show and a 53 percent drop from last year, which drew 18.7 million viewers.

The show, which drew praise for

its production with a mix of live performances and a small ceremony outside the Staples Center in Los Angeles, did not lack in star power, with performances by Harry Styles, Billie Eilish, Megan Thee Stallion and Cardi B. Trevor Noah, the show's host, likewise received warm reviews.

Still, the ratings news is likely to set off alarms for the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences and the Academy Awards' broadcast, ABC. Viewership of last year's Oscars broadcast fell to a low of 23.6 million. The ceremony is scheduled for April 25.

JOHN KOBLIN

AUTOMOTIVE

Over 400 Positive for Virus After Tesla Plant Reopened

More than 400 workers at a Tesla plant in California tested positive for the coronavirus between May and December, according to public health data released by a transparency website.

The data provides the first glimpse into virus cases at Tesla, whose chief executive, Elon Musk, had played down the severity of the pandemic and reopened the plant, in Fremont, Calif., in May in defiance of guidelines issued by health officials.

The data was obtained by the website PlainSite. It showed that 400 cases were reported at the Tesla plant, which employs some 10,000 people. The number of cases rose to 125 in December



SHANNON SHAFER/INTELLECT

from fewer than 11 in May.

Mr. Musk called virus restrictions "fascist," and reopened the plant a week before officials said it was safe to do so. More recently, Mr. Musk has questioned on Twitter the effectiveness of Covid vaccines.

NEALE E. BOUDETTE

MEDIA

In Final Column, Hiaasen Rues State of Local News

It wouldn't have been a Carl Hiaasen column if it didn't go on the attack. In his Miami Herald farewell on Friday, Mr. Hiaasen took aim at the sorry state of local news coverage.

Mr. Hiaasen, 68, joined The Miami Herald as a reporter in 1976 and started his column in 1985. Along the way he became a best-selling author, writing about Florida's underbelly and environmental devastation in novels like "Tourist Season" and "Sick

Puppy."

He wrote that the hardest thing to watch during his career was the shrinking of the local news industry, saying, "There are fewer and fewer boots on the ground to do the grunt work required to keep democracy informed."

During his time there, the Herald changed hands twice, ending up under the umbrella of Charter Asset Management, a New Jersey hedge fund.

Mr. Hiaasen also used his goodbye to pay tribute to his brother, Rob, a journalist who was killed in a gunman's rampage at The Capital Gazette in Maryland in 2018.

KATIE ROBERTSON



S&P 500 INDEX
+0.65%
3,968.94



DOW JONES INDUSTRIALS
+0.53%
32,953.46



NASDAQ COMPOSITE INDEX
+1.05%
13,499.71



10-YEAR TREASURY YIELD
1.62%
-0.02 points



CRUDE OIL (U.S.)
\$65.39
-\$0.22



GOLD (N.Y.)
\$1,728.90
+\$9.40

Tech and Travel Propel Indexes Higher

By The Associated Press

Stocks shook off an early stumble and closed broadly higher on Monday, nudging some of the major U.S. indexes to more record highs as the market added to its recent string of gains.

The S&P 500 rose 0.7 percent af-

STOCKS & BONDS

ter having been down 0.5 percent in the early going, extending its winning streak to a fifth day. Technology stocks, airlines, cruise operators and other companies that rely on consumer spending helped lift the market. Banks and energy stocks were the only laggards.

Wall Street continues to eye the bond market, where yields pulled back a bit from Friday's sharp increase. Investors are also focused on the recovery of the United States and global economies from the coronavirus pandemic. The \$1.9 trillion aid package has lifted investors' confidence in a strong recovery from the pandemic in the second half of the year, but also raised concerns about a potential jump in inflation.

Rising interest rates continue to be a key concern for investors following the sudden jump over the last month in bond yields. Rates are not yet at a concerning level, and both the markets and economy can easily digest them, said Yung-Yu Ma, chief investment strategist at BMO Wealth Management.

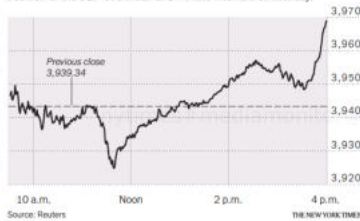
"The question ultimately becomes how well markets can digest and stay the course on the idea that these increases are temporary, as well as coming to terms with the idea that temporary might be three or four quarters," he said.

The S&P 500 rose 25.60 points to 3,968.94. The Dow Jones industrial average gained 174.82 points, or 0.5 percent, to 32,953.46. Both indexes hit record highs, eclipsing records set on Friday.

The tech-heavy Nasdaq Composite added 139.84 points, or 1.1 percent, to 13,499.71, while the Russell 2000 index of smaller companies rose 7.38 points, or 0.3 percent, to 2,360.17. That gain was enough for a record high.

The S&P 500 Index

Position of the S&P 500 index at 1-minute intervals on Monday.



3-Month Treasury Bills

High rate at weekly auction.



Source: The Bond Buyer

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Bond yields ticked mildly lower on Monday, with the 10-year U.S. Treasury note falling to 1.62 percent from 1.64 percent on Friday.

The mild drop in yields was affecting bank stocks the most, where investors have placed big bets that higher yields would translate into banks charging borrowers higher rates. Bank of America fell 0.5 percent, Wells Fargo dropped 0.7 percent and Citigroup lost 1.3 percent.

Technology stocks, which have been hurt by the rise in bond yields, resumed climbing. Apple rose 2.4 percent, while Tesla Motors Co. gained 2 percent. The bond market has pulled tech stocks

mostly lower this year, because as yields push interest rates higher, they make high-flying stocks look expensive.

Some economists fear that inflation, which has been dormant over the last decade, could accelerate under the extra demand generated by a surge in government spending. Others disagree, pointing out that there are 9.5 million fewer jobs in the American economy than there were before the pandemic hit, and argue that unemployment will keep a lid on inflation.

United Airlines surged 8.3 percent for the biggest gain in the S&P 500, while American Airlines rose 7.7 percent. Delta Air Lines gained 2.3 percent and JetBlue Airways climbed 5.9 percent. The rally in airline stocks came as the Transportation Security Administration screened more than 1.3 million people both Friday and Sunday, the most since the coronavirus outbreak devastated travel a year ago.

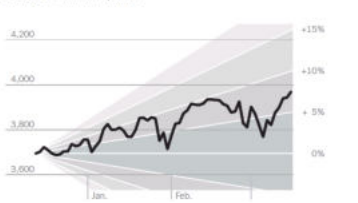
Cruise operators, whose shares have been pummeled over the past year, also had a good day. Carnival gained 4.7 percent, while Royal Caribbean climbed 4.8 percent and Norwegian Cruise Line added 2.7 percent.

Retail sales in China jumped nearly 36 percent year-on-year in January-February from a year earlier. But the country's jobless rate rose to 5.5 percent from 5.2 percent a year earlier.

What Happened in Stock Markets Yesterday

POWERED BY REFINITIV

S&P 500 3968.94 ↑0.7%



Best performers

| S&P 500 COMPANIES | CLOSE | CHANGE |
|------------------------|---------|--------|
| 1. United Air (UAL) | \$60.64 | +8.3% |
| 2. American Air (AAL) | 25.17 | +7.7 |
| 3. General Elec (GE) | 13.15 | +6.1 |
| 4. Las Vegas Sun (LVS) | 66.30 | +6.0 |
| 5. NRG Energy (NRG) | 43.89 | +5.9 |
| 6. Alaska Air Gr (ALR) | 71.98 | +5.8 |
| 7. Enbridge Ene (ENB) | 174.16 | +5.7 |
| 8. MOI Resour (MOI) | 40.06 | +5.1 |
| 9. Royal Caribb (RCL) | 94.55 | +4.8 |
| 10. Gap Inc (GPS) | 32.25 | +4.7 |

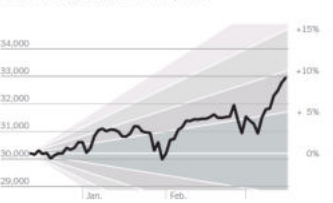
Worst performers

| S&P 500 COMPANIES | CLOSE | CHANGE |
|-------------------------|----------|--------|
| 1. Eli Lilly and (LLY) | \$189.16 | -0.1% |
| 2. Occidental Pet (OPY) | 28.30 | -4.3 |
| 3. Eastman Chem (DHR) | 113.41 | -3.1 |
| 4. Nexco Holding (NHC) | 26.06 | -3.2 |
| 5. United Parcel (UPS) | \$62.64 | -3.0 |
| 6. Exxon Mobil C (XOM) | 60.39 | -2.5 |
| 7. Zions Bancorp (ZION) | 57.72 | -2.3 |
| 8. Stagen Inc (STAG) | 260.13 | -2.1 |
| 9. Dow Inc (DOW) | 62.90 | -2.2 |
| 10. General Motors (GM) | 57.94 | -2.2 |

Most active

| S&P 500 COMPANIES | CLOSE | CHANGE | VOLUME IN MIL. |
|------------------------|----------|--------|----------------|
| 1. General Elec (GE) | \$13.15 | +6.1% | 111.4 |
| 2. American Air (AAL) | 25.17 | +7.7 | 50.7 |
| 3. Apple Inc (AAPL) | \$123.89 | +2.4 | 92.3 |
| 4. Ford Motor Co (F) | 13.20 | -1.3 | 64.4 |
| 5. Carnival Corp (CCL) | 29.79 | +4.7 | 53.5 |
| 6. Bank of Amer (BAC) | 37.75 | -0.5 | 50.1 |
| 7. Xerox Inc (XRX) | 29.88 | +0.4 | 42.4 |
| 8. Ancestry Mer (ANM) | 62.50 | +1.8 | 39.0 |
| 9. United Air (UAL) | 60.64 | +8.3 | 35.3 |
| 10. Boeing Co (BA) | 265.63 | -1.3 | 34.8 |

Dow Jones Industrials 32953.46 ↑0.5%

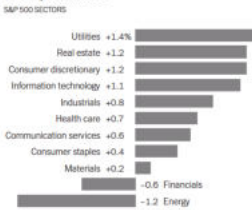


Specialty and short-term bonds

| | TOTAL RETURN 1 YR | TOTAL ASSETS IN BLN. |
|--|-------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Vanguard Short-Term Investment-Grade Adm (VSTGX) | +4.6% | +3.1% |
| 2. Vanguard Intermediate-Term Investment-Grade Adm (VTIGX) | +5.2% | +4.6 |
| 3. BlackRock Strategic Income Opp Invest (BSIOGX) | +11.1 | +4.8 |
| 4. Vanguard High-Yield Corporate Adm (VHYAX) | +13.5 | +6.7 |
| 5. Lord Abbett Short Duration Income Fd (LDPIX) | +4.8 | +3.2 |
| 6. Vanguard Short-Term Bond Index Adm (VBNDX) | +2.3 | +2.4 |
| 7. Fidelity Capital & Income (FADIX) | +22.8 | +9.8 |
| 8. BlackRock High-Yield Bond Index Fd (BHYGX) | +18.2 | +7.7 |
| 9. PIMCO High-Yield 2 (PHYDZ) | +18.1 | +8.3 |
| 10. PIMCO Short-Term Instl (PSHIX) | +3.8 | +2.5 |

Source: Morningstar

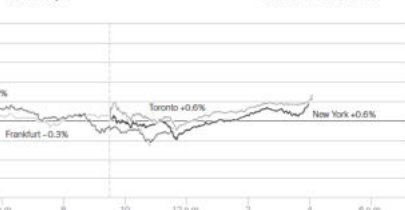
Sector performance



How stock markets fared yesterday in Asia ...

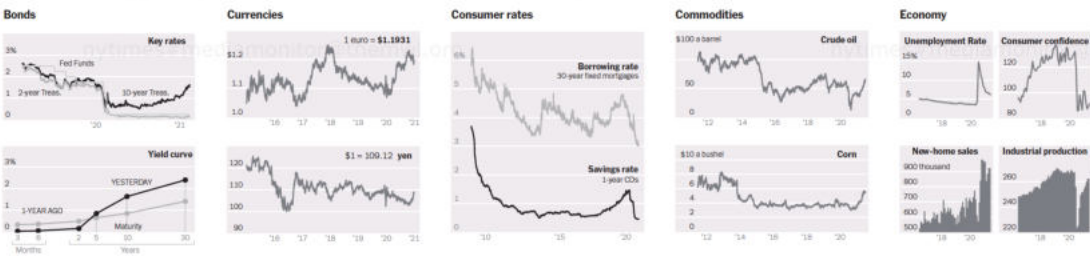


... in Europe



... and in the Americas.

What Is Happening in Other Markets and the Economy



RETAIL | AUTOMOBILES

Volkswagen Vows an Electric Transformation

By JACK EWING

Volkswagen is going all in on electric cars, with plans to build battery factories in Europe, install a network of charging stations and slash the cost of emission-free travel.

That was the message Monday as the German carmaker staged a so-called Power Day in Wolfsburg, where it unveiled its latest electric car technology. The event was Volkswagen's answer to Tesla's Battery Day presentations, which draw intense attention from investors and electric car buffs.

The session included a number of attention-getting announcements, including a promise that Volkswagen would cut the cost of batteries by up to 50 percent by the end of the decade, while slashing charging time to 12 minutes. That would make electric cars cheaper than gasoline vehicles and just as convenient.

Volkswagen also unveiled plans to build six battery factories in Europe in joint ventures with suppliers. And by 2025, the company said, it would have 18,000 charging stations on the continent operating in conjunction with energy companies, including BP. The British oil producer said it would offer online access at its filling stations.

The online event Monday was part of Volkswagen's effort to position itself as the traditional carmaker making the biggest commitment to emission-free driving technology. It also unveiled a new low-end German Motors or Volvo Cars in setting a precise expiration date for internal combustion engines.

Volkswagen is the biggest carmaker in Europe and second biggest in the world after Toyota. The subject of Monday's presentations by a group of Volkswagen executives was that the company is deploying its industry and government connections, its financial resources, and its eight decades of manufacturing expertise to keep Tesla from eating its lunch.

"Our transformation will be bigger than anything the industry has ever seen in the past century," Herbert Diess, the chief executive of Volkswagen, said during the two-hour presentation.

The event coincided with the rollout in the United States of the ID.4, an electric S.U.V. that is part of the first generation of Volkswagen's designs from the ground up. It is one of the most serious challengers to Tesla's dominance in electric cars. The



BRIAN DENKOWSKI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Volkswagen aims to be known as the traditional carmaker making the biggest commitment to emission-free driving.

first ID.4s, with a starting price of \$40,000 before government rebates, began arriving at American dealers this week.

At least some analysts are starting to believe Volkswagen's hype. The Swiss bank UBS issued a report this month that ranked Volkswagen just behind Tesla in electric vehicle technology.

Tesla leads in battery technology and software, the UBS report said, but the bank's analysts gave Volkswagen high marks for its electric car platform — the chassis, motor and other components that drive the vehicle forward and carry the car body. The Volkswagen platform can be produced very efficiently and is flexible enough to accommodate a range of body types like S.U.V.s, hatchbacks or crossover sedans, UBS said.

Volkswagen is "a blueprint for what legacy carmakers need to achieve in the years to come," Patrick Hummel, a UBS analyst, said, during a conference call with journalists last week.

Tesla shares have plunged in recent weeks as it dawns on some investors that the company may not have a monopoly on electric cars. Volkswagen shares have recovered their pre-pandemic value and then some. But investors still value Tesla at six times as much as Volkswagen, and the German company faces

enormous challenges.

Volkswagen continues to generate most of its revenue from cars that run on gasoline or diesel. Winding down the old technologies while ramping up the new ones will be tricky and painful. Volkswagen said Sunday that it would impose a hiring freeze and other early retirement to employees as young as 55 to free up money for new technologies. The company said it would continue to hire people with expertise in batteries, electricity and software.

Volkswagen's new electric models, while promising, have yet to prove themselves in the market. They were initially plagued by software problems, although the company says those have been solved. After a delayed launch, Volkswagen sold 56,000 of its ID.3 model, an electric hatchback not offered in the United States, in the last few months of 2020.

A diesel emissions scandal continues to plague hundreds of lawyers busy and gnaw at Volkswagen's reputation. Martin Winterkorn, who was chief executive during the years that Volkswagen rigged its diesel vehicles to cheat emissions limits, is scheduled to go on trial next month on charges related to the scandal. The trial is certain to generate heavy media coverage and remind the public of Volkswagen's misdeeds, which came to light in 2015. Mr. Win-

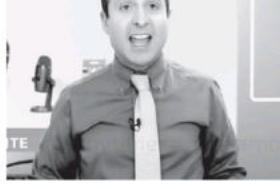
terkorn denies wrongdoing. As costly as it has been, the scandal had one benefit for Volkswagen. It forced the company's managers to think hard about how to restore the company's good name. They resolved to focus on electric cars. That may put Volkswagen in a better position today than other big rivals that hesitated.

UBS analysts pointed out that Volkswagen is one of the few big carmakers to have developed a platform specifically for electric vehicles, and to retrofit entire factories to build electric cars. Volkswagen's size — it sold 18 times as many cars as Tesla last year — will allow it to push down manufacturing costs in a way that smaller carmakers cannot.

Like Tesla, Volkswagen has recognized the need to meet emissions requirements for electric cars without a place to charge them. In addition to underwriting a charging network in Europe, Volkswagen will install 3,500 fast-charging points in the United States and 17,000 in China.

Many other traditional carmakers approached the electrification of cars as a mandate to meet emissions requirements, Mr. Hummel of UBS said.

"They spent too much time looking at electric vehicles from the perspective of compliance," he said. "Now they are catching up but they are late."



A screenshot of Matt Granite during an Amazon Live video.

Still Niche, Livestreaming Grows as a Retailer Tool

By JACKIE SNOW

Matt Granite had been working for years as a consumer journalist in New York City, but he recently sent an increase in inquiries from Western companies trying to get into e-commerce livestreaming. So far, Mr. Granite said, no American company had quite mastered it. According to him, success entails more than just adding a video to the typical e-commerce experience. Instead what's needed is a mix of content that isn't tied to shopping but can attract new viewers, limited-time deals and even products exclusive to that livestream. That goes for all of the major tech companies trying to expand an audience.

"If they want to become an e-commerce livestream marketplace," Mr. Granite said, "they will have to change a lot."

Although e-commerce livestreams are still a niche enterprise in the United States, they are big business in China, where they drive about 9 percent, or \$83 billion, of the country's online market. Kim Kardashian West went on a popular Chinese livestream and sold out her perfume stock within minutes after 13 million people tuned in. At least one Chinese college offered e-commerce livestreaming as a degree. Chinese retailers have also innovated during the pandemic lockdowns, with more streams focused on one-on-one consultations and store walk-throughs.

But the pandemic seems to be enticing more people to test out Amazon Live while they are stuck at home and looking for new ways to connect. Felicia Jones, an influencer in North Carolina focused on beauty and home décor, said Amazon reached out last year to ask her to join the Live program. She was getting out of the shower one day in November and planned to use a bunch of hair products she had gotten off Amazon when she decided to try out a stream for the first time. Figuring out the app took a few minutes, and she found herself talking to an audience that eventually reached 1,400 people. Now she tries to stream on Amazon regularly.

"If I don't stream every day, I'm thinking about streaming every day," Mr. Jones said.

According to the analytics Amazon sends her, Ms. Jones said, her livestream usually gets anywhere between 100,000 and 1,000,000 viewers, although concurrent viewers can top out in the hundreds. It's successful enough that she has reached A-list, an internal status that grants her benefits like better video placement and more priority when it comes to support issues.

"It seems like every time you hop on," she said, "it's an opportunity."

In 2021, the U.S. e-commerce livestreaming market could reach up to \$11 billion, up from about \$6 billion in 2020, according to Core Sight Research, a global advisory and research firm specializing in retail and technology.

The consumers are mostly the retailers and tech issues are holding the industry back, said Deborah Weinswig, the founder and chief executive of Core Sight Research. A company that sells the right products with interesting content and easy-to-use payment and inventory tools could break through, she might expect. The tech companies, including Amazon, in livestreaming revenue.

There is going to be a unicorn in this space, she said.

Amazon is the only company trying out this type of hawking on an American audience. Instagram allows some influencers to sell products on livestreams, but Instagram Shopping, Facebook made similar moves for small businesses this year. TikTok live-streaming is also growing, even Wal-Mart. And both Estée Lauder Companies and L'Oréal Group have hosted streams for some of their beauty brands.

"Everybody is thinking about this," said Mark Yuan, a co-founder of And Luxe, a livestream e-commerce consultancy company in New York. "But they are hesitating to do it because of the pandemic. Before they had a choice. Now they have no choice."

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MEDIA | TECHNOLOGY

FarRight Expands Web Reach, With Sites Tied to Epoch Media

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE
those used by Epoch Media properties.

The websites illustrate how conservative media organizations that spread misleading information, facing crackdowns by the largest social networks, are casting a wider net to reach online audiences. Epoch Media, which is affiliated with the Chinese spiritual movement Falun Gong, regularly publishes anti-Chinese Communist Party content as well as conspiracy theory-laden articles about QAnon and unfounded allegations of widespread voter fraud in the 2020 election.

The largest of the media companies, like Facebook, Twitter and YouTube, have taken steps to limit misinformation in recent months, removing thousands of accounts, including former President Donald J. Trump's. Since then, many right-wing pundits moved to messaging services like Parler and Telegram, and media outlets pushing conservative points of view turned to other services.

Epoch Media appears to be "anticipating a move by the bigger companies to push them off the more mainstream platforms," said Joan Donovan, the research director of Harvard University's Shorenstein Center on Media, Politics and Public Policy.

The ownership of the websites is unclear. At least one, Youmaker, discloses a video partnership with the Chinese government, and others do not disclose any ties with Epoch. The Global Disinformation Index, a nonprofit re-

search group, found the ties among the sites by analyzing their hosting records, website analytics and advertiser identifiers.

Right on Times does not disclose any partnership with Epoch, nor do the two websites share a unique digital identifier. But when it launched in October, its articles were posted on social media by Epoch employees. Right on Times also had a prominent ad campaign on Epoch properties, and it included many articles from Epoch properties on its service. Those actions led disinformation researchers, including those at the Global Disinformation Index, to conclude there was coordination.

Epoch Times said that Right on Times was one of its advertisers, and that Youmaker was an "independent business partner." Sagebook, the company said, was being phased out. (The Sagebook site was no longer accessible as of last week.)

"The premise of your article is incorrect," the company said in an email. "The Epoch Times does not deal in conspiracy theories. We pride ourselves on rigorous, fact-based reporting, which has attracted a large and rapidly growing audience."

The largest media brand run by the Epoch Media Group remains The Epoch Times, which regularly publishes pro-Trump misinformation. In the past year, articles from the Epoch Times garnered 12.7 million likes and shares on social media, according to the social media analysis tool Buzzsumo. It has tens of millions

of social media followers and has become a true rival of successful conservative outlets like The Daily Caller and Breitbart News. It now has dozens of international versions.

In 2019 and 2020, Facebook alleged links between the Epoch Times and brands including "The B1" and "Truth Media," saying they were all part of the Falun Gong orbit. The brands operated hundreds of accounts that automatically published posts on Facebook at a rapid clip about conservative ideology and the 2020 election, as well as misinformation about the coronavirus. Facebook said it removed those accounts as "coordinated inauthentic behavior" policies. The company removed them in two separate take-downs.

"We have clarified repeatedly that The Epoch Times has no relationship with The B1 and Truth Media," Epoch Media said in a statement. Epoch began to make use of the alternative social media platforms, like Sagebook and Youmaker, in late 2020. Youmaker drew about 1.5 million unique visitors per month, according to data from the website analytics company SimilarWeb. Sagebook attracted 38,000 monthly visitors last November, according to SimilarWeb data.

While small, the audience has grown quickly. Compared with Epoch Times, which has about 1.5 million unique visitors, Youmaker's traffic had increased by 42 percent, Sagebook's increased by nearly 300 percent,



THE NEW YORK TIMES

and Right on Times's traffic had jumped 715 percent, according to SimilarWeb data. The content is shared from The Epoch Times. For months, the websites have pushed stories and videos amplifying unfounded allegations of mass voter fraud.

Groups said to spread conspiracies and misinformation

On Sagebook, a stream of stories favorable to Mr. Trump and denouncing President Biden dominated the social network at the beginning of the year. "This election isn't over," read one post on Sagebook.

"Anti CCP caravan at the Million March March in Washington D.C. TAKE DOWN THE CCP STOPHOLDERS," a "ChinaVoice" post another post. It included a picture of a car with a sign stuck to its roof that read: "CCP spread COVID-19. Say no to communism."

In January, Youmaker's most viewed video pushed a conspiracy about Astrid Babish, who was shot by a Capitol Police officer as she and a group of Mr. Trump's supporters swarmed the Capitol; it was viewed over 400,000 times.

After the inauguration of President Biden on Jan. 20, the websites switched their focus to pushing narratives that criticized Mr. Biden and his administration.

"In major speech, Biden reveals his deep misunderstanding of foreign policy," said a headline collected by the news aggregator Right on Times. Another aggregated article highlighted comments from Mark Pompeo, the former secretary of state, in which he criticized Mr. Biden's policy shift toward China as "disheartening."

The money behind Epoch Media, like the funding behind the "New York Times," is unclear. Former employees previously told The New York Times that The Epoch Times was financed by a combination of subscription fees and donations from wealthy Falun Gong practitioners. "There are only a few people in

this world, and few entities or organizations in this world, that could potentially build the infrastructure that would rival the big tech companies' platforms," said Donovan, the disinformation researcher, said.

"It's critical that we keep an eye on these cloaked infrastructures to make sure it's clear who owns them, how they are managed and how they play into the rest of our information ecosystem," she added.

The tech companies say they enforced their policies against Epoch Media properties on their platforms as needed. The social networks have a history of removing posts and links that have ties to accounts and publications that it has banned in the past. They say they will continue to be on the lookout for spam or coordinated inauthentic behavior from the new sites.

"We've taken enforcement actions against Epoch Media and related groups several times," a Facebook spokesman, Andy Stone, said in a statement. "If we discover that Epoch is engaging in deceptive actions in the future we will engage against them with our policies," said Michael Actman, a spokesman for Epoch, which owns YouTube. YouTube recently suspended The Epoch Times from its partner program for violating its policies on controversial issues and sensitive events and harmful and dangerous content. The Epoch Times, on the platform, was earning advertising money on the platform. "If we find content that violates those policies, we take the appropriate action,"

Michael H. Keller, Jack Meschke and Ben Becker contributed data analysis.

Chinas Techies Are Down on Tycoons but Can't Get Enough of Musk

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

problems at their most fundamental level. A stack of books by Chinese people that push them off the secrets of the "Silicon Valley Iron Man," which is the nickname that seems to have stuck in China, not King of Mars or Rocket Man.

In a long thread about Mr. Musk on the question-and-answer site Zhihu, a user named Moonshackles writes that most people start out full of hope but gradually accept the "mediocrity" that is their fate.

"On a superficial level, Musk can move past the endless misery and toward the infinite, to see the magnificence of the universe," Moonshackles writes.

Another user in the same thread said he named his son Elon to express his admiration. The user did not reply to a message seeking further comment. Another user, who said he was from Shanghai, raved about Musk in 2019 and helped ramp up the company's manufacturing capacity. When Tesla's share price hit a new high in January, making Mr. Musk the world's wealthiest man, Chinese fans claimed credit. (Mr. Musk's reaction to the news — "Well, back to work..." — was liked 22,000 times on the Chinese social platform Weibo.)

Later that month, as Mr. Musk endorsed the run-up in GameStop shares, many in China were riveted, drawn by the drama by the unbridled trust of financial institutions.

"Occupy Wall Street could never be copied in China," said Suo Jia, an entrepreneur and investor in Shanghai, who said, "You'd have to go on the streets," he said. Buying protest stocks is safer.

The dispiritedness that many Chinese tech workers have for their industry is compounded by their feeling that it is no longer really inventing or innovating. While Mr. Musk is off building futuristic cars and colonizing the cosmos, they see the best minds of their generation designing cell-phone games, figuring out how to post more ads on social media and speculating in real estate.

Mr. Musk doesn't have Silicon Valley madmen anymore," Mr. Yan said. Tech bosses "have all become cardboard cutouts," he said, and investors "too touch ideas they once conceived."

Mr. Musk's acolytes are a passionate bunch everywhere. But in China, his popularity is helped by the authoritarian government's endorsement — and even endorsement — when the United States and China have never trusted each other's high-tech companies less.

Mr. Musk has praised the intelligence of the Chinese officials he met while preparing to open the Shanghai factory. The company, in a first for a foreign carmaker in China, has been allowed to run its plant on a local partner.

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rich men and successful businessmen" than as Musk-like visionaries," said Flex Yang, a co-founder of Babel Finance, a Hong Kong provider of financial services for cryptocurrencies.

The two Mas, who are not related, were merely "in the right place at the right time," Mr. Yang said.

Jack Ma and Mr. Musk shared a stage at a Shanghai tech conference

in 2019. There may never have been a more mismatched pair. Mr. Ma was earnest and engaged, at ease in the role of conference grandee. Mr. Musk was fidgety and jokey. The two did a great deal of talking right past each other.

Mr. Ma said the answer to superintelligent machines was better education for humans. At this, Mr. Musk merely laughed.

In a compilation of awkward moments from the event posted on the video site Bilibili, the comments are brutal, mostly to Mr. Ma.

"This is the person who is a god, one person versus 'In the presence of the gods, he is like a performing monkey,'" Alibabac added to comment.

IN THE UNITED STATES BANKRUPTCY COURT

Chapter 11

IN RE: RESTAURANT, INC. (Case No. 20-1787)

NOTICE OF (1) APPROVAL OF EXISTING CREDITORS' CLAIMS AND (2) REJECTION OF UNPAID CONTRACTS AND (3) REJECTION OF UNPAID CONTRACTS AND (4) REJECTION OF UNPAID CONTRACTS AND (5) REJECTION OF UNPAID CONTRACTS AND (6) REJECTION OF UNPAID CONTRACTS AND (7) REJECTION OF UNPAID CONTRACTS AND (8) REJECTION OF UNPAID CONTRACTS AND (9) REJECTION OF UNPAID CONTRACTS AND (10) REJECTION OF UNPAID CONTRACTS AND (11) REJECTION OF UNPAID CONTRACTS AND (12) REJECTION OF UNPAID CONTRACTS AND (13) REJECTION OF UNPAID CONTRACTS AND (14) REJECTION OF UNPAID CONTRACTS AND (15) REJECTION OF UNPAID CONTRACTS AND (16) REJECTION OF UNPAID CONTRACTS AND (17) REJECTION OF UNPAID CONTRACTS AND (18) REJECTION OF UNPAID CONTRACTS AND (19) REJECTION OF UNPAID CONTRACTS AND (20) REJECTION OF UNPAID CONTRACTS AND (21) REJECTION OF UNPAID CONTRACTS AND (22) REJECTION OF UNPAID CONTRACTS AND (23) REJECTION OF UNPAID CONTRACTS AND (24) REJECTION OF UNPAID CONTRACTS AND (25) REJECTION OF UNPAID CONTRACTS AND (26) REJECTION 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VIRUS FALLOUT

They're Uncounted as Unemployed and Eager to Work

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

to emerge from the pandemic's vise, whether those who have left the labor force retire to work — and if so, how quickly — is one of the big questions about the shape of the recovery.

"There are a lot of dimensions related to the pandemic that I think are driving this phenomenon," said Eliza Forsythe, a labor economist at the University of Illinois. "We don't really know what the long-term consequences are going to be because it is different from the past."

There is some reason for opti-

Pandemic-specific choices lend to a false read on the jobless.

6.2%

The unemployment rate in February, which doesn't count millions who stepped aside for health or caregiving reasons.

mism. Economists expect that many who have left the labor force in the last year will return to work once health concerns and child care issues are alleviated. And they are optimistic that as the labor market heats up, it will draw in workers who grew disenfranchised with the job search.

Mr. Hesse, for instance, said he planned to look for a new job in earnest once he is vaccinated and hoped to go back to work this year.

Moreover, after the last recession, many economists said those who left the labor force were unlikely to come back, whether because of disabilities, the opioid crisis, a loss of skills or other reasons. Yet labor force participation, adjusted for demographic shifts, eventually returned to its previous level.

But the speed with which the pandemic has driven workers from the labor force has had devastating effects that could leave lasting damage.

The labor force participation rate among those 16 or older has dropped to about 61 percent from 67 percent in February 2020. Among prime age workers — those 25 to 54 — it has declined to 58 percent from 63 percent.

Women in their prime working years have quit the labor force at nearly twice the rate of men, according to research by Wells Fargo, partly because more women work in industries like leisure and hospitality that are exposed to social distancing and partly because women are more likely to bear the burden of child care. The share of Black women who have left the labor force is more than twice the share of white men. Then there are many people



JENNA SCHOENFELD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

who may be seeking a job but who are unavailable to take one because of health concerns, illness or caregiving obligations, putting them in what economists say is something of a gray area — between being unemployed and not in the labor force — that has become more common during the pandemic.

A single mother, Frankie Wiley, 29, worked as a housekeeper at a resort in Bloomington, Minn., until she was laid off last March. She would like a paid job, but she has to stay home with her 11-year-old daughter, who is attending school remotely.

"I take care of her, so I'm her only support," she said. She said she plans to return to work once her daughter can go back to school safely.

Older workers have exited the work force in droves, including those who left out of health concerns or illness or who took the opportunity to retire early. Among those 55 or above, labor force participation has fallen to 38 percent from 40 percent in the last year.

A study from the research firm Oxford Economics estimates that around two million workers have left the labor force to retire since the start of the pandemic, more than twice the level in 2019.

That was the case for Ed Hoag, a public librarian for 35 years, who decided on an early retirement

last summer out of concerns for his health. He and his wife have no children, and he was worried that if either of them got sick, there would be no one to take care of them.

Now 60, he spends his days reading at his home in Lambertville, N.J., where he moved a few years ago in anticipation of a retirement that had once seemed much further off.

"I do miss working," he said. "I miss my colleagues and I miss the activity of the library, the people that would come in, the jobs we did. I do miss all that interaction. But I think that for myself and my wife, it was the right decision to make."

For the legion of older workers who hope to return to work after the pandemic, a challenging path may lie ahead. Studies show that older people who leave the work force will have a more difficult time re-entering it because of age discrimination and other reasons. If that reality holds during the recovery, the number of older workers who have left the labor force — either because they could not find a job or because they retired early — could be one of the pandemic's enduring consequences.

One prevailing question is whether employers, as in the past, will look askance at those who have been out of the labor force for a significant time.



HANNAH YOON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ed Hoag, above, retired in 2020, earlier than he'd planned, because he didn't feel it was as public health because of Covid-19. Robert Hesse, left, says he plans to look for a job in earnest once he is vaccinated.

Even in a tight labor market, long-term unemployed workers faced a stigma, said Maria Heidkamp, the director of the New Start Career Network, which helps older job seekers in New Jersey.

"In addition to any age, race or gender discrimination that you may already encounter, there's a lot of evidence that it is easier to get a job if you already have a job," she said. Those employers may overlook any pandemic résumé gap, she said, "there's no reason to think that that is going to be different for these people, who are on the sidelines right now who want to come back."

Still, because of the pandemic's unique economic impact, many economists believe that the extraordinary number of people who have left the labor force will be more of a temporary blip than emblematic of a deeper structural issue.

"I don't think overall the U.S. labor force participation rate is going to get stuck at a lower rate,"

said Betsey Stevenson, a professor of economics and public policy at the University of Michigan, who was a member of President Barack Obama's Council of Economic Advisers.

Already there is evidence that people who left the labor force are returning to work.

Labor participation among young people, which tumbled in the early stages of the pandemic, has rebounded significantly as service industries bounce back.

And as the vaccination rate continues to rise and restrictions on activity lift across the country, many more people who have left the work force are beginning to plot their returns.

Since Heather Kilpatrick lost her job in private equity last March, she has spent her days at home in East Boston caring for her daughter, now 3.

Without her additional income, she and her husband, co-owner of a restaurant, could no longer afford day care at the local Y.M.C.A. So although Ms. Kilpatrick, 36, asked to go back to work, she felt as if she were trying to solve a chicken-or-egg dilemma.

"No disrespect to women who want to stay home, but that's never been me," she said.

Recently, she finally accepted a part-time job working from home for a restaurant group. Her job began last week.

Virus Digest

TRAVEL

Airlines See Demand Increasing As Vaccinations Accelerate

The future for the travel industry is looking a little brighter as more Americans get vaccinated, states open up and resorts sell out, the nation's largest airlines said Monday.

Speaking at the J.P. Morgan Industrial Conference on Monday, the chief executive of Delta Air Lines, Ed Bastian, said he was starting to see "real glimmers of hope" as ticket sales accelerated.

"The real story for the quarter kicked in about five to six weeks ago when we started to see bookings pick up," Mr. Bastian said. "That coincided clearly with confidence in the marketplace, people starting to book their spring and summer plans."

Airlines have suffered steep losses since the pandemic began, but that trend appears to be easing. Mr. Bastian said that Delta could end March with zero "cash burn," a self-defined measure of spending on core operations and investments. At the same conference, the United Airlines chief executive, Scott Kirby, said his company would end the month having taken in more cash from operations than it spent.

At the conference and in securities filings, the nation's four largest airlines — American Airlines, Delta, United and Southwest Airlines — expressed guarded confidence that their business was on the mend.

"The crisis isn't over, of course, but we certainly are seeing the beginning of what feels like a very strong recovery," Mr. Kirby, the chief executive of American Airlines, said at the conference. NIRAJ CHOKSHI

Deal for Extended Stay America Is \$6 Billion Bet on Rebound

The investment firms Blackstone and Starwood Capital announced on Monday that they planned to acquire the hotel operator Extended Stay America for \$6 billion, the latest deal premised on a post-pandemic rebound in travel.

The deal is a bet that the maturing hotel chain that provides guests with amenities like kitchens and laundry facilities will prosper as the U.S. economy recovers. The industry had a 74 percent occupancy rate last year, above the industry average, with many rooms filled by essential workers.

The company's new owners hope those rooms will soon add more tourists and traveling professionals. Extended Stay has about 600 locations across the United States.

"Our occupancy levels across the brand now rival the pre-Covid levels," Bruce Haise, Extended Stay's chief executive, told analysts at the company's earnings call last month. "And unlike the rest of the industry that was still reaching for occupancy, we can now turn the attention to driving higher rates."

The company's shares have more than doubled over the past year, and the acquisition offer is a 15 percent premium to its closing stock price at the end of last week. LAUREN HIRSCH

ECONOMY

Pandemic Inflation Is Added To U.K. Inflation Index

As millions of people began working, exercising and doing just about everything from home during the pandemic, sales of exercise balls and dumbbells surged enough to worry the fashion industry about a shortage of leisure wear. Britain's statisticians expect those consumer trends to stick around.

Hand weights and men's loungewear pants, along with hand sanitizers, have been added to the list of items the Office for National Statistics uses to track prices and calculate Britain's inflation rate, the statistics agency said Monday. Women's sweatshirts were also added to expand the women's casual wear section.

Every year, the basket of goods and services, which has more than 700 items, is re-computed. This year, 17 products were added and 10 were removed from the official shopping cart. The updated list is part trend report, part academic statistical analysis.

Among the changes:

- Hybrid and electric cars were added. Purchases have increased in anticipation of conventional cars being phased out. The government plans to ban the sale of cars that run solely on gas and diesel by 2030.

- A smartwatch and smart light bulb were added, reflecting the growing popularity of connected devices. (Smart speakers were already included.)

- The "stacy restaurant sandwich" — that is, a sandwich from a company called Stacy's — was removed because the number of Stacy's cantentens has fallen as more people (when they work in the office) are bringing lunches from outside their workplace. ESHE NELSON

Stimulus Package Expands Medicaid In Effort to Fight Maternal Mortality

By SARAH KLIFF

It's easy to overlook amid the hundreds of pages of the \$1.9 trillion stimulus plan President Biden signed into law Thursday, but a short section aims to combat America's maternal mortality crisis by expanding health coverage for new mothers.

The United States has the highest rate of maternal deaths in the industrialized world. A third of those deaths happen after delivery, when a significant share of American women experience a gap in coverage.

Under current law, all states provide Medicaid health coverage to income-eligible women who are pregnant. More than 40 percent of babies born each year in the United States are to mothers enrolled in the public health program.

But coverage runs out 60 days after delivery, causing many women to become uninsured shortly after giving birth.

The American Rescue Plan will let states extend Medicaid coverage for a full year, and provides federal funding to do so. As with the enhanced child tax credit, expanding postpartum Medicaid is another stimulus policy that bolsters the safety net supporting low-income parents in the United States.

"Illinois has one of the highest maternal death rates for Black mothers, which is very concerning to me," said Senator Tammy Duckworth, Democrat of Illinois, who has written legislation calling for this policy change. "These are also communities that have been especially hard hit by the pandemic."

Legislators have become increasingly concerned about the nation's maternal mortality rate,

which declined through most of the 20th century but has increased in the last few decades. Black mothers have a significantly higher mortality rate than white mothers, and women giving birth in the United States over all are twice as likely to die as those in Canada, and five times as likely as those in Germany.

A recent study found that 20 percent of uninsured new mothers skipped care because of cost, and half worried about not being able to afford their medical bills.

"These aren't people who are uninsured because they don't think it's valuable, or don't have health concerns," said Stacy Morrow, a principal research associate at the Urban Institute and author of the study. "They are people who have medical needs."

Her research found that, between 2013 and 2018, 11.5 percent of new mothers lacked health insurance coverage. That rate is slightly higher than the general population's. About half of those uninsured women were Hispanic, and two-thirds lived in the South. The uninsured rate for new mothers is especially high in states that do not participate in the Affordable Care Act's Medicaid expansion, which provides public coverage to all citizens who earn less than 133 percent of the federal poverty line. Recent studies have found that increased Medicaid access for

the general population, which will cover many new mothers, is associated with lower maternal mortality and more use of medical care in the postpartum year.

Extending Medicaid coverage longer would also help women comply with new postpartum guidelines from the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists. In 2018, it began recommending that postpartum care be delivered as a series of visits from three to 12 weeks after delivery. Before that, the association recommended only one visit at six weeks after birth.

"This is an evidence-based, well-supported proposal," said Katy Kozhimannil, a professor of

'They are people who have medical needs.'

Stacy Morrow of the Urban Institute

health policy at the University of Minnesota. "It would be extremely helpful for women to have financial access to health insurance and health care after they deliver."

She said the extension of postpartum Medicaid should be seen in the context of the larger set of benefits the stimulus will provide parents. There are the \$1,400 checks for each family member, including children, that will go out to most Americans. The new child tax credit will also provide big financial boosts for many families with children.

Taken together, the changes in the stimulus should lessen the financial strain that comes with becoming a parent, both for



DAVID J. PHILLIP/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The U.S. has the highest rate of maternal deaths in the industrialized world.

medical bills and other expenses. Still, experts say major stressors and gaps in the safety net will remain. The United States does not guarantee paid leave for new parents. States will have to sign up to add this benefit to Medicaid, and pay a share of the costs. Even in states that do make that decision, new mothers could still find themselves uninsured after a year of coverage ends.

"It's an important stepping-stone, but it kicks the can down the road a bit," said Ms. Morrow of the Urban Institute. "Twelve months later, this coverage will still run out."

The blanket permission for all states to expand this coverage is also a reversal of a stance by the Trump administration. In recent years, five states requested waivers to lengthen Medicaid coverage for new mothers. Federal officials never responded.

States will no longer have to go through a lengthy waiver application to extend postpartum Medicaid coverage. Instead, they can notify the federal government they plan to provide the benefit and move forward without waiting for any additional approval.

SportsTuesday

The New York Times

N.C.A.A. TOURNAMENT

64 Teams With Joy That Can't Be Masked

By NATALIE WEINER

In some ways, Selection Monday looked the same as it always has. Teams anticipated their places in the N.C.A.A. women's basketball tournament bracket from conference rooms and arenas around the country, their anxiety and celebrations shared with ESPN's audience.

Over a year into the coronavirus pandemic, though, it was hard to watch without being reminded of a giant Zoom call to commemorate a milestone from a distance. And making this year's 64-team N.C.A.A. tournament field is a huge milestone, even for programs that typically would be shocked not to have been selected.

When Stanford was announced as the No. 1 seed overall, the players' cheers on the court expressed what their smiles, hidden behind masks, could not. The Cardinal, who were led by the senior guard Kiana Williams, knew what it was like not to have the chance to compete in the tournament, which was canceled last year.

The Cardinal clinched the Pac-12 Conference tournament championship for the first time since 2014 with a 20-point victory against UCLA on March 7 after losing only twice in the regular season, which included nine weeks of practice and play in Las Vegas.

Santa Clara County, Calif., which encompasses the Stanford campus, started restricting sports participation late last year because of the coronavirus, so the Cardinal made their home base at UNLV's arena, the Thomas & Mack Center, until those restrictions were lifted.

Still, they managed to develop one of their most competitive teams in years.

In December, Stanford's Tara VanDerveer became the coach with the most victories in Division I women's college basketball, surpassing Pat Summitt, the former Tennessee coach who died in 2016, with her 1,099th win. Now VanDerveer and the Cardinal are in a strong position to compete for their third N.C.A.A. title and their first since 1992.

The other No. 1 seeds were Connecticut, South Carolina and North Carolina State.

There were plenty of surprises among the 33 at-large selections and 31 automatic bids for the tournament that begins with the round of 64 on Sunday.

Hours before the field was revealed, UConn announced that its coach, Geno Auriemma, had tested positive for the coronavirus and would not immediately travel with the team to Texas, where the tournament is being played.

"I'm feeling well but disappointed that I will be away from the team for the next several days," said Auriemma, who has won 11 national championships with the Huskies.

Because all the games will be played in one state rather than sprawled across sites around the country, the bracket looked like a smoother ranking of the teams, 1-64, than it would in another year in which geographical considerations would be given more weight. The four regions that split up the bracket were named after San Antonio landmarks: Alamo, HemisFair, Mercado and River Walk.

The toughest region might be topped by No. 1 UConn and No. 2 Baylor. Placing the defending champion, Baylor, and a perpetual favorite, UConn, in the same region is a way for the selection committee to potentially continue what has, over the past decade, become something of a rivalry. As it stands now, each team has been behind the other four times. Also in the region, No. 3 seed Tennessee and No. 4 seed Kentucky are both battle-tested thanks to their slog through the Southeastern Conference, where both churned out nine wins that spotlighted their respective stars Renna Davis and Rhyné Howard.

Some of the seeding tracked with the

Stanford, relocated for months because of the virus, took the top spot.

changes in the metrics used by the N.C.A.A. selection committee to assess teams. The committee used the N.C.A.A.'s composite NET ranking on the women's side for the first time this year as one of the 14 criteria that determine teams' eligibility and seeding. Although the metric was intended to provide some transparency, it also gave some fans more fuel for grievances. Rutgers fans, for example, might wonder how a team ranked No. 12 over all, according to NET, wound up as a No. 6 seed.

The lower seeds also show some of the limits of even the most advanced analytics. High Point, Bradley and Stony Brook are all slated to compete in the Division I tournament for the first time, as is Utah Valley, which was selected in place of California Baptist to represent the Western Athletic Conference. California Baptist went undefeated and won the WAC

A Decade of Championships

While Connecticut has won five of the last 10 national championships, the Huskies have not been to the final since 2016.

| YEAR | CHAMPION | RUNNER-UP |
|------|----------------|-------------------|
| 2019 | Baylor | Notre Dame |
| 2018 | Notre Dame | Mississippi State |
| 2017 | South Carolina | Mississippi State |
| 2016 | Connecticut | Syracuse |
| 2015 | Connecticut | Notre Dame |
| 2014 | Connecticut | Notre Dame |
| 2013 | Connecticut | Louisville |
| 2012 | Baylor | Notre Dame |
| 2011 | Texas A&M | Notre Dame |
| 2010 | Connecticut | Stanford |

Source: NCAA.com

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP RIGHT: MARCO JOSE SANCHEZ/STE VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS; JEFF CHIU/ASSOCIATED PRESS; KATHY WELLEN/ASSOCIATED PRESS; BRYAN HIRSH/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Clockwise from top right: Stanford, N.C. State, Connecticut and South Carolina received No. 1 seeds.

tournament title, but is only in its third year competing at the Division I level and not yet eligible.

Wyoming, which won its first Mountain West title last week while becoming the first No. 7 seeded team to win that conference's tournament, made the field for only the second time, in large part because of a defense that rebounds 74 percent of its opponents' misses, according to Her Hoop Stats. Wyoming earned a No. 14 seed. Virginia Commonwealth University, a No. 13 seed, also earned its second tournament bid behind a title run in the Atlantic 10 Conference tournament, which it won for the first time despite beginning play as a No. 5 seed.

After spending plenty of time on the bubble, Wake Forest earned a No. 9 seed.

Four key teams were left out of the field: Houston, DePaul, Notre Dame and Oklahoma. Notre Dame, playing its first season after the retirement of Muffet McGraw, its longtime coach, missed the

tournament for the first time since 1992. DePaul was included in the N.C.A.A.'s first reveal of the top 16 teams in February, but lost three of its last four regular season games.

Still, one or more of those teams might wind up competing if the virus forces a team in the field by the 6 p.m. Tuesday deadline set by the N.C.A.A. During the tournament, any team without at least five available players because of contracting or positive tests will be disqualified and its opponent will advance to the next round.

The hope, of course, is that it won't come to that.

"With all the protocols, we're going into an area that's never been occupied before — as are the other 63 teams," Auriemma said last week after UConn won the Big East tournament. "I have no idea what's going to happen. I usually have a pretty good idea what's coming up in the N.C.A.A. tournament, but this year is not like any other year."



COLLEGE BASKETBALL N.C.A.A. TOURNAMENT

WOMEN'S BRACKET

Alamo Region

- 1 Stanford (25-2) Sunday
- 16 Utah Valley (13-6) Tuesday
- 8 Oklahoma State (18-8) Sunday
- 9 Wake Forest (12-12) Monday
- 5 Missouri State (21-2) Monday
- 12 U.C. Davis (13-2) Wednesday
- 4 Arkansas (18-8) Monday
- 13 Wright State (18-7) Monday
- 6 Oregon (13-8) Monday
- 11 South Dakota (19-5) Wednesday
- 3 Georgia (20-6) Monday
- 4 Drexel (14-8) Monday
- 7 Northwestern (15-8) Wednesday
- 2 Central Florida (10-4) Monday
- 2 Louisville (23-3) Monday
- 15 Marist (18-3) Monday

River Walk Region

- Connecticut (24-1) Sunday
- High Point (22-4) 16 Tuesday
- Syracuse (14-8) 8 Sunday
- South Dakota State (21-3) 9 Sunday
- Iowa (18-6) 5 Sunday
- Central Michigan (18-8) 12 Tuesday
- Kentucky (17-8) 4 Sunday
- Idaho State (22-3) 13 Sunday
- Michigan (14-5) 6 Sunday
- Florida Gulf Coast (26-2) 11 Tuesday
- Tennessee (16-7) 3 Sunday
- Middle Tennessee (17-7) 14 Tuesday
- Virginia Tech (14-8) 7 Sunday
- Marquette (19-6) 10 Tuesday
- Baylor (25-2) 2 Sunday
- Jackson State (18-5) 15 Sunday

SEMIFINAL
April 2
San Antonio

FINAL
April 4
San Antonio

SEMIFINAL
April 2
San Antonio

Tournament Schedule

ROUND OF 64
Sunday, March 21, noon, ABC, ESPN, ESPN2, ESPN3
Monday, March 22, noon, ESPN, ESPN2, ESPN3

ROUND OF 32
Tuesday, March 23, 3 p.m., ESPN, ESPN2, ESPN3
Wednesday, March 24, 1 p.m., ESPN2, ESPN3

ROUND OF 16
Saturday, March 27, 1 p.m., ABC, ESPN
Sunday, March 28, 1 p.m., ABC, ESPN

ROUND OF 8
Monday, March 29, 7 p.m., ESPN
Tuesday, March 30, 7 p.m., ESPN

FINAL FOUR
Friday, April 2, 6 p.m., ESPN

NATIONAL CHAMPIONSHIP
Sunday, April 4, 6 p.m., ESPN

All games in San Antonio
Times are Eastern

Hemisfair Region

- 1 South Carolina (22-4) Sunday
- 16 Mercer (19-6) Tuesday
- 8 Oregon State (11-7) Sunday
- 9 Florida State (10-8) Sunday
- 5 Georgia Tech (15-8) Sunday
- 12 Stephen F. Austin (24-2) Tuesday
- 4 West Virginia (21-6) Sunday
- 13 Lethbridge (10-5) Sunday
- 6 Texas (18-6) Monday
- 11 Bradley (17-11) Wednesday
- 3 U.C.L.A. (16-5) Monday
- 14 Wyoming (14-9) Monday
- 7 Alabama (16-9) Monday
- 10 North Carolina (13-10) Wednesday
- 2 Maryland (24-2) Monday
- 15 Mount St. Mary's (17-6) Monday

Mercado Region

- N.C. State (20-2) 1 Sunday
- North Carolina A&T (14-2) 16 Tuesday
- South Florida (18-3) 8 Sunday
- Washington State (12-11) 9 Monday
- Gonzaga (23-3) 5 Monday
- Baltimore (20-5) 12 Wednesday
- Indiana (18-5) 4 Monday
- Virginia Commonwealth (16-10) 13 Wednesday
- Rutgers (14-4) 6 Monday
- Brigham Young (18-5) 11 Wednesday
- Arizona (16-5) 3 Monday
- Stony Brook (15-5) 14 Monday
- Iowa State (16-10) 7 Monday
- Michigan State (15-8) 10 Wednesday
- Texas A&M (23-2) 2 Wednesday
- Troy (22-5) 15 Sunday



KEY: COX/GETTY IMAGES
The UConn Huskies have had six undefeated seasons.

Most National Titles In Women's Basketball

| | |
|---------------------|----|
| Connecticut | 11 |
| Tennessee | 8 |
| Baylor | 3 |
| Notre Dame | 2 |
| Stanford | 2 |
| Louisiana Tech | 2 |
| Southern California | 2 |
| Maryland | 1 |
| North Carolina | 1 |
| Old Dominion | 1 |
| Purdue | 1 |
| South Carolina | 1 |
| Texas | 1 |
| Texas A&M | 1 |
| Texas Tech | 1 |

How to Win Your Bracket Pool (Being a Hard-Core Fan Isn't Required)

By VICTOR MATHER

March is one time of the year when many people who don't know a parlay from a point spread suddenly become sports bettors, risking a few bucks in an N.C.A.A. men's basketball tournament pool.

If you're one of them, and feel as if your annual entry is starting to seem like a donation, here's good news: If you follow a few simple guidelines, you can significantly increase your chances of winning. And you can do it without having obsessively followed college basketball this season. Indeed, you can even have an edge over the hard-core fans who don't follow these tips and cling only to their own impressions of the teams.

The rules matter greatly.

When you get your bracket, don't start right in on picking games. Instead, read the rules of the pool thoroughly.

If it's an old-school pool that awards the same number of points no matter which team you pick, you're going to want to stick to the favorites. Don't be clever with U.C. Santa Barbara or Liberty. There's no reason to; the reward is just not worth the risk.

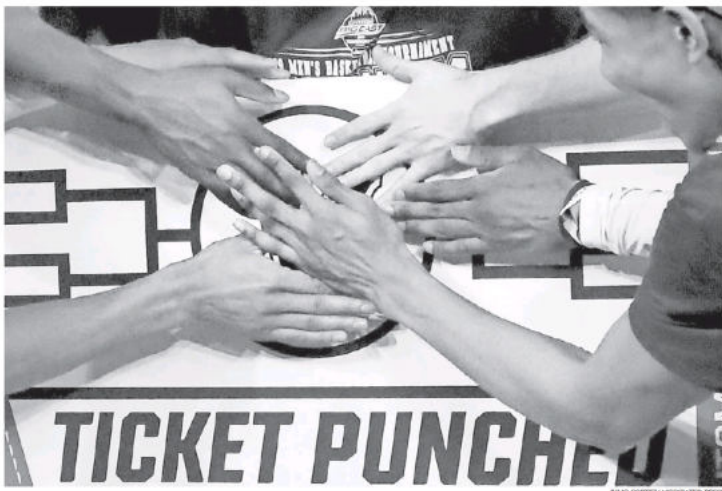
But if the pool awards bonus points for upsets, you've got to go in a completely different direction. Now you want to pick long shots; indeed, you must do so to have any chance of winning.

The number to pick depends on your pool's rules. If the bonus points for bracket upsets are stingy — say, a single point — then you may want to pick only the No. 9 seeds to beat the No. 8 seeds. If the bonuses are more generous — some pools offer 3, 5, 10 points or more for upsets — you want to start picking 10, 11, 12, and 13 seeds as well, and sometimes even 14 seeds.

One caution: Picking too many upsets in the first round in this sort of pool will get you a lot of points, but may hurt you in later rounds when the points awarded for each correct pick generally increase. So it's probably wise most of the time to pick only one upset per pair of games. If you pick the 12 to beat the 4, don't also pick the 13 to beat the 5. (You don't usually want to be stuck with a 12 against a 13 in the second round.)

Consider the number of entrants.

While sticking with the favorites is the best way to fill in a pool without bonus points, the number of players can have a big effect. If the



Once you get your hands on a men's tournament bracket, picking teams like Houston, left, or Rutgers could give you an edge.

pool is just you and a handful of friends, go ahead and pick all the favorites; you'll have a good chance to do really well. But once the field size surpasses 50 or so, an all-favorites entry, though it is likely to do reasonably well, may struggle to win money.

The best bet for a bigger pool is to mix up your picks a bit once

you're down to the final eight: Maybe pick a couple of No. 2 seeds to make the Final Four and one of them to win it all.

If your pool has an even bigger field, you have to take even more chances. If you're entering one of the large public pools with tens of thousands of entrants or more, you're going to have to make a

pretty kooky Final Four to have a chance to win.

Embrace a contrarian view.

When picking your eventual winner, it can be to your benefit not to go with the team everyone else likes. Undefeated Gonzaga is the No. 1 team in the country. That means even if you correctly select

the Zags to win, you will be one of many entrants doing so. But if you look a little further down, perhaps to a team like Michigan or Houston, and you're right, you may be one of only a few entrants to do so and therefore have a better chance for the overall win.

And know your opponents. If your pool includes a lot of Illinois

graduates, say, you probably want to pick a different team to win it all.

Look at the betting lines.

In general, the better-seeded teams have a better chance to win. But sometimes, the oddsmakers see it a little differently. In any game in which the seeding and bookmakers disagree, go with the bookmakers. You'll have a better chance to win, your opponents may be going the other way and, if your pool awards them, you'll pick up some bonus points.

Based on the very early lines, one team that stands out is Rutgers, which is a 10 seed, but favored by about 2 points over seventh-seeded Clemson.

Based on computer power rankings, some possible upsets that won't really be upsets in the second round include Villanova over Purdue and Tennessee over Oklahoma State.

Beware of the 'hot team.'

Inevitably, there are teams that get hot in their conference tournaments and get a lot of buzz to do well in the N.C.A.A. tournament. Don't fall for the hype. A streaky team, like Georgetown, which won four straight games to take the Big East tournament as a No. 8 seed over the weekend, is very likely to go back to how it was playing for most of the season.

In contrast, the teams that crashed out early in their conference tournaments — like Villanova, which lost to Georgetown in the quarterfinals of the Big East — are very likely to go back to playing well.

Look at the preseason favorites.

A surprisingly good indicator of tournament success was unearthed by FiveThirtyEight a few years ago: the preseason poll.

Teams that were ranked highly going into the season but underachieved often do well in the N.C.A.A. tournament. The theory is that those teams have a lot of talent; otherwise they wouldn't have been rated as top teams before the season started. And the talent is probably still there, even though the players underperformed in the couple dozen games of the regular season, a rather small sample size.

The teams this year that might suddenly start playing like everyone expected include Villanova, No. 3 preseason and a No. 5 seed; Virginia, No. 4 preseason and a No. 4 seed; and Wisconsin, No. 7 preseason and a No. 9 seed.

COLLEGE BASKETBALL N.C.A.A. TOURNAMENT

Bubble Teams Turned Unlikely Understudies

By ADAM ZAGORIA

Ahead of the N.C.A.A. tournament, the biggest stage in men's college basketball, Louisville Coach Chris Mack and his players have the role of understudies. They will be the first replacements should a team from a multiple-bid conference be unable to play this week because of coronavirus issues.

Virginia, the tournament champion in 2019, and Kansas withdrew from their conference tournaments last week because of virus protocols. They earned at-large berths to the national tournament in Indiana, but whether they will be able to play remains an open question.

Alternates will be able to fill slots vacated by teams with coronavirus issues through Tuesday at 6 p.m. Eastern time. After that, vacant spots will not be filled, and an opposing team would advance via the no-contest rule, similar to a walkover in tennis. No re-

like Duke, Seton Hall and St. John's would not play in the second-tier, 16-team National Invitation Tournament beginning Wednesday in Frisco and Denton, Texas, the other replacement teams were planning on participating in it.

Colorado State Coach Niko Medved, whose team finished 18-4, 14-4 in the Mountain West Conference, told reporters on Sunday that he did not believe the N.C.A.A. tournament would end up needing one replacement team, never mind two.

"You want to be in March Madness," Adam Thistlewood, a junior forward for Colorado State, said to *The Denver Post*. "But we can't dwell on that. We've got to focus on the N.I.T. coming up."

St. Louis Coach Travis Ford, whose team was in the bubble after finishing 14-4, 4 in the Atlantic 10 Conference, told *The St. Louis Post-Dispatch* that he prepared his team for the seeming inevitability of playing their first game of the N.I.T. on Saturday.

"They knew and seemed disappointed, but I couldn't see any real emotion," he said.

A spokesman for Mississippi said the team would be prepared to travel to Indianapolis if it was chosen, but otherwise would look forward to the N.I.T.

Kansas and Virginia withdrew from their conference tournaments after positive tests for the coronavirus associated with tier-1 personnel in the program. Both teams must have seven consecutive days of negative tests before their arrival and then two negative P.C.R. tests upon arrival at least 12 hours apart with individual hotel room quarantine between tests in order to play. Dan Gavitt, the N.C.A.A. senior vice president for basketball, said Monday. The seven-test protocol also includes people in each team's travel party of a maximum 34 people. Each team needs only five eligible players to participate, making it less likely that any replacement team will get the call.

Virginia Coach Tony Bennett said most of his team would remain in quarantine until Thursday because of contact tracing. The Cavaliers, the No. 4 seed in the West Region, will not travel to Indiana until Friday and will still need to have two days of negative tests before their game Saturday night with No. 13 Ohio. The



JARED C. TRUETT/GETTY IMAGES

Four teams will be on standby through Tuesday evening.

placement teams will enter the tournament once it begins with the first four games on Thursday.

After Louisville, the next three replacements are Colorado State, Louisiana and Mississippi. They were the first four teams to miss the cut for the 68-team field.

"No one's wishing for anyone to get Covid," Mack said Monday on a conference call with reporters. "We're not on hands and knees here praying for an outbreak. That's just not us. So I hope every team that got selected is able to play in the tournament, and has a great experience."

But Mack, whose team had four games postponed in February and ended up with a 13-7 record after the Atlantic Coast Conference tournament, said it was tough to come so close to making the field only to be excluded.

The tournament committee has a tough job and we're not a part of it, and I don't see that changing," he said.

While Mack said that Louisville



ALTON FERGUSON TODAY SPORTS, VIA REUTERS

N.C.A.A. essentially made Virginia an exception after initially saying teams had to arrive no later than Monday night, Gavitt said.

"They, like every single team and every individual here, will

have seven days of negative tests," Gavitt said. "It absolutely is a requirement. Had that not been able to happen, they would not have been able to participate in the tournament."

Kansas had two players, David

Louisville, above, one of the last four teams to miss the N.C.A.A. tournament cut, may be back in if a team is forced out by the coronavirus. Virginia, left, skipped its conference tournament because of the virus but made the field of 68.

McCormack and Tristan Enaruna, in Covid-19 protocols when the team withdrew ahead of its Big 12 tournament semifinal with Texas on Friday. A third, unidentified Kansas player tested positive Friday. None of the three were scheduled to travel with the team to Indiana on Monday. There is a chance McCormack or Enaruna, or both, could return for the Jayhawks' game on Saturday afternoon. Kansas, the No. 3 seed in the West Region, is scheduled to play No. 11 Eastern Washington.

"We think we are, knock on wood, as good a shape as we can be in," Kansas Coach Bill Self said Sunday night. "We had a situation following the Oklahoma game on Friday morning, but everybody else has tested negative daily and sometimes more than once a day. We expect to have McCormack and Enaruna, unless something happens."

N.C.A.A. Eases a Virus Protocol, Possibly Reducing Some Quarantines

By ALAN BLINDER and BILLY WITZ

The N.C.A.A. recently rewrote part of its coronavirus safety protocols, which college sports administrators have routinely used to justify holding basketball championships during the pandemic, to potentially shorten the quarantines of some teams arriving in Indiana for the Division I men's tournament.

The new rules, which also apply to the women's tournament scheduled to begin next week in Texas, call for teams to "remain in quarantine until two consecutive tests on separate days are confirmed negative, at which time team practice may begin." But the N.C.A.A.'s unannounced change offers teams arriving late at night a quicker way out: negative results on virus tests separated by at least 12 hours.

After inquiries from *The New York Times*, allowed Iona, the No. 15 seed in the East region, to practice less than 24 hours after its chartered plane landed in Indianapolis late in the night it clinched its automatic bid.

The episode involving Iona, which Coach Rick Pitino steered to a victory in the Metro Atlantic Athletic Conference tournament on Saturday, is an early signal of how the N.C.A.A. may interpret, apply and change the safety rules it is relying on to stage 67 games in Indiana over the coming weeks.

Like their counterparts in many leagues, college sports administrators routinely recalibrated their approach to the pandemic, not just in details but sometimes with respect to issues they had depicted as foundational principles. Last year, for instance, executives regularly said that college games would not happen unless students were on campuses for classes — a position that ultimately faded away as the fall football season approached.

In a statement on Monday, the N.C.A.A. said its medical advisers had decided to allow teams that arrived late at night to leave quarantine after clearing two polymerase chain reaction tests, which are considered to be the gold standard

in infectious disease diagnostics, that were administered at least 12 hours apart. And no matter when they arrive, players and coaches, as long planned, must also record seven straight days of negative tests before traveling to Indiana or Texas.

The association did not immediately say when it had changed its quarantine policy or why its published guidelines did not include an exception to it, but the modification was in place by the time Iona landed in Indianapolis, a university official said. In a separate interview on Monday, Mark Emmert, the N.C.A.A. president, said that although the association's health rules could evolve, its central intent would not.

"There is certainly one part of it that's never going to change, and that is we're not going to take any risks that were not advised by all of the medical advisory groups that we have in place," Emmert said. "We're simply not going to do

that."

Although Pitino has often run afoul of N.C.A.A. rules over his long career, there is no indication that Iona, which is scheduled to play No. 2 Alabama on Saturday, held a surreptitious practice without the consent of tournament organizers. Indeed, Iona, which arranged its practice time with the N.C.A.A., publicized the workout on its Twitter account late Sunday, not long after Pitino mentioned plans for it during a videoconference with reporters.

Instead, it appears that at least one team in the 68-team field was able to benefit from a rule change that was not widely known.

The Gaels reached their fifth straight N.C.A.A. tournament at Saturday when they defeated Fairfield, 69-51, in Atlantic City, N.J. The team soon headed to the airport there, where a delay kept them grounded for about an hour beyond their scheduled departure for Indianapolis.

Aboard an Allegiant Air flight that routed the Gaels over the Delaware Peninsula before a turn westward, the team arrived in Indiana as the time neared 1 a.m. Eastern. They went by bus to a hotel, arriving close to 2 a.m., around the time that clocks moved forward for daylight saving time.

Members of Iona's travel party immediately submitted to testing in exchange for red wristbands, which signified that they had not been cleared for team activities, before heading to individual hotel rooms on an otherwise unoccupied floor.

Ensclosed in their rooms until Sunday afternoon, players, coaches and staff members self-administered nasal swab tests around 3 p.m. The specimens went into vials, which in turn went into envelopes that were sealed with a sticker. Then Iona players and employees received blue wristbands to indicate that they had been tested again but that re-

sults were pending.

About four hours later, Iona's travel party learned via a mobile app that their tests had returned negative results, and members were given credentials with the name of the hotel and the arenas where they could be for practices or games. A few hours later, the Gaels were practicing at the facility of the Indiana Fever of the W.N.B.A.

"It's good that we're not playing until Saturday because we need practice time," Pitino said. With Alabama being "bigger, quicker, faster, more experienced," Pitino said, "the more practice we get, the better off we are."

Nate Oats, Alabama's coach, said on Sunday that he did not expect that his team would practice until at least Tuesday.

"They'll be in their rooms," Oats said of the Crimson Tide's plan for Monday. "They'll have their iPads, laptops. We'll get all the video loaded up they can look at

their own. We'll reconvene Tuesday."

The N.C.A.A.'s ambitious plan to host the men's basketball tournament, an event more crucial than any other to the association's finances, has been under scrutiny for months, and some public health experts have sharply questioned the decision to allow spectators. In recent days, the association has grappled with whether two college basketball's most prominent programs, Kansas and Virginia, should play in the tournament despite recent virus cases.

Kansas, the No. 3 seed in the West region after it had to pull out of the Big 12 tournament, planned to travel to Indiana on Monday without other people. Coach Bill Self said, though, that he expected those people to join the team later in the week.

"We think we're — you know, knock on wood — in as good a shape as we can be in," Self said.

But at Virginia, the fourth seed in the West, Coach Tony Bennett said on Sunday night that "the majority" of the team was in quarantine because of contact tracing after a positive test forced the Cavaliers to exit the Atlantic Coast Conference tournament on Friday.

"We'll be using Zoom a lot," said Bennett, who led Virginia to a national title in 2019. "It's certainly a unique way to prepare for the N.C.A.A. tournament, but I'm thankful that the N.C.A.A. gave our young men the chance."

Dan Gavitt, the N.C.A.A.'s vice president for basketball, said Virginia was poised to make the cut — if only barely — to compete. Although organizers prepared a team replacement policy, the bracket will freeze at 6 p.m. Eastern on Tuesday, and no new teams will be substituted into the tournament after that deadline.

Pitino, among the most accomplished tournament coaches in history, said he was not worried about his team, particularly because the N.C.A.A. is only looking for a team to have five eligible, healthy players. And the Gaels have had six players test positive and recover from the virus in the last three months.

"Even if we have a problem, we're still going to play," Pitino said. "We have 10 players who are capable of playing."



BRIFF KLOPFER/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Gillian R. Brassil contributed reporting.

After winning the MAAC tournament title, Iona arrived in Indiana early on Sunday morning and practiced less than 24 hours later.

SCOREBOARD

BASKETBALL

N.B.A. STANDINGS

| EASTERN CONFERENCE | | | | |
|--------------------|----|----|------|----|
| Atlanta | W | L | Pct | GB |
| Brooklyn | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| Boston | 20 | 13 | .606 | 1 |
| Knicks | 20 | 13 | .606 | 1 |
| Toronto | 17 | 20 | .458 | 10 |
| WESTERN CONFERENCE | | | | |
| Denver | W | L | Pct | GB |
| Golden State | 21 | 10 | .679 | 1 |
| Lakers | 19 | 12 | .613 | 1 |
| Memphis | 19 | 13 | .594 | 2 |
| Phoenix | 18 | 14 | .563 | 3 |
| Portland | 14 | 23 | .378 | 6 |
| Sacramento | 14 | 23 | .378 | 6 |
| Utah | 14 | 23 | .378 | 6 |

| WESTERN CONFERENCE | | | | |
|--------------------|----|----|------|----|
| San Antonio | W | L | Pct | GB |
| San Diego | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| Dallas | 20 | 13 | .606 | 1 |
| New Orleans | 17 | 20 | .458 | 10 |
| Houston | 17 | 20 | .458 | 10 |
| San Antonio | W | L | Pct | GB |
| San Antonio | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| San Antonio | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| San Antonio | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| San Antonio | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |

| N.B.A. STANDINGS | | | | |
|------------------|----|----|------|----|
| Atlanta | W | L | Pct | GB |
| Atlanta | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| Atlanta | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| Atlanta | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| Atlanta | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| Atlanta | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| Atlanta | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| Atlanta | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| Atlanta | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| Atlanta | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |

HOCKEY

N.H.L. STANDINGS

| EASTERN CONFERENCE | | | | |
|--------------------|----|----|----|------|
| Montreal | W | L | OT | Pct |
| Montreal | 20 | 12 | 4 | .625 |
| Montreal | 20 | 12 | 4 | .625 |
| Montreal | 20 | 12 | 4 | .625 |
| Montreal | 20 | 12 | 4 | .625 |
| Montreal | 20 | 12 | 4 | .625 |
| Montreal | 20 | 12 | 4 | .625 |
| Montreal | 20 | 12 | 4 | .625 |
| Montreal | 20 | 12 | 4 | .625 |
| Montreal | 20 | 12 | 4 | .625 |

| WESTERN CONFERENCE | | | | |
|--------------------|----|----|----|------|
| Colorado | W | L | OT | Pct |
| Colorado | 20 | 12 | 4 | .625 |
| Colorado | 20 | 12 | 4 | .625 |
| Colorado | 20 | 12 | 4 | .625 |
| Colorado | 20 | 12 | 4 | .625 |
| Colorado | 20 | 12 | 4 | .625 |
| Colorado | 20 | 12 | 4 | .625 |
| Colorado | 20 | 12 | 4 | .625 |
| Colorado | 20 | 12 | 4 | .625 |
| Colorado | 20 | 12 | 4 | .625 |

COLLEGE BASKETBALL

MEN'S N.C.A.A. TOURNAMENT

| FIRST ROUND | | | | |
|------------------|----|----|------|----|
| Monday, March 15 | | | | |
| North Carolina | W | L | Pct | GB |
| North Carolina | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| North Carolina | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| North Carolina | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| North Carolina | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |

| EAST REGIONAL | | | | |
|------------------|----|----|------|----|
| First Round | | | | |
| Monday, March 15 | | | | |
| North Carolina | W | L | Pct | GB |
| North Carolina | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| North Carolina | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| North Carolina | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| North Carolina | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |

| WEST REGIONAL | | | | |
|------------------|----|----|------|----|
| First Round | | | | |
| Monday, March 15 | | | | |
| North Carolina | W | L | Pct | GB |
| North Carolina | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| North Carolina | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| North Carolina | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| North Carolina | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |

| SOUTHEAST REGIONAL | | | | |
|--------------------|----|----|------|----|
| First Round | | | | |
| Monday, March 15 | | | | |
| North Carolina | W | L | Pct | GB |
| North Carolina | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| North Carolina | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| North Carolina | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| North Carolina | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |

| SOUTHWEST REGIONAL | | | | |
|--------------------|----|----|------|----|
| First Round | | | | |
| Monday, March 15 | | | | |
| North Carolina | W | L | Pct | GB |
| North Carolina | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| North Carolina | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| North Carolina | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| North Carolina | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |

| MIDWEST REGIONAL | | | | |
|------------------|----|----|------|----|
| First Round | | | | |
| Monday, March 15 | | | | |
| North Carolina | W | L | Pct | GB |
| North Carolina | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| North Carolina | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| North Carolina | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| North Carolina | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |

| SOUTHWEST REGIONAL | | | | |
|--------------------|----|----|------|----|
| First Round | | | | |
| Monday, March 15 | | | | |
| North Carolina | W | L | Pct | GB |
| North Carolina | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| North Carolina | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| North Carolina | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
| North Carolina | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |

| SOUTHWEST REGIONAL | | | | |
|--------------------|----|----|------|----|
| First Round | | | | |
| Monday, March 15 | | | | |
| North Carolina | W | L | Pct | GB |
| North Carolina | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |
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| North Carolina | 20 | 12 | .625 | 1 |

Auriemma Tests Positive; Will Miss Part of Tournament

By GILLIAN R. BRASSILL

The Connecticut women's basketball coach, Geno Auriemma, tested positive for the coronavirus on Sunday, the university announced on Monday, just hours before the N.C.A.A. selected and placed teams in the Division I tournament.

"I'm feeling well but disappointed that I will be away from the team for the next several days," Auriemma said in the university's statement.

UConn, ranked No. 1 in the country, was expected to travel on Tuesday morning to Texas, where every round of the national tournament is to be held because of coronavirus concerns.

The Huskies will leave without Auriemma, who is expected to rejoin them on March 24, the day after his 67th birthday.

The Huskies are likely to play two games in the tournament without Auriemma. They are scheduled to face High Point, a



JESICA HELL/ASSOCIATED PRESS

No. 16 seed, on Sunday and then, assuming there is no upset, play a second-round game on March 23. Auriemma, who was inducted into the Naismith Memorial Basketball Hall of Fame in 2012, took charge of the program in 1985; the team had completed only one win-

ning season before he arrived.

Since then, UConn has dominated, winning 11 N.C.A.A. Division I titles, more than any other team, and the program has produced several W.N.B.A. stars, including Tina Charles, Maya Moore, Diana Taurasi, Sue Bird

UConn Coach Geno Auriemma is expected to return to the Huskies on March 24, the day after his 67th birthday.

and Breanna Stewart.

The Huskies also hold the record for the longest winning streak in N.C.A.A. Division I basketball, the run reached 111 games before ending in a buzzer-beater loss to Mississippi State in the 2017 Final Four.

"We're getting ready to do something that's never been done before," Auriemma said in a news conference after his team claimed the Big East tournament title on March 8.

"We're getting ready to get on a plane, fly to one site and be in the same hotel as 21 other teams. And then we're going to have to compete and try to win six games. That's never been done before."

Deena Caserio, director of sports medicine and the team's head doctor, said that contact trac-

ing protocols found that since Friday no other team member had been in close enough contact with Auriemma to need to quarantine.

"Given the fact that we have been doing daily testing for the past seven days, we feel confident that we were able to catch this very early on in the disease process," Caserio said in the UConn statement.

A spokesperson for the team confirmed in an email that all other people associated with the team — athletes, coaches, medical staff members and other officials — were cleared to travel to Texas on time because they have all since tested negative.

Auriemma is not experiencing symptoms and is isolating at home, the university said, and he received his second dose of the coronavirus vaccine on March 10. It can take up to a few weeks for a vaccine to offer immunity, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

YACHTING AMERICA'S CUP



IMMOR WATTS/GETTY IMAGES

New Zealand fans after their team took a 5-3 lead on Monday in the America's Cup. New Zealand needs only two wins to retain the America's Cup.

With a Sprint, New Zealand Moves Closer to Keeping Its Title

By CHRIS MUSELER

Win the start, win the race. For the first six races of the America's Cup finals, that was the story for both Team New Zealand, the holder, and its Italian challenger Luna Rossa Prada Pirelli.

Both teams, and most experts, had expected an ultratight series this month in the waters off Auckland, New Zealand, and as the teams traded wire-to-wire victories over the opening days, that was exactly what happened. The first team across the line was also the first team to finish.

But for the first week the racing also felt like something else altogether: It was . . . boring. No passing. No duels for the lead. No dramatic comebacks.

That all changed, though, on Monday. Taking advantage of shifting winds and its ample speed, Team New Zealand passed Luna Rossa in both races to take a 5-3 lead in the finals.

The stunning — for this year — turn of events put Team New Zealand in position to claim the cup if it could post two more wins on Tuesday. Here's a look at how the hosts got within reach of sailing's greatest prize.

Why have the races been so straightforward?

The world's best sailors agree on one thing: The boats — finely tuned, meticulously prepared and expertly staffed carbon-fiber AC75s — are being sailed perfectly. And that has robbed the event of some drama.

In recent times, this is the most interesting combination of strict design rules, high-tech simulators, a compact course and steady winds initially created an unusual deadlock.

This year's competitors, a new class of monohull hydrofoilers, rip around at four times the speed of the wind at times. The expectation was that, at speeds like that, mistakes would tend to be amplified. The problem was that no one was making any.



GILES MARTIN/RAE/AGENCY FRANCE PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

New Zealand, right, traded close wins with its Italian challenger Luna Rossa Prada Pirelli early on.

around at four times the speed of the wind at times. The expectation was that, at speeds like that, mistakes would tend to be amplified.

The problem was that no one was making any.

So what changed on Monday?

The wind, first of all.

New Zealand won the seventh race by nearly a minute, but then fell far behind in the eighth race after dropping off its foils after cutting into Luna Rossa's wind shadow. Taking advantage, the Italians quickly opened a huge lead before running into similar trouble themselves.

Sailing into a hole in the wind, Luna Rossa dropped its hull into the water, slowed to a crawl and then ran off the course while trying to get back up to speed. With the Kiwis back on their foils, Luna Rossa screamed past to turn a four-minute deficit into a four-minute victory.

"Two things changed yesterday," Ken Read, a former Ameri-

ca's Cup helmsman and commentator, said of Monday's races. "One, the first big break happened in this series and it was for the Kiwis. In any sport there's a bit of luck. In this series, it was for the Kiwis."

"Second, we finally saw the jets that the Kiwis were rumored to have. We saw sailing speeds upwind never before seen in our sport."

New Zealand's small, low-drag foils and innovative, aerodynamic hull are considered the main differentiators in its speed advantage. At one point, Read said, Team New Zealand was traveling at 30 knots — almost 35 miles an hour — virtually into the wind.

"You can't do that," he said, "in your motorboat with twin Mercuries."

So it's all over then?

Not so fast.

"New Zealand is showing a fast boat, but Luna Rossa shows they are fast through the maneuvers," said Nic Douglass, an Australian sailing commentator.

That can cause big problems for the trailing boat. Douglass said when one of the AC75s passes the race committee boat this year, the wind readings the committee records to help set a fair course are affected for 30 to 40 seconds. "The boats get caught in these bubbles of disturbed air," she said.

With the boats going four times the speed of the wind, these invisible bubbles are like potholes on the course. And in lighter wind, like in Monday's two races, these anomalies are amplified.

That is why the key is to get out front and stay there.

But surely there's still home-water advantage?

New Zealand's skipper, Peter Burling, has won nine world championships and an Olympic gold medal, and he brought the cup home to New Zealand four years ago. He won't give it up without a fight.

But that may be just what he has on his hands now.

Outridge sees a shift from perfect sailing technique to mental toughness making the difference for the rest of the competition.

"No one expected this to be this close," he said. "The boats aren't changing now. It has gone from a design competition to a psychological competition."

In 2017, when Burling won the cup, it was obvious New Zealand had a faster boat. There was never a do or die moment.

"Pete never really got put under pressure in the Cup match," he said. "I don't know how it will turn out this time."

His counterpart, Jimmy Spithill, faced such a moment in the 2013 Cup. Then racing the American defender, he and his teammates were down by eight races to New Zealand in the finals on San Francisco Bay.

"They sat on match point for more than a week," Outridge said. "Jimmy either had to deliver or they'd lose."

That experience, he said, may pay dividends now. It had better, because he is running out of races. And time.

MoMA builds stunt doubles for Calder sculptures.

BY PETER LIBREY



A cog in the academic world during its twilight.

BY JOHN WILLIAMS

Arts

The New York Times



Kindling the Fires of Diversity



GLENN WILCOX/WARNER BROS. PICTURES, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS



FOCUS FEATURES, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS



DAVID RUFFEN/REDUX, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

The film 'Mank' received the most Oscar nominations, but inclusion already appears to be a winner in the acting categories.

NICOLE SPERLING
and BROOKS BARNES

"Mank," David Fincher's black-and-white meditation on old Hollywood, received 10 Academy Award nominations on Monday, leading a diverse set of films and filmmakers after a year in which the movie industry was transformed by the pandemic and the Oscar season was pushed back two months.

That Netflix-produced film was nominated in the best picture, director, actor and supporting actress categories. Voters recognized a number of films in multiple categories, with six nominations each going to "The Trial of the Chicago 7," "Sound of Metal," "Nomadland," "Minari," "Judas and the Black Messiah" and "The Father."

All of those films were nominated for best picture, along with "Promising Young Woman."

For the first time, the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences nominated two women for best director, recognizing Chloe Zhao for her work on "Nomadland" and Emerald Fennell for "Promising Young Woman."

Also nominated were Fincher, Lee Isaac Chung of "Minari," a semi-autobiographical tale about a Korean-American family, and, in a surprise, the Danish filmmaker Thomas Vinterberg, for his work on "Another Round," about middle-age men who decide to get drunk daily. It was also recognized in the best international film category.

"I'm grateful to have gone on this journey with our talented team of filmmakers and to have met so many wonderful people who generously shared their stories with us,"

Zhao said in a statement about her film, which features a number of nonactors who are part of the nomad community in the United States. "Thank you so much to my academy peers for recognizing this film that is very close to my heart."

Nine of the 20 acting nominations went to people of color. Although the academy, which has 9,337 voting members, remains overwhelmingly white and male, the organization has invited more women and people of color.

CONTINUED ON PAGE C4

Top, Amanda Seyfried, Gary Oldman and Jamie McShane in the Netflix film "Mank," which received 10 Academy Award nominations. Above from left, Daniel Kaluuya in "Judas and the Black Messiah," Carey Mulligan in "Promising Young Woman" and Steven Yeun in "Minari."

Notes (High and Low) From the Grammys

THE 63RD ANNUAL Grammy Awards promised to be different: There was a new executive producer at the helm for the first time in decades; a new host; and a new challenge — assembling a pandemic awards show that didn't feel like a video conference. With a small audience of nominees outside in Los Angeles, the show highlighted the contributions of women and the impact of Black Lives Matter protests, offered screen time to workers at independent venues crushed by the pandemic and extended tributes to musicians we lost during this challenging year.

Here are the show's highlights and lowlights as we saw them.

The M.V.P.: Megan Thee Stallion

Though she didn't win the night's final and biggest category, record of the year, Grammy night belonged to Megan Thee Stallion. She took home the three other awards she was nominated for: best new artist and, for the remix of "Savage" featuring Beyoncé, best rap song and best rap performance. Each speech was a wholesome gift: words of exuberance from an artist experiencing the first flush of truly widespread acclaim. But her self-assured performance was the loudest statement of all. It opened with a bit of "Body," and pivoted into her part from the "Savage" remix. But the main focus was a performance of

CONTINUED ON PAGE C6



Megan Thee Stallion's high-octane performances and heartfelt acceptance speeches were highlights of the Grammy Awards.



Left, Craig Anderson loading the maquette for Alexander Calder's "Devil Fish" into a freight elevator at MoMA. Below, from far left, maquettes in the exhibition space; and Allan Smith, the foreman of MoMA's carpentry shop, transporting pieces of the "Black Beast" maquette with John Wood and Anderson.

PHOTOGRAPH BY LONDON NOBDEMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



The Stunt Doubles Of the Art World

To prepare for a show of Calder sculptures, MoMA created elaborate stand-ins.

By PETER LIBBEY

When film and TV crews need to set up cameras, or adjust lighting and sound equipment, actors' stand-ins — people of a similar size and shape — are often called on to patiently take their place. And when a script requires a character to do something dangerous, the star usually steps aside while a stunt double takes the punch.

At museums, maquettes are both stand-ins and stunt doubles. In exhibition planning, original artworks sit safely in packing crates, or hang elsewhere, while models of them are moved hither and yon with relatively little care so curators and designers can determine their layout in a gallery.

Seven maquettes were created for "Alexander Calder: Modern From the Start," which opened at the Museum of Modern Art on Sunday. And they are among the most detailed that the museum has made. Typically, mock-ups are pieces of brown paper demarcating artworks' footprints, or silhouettes fashioned from wood or cardboard. Many are constructed on the fly by art handlers, carpenters and conservators.

But this is an exhibition with Calder sculptures, many of which are large-scale works of complex design. Some of these, and a couple of their smaller cousins, required more elaborate treatment to prepare for.

The first to be fabricated was a stand-in for "Black Widow," a 1959 sculpture that has often been on view in MoMA's sculpture garden (most recently since 2019). While members of the museum's team that fo-

cuses on exhibition design and production were studying the measurements they had of the piece, they worried that it might be difficult to transport safely to a gallery on the third floor. They began their transportation tests by creating flat footprint models, before realizing that they needed to make a full-scale double.

"We needed to know exactly what shape that piece is," said Jason Fry, the museum's lead carpenter.

No matter how detailed they are, the maquettes are not reproductions. Nor were they intended to be. "I think it's distracting to make exact replicas," said Lana Hum, MoMA's director of exhibition design and production. Good models, she added, are "really just trying to evoke the salient features, the sculptural qualities" of the original pieces. Their utility stems from their simplicity.

This is why, when some of the carpenters suggested they paint the maquettes to match their pedigreed twins, Cara Manes, the curator of "Modern From the Start," requested that they leave the wood exposed. Too much detail, she said, could have made it difficult for her "to take the first important step toward understanding these objects as volumes in space," an intermediate phase between working with virtual models and maneuvering the real Calder sculptures.

The amount of labor that went into planning for the exhibition was a welcome surprise to Alexander S. C. Rower, Calder's grandson and the president of the Calder Foundation, which lent 14 pieces to the show.

"It's always been a challenge assisting museums in understanding how Calder's work occupies space," he said.

Calder's mobiles, whose orbits are eccentric, are particularly hard to anticipate. "I've never encountered a museum before that makes large, full-scale cutouts for the actual gallery where the sculptures are going to go into," Rower said. "I think that's amazing."

To recreate the Calder works, the exhibition design and production staff, led by Hum and overseen by Matthew Cox, had to begin almost from scratch. The measurements they had would have been sufficient for making massing models, simple material representations of basic dimensions. But for accurate stand-ins, they needed much more detailed information about the pieces' contours, distribution of densities and design specifics.

This was easier with the works already in MoMA's collection than the ones on loan. For the sculptures already in house, photographs and measurements of their compo-



Above, the working plans for the maquette for Calder's mobile "Snow Flurry, I" and, above that, hanging the maquette as a kind of dress rehearsal for staging "Alexander Calder: Modern From the Start," a show now open at the museum.

nents' shapes could be taken in person and compared against one another before being imported into a computer-aided design program, where they were traced and reassembled into three-dimensional models. The rest of the pieces were worked on using secondhand photographs and some educated guesswork about how much the images distorted the originals.

Once each sculpture was digitally rendered, its individual components were printed on paper and made into stencils. Using jigsaws, hand saws and a scroll saw, carpenters then cut those shapes from plywood, medium-density fiberboard and Masonite.

Assembly proved no less complicated. Calder's sculptures tend to be joined at subtle angles, and missing those would have distorted the size of the models. The carpenters also found that not all of the works could be easily translated from metal to wood. The heavy piece at the heart of "Devil Fish," a work from 1937, for example, could-

n't be duplicated with the rigid materials they were using for other sculptures. Italian poplar plywood, which is thin and comparatively flexible, was used instead.

Even more difficult to imitate was "Snow Flurry, I" (1945), a mobile whose beauty stems from its precision and graceful movement. It took the carpenter John Wood four days of intensive work, because of a setback with the mobile's third and final part, to create a model from piano wire and cardboard that could span similarly to Calder's original. "I ended up making this first one and getting it really exact and everything," Wood said. "And then when I hung it, it was so wild, and the weights weren't right."

Wood could have used a bar of Masonite and glue to compensate for the imbalances, but that would have diminished the accuracy of the maquette. Rather, he chose to take another day to recalibrate the model until it could pass, at least from a distance, for the real sculpture.

Craig Anderson, another carpenter who worked on the project, said that this kind of exercise transformed his relationship with Calder's work — "Black Widow" in particular. "I used to walk by it every day, and I wouldn't really give it much thought," he said. "Now it's a whole other piece to me just because I've studied it and made each part and tried to figure out how he put it together."

The Calder exhibition was a relatively rare opportunity for members of the carpentry team to flex their creative muscles. "We build a lot of walls and pedestals and platforms, all these squares and rectangles," Wood said. "So when we get to stretch a little bit and do something like this, even if we're just kind of just ripping someone off, it's cool."

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JOHN WILLIAMS | BOOKS OF THE TIMES

Overthinking Is Her Specialty

A debut novel features an adjunct professor of English who has a lot on her mind.

CHRISTINE SMALLWOOD'S debut novel, "The Life of the Mind," advertises its intellectual side in the title. Its first sentence makes clear that it will also cover the scatological. Dorothy, an adjunct professor of English, is sitting in a public toilet, worried about her sixth day of bleeding after a miscarriage and ignoring a call from her therapist.

"It wasn't that the miscarriage was such a big deal," Smallwood writes, "or that she was broken up in grief about it; it was that she hadn't told her therapist she was pregnant, and didn't want to have a whole session about her tendency to withhold." She hasn't told her best friend about it either. She thinks of losing the pregnancy as "less than a trauma and more than an inconvenience."

If you think Dorothy might be protesting too much, she would probably agree. Second- and third-guessing herself comes naturally. She has started seeing a second therapist "to whom she confided her doubts about the first therapist."

Dorothy teaches two to four courses per semester, including one called Writing Apocalypse, at a private university "whose list-price tuition was twice her annual earnings."

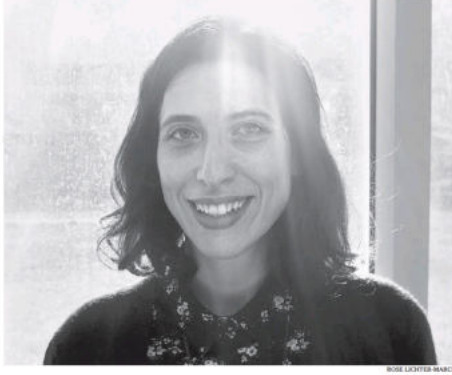
Smallwood is a shrewd cultural critic, a contributing writer at The New York Times Magazine and a contributing editor at Harper's Magazine. She also holds a doctorate in English from Columbia University, and her writing about the academic world during the "decade of twilight of the profession" has the ring of truth.

Smallwood's references to Kafka and Kant and Thomas Mann never feel like intellectual preening. Her use of allusions is well represented by one character's very unusual recitation of Frank O'Hara's poetry during sex. In terms of exegesis, only an extended riff about a subway panhandler and "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner" feels a bit overplayed. But even that scene *moves*; there isn't a moment when Smallwood feels bogged down, by grad-school cogitation or anything else.

One of the book's emotional subplots concerns Dorothy's now distant relationship with Judith, her dissertation adviser. Smallwood writes:

"Judith was old and Dorothy was young. Judith had benefits and Dorothy had debts. The idols had been false but they had served a function, and now they were all smashed and no one knew what they were working for. The problem wasn't the fall of the old system, it was that the new system had not arisen. Dorothy was like a janitor in the temple who continued to sweep because she had nowhere else to be but who had lost her belief in the essential sanctity of the enterprise."

That last sentence is quoted prominently below John Williams on Twitter: @johnwilliamsmt.



CHRISTINE SMALLWOOD

in the book's jacket copy and most likely in many other reviews of the novel as well. It's an unavoidable citation, a thesis statement of sorts in a book that otherwise avoids these.

While Dorothy is directly affected by the starving of humanities departments, she's also keenly aware of the less material (for her, for now) but even larger threat of climate change. Smallwood is not interested in a vaguely thrumming, elliptical backdrop of global anxiety, the kind of backdrop found in Jenny Offill's "Weather" and other recent books. The environmental crisis might be worldwide, but Dorothy, like all of us, is endlessly, claustrophobically trapped inside herself. She paces circles around her own mind, a provocative but ultimately frustrating place, not a staging area from which to launch useful action. She's hamstrung by "disappointed cynicism, hatred of groups and existential damage that manifests as useless contrarianism and resignation."

In one scene that's both funny and brutal, she has an imaginary conversation with a group of "raft children" floating around the future melted world. "I found it draining to live zagging and zagging from exhaustion to emergency and back again," she pleads with them. "I craved the simple privacy of not being a political actor." She can tell by their smirks that "the children did not accept the possibility of an adult life."

Dorothy thinks that people acting more or less normally in the face of climate change is "not evidence of stupidity or lack of care but some mixture of impotence and courage." She grumpy notes that while "it would have made sense to die in the first wave" of prior end-time scenarios — "to burn up in a nuclear holocaust, for example" — the "present, ongoing, mobile disaster" means that "one should aspire to survive, hide and migrate."

Smallwood's novel is a good argument for

judging a book by the sole (but high) standard of the liveliness and incisiveness of its prose. The book's premise is not ingenious. The mechanics of its plot are not particularly important. (Things even sag a bit when Dorothy lands at an academic conference in Las Vegas and moves through the city and her human interactions there in a more conventional storylike way.) Its treatment of reproductive desires, ambivalences and disappointments is bold but hardly revolutionary in 2021. But Smallwood, on the evidence of this one book — and one can only eagerly await more — is a delightfully stylish rambler; a conjurer of a heightened, carefully choreographed version of consciousness. Reading her is like watching an accomplished figure skater doing a free-style routine. You're never less than confident in the performance, and often dazzled.

This novel makes one ponder an almost continuous stream of earnest and satirical things, like the line between being a snob and being "fearful and fundamentally closed off to new experiences"; how the problem with parental love is that it's "ultimately tautological"; whether there is something dammingly "neoliberal" about sleep training an infant. Smallwood's work brings to mind that of Edith Bauman and Sam Lipsyte, writers for whom the form of the novel can feel like merely an excuse (and a fine one), a vessel to hold roving psychological and social observations. This is not to say "The Life of the Mind" is without sustained themes. It has plenty of them, one of which is the end of things. Of pregnancies. Of ambition. Of the natural world. Even of things that initially, and not all that long ago, felt like the end of other things. (Dorothy misses "the age of email" when she would write long and meaningful digital letters to friends.)

In Smallwood's hands, even twilight is plenty bright.

History Prize For Book On World War II Homefront

Fractures in American society after Pearl Harbor resonate during today's pandemic.

By JENNIFER SCHUESSLER

Tracy Campbell, author of "The Year of Peril: America in 1942," has been named the winner of the New-York Historical Society's Barbara and David Zalaznick Book Prize, which is given each year to the best work in the field of American history or biography.

The book, published by Yale University Press, challenges the public memory of the war years as a time of national unity and resolve. Instead, Campbell looks at the deep fractures within American society a year after Pearl Harbor, as a series of defeats in the Pacific and the struggle to create a beachhead in Europe seemed to bring the country to the brink of military defeat and splintering from within.

When the book was released last May, its resonances with the pandemic, which had struck with a Pearl Harbor-like suddenness and shock, were not lost on reviewers. George F. Will, writing in The Washington Post, called the book a challenge to "the saccharine myth that 'everything changed' in a nation united by the sense of 'all being in this together.'"

In the book, Campbell, a professor at the



TRACY CAMPBELL

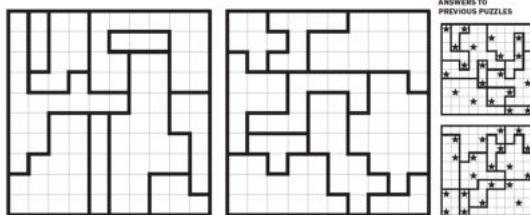
University of Kentucky, wrote that he had started thinking about the book at an earlier moment of national shock, the 2008 financial crisis. In a statement about the prize, he said he hoped the book illustrated "the central importance of a functioning government, of individuals working toward something larger than themselves, and the resilience and fragility of democracy."

He added: "We live in a moment that demonstrates how we need to move past comfortable and reassuring myths, and to confront our history with a critical eye. A fundamental premise of the book is that we can best understand a society by seeing it under its greatest stress."

The prize comes with a \$50,000 award.

The Life of the Mind
By Christine Smallwood
229 pages. Hogarth.
\$27.

Two Not Touch



Put two stars in each row, column and region of the grid. No two stars may touch, not even diagonally.
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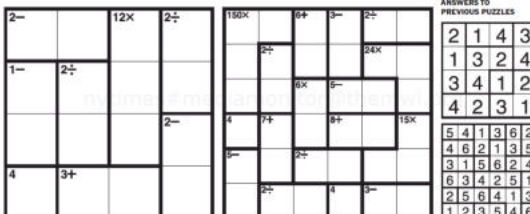
Cryptogram

ZBDP LCOYPOVUHL BEYQYPTS KTPALUEYRC WBE *BW
KYUO TPJ KOP* ITL OTCOP VF T JBQ.

PUZZLE BY BEN BASS

YESTERDAY'S ANSWER Corporate, cheddar, ranchy, mayonnaise

KenKen



Fill the grid with digits so as not to repeat a digit in any row or column, and so that the digits within each heavily outlined box will produce the target number shown, by using addition, subtraction, multiplication or division, as indicated in the box. A 4x4 grid will use the digits 1-4. A 6x6 grid will use 1-6.
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Crossword Edited by Will Shortz

ANSWERS TO PREVIOUS PUZZLES

ACROSS

- Diving birds
- "That'll ___ you"
- Lousy
- Nay
- Frozen yogurt flavor
- Diamond stat
- Jane Goodall, at times?
- English novelist McEwan
- "Now, where ___ we?"
- Arboreal interest
- Aesthetic sense
- Nabokov novel
- Com farmer at harvest time?
- Sharp, as a photo
- Remove via a coup, say
- Role for George Clooney, Michael Keaton and Christian Bale
- "If you obey all the rules, you miss all the ___" (quote attributed to Katharine Hepburn)
- Trade jabs (with)
- Woman in a garden
- Beverage with a phonetic hint to 17-, 26-, 51- and 63-Across
- The city in 2002's "City of God"
- Garr of "Young Frankenstein"
- Abbr. on a photocopy tray
- Cat or goat breed
- Honey-loving bear
- Name of self-identification, as "Deutsche" for "Germans"
- Lumberjacks in unsafe working conditions?
- Call to have food delivered
- Reason to draw a doodle, maybe
- Hot time in Paris
- Shakers or Quakers
- Late jazz pianist Chick
- Call to have food delivered
- Match, in poker
- High-calorie bakery offerings
- Invigorating, as a walk
- Ease
- Certain train car
- Rock groups
- Word with liberal or language
- Fruit from a palm
- Capital near Glacier Bay National Park
- "Ri-i-i-ight!"
- Where parishioners sit
- Use a snake on, say
- N.Y.C.'s ___ Drive
- "I now ___ you
- Cantor or Pollux
- Like an atrium
- Proceed here and there
- Kind of cable
- "Nay" say
- Touch
- Gift from above
- Strong aversions
- "In your dreams!"
- Like pandas, yaks and snow leopards
- Hobbyist's knife
- They might be put up during a fight
- Ancestry
- Prince's ___ Go Crazy
- Casor or Pollux
- Like an atrium
- Old car that's a homophone of another answer in this puzzle
- "Nay" say
- Touch
- Fight (for)

DOWN

- Irk, with "at"
- Part of a pulley
- Final words of many a fairy tale
- Reason to draw a doodle, maybe
- Hot time in Paris
- Shakers or Quakers
- Late jazz pianist Chick
- Call to have food delivered
- Match, in poker
- High-calorie bakery offerings
- Invigorating, as a walk
- Ease
- Certain train car
- Rock groups
- Word with liberal or language
- Fruit from a palm
- Capital near Glacier Bay National Park
- "Ri-i-i-ight!"
- Where parishioners sit
- Use a snake on, say
- N.Y.C.'s ___ Drive
- "I now ___ you
- Cantor or Pollux
- Like an atrium
- Proceed here and there
- Kind of cable
- "Nay" say
- Touch
- Fight (for)

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

SLEDS OASIS PET
AESOP WHIST RNA
GOLDENEGGLE ISM
GLAD MAN GUE
FIREUP PANGKARD
ANA NAVI DILL
TIT KLINE DAYLA
WATT MEATS SPUN
ADIBI STAIRD EN
BROS ALICE AGE
BASEHITS SPARES
ANA ELEC
ANA MEXICANFLAG
ARR INTRO DUANE
SER ASSET SLOAN

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At the Oscars, Kindling the Fires of Diversity

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1
ple of color into its ranks after the intense #OscarsSoWhite outcry in 2015 and 2016, when the acting nominees were all white.

This year, nominations in the lead actor category went to Riz Ahmed ("Sound of Metal"), Chadwick Boseman ("Ma Rainey's Black Bottom") and Steven Yeun ("Minari"). Gary Oldman ("Mank") and Anthony Hopkins ("The Father") rounded out the category. Yeun is the first Asian-American to be nominated for best actor and Ahmed is the first Muslim to be nominated for best actor.

For best actress, the academy recognized Viola Davis ("Ma Rainey's Black Bottom"), Andra Day ("The United States vs. Billie Holiday") and Carey Mulligan ("Promising Young Woman"). Also nominated were Vanessa Kirby ("Pieces of a Woman") and Frances McDormand ("Nomadland").

It was a year in which streaming took firm hold in Hollywood, thanks to theater shutdowns caused by the coronavirus. Contenders like "Ma Rainey's Black Bottom," "Mank," "One Night in Miami" and "Borat Subsequent Moviefilm" were released by the likes of Netflix and Amazon. Even releases from traditional studios, like Searchlight's "Nomadland" and "Judas and the Black Messiah," from Warner Bros., were probably watched by more people on streaming services than in the limited number of theaters that could show them.

"We were starving for film, starving for new stuff to watch, and I recognized that I probably wasn't alone in that," said Shaka King, the writer-director of "Judas and the Black Messiah," who has spent most of the pandemic quarantining at home in Brooklyn. "In a lot of ways, I think we got to folks who otherwise wouldn't have ventured to the theaters to see a movie about a Black Marxist revolutionary. They ended up watching it and I think a lot of people who would have been repelled by his politics probably connected to them in some way."

As expected, Netflix dominated, with 35 nominations. With the majority of theaters closed this year, many major studios moved their Oscar contenders into next year's competition. Still, the manner in which Netflix has hammered its way into Hollywood's most prestigious club in recent years is stunning: It had as few as eight nominations in 2018.

Disney had the second-largest number of nominations this year: 15. Its Searchlight division scored for "Nomadland," while Pixar's "Soul" was recognized for its score, sound and in the best animated feature category. Pixar's "Onward" was also nominated for best animated feature.

Amazon Studios earned 12 nominations, including the recognition for "Sound of Metal." "One Night in Miami" received three nominations and "Borat Subsequent Moviefilm" garnered two.

For the first time, Apple joined the Oscar race, with its "Wolfwalkers," which was nominated for best animated feature, and "Greyhound," which was nominated for best sound.

Traditional studios were still a significant presence, with films like "Judas and the Black Messiah" (Warner Bros.) and "The Father" (Sony Pictures Classics). Focus Features, the indie division of Universal, scored five nominations for "Promising



Above, Frances McDormand is "Nomadland." Far right, from top, foreground from left, Caitlin Fitzgerald, Jeremy Strong and Sacha Baron Cohen in "The Trial of the Chicago 7"; Riz Ahmed as Ruben in "Sound of Metal"; Olivia Colman and Anthony Hopkins in "The Father."

Young Woman," even though its parent company was shut out of the best picture race for "News of the World." (That film was nominated in various technical categories, including sound and cinematography.)

The Oscars ceremony, which was pushed back two months because of the pandemic, will be on April 25. The secretive academy has kept details under wraps, except to say that it will take place at two locations this year: the usual Dolby Theater in Hollywood and Union Station in downtown Los Angeles.

A First for Best Director

There has never been more than one woman nominated for best director in a year, and only five women have been nominated in the category in the academy's nearly 100

years.

That finally changed. Zhao, the filmmaker behind "Nomadland," scored her first directing nomination in a category traditionally dominated by white men. Zhao, who won the Golden Globe, is the first Chinese woman to be nominated for a best director Oscar.

She was joined by Fennell for her debut effort, "Promising Young Woman." Fennell's nomination is the first time a woman has been nominated for her first feature.

Left out was Aaron Sorkin, who many prognosticators believed would land a nomination for "The Trial of the Chicago 7."

Regina King, a former Oscar winner for best supporting actress, was overlooked for her directorial debut, "One Night in Miami." But that film did receive three nominations,

including best adapted screenplay and best supporting actor for Leslie Odom Jr.'s portrayal of Sam Cooke. It was notably not included in the best picture category.

Of the five directors nominated, only Fincher ("The Social Network," "The Curious Case of Benjamin Button") has been nominated before, though he has never won.

Chung was also nominated for best original screenplay for "Minari," his personal story about growing up on a small farm in Arkansas as the son of Korean immigrants.

Lots of Firsts

"Judas and the Black Messiah" made history: For the first time, a film with an all-Black producing team (made up of the director Shaka King, Ryan Coogler and

Some Snubs, Shocks and Curveballs

Does 'Judas' have a lead?
What's up with Black dramas?
And how about Jodie Foster?

PLENTY OF HISTORY WAS MADE when the Academy Award nominations were announced Monday morning, but it just wouldn't be the Oscars without a few swerves and head-scratching omissions. Below, the Projectionist surveys the biggest surprises and most high-profile snubs.

Who leads 'Judas and the Black Messiah'?

When two men or two women co-lead an Oscar contender, you can bet that savvy strategists will position one as a lead and one as a supporting role in a bid to spread the wealth and get them both nominated. That was the original plan for "Judas and the Black Messiah," where Lakeith Stanfield was deemed the lead, mostly so he could get out of the way of Daniel Kaluuya, who's been racking up supporting-actor wins all seasons. But in a big surprise, Stanfield picked up more votes in the supporting-actor category, so both men earned their nominations there. It does raise the question, though: If Stanfield and Kaluuya are both supporting actors, then who exactly is this movie supposed to be about?

Aaron Sorkin gets the 'Argo' treatment.

Though "The Trial of the Chicago 7" is one of the most nominated Oscar contenders and Aaron Sorkin picked up a nomination for his screenplay, he was left out of the best director lineup entirely as the "Another Round" director Thomas Vinterberg nabbed the spot most expected would go to Sorkin. Still, plenty of history was made in that category: The "Nomadland" director Chloé Zhao became the first Chinese woman and first woman of color to be nominated for best director, and alongside the "Promising Young Woman" filmmaker Emerald Fennell, this is the first time in Oscar history that two women were nominated in the best director category at the same time.

Few Black-led dramas make the best picture cut.

On the Screen Actors Guild, a majority of the group's nominations for the top ensemble



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ADA, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Top, Delroy Lindo, foreground, in Spike Lee's "Da 5 Bloods." Above, Jodie Foster in "The Mauritanian." She was a surprise Golden Globes winner for her supporting performance, but wasn't nominated for an Oscar. Right, a scene from the documentary "Boys State."

award went to Black-led dramas. In the end, though, none of those three SAG nominees — "Da 5 Bloods," "Ma Rainey's Black Bottom" and "One Night in Miami" — made Oscar's best picture cut, and only the late-breaking contender "Judas and the Black Messiah" earned a nomination. And while the acting races were filled with diverse nominees — six of the 20 acting slots went to Black performers, a record — the critics' favorite Delroy Lindo from "Da 5 Bloods" still landed outside the best actor final five.

Jodie Foster's momentum falters.

When Jodie Foster was announced as the winner of the supporting actress Golden Globe for her role as a tough lawyer in "The Mauritanian," the actress appeared utterly shocked, since she hailed from a much lower-profile contender than her fellow nominees. The win certainly coaxed more Oscar voters to check out her film than normally would have, but in the end, it wasn't enough: Foster became the rare supporting actress contender whose Golden Globe win couldn't even earn her an Oscar nomination.

Almodóvar proves too big for the shorts.

One of the most rapturously reviewed contenders of the year ran no longer than a half-hour: Pedro Almodóvar made his English-language debut with "The Human Voice," a live-action short starring Tilda Swinton. Most runs assumed it was the front-runner in its category, but the insular shorts branch snubbed it entirely, perhaps resenting that some big-name stars could swamp a category that's usually filled by up-and-comers.

'Boys State' loses the election.

Few documentaries had the buzz of "Boys State," Apple's well-received movie about teenage boys navigating political campaigns over the course of a long weekend. But the documentary branch often bristles when it comes to high-profile contenders: Hotly tipped movies like "Won't You Be My Neighbor?" "Apollo 11" and "Three Identical Strangers" were all snubbed in years past, and now "Boys State" can join their spurned ranks. (At least the movie itself imparts several lessons on how to bounce back from a politically motivated defeat.)

Film Nominations Bring Three Firsts

After nearly a half-century, stronger Black representation in a major category.

By SARAH BAHR

Andra Day was just the second Black woman to win best actress in a drama at the Golden Globes.

Now, she's part of another milestone: For the first time in nearly 50 years, two Black women are up for the Academy Award for best actress in the same year.

Day, who plays the singer Billie Holiday in the Hulu biopic "The United States vs. Billie Holiday," and Viola Davis, who plays another pioneering singer in "Ma Rainey's Black Bottom," are the first pair of Black actresses to be nominated since Diana Ross ("Lady Sings the Blues") and Cicely Tyson ("Sounder") faced off in 1973.

And, in a twist of fate, Day is nominated for the same role that Ross played. Though, she's probably hoping for better luck: Ross lost the 1973 race to Liza Minnelli, who won for her performance as Sally Bowles in "Cabaret."

Day told Variety in January that she took an immersive approach to her character, including losing nearly 40 pounds and taking up drinking and smoking cigarettes. "I just asked God to give me all of the pain and trauma," she said. It was her first acting role in a major film.

Though "The United States vs. Billie Holiday" received mixed reviews, Day garnered critical acclaim for what The New York Times co-film critic A. O. Scott called her "canby and charismatic" performance. Her voice, he wrote, "has some of Holiday's signature breathy rasp and delicate lilt, and suggests her ability to move from whimsy to anguish and back in the space of a phrase."

This is Davis's fourth nomination. (She won best supporting actress in 2017 for her role in "Fences.") In "Ma Rainey," she plays the blues singer Ma Rainey alongside Chadwick Boseman's trumpeter, Levee, in what was Boseman's final film role before he died of colon cancer in August.

"Davis brilliantly portrays both the vulnerable position and indomitable spirit of this sturdy figure," Mark Kermode wrote in The Guardian in December, "with fiery eyes shining through the dark shadows and battered rouge of her makeup, proudly standing her ground."

Day and Davis will go up against Vanessa Kirby ("Pieces of a Woman"), Frances McDormand ("Nomadland") and Carey Mulligan ("Promising Young Woman").

In the more than 90 years the awards have been handed out, there has been only a single Black best actress winner — Halle Berry for "Monster's Ball" in 2001.

"It's one of my biggest heartbreaks," she told Variety last year. "The morning after, I thought, 'Wow, I was chosen to open a door.' And then, to have no one... I question, 'Was that an important moment, or was it just an important moment for me?'"

A Milestone for Men of Asian Heritage

It's been nearly 20 years since a man of Asian heritage notched a best actor nomination from the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences.

But this year, for the first time in the 93-year history of the Oscars, there are two: Steven Yuen ("Minari"), who was born in South Korea and raised in the United States, and Riz Ahmed ("Sound of Metal"), who is a Briton of Pakistani descent. Both Ahmed and Yuen are first-time nominees.

Their inclusion is especially notable because despite a spate of Asian-led films in recent years, including last year's best picture winner, "Parasite," the academy had failed to recognize the performers.

Just two actors of Asian heritage have ever been nominated in the category: The Russian-born Yul Brynner ("The King and

I"), and Ben Kingsley ("Gandhi," "House of Sand and Fog"), whose father is Indian. Brynner and Kingsley each won the award once.

Yuen and Ahmed have some tough competition: The other three nominees — Yuen as a drummer who loses his hearing in "Sound of Metal," which the critic Jeanine Catsoulis of the Times praised for its "extraordinarily intricate" sound design, singled out Ahmed for his "twinking urgency that's poignantly credible — he's a star in distress."

Even though only four men of Asian heritage have ever been nominated for best actor, the situation is far more bleak in the actress category, where only one woman of Asian heritage has ever been nominated (Merle Oberon for the 1935 drama "Dark Angel"), and she did not win.

Two Women Are Up for Best Director
For the first time in the history of the Oscars, more than one female filmmaker has been nominated for best director in a single year.

On Monday, Chloé Zhao ("Nomadland") and Emerald Fennell ("Promising Young Woman") scored nominations alongside Lee Isaac Chung ("Minari"), David Fincher ("Mank") and Thomas Vinterberg ("Another Round"). The honor is also notable because the category rarely features women: Before this year, only five female filmmakers had been recognized.

Zhao became the first Asian woman to win best director at the Golden Globes in February, when "Nomadland," the story of a widow who joins the country's itinerant work force, also picked up best picture and drama category. The film is a strong contender to win best picture at the 93rd Oscars on April 25.

"Promising Young Woman," about a quest for vengeance after a friend is raped, was nominated for four Golden Globes, including best director and best picture, and it ended its shut out.

"Nomadland" was largely well received, with Scott praising Zhao's attention "to interplay between human emotion and topography, to the way space, light and weather reveal character."

"Promising Young Woman" received more mixed reception, though USA Today's Brian Truitt characterized Fennell, who also wrote the script, as a "stunning filmmaker working with a cunning hero who's impossible not to adore."

If either Zhao or Fennell were to win, would become just the second woman named best director — and the first in more than a decade. In 2010, Kathryn Bigelow won her Iraq War film "The Hurt Locker." Next year, Zhao may also have a chance to become the first female director to be nominated twice — she's helming Marvel superhero movie "Eternals," currently set for release in November.

The other women who have been nominated are Lina Wertmüller (in 1977 for "Scratches"), Jane Campion ("The Piano" in 1994), Sofia Coppola ("Lost in Translation" in 2004) and Greta Gerwig ("Lady Bird" in 2018).

Last year, 16 percent of the top 100 grossing films were directed by women, according to the Center for the Study of Women in Television and Film, up from 12 percent in 2019 and 4 percent in 2018.



MOV TAYLOR/NETFLIX, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS



AMAZON STUDIOS



SEAN GARDNER/SONY PICTURES CLASSICS, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Charles D. King) was recognized in the most prestigious category: best picture. Among other firsts, Ahmed ("Sound of Metal") became the first Muslim to be nominated for best actor. Zhao became the first woman to receive four nominations in a single year, according to the academy.

Seventy women received a total of 76 nominations over all, a record.

Tunisia received its first nomination, with "The Man Who Sold His Skin," about a tattooed refugee who finds himself exhibited in art galleries, among the contenders for best international film (formerly best foreign film). It will compete against movies from Denmark ("Another Round"), Hong Kong ("Better Days"), Romania ("Collective") and Bosnia and Herzegovina ("Quo Vadis, Aida?").

Supporting Casts

The nominees for best supporting actor are Sacha Baron Cohen for "The Trial of the Chicago 7," Daniel Kaluuya for "Judas and the Black Messiah," Odunayo Odebanjo for "One Night in Miami," Paul Raci for "Sound of Metal" and Lakeith Stanfield for "Judas and the Black Messiah."

Best supporting actress nominations went to Maria Bakalova for "Borat Subsequent Moviefilm," Glenn Close for "Hillbilly Elegy," Olivia Colman for "The Father," Amanda Seyfried for "Mank" and Yuh-Jung Youn for "Minari."

Other nominations went to Zhao, for her adapted screenplay for "Nomadland," and Fennell for her original "Promising Young Woman" script. Baron Cohen also picked up a nomination for his "Borat" screenplay.

Nominees for the 2021 Academy Awards

The 93rd Academy Awards ceremony is scheduled for April 25. Here are the nominees.

BEST PICTURE

"The Father"
"Judas and the Black Messiah"
"Mank"
"Minari"
"Nomadland"
"Promising Young Woman"
"Sound of Metal"
"The Trial of the Chicago 7"

BEST DIRECTOR

Lee Isaac Chung, "Minari"
Emerald Fennell, "Promising Young Woman"
Chloé Zhao, "Nomadland"
Thomas Vinterberg, "Another Round"

BEST ACTOR

Riz Ahmed, "Sound of Metal"
Chadwick Boseman, "Ma Rainey's Black Bottom"
Anthony Hopkins, "The Father"
Gary Oldman, "Mank"
Steven Yuen, "Minari"

BEST ACTRESS

Viola Davis, "Ma Rainey's Black Bottom"
Andra Day, "The United States vs. Billie Holiday"
Vanessa Kirby, "Pieces of a Woman"
Frances McDormand, "Nomadland"
Carey Mulligan, "Promising Young Woman"

BEST SUPPORTING ACTOR

Sacha Baron Cohen, "The Trial of the Chicago 7"
Daniel Kaluuya, "Judas and the Black Messiah"
Leslie Odom Jr., "One Night in Miami"
Paul Raci, "Sound of Metal"
Lakeith Stanfield, "Judas and the Black Messiah"

BEST SUPPORTING ACTRESS

Maria Bakalova, "Borat Subsequent Moviefilm"
Glenn Close, "Hillbilly Elegy"
Olivia Colman, "The Father"
Amanda Seyfried, "Mank"
Yuh-Jung Youn, "Minari"

ORIGINAL SCREENPLAY

"Judas and the Black Messiah"
"Minari"
"Promising Young Woman"
"Sound of Metal"
"The Trial of the Chicago 7"

ADAPTED SCREENPLAY

"Borat Subsequent Moviefilm"
"The Father"
"Nomadland"
"One Night in Miami"
"The White Tiger"

ANIMATED FEATURE

"Onward"
"Over the Moon"
"A Shaun the Sheep Movie: Farmageddon"
"Soul"
"Wolfwalkers"

PRODUCTION DESIGN

"The Father"
"Mank"
"Ma Rainey's Black Bottom"
"News of the World"
"Tenet"

COSTUME DESIGN

"Emma"
"Ma Rainey's Black Bottom"
"Mank"
"Pinocchio"

CINEMATOGRAPHY

Sean Bobbitt, "Judas and the Black Messiah"
Erik Messerschmidt, "Mank"
Dariusz Wolski, "News of the World"
Joshua James Richards, "Nomadland"
Phedon Papamichael, "The Trial of the Chicago 7"

EDITING

"The Father"
"Nomadland"
"Promising Young Woman"
"Sound of Metal"
"The Trial of the Chicago 7"

MAKEUP AND HAIRSTYLING

"Emma"
"Ma Rainey's Black Bottom"
"Mank"
"Pinocchio"

SOUND

"Greyhound"
"Mank"
"News of the World"
"Soul"
"Sound of Metal"

VISUAL EFFECTS

"Love and Monsters"
"The Midnight Sky"
"Mulan"
"The One and Only Ivan"
"Tenet"

SCORE

"Da 5 Bloods"
"Mank"
"Minari"
"News of the World"
"Soul"

SONG

"Husavik" ("Eurovision Song Contest: The Story of Fire Saga")
"Fight for Your" ("Judas and the Black Messiah")
"Lo Si (Seen)" ("The Life Ahead")
"Speak Now" ("One Night in Miami")
"Hear My Voice" ("The Trial of the Chicago 7")

DOCUMENTARY FEATURE

"Collective"
"Crip Camp"
"The Mole Agent"
"My Octopus Teacher"
"Time"

INTERNATIONAL FEATURE

"Another Round," Denmark
"Better Days," Hong Kong
"Collective," Romania
"The Man Who Sold His Skin," Tunisia
"Quo Vadis, Aida?," Bosnia and Herzegovina

ANIMATED SHORT

"Burrow"
"Garius Loci"
"If Anything Happens I Love You"
"Opera"
"Yes People"

DOCUMENTARY SHORT

"Cokite"
"A Concerto Is a Conversation"
"Do Not Spill"
"Hunger Ward"
"A Love Song for Latasha"

LIVE-ACTION SHORT

"Feeling Through"
"The Letter Room"
"The Present"
"Two Distant Strangers"
"White Eye"



SHARAD BEDIA/AMAZON PICTURES, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS



DAVID LEE/NE

Top, Andra Day as Billie Holiday in the Hulu biopic "The United States vs. Billie Holiday." Above, Viola Davis playing the blues singer Ma Rainey in "Ma Rainey's Black Bottom."

Notes (High and Low) From the Grammys

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

“WAP” with Cardi B that was wildly and charmingly salacious, frisky and genuine in a way that the Grammys have rarely if ever made room for. That it took place on CBS, historically the most conservative of all the broadcast networks, was chef’s kiss.

JOHN CARAMANICA

Best Accessory: Harry Styles’s Boa

The first-time nominee Harry Styles kicked off the show with a groovy, casually charismatic rendition of “Watermelon Sugar,” complete with an excellent backing band (Dev Hynes on bass!) and an instantly iconic feather boa. Styles often gets the knee-jerk Mick Jagger comparisons, but Styles possesses a much more laid-back — if no less magnetic — stage presence. “Watermelon Sugar” never sounded better than it did during this performance, which made its subsequent surprise win for best pop solo performance all the more understandable. Scooping them like a boa season is approaching.

LINDSAY ZOLAZD

Worst Twist Ending: Billie Eilish’s Record of the Year Award

At the very end of a Grammys ceremony that did its best to pretend as if the Recording Academy has always supported and centered Black artists, women and especially Black women, Billie Eilish was put in an impossible position that we’ve seen too many times before. Awarded record of the year for “Everything I Wanted,” a midtempo in-between-of-a-track, only a year after sweeping the top four categories with her debut album, Eilish could only gush over Megan Thee Stallion.

“This is really embarrassing for me,” said Eilish, a white teenager who — like many in her generation and beyond — worships Black culture. “You are a queen; I want to cry thinking about how much I love you.” She went on. It was uncomfortably reminiscent of Adele praising Beyoncé when “25” beat “Lemonade” for album of the year in 2017, and also of that infamous Macklemore text to Kendrick Lamar. Some online bristled at the performative white guilt on display, while others applauded Eilish’s apparently sincere fandom. But only a stubbornly old-fashioned voting body that still just honors rap when it’s convenient could be blamed.

JOE COSCARELLI

Best Reality Check: Presenters From Shuttered Stages

Neither musicians nor fans can forget that the pandemic has shut down live music. Sprinkled among the awards presenters — instead of the usual actors promoting CBS shows and stray sports figures — were people who work at long-running clubs and theaters: the Station Inn in Nashville, the Troubadour and the Hotel Cafe in Los Angeles, the Apollo Theater in Harlem. They spoke pretaped from their empty music halls and announced the winners live. Billy Mitchell, who started working at the Apollo in 1965, recalled that James Brown had demanded to see his report card, insisted he improve his grades and later gave him money that Mitchell put toward business school and a lifelong career at the Apollo, where he eventually became the official historian. Music changes lives offstage, too.

JOHN PARELES

Best Disco Fantasy: Dua Lipa

Dua Lipa’s “Future Nostalgia” has lived its entire life in quarantine, but it begs to be let loose into the night and onto dance floors around the world. At the Grammys, the British pop singer and songwriter gave us a glimpse of the other side — glitter, flashing lights, throbbing bass lines, people dusting off ‘70s dance moves, slight awkwardness. Her two-song set started with “Levitating,” a funky roller-rink jam with a charming DaBaby feature, and ended with “Don’t Start Now,” the powerhouse kiss-off that was nominated for both record and song of the year. The track didn’t take home either prize, but Lipa left with a trophy for pop vocal album and the honor of coaxing the most at-home viewers into a few minutes of spirited couch dancing.

CARYN GANZ



CHUCK PIZZELLO/GETTY IMAGES FOR THE RECORDING ACADEMY



KEVIN MAZUR/GETTY IMAGES FOR THE RECORDING ACADEMY



CHUCK PIZZELLO/GETTY IMAGES FOR THE RECORDING ACADEMY

retro quest in their new project Silk Sonic. They went all in on “Leave the Door Open,” a period-piece homage to smooth 1970s vocal-group R&B. In three-piece mocha suits and shirts with collars that spread almost shoulder-wide, they traded off gritty leads and suave backup harmonies, choreography included. From another time capsule, Mars and Paak returned for the In Memoriam segment, paying raucous tribute to Little Richard with Mars whooping it up into an old-fashioned microphone and Paak slamming a kit of tiger-striped drums. The memorial segment continued with tasteful modesty: Lionel Richie delivering Kenny Rogers’s “Lady” with elegant melancholy; Brandi Carlile singing John Prine’s last song, “Remember Everything,” with affectionate respect.

The closing tribute probably made more sense in Britain. With Coldplay’s Chris Martin on piano, Britanny Howard worked up to belting “I’ll Never Walk Alone” (from the Rodgers and Hammerstein musical “Carousel”) over a country shuffle. It was a convoluted memorial to Gerry Marsden, of Gerry and the Pacemakers, who remade the song in 1963 and saw it adopted as the Liverpool Football Club’s anthem. Even older, the song reappeared moments later, with Howard singing over a better backup track in a commercial.

JOHN PARELES

Best Juggling Act: Trevor Noah

Hosting an awards show during pandemic season is a job without precedent or strict rules. At this year’s Grammys — a mélange of live performances, pretaped segments and award presentations handed out on a downtown Los Angeles rooftop — the remit of the job was deeply confused. And still Trevor Noah proved mostly adept: vibrant energy, a little bit of awe, some topical-humor fluency and a bit of cheek, but not too much. Occasionally he literally inserted himself into the end of a performance, or purposely overlapped with something happening elsewhere onstage, which in moments felt awkward, but actually helped to add glue to a patchwork affair. There were some lumpy spots, and his cringey joke about sharing a bed with Cardi B felt like an attitudinal relic of the 1980s, but on the whole, Noah made something that could have felt like several competing shows feel like one.

JOHN CARAMANICA



KEVIN MAZUR/GETTY IMAGES FOR THE RECORDING ACADEMY



CHUCK PIZZELLO/GETTY IMAGES FOR THE RECORDING ACADEMY

Best Confrontational Politics: Lil Baby and DaBaby

Lil Baby released “The Bigger Picture,” a stream-of-consciousness, autobiographical protest song, less than three weeks after George Floyd was killed in Minneapolis last summer, on the very day that Rayshard Brooks was fatally shot by the police in the rapper’s native Atlanta.

With appearances by the actor and activist Kendrick Sampson, who re-enacted Brooks’s killing, the organizer Tanika Malory, who addressed President Biden in a speech; and Killer Mike, who added some Run the Jewels to the mix, Lil Baby’s performance managed to invoke the despair and anger of that moment without it feeling co-opted by the institutions that were playing host.

Earlier in the show, DaBaby did the same, adding a new verse to “Rockstar,” his sleekly wrenching ode to firearms, and making eye contact with America as he rapped in front of a choir of older white people in judge’s robes. “Right now I’m performing at the Grammys/I’ll probably get profiled before leavin’.”

JOE COSCARELLI

Worst Queen Worship: The Grammys to Beyoncé

Did you know that Beyoncé has now won more Grammys than any other female artist in history (28)? Of course you did; the Grammys could not stop reminding you. To be clear, this is a monumental achievement, and one that the goddess among mortals Beyoncé-Giselle Knowles-Carter absolutely deserves. But there was a Grammys-dishonest-too-much quality to the way Trevor Noah and the show’s presenters kept reminding us of this fact over and over, almost as though the Recording Academy was trying to make amends to Beyoncé for its past transgressions on live television. (Those transgressions include, but are not limited to, icing the woman who has basically redesigned the modern pop album over the past decade out of wins in the big four categories since 2010.)

It was awkward. Even Beyoncé’s recognition for “Black Parade” — a good song, sure, but hardly among her best or most impactful work — felt strangely conciliatory, a mea culpa for not giving “Lemonade” its proper due several years ago. The always gracious Beyoncé certainly made the most of it, though, and her acceptance speeches were among the night’s highlights — especially her beaming big-sister energy as her “Saveage” collaborator Megan Thee Stallion accepted their shared, very deserved award for best rap song.

LINDSAY ZOLAZD



KEVIN MAZUR/GETTY IMAGES FOR THE RECORDING ACADEMY

Best Use of Quarantine Time: Taylor Swift’s Album of the Year

Going into Grammy night, album of the year was Taylor Swift’s award to lose. Perhaps no other LP has come to symbolize our pandemic year more thoroughly than “Folklore,” which Swift created entirely during quarantine and embellished with a warm and woolly homebound aesthetic. Her Grammy performance — a medley of the “Folklore” songs “Cardigan” and “August,” along with “Willow” from her second 2020 album, “Evermore” — relied perhaps too literally on that aesthetic.

The flickering visual whimsy all around her and her producers Jack Antonoff and Aaron Dessner (who both joined her onstage, in a set made up to look like a one-room cottage) detracted a bit from the direct power of her songcraft, which was more easily appreciated in the other awards-show performance she has given in support of “Folklore,” a beautifully baroque interpretation of “Betty” at last year’s Country Music Awards. But Swift, a one-time Grammy darling who before tonight had not won since 2016, has been out of the show’s spotlight for long enough that her win felt triumphant. In keeping with a night defined by female artists’ achievements it added an impressive feather to her cap, making her the only female artist in Grammy history to win album of the year three times.

LINDSAY ZOLAZD

Best Blasts (and Ballads) From the Past: Silk Sonic and In Memoriam

Bruno Mars is nothing if not a diligent archivist, digging into the details of vintage styles, and Anderson .Paak joins him on the

Top from left: the Grammys host Trevor Noah, center, with Eric Burton, left, and Adrian Quesada of Black Pumas; and Harry Styles, center, Lil Baby performing “The Bigger Picture.” Third row from left: Billie Eilish accepting the record of the year award for “Everything I Wanted,” with Finneas O’Connell, her brother and producer; and Taylor Swift accepting the award for album of the year for “Folklore.” Left, Beyoncé accepting the award for best R&B performance for “Black Parade.”

Best Self-Criticism: Harvey Mason Jr.

The obligatory Grammy speech by the solo artist ever nominated in a country category — far more a reflection on country music and the Grammys than on her own clear merits. (She lost best country solo performance to Vince Gill in the pretelecast ceremony) But Guyton, who will be co-hosting the Academy of Country Music Awards in April, gracefully seized this prime-time moment, singing “Black Like Me,” a blunt indictment — “If you think we live in the land of the free/You should try to be Black like me” — that strives to end on a hopeful note. It’s a hymnlike song that welcomed a backup choir and a big buildup on the way to a climactic, “Someday we’ll all be free.” And it made Guyton a very hard act for Miranda Lambert and Maren Morris to follow.

JOHN PARELES

Best Overdue Nomination: Mickey Guyton

Trevor Noah awkwardly introduced Mickey Guyton as “the first Black female solo artist ever nominated in a country category” — far more a reflection on country music and the Grammys than on her own clear merits. (She lost best country solo performance to Vince Gill in the pretelecast ceremony) But Guyton, who will be co-hosting the Academy of Country Music Awards in April, gracefully seized this prime-time moment, singing “Black Like Me,” a blunt indictment — “If you think we live in the land of the free/You should try to be Black like me” — that strives to end on a hopeful note. It’s a hymnlike song that welcomed a backup choir and a big buildup on the way to a climactic, “Someday we’ll all be free.” And it made Guyton a very hard act for Miranda Lambert and Maren Morris to follow.

JOHN PARELES

Best Mixed Emotions: Haim

Danielle Haim started “The Steps,” nominated for best rock performance, seated behind the drums, with a pugacious look on her face and a beat to match. She was singing about being underestimated and misunderstood, and the Grammys simply stuck the three-sister band — Danielle, Este and Alana — in the middle of the floor. But Haim switched instruments as well as moods mid-song: Danielle moved from drums to guitar and back while her voice briefly changed from annoyed to wounded; it can hurt to be misunderstood. By the end she was back on the counterattack, but the song was no longer simple.

JOHN PARELES

JEOPARDY!

CLUE OF THE DAY

TRIPLE-A GEOGRAPHY

HOME TO THE PIAZZA
ALBERICA, THIS
ITALIAN CITY IS BETTER
KNOWN FOR WHAT IT
SUPPLIED TO WORKS
BY MICHEL MOORE &
HENRY LANGLO

FOR THE CORRECT
RESPONSE, WATCH
JEOPARDY! TONIGHT
OR LOOK IN THE
SPACE TOMORROW
IN THE TIMES.

Yesterday's Response:
WHAT IS PANEM?

Watch JEOPARDY!
7 p.m. on Channel 7

The Covid-19 fight isn't over, but we have learned much in the past year. **FEATURING** Expert advice for the next outbreak. **PAGES 3-5** A mental health toll on adolescents. **PAGE 3** Risk, fear and loss for medical professionals and their families. **PAGES 4, 8** 'Your grief is your grief; you can't compare it to other people.' **PAGE 6** New concern over obesity. **PAGE 7** Snapshots from a swimming friendship. **PAGE 7**

SCIENCE | MEDICINE | TECHNOLOGY | HEALTH

TUESDAY, MARCH 16, 2021

D1

ScienceTimes

The New York Times



LESSONS FROM THE PANDEMIC



BPA, VIA MULTITESTOCK

Living Science, in Real Time



EPA, VIA BUTTERSTOCK

By ALAN BURDICK

"The pandemic which has just swept round the earth has been without precedent."

So noted a May 1919 article in the journal *Science*, "The Lessons of the Pandemic." The author, Maj. George A. Soper, was an American civil and sanitation engineer who, among other accomplishments, had devised a plan for ventilating New York's subway system. He was famous for having linked, in 1904, a series of typhoid fever outbreaks to a cook named Mary Mallon who was herself immune to the disease: Typhoid Mary, the first asymptomatic superspreader known to modern science.

The pandemic, of course, was the Spanish flu of 1918-19, which caused 50 million deaths worldwide, including 675,000 in the United States. Scientists had no idea what had hit them, Soper wrote: "The most astonishing thing about the pandemic was the complete mystery which surrounded it." Viruses were still unknown; the illness was clearly respiratory — pneumonia was a common result — but the culprit was thought to be bacterial. (The actual pathogen, an H1N1 influenza A virus, was not identified until the 1990s.)

"Nobody seemed to know what the disease was, where it came from or how to stop it," Soper wrote. "Anxious minds are inquiring today whether another wave of it will come again."

The pandemic currently underway could hardly be more transparent by comparison. Within weeks of the first cases of Covid-19, in Wuhan, scientists had identified the pathogen as a novel coronavirus, named it SARS-CoV-2, sequenced its genome and shared the data with labs around the world. Its every mutation and variant is tracked. We know how the virus spreads, who among us is more vulnerable and what simple precautions can be taken against it. Not one but several highly effective vaccines were developed in record time.

So perhaps one clear lesson of our pandemic is that, when allowed, science works. Not flawlessly, and not always at a pace suited to a global emergency. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention was slow to recognize the coronavirus as an airborne threat. Even now, medicine has a better grasp of how to prevent coronavirus infection — masks, social distancing, vaccination — than how to treat it. But even this is

Top, members of the War Camp Community Committee making flu masks in San Francisco in 1918. Above, a man wearing a flu mask trying to give a mask to passers-by in San Francisco, also in 1918. Right, a warning about spitting posted on a streetcar in Philadelphia during the same year.



HISTORICAL MEDICAL LIBRARY OF THE COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS OF PHILADELPHIA

edifying. The public has been able to watch science at its messy, iterative, imperfect best, with researchers scrambling to draw conclusions in real time from growing heaps of data. Never has science been so evidently a process, more muscle than bone.

And yet still the virus spread. Travel restrictions, school closures, stay-at-home orders. Illness and isolation, anxiety and depression. Loss after loss: of dear friends and family members, of employment, of the simple company of others. Last week, the C.D.C. concluded that 2020 was the deadliest year in American history. For some, this past year seemed to last a century; for far too many people, this past year was their last.

So let another lesson of our pandemic be this: Science alone is not enough. It needs a champion, a pulpit, a spotlight, an audience. For months, the sound and obvious advice — wear a mask, avoid gatherings — was downplayed by government officials. Never mind the social fabric; discarding one's mask was cast as an act of defiance and personal independence.

Read today, Soper's essay stands out at first for its quaint medical advice. He urged his readers, sensibly, to "avoid needless crowding," but also to "avoid tight clothes, tight shoes" and to chew one's food thoroughly. He added, "It is not desirable to make the general wearing of masks compulsory."

Most striking, though, are the main lessons he drew from his pandemic, which are all too applicable to ours. One, respiratory diseases are highly contagious, and even the common ones demand attention. Two, the burden of preventing their spread falls heavily on the individual. These create, three, the overarching challenge: "Public indifference," Soper wrote. "People do not appreciate the risks they run."

A hundred-plus years of medical progress later, the same obstacle remains. It is the duty of leadership, not science, to shake its citizens from indifference. Of course, indifference does not quite capture the reality of why we find it so challenging to stop congregating indoors or without masks. This pandemic has also revealed, perhaps, the power of our species's desire to commune. We need each other, even against reason and sound public-health advice.

A week before "Lessons" appeared in 1919, Soper published another article, in *The New York Medical Journal*, making the case for an international health commission. "It should not be left to the vagaries of chance to encourage or stay the progress of those forms of disease, which neglected, become pestilences," he argued. He imagined a supragovernmental agency charged with investigating and reporting the trajectory of dangerous diseases — "a live, efficient, energetic institution possessing real powers and capable of doing large things."

He got his wish. Soper modeled his vision on the International Office of Public Health, established in Paris in 1908 and later absorbed into the United Nations World Health Organization, which was founded in April 1948, just two months before his death. But the W.H.O. could not contain Covid-19, either Preventing the next pandemic will require far more coordination and planning within and between governments than was mustered this time, much less century ago.

"Let us hope that the nations will see the need" and "initiate the work which so greatly requires to be done," Soper wrote in 1919. Let us hope that, before the next pandemic comes, we will have done more than hope.

LESSONS FROM THE PANDEMIC

They Have Guidance For the Next One

What did we do wrong? What would we do over? One year into the coronavirus pandemic, with over half a million people dead in the United States, we asked scientists, public health experts and health advocates to tell us about mistakes, missed chances and oversights—and how to prepare for the next pandemic. The following responses have been edited.

PREPARE FOR WHAT WE CAN'T IMAGINE

We must overcome our collective failure of imagination. Covid-19 took us by surprise. We spent decades planning for a pandemic that would resemble the viruses we already knew. We didn't plan for face masks, mass testing, stay-home orders, politicized decision making or devastating disparities. **Looking forward, we need to prepare for a much broader range of threats.**

LAUREN ANCELY MEYERS
EPIDEMIOLOGIST, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

PUT SCIENCE FIRST

Inaccurate information and indecisive action on the part of the U.S. government led the country to catastrophic failure. From the very beginning of the pandemic, President Donald J. Trump said that this virus will go away and that we need not take any precautions. There was mockery of masks and social distancing. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention gave out faulty primers that delayed early efforts. And its strict restriction on testing—to only those who had traveled to China—significantly delayed detection. Hospitals had to get their Covid testing approved by the Food and Drug Administration, even if they followed exactly the C.D.C. protocol. Reagents for testing quickly became depleted nationwide. **To prepare for the next pandemic, the government must put science and data above all else.**

AKIO IWASAKI
PROFESSOR OF IMMUNOLOGY, YALE UNIVERSITY

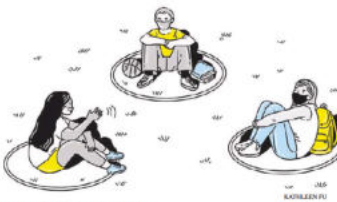
THE CHINA PROBLEM

It's clear that the Chinese government did suppress information about this virus, and officials didn't want the information to get out. **We really do need to have a larger conversation, aside from China, about working together as a global community for future outbreaks.** The nationalization of responses, I think, has been incredibly harmful.

ANGELA RASMUSSEN
VIRIOLOGIST, GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

The government needs to treat foreign-made personal protective equipment as a national security problem. This was a fairly mild virus. Imagine if the death rate had been 20 percent and China and Mexico had cut off their P.P.E. supplies. The entire mask supply would have collapsed.

NOE BOWEN
CO-OWNER, PRESTIGE AMERICA
WHICH MAKES N95 MASKS



LET TEENAGERS BE TEENAGERS

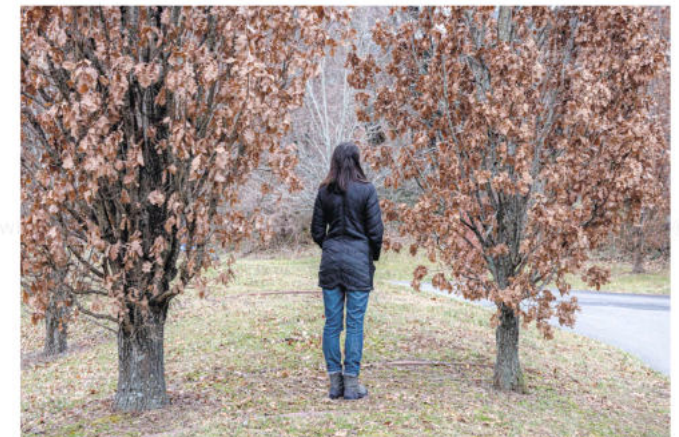
Kids need to be with kids and they need to have a structured life. **Social isolation is especially challenging for teens and potentially interferes in their maturation.** Those who saw each other socially and had at least a hybrid school experience have done better than those who could not.

MARSHA LEVY WARREN
ADOLESCENT PSYCHOLOGIST, CLINICAL ASSOCIATE
PROFESSOR AT NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

FIGURE OUT WHO GETS PRIORITY TREATMENT

Come up with your plans on how to allocate vaccines early and deploy them to states so they can put them into action right away. The C.D.C. came out with their recommendations in December, just days before the vaccines were authorized. But ever since August, when the allocation plan devised by the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering and Medicine was released, two principles of the overall strategy have endured: When vaccine supply is limited, go after mortality and preserve the health system. Mortality is irreversible. Those are principles we should be thinking about during the lull before the next storm.

SAAD OMER
DIRECTOR, YALE INSTITUTE FOR GLOBAL HEALTH



For Some Teens, a Year of Anguish

Suicidal thinking is up, and families find that hospitals can't handle adolescents in crisis.

By BENEDICT CAREY

When the pandemic first hit the Bay Area last spring, Ann thought that her son, a 17-year-old senior, was finally on track to finish high school. He had kicked a heavy marijuana habit and was studying in virtual classes while school was closed.

The first wave of stay-at-home orders shut down his usual routines—sports, playing music with friends. And the stability didn't last.

"The social isolation since then, over all this time, it just got to him," said Ann, a consultant living in suburban San Francisco. She, like the other parents in this article, asked that her last name be omitted for privacy and to protect her child. "This is a charming, funny kid, also sensitive and anxious," she said. "He couldn't find a job; he couldn't really go out. And he started using marijuana again, and Xanax."

The teenager's frustration finally boiled over last month, when he deliberately cut himself.

"We called 911, and he was taken to the emergency room," his mother said. "But there they just stitched him up and released him."

The doctors sent him home, she said, "with no support, no therapy, nothing." Ann and her son are like many families over the last year. Surveys and statistics show that for young people who are anxious by nature, or feeling emotionally fragile already, the pandemic and its isolation have pushed them to the brink. Rates of suicidal thinking and behavior are up by 25 percent or more from similar periods in 2019, according to a just-published analysis of surveys of young patients coming into the emergency room.

For these teenagers, there aren't many places to turn. They need help, but it's hard to come up with a psychiatric diagnosis. They are trying to manage a surprise interruption in their lives, a vague loss. And without a diagnosis, reimbursement for therapy is hard to come by. And that is assuming parents know what kind of help is appropriate, and where to find it. Finally, when a crisis hits, many of these teenagers end up in the local emergency department—the one place desperate families so often go for help.

Many E.R. departments across the country are now seeing a surge in such cases. Through most of 2020, the proportion of pediatric emergency admissions for mental problems, like panic and anxiety, was up by 24 percent for young children and 31 percent for adolescents compared with the previous year, according to a recent report by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

And the local emergency department is frequently unprepared for the added burden. Workers often are not specially trained to manage behavioral problems, and families don't have many options for where to go next, leaving many of these pandemic-insecure adolescents in limbo at the E.R.

"This is a national crisis we're facing," said Dr. Rebecca Baum, a developmental pediatrician in Asheville, N.C. "Kids are having to board in the E.R. for days on end, because there are no psychiatric beds available in their entire state, never mind the hospital. And of course, the child or adolescent is trying there and doesn't understand what's happening in the E.R., why they're having to wait there or where they're going."

Most teenagers and young adults have done fine through this pandemic year, provided that their families have stayed healthy and economically stable. They may be irritable or missing their friends, but their support networks have been enough to get them through the pandemic.

For the young people coming undone, however, pandemic life presents unusual challenges, pediatricians say. Most are temperamentally sensitive, and after months of social isolation, they have much less control over their moods.

"What parents and children are consistently reporting is an increase in all symptoms—a child who was a little anxious before the pandemic became very anxious over this past year," said Dr. Adiaha I. A. Spinks-Franklin, an associate professor of pediatrics at the Baylor College of Medicine. It is this prolonged stress, Dr. Spinks-Franklin said, that in time blunts the brain's ability to manage emotions.

Jean, an artist and mother of two living in Jean, N.M., said her 17-year-old son was doing fine through last spring. But



From top: Lisa, a mother of three in Asheville, N.C.; Dr. Adiaha I. A. Spinks-Franklin, a pediatric professor at the Baylor College of Medicine; and Dr. Rebecca Baum, a developmental pediatrician in Asheville.

the months of virtual classes and loss of simple social pleasures—hanging out with friends, playing chess—changed him through the fall months.

"Now, he's become very reclusive, he has mood swings, he cries a lot," Jean said. "This giant boy, crying—it's terrible to see." The young man has had panic attacks, twice followed by a blackout. During one, he fell and injured his face.

Lisa, a mother of three in Asheville, said that the months of virtual classes and relative social isolation changed her extroverted 13-year-old son "in profound ways I would never have anticipated."

His grades slipped badly, and he began to withdraw. "Next," he was telling us he couldn't make himself do the work, that he didn't want to disappoint us all the time, that he was worthless. Worthless."

These young people do not necessarily qualify for a psychiatric diagnosis, nor are they "traumatized" in the strict sense of having had a life-threatening experience (or the perception of one). Rather, they are trying to manage an interruption in their normal development, child psychologists say: a sudden and indefinite suspension of almost every routine and social connection, leaving a deep yet vague sense of loss with no single, distinct source.

System Overload

The result is grief, but grief without a name or a specific cause, an experience some psychologists call "ambiguous loss." The concept is usually reserved to describe the experience of immigrants, displaced from everything familiar, who shut down emotionally in a new and strange country. Or to describe disaster survivors, who return to neighborhoods that are hollowed out, transformed.

"Everything that used to be familiar and give structure to their lives, and predictability, and normalcy, is gone," said Sharon Young, a therapist in Hendersonville. "Kids need all these things even more than adults do, and it's hard for them to feel emotionally safe when they're no longer there."

The resulting changes in behavior can seem sudden: A bright sixth grader is found cutting herself; a sweet-natured sophomore takes a swing at a sibling. Parents, frightened, often don't know where to go for appropriate help. Many don't have the resources or knowledge to hire a therapist. Families that land in the emergency de-

partments of their local hospitals often find that the clinics are poorly equipped to handle these incoming cases. The staff is better trained to manage physical trauma than the mental variety, and patients are often sent right back home, without proper evaluation or support. In severe cases, they may linger in the emergency department for days before a bed can be found elsewhere.

In a recent report, a research team led by the C.D.C. found that less than half of the emergency departments in U.S. hospitals had clear policies in place to handle children with behavior problems. Getting to the bottom of any complex behavior issue can take days of patient observation, at minimum, psychiatrists say. And many emergency departments do not have the on-hand specialists, dedicated space or off-site resources to help do the job well.

For Jean, diagnosing her son's condition has been complicated. He has since developed irritable bowel syndrome. "He has been losing weight, and started smoking pot due to the boredom," Jean said. "This is all due to the anxiety."

Norwood Children's Hospital in Columbus, Ohio, has an emergency department that is a decent size for a pediatric hospital, with capacity for 62 children or adolescents. But well before the arrival of the coronavirus, the hospital was seeing an increasing number of patients with behavior problems.

"This was huge problem pre-pandemic," said Dr. David Axelsson, chief of psychiatry and behavioral health at the hospital. "We were seeing a rise in emergency department visits for mental health problems in kids, specifically for suicidal thinking and self-harm. Our emergency department was overwhelmed with it, having to board kids on the medical unit while waiting for psych beds."

Last March, to address the crowding, Nationwide Children's opened a new pavilion, a nine-story facility with 54 dedicated beds for observation and for longer-term stays for those with mental challenges. It has taken the pressure off the hospital's regular emergency department and greatly improved care, Dr. Axelsson said.

In most places, however, far fewer resources are available. Other hospitals from out of state often call. Dr. Axelsson said, hoping to place a patient in crisis, but there is simply not enough space. "We have to say no," he said.

Where to Go Next?

Ann, the co-owner in the Bay Area, said that her son's visit to the emergency room in February was his third in the previous 18 months, each time for issues related to drug withdrawal. On one visit, he was given a misdiagnosis of psychosis and sent to a locked county psychiatric ward. "That experience itself—locked for days in a ward, with no one telling him why, or how long he'd be there—was the most traumatic thing he's experienced," she said.

Like many other parents, she is now looking after an unstable child and wondering where to go next. A drug rehab program may be needed, as well as regular therapy. Lisa has hired a therapist for her son, a Zoom session every other week. That seems to have helped, she said, but it is too early to tell. And Jean, for the moment, is hoping the infection risk will diminish soon, so her son can get a safe job.

All three parents have become keen observers of their children, more aware of shifting moods. Listening by itself usually helps relieve distress, therapists say. "Trying to educate parents is a routine part of the job," said Dr. Robert Duffey, a pediatrician in Hendersonville. "And of course we need these kids back in school, so badly."

But medical professionals say that until the health care system finds a way to equip and support emergency departments for what they have become—the first and sometimes last resort—parents will be left to navigate mostly on their own, leaning on others who have managed similar problems.

"Covid has put our system under a microscope in terms of the things that don't work," said Dr. Baum, the pediatrician in Asheville. "We had a shaky system of care in pediatric mental health prior to this pandemic, and now we have these added stressors on it, all these kids coming in for pandemic-related issues. Hospitals everywhere are scrambling to adjust."

If you are having thoughts of suicide, call the National Suicide Prevention Lifeline at 1-800-273-8255 (TALK). You can find a list of additional resources at [SpeakingOfSuicide.com/resources](https://www.speakingofsuicide.com/resources).

Guidance for Next Time

DON'T LEAVE IT UP TO THE STATES

We were voted by Hopkins as the best prepared country in the world for the pandemic. The lesson that we've learned is that it is also very important that the response is. In a country with the characteristics of the United States, that has 50 individual states, with over 330 million people — and when you have a pandemic that is highly, highly transmissible, that doesn't care about borders between one state or another — **there are certain commonalities that you need, some collaboration, cooperation and synergy between the federal government and the states.** Some states just didn't pay any attention to the guidelines and just jumped right over them — to go wherever they wanted to go. That is not a recipe for success.

DR. ANTHONY S. FAUCI
DIRECTOR, THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE
OF ALLERGY AND INFECTIOUS DISEASES

STOP THE MIXED MESSAGING

We need a strong, coordinated science-based federal response to take the lead on a national testing plan. We need public health guidance for the states, rather than just leave it up to them. **Having this patchwork of different public health guidance was really unhelpful, and it also sent a message that we didn't really know what's going on — or what was going to work.**

The obvious thing was the mask issue — to have a unified message on masks. The virus doesn't preferentially choose people to infect based on their political party. We're all in this together.

LINSEY MARK
EXPERT IN THE AIRBORNE MOVEMENT
OF VIRUSES, VIRGINIA TECH

INVEST IN THE NUMBERS

The underinvestment in public health was a massive vulnerability for an effective response. We really needed accurate data to be able to forecast — that lets us drive the intervention that drives the impact. There are pretty sophisticated data systems for banking, media, et cetera, and we haven't made those leaps in public health.

ANNE SCHUCHAT
DEPUTY DIRECTOR, C.D.C.

BE NIMBLE IN PROVIDING TREATMENT

The most resilient health systems have been those that actually understand how to keep people well and take risk — as opposed to being stuck in the fee-for-service environment. It's one where you actually can accept complete responsibility clinically and financially for a population. And then you can make all kinds of super interesting, nimble, innovative decisions like telehealth and hospital at home and all those other great tools that volume-based systems are really not prepared to use.

DR. MARC HARRISON
CHIEF EXECUTIVE, INTERMOUNTAIN HEALTHCARE,
WHICH OPERATES HOSPITALS, CLINICS AND
A HEALTH PLAN



DON'T LET RACE AND CLASS DETERMINE WHO LIVES AND DIES

What we've learned is specifically related to the social determinants of health, which are the conditions in the places where people live, learn, work and play — and how these can predetermine health outcomes. This was a very academic kind of a topic. In the past, people would say, "Yeah, yeah, poverty, poverty, poverty," but they didn't grasp the concept. **The virus has really brought it to the forefront, in a very graphic way, with racial and ethnic minorities getting so much more affected.** It has become very clear that the health of the country really depends on addressing those social determinants of health. And I see the difference in the health department and the difference in government, and even in the news media, which bodes well for the future.

DR. PABLO RODRIGUEZ
MEMBER OF THE GOVERNMENT COMMITTEE
THAT GUIDES COVID VACCINE DISTRIBUTION
IN RHODE ISLAND



Dr. Adesewa I. Akhemamhen, right, is an emergency medicine physician in Chicago; her sister, Dr. Esosa T. Ighodaro, center right, works in Minnesota. They speak often and compare notes.



PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY M. HARRISON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Calling for Caring Gives Some Families A Sustaining Bond

Many nurses and doctors have relatives working in medicine, amplifying the sense of risk.

By AIDAN GARDINER

Gabrielle Dawn Luna sees her father in every patient she treats.

As an emergency room nurse in the same hospital where her father lay dying of Covid-19 last March, Ms. Luna knows firsthand what it's like for a family to hang on to every new piece of information. She's become acutely aware of the need to take extra time in explaining developments to a patient's relatives who are often desperate for updates.

And Ms. Luna has been willing to share her personal loss if it helps, as she did recently with a patient whose husband died. But she has also learned to withhold it to respect each person's distinct grief, as she did when a colleague's father also succumbed to the disease.

It's challenging, she said, to allow herself to grieve enough to help patients without feeling overwhelmed herself.

"Sometimes I think that's too big a responsibility," she said. "But that's the job that I signed up for, right?"

The Lunas are a nursing family. Her father, Tom Onaitia Luna, was also an emergency nurse and was proud when Ms. Luna joined him in the field. When he died on April 9, Ms. Luna, who also had mild symptoms of Covid-19, took about a week off work. Her mother, a nurse at a long-term-care facility, spent about six weeks at home afterward.

"She didn't want me to go back to work for fear that something would happen to me, too," Ms. Luna said. "But I had to go back. They needed me."

When her hospital in Teaneck, N.J.,

swelled with virus patients, she struggled with stress, burnout and a nagging fear that left her grief an open wound: "Did I give it to him? I don't want to think about that, but it's a possibility."

Like the Lunas, many who have been treating the millions of coronavirus patients in the United States over the past year come from families defined by medicine. It is a calling passed through generations, one that binds spouses and connects siblings who are states apart.

It's a bond that brings the succor of shared experience, but for many, the pandemic has also introduced a host of fears and stresses. Many have worried about the risks they're taking and those their loved ones face every day, too. They worry about the unseen scars left behind.

And for those like Ms. Luna, the care they give to coronavirus patients has come to be shaped by the beloved healer they lost to the virus.

Working Through Grief

For Dr. Nadia Zuabi, the loss is so new that she still refers to her father, a fellow emergency department physician, in the present tense.

Her father, Dr. Shawkil Zuabi, spent his last days in her hospital, UCI Health in Orange County, Calif., before dying of Covid-19 on Jan. 8. The younger Dr. Zuabi almost immediately returned to work, hoping to keep going through purpose and her colleagues' camaraderie.

She had expected that working alongside the people who had cared for her father would deepen her commitment to her own patients, and to some extent it has. But mainly, she came to realize how important it is to balance that taxing emotional availability with her own well-being.

"I try to always be an empathetic and compassionate as I can," Dr. Zuabi said. "There's a part of you that maybe as a sur-

vival mechanism has to build a wall because to feel that all the time, I don't think it's sustainable."

Work is filled with reminders. When she saw a patient's fingerprints, she recalled how her colleagues had also picked her father's to check insulin levels.

"He had all these bruises on his fingertips," she said. "It just broke my heart."

The two had always been close, but they found a special connection when she went to medical school. Physicians often descend from physicians. About 20 percent in Sweden have parents with medical degrees, and researchers believe the rate is similar in the United States.

The older Dr. Zuabi had a gift for conversation and loved talking about medicine with his daughter as he sat in his living room chair with his feet propped up. She is still in her residency training, and throughout last year she would go to him for advice on the challenging Covid cases she was working on and he'd bat away her doubts. "You need to trust yourself," he'd tell her.

When he caught the virus, she took time off to be at his bedside every day, and continued their conversations. Even when he was intubated, she pretended they were still talking.

She still does. After difficult shifts, she turns to her memories, the part of him that stays with her. "He really thought that I was going to be a great doctor," she said. "If my dad thought that of me, then it has to be true. I can do it, even if sometimes it doesn't feel like it."

Kitty Bennett contributed research.

THE PANDEMIC



CALLA KOSZLOFF FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



CAROLINE YANCOFF FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Love Tempered by Risk and Horror

In the same way that medicine is often a passion grown from a set of values passed from one generation to the next, it's also one shared by siblings and one that draws healers together in marriage.

One-fourth of physicians in the United States are married to another physician, according to a study published in the *Annals of Internal Medicine*. Maria Polrakova, a health policy professor at Stanford University, said she would not be surprised if the number of physicians in the United States who had siblings with medical degrees was about as high as Sweden's approximately 14 percent.

In interviews with a dozen doctors and nurses, they described how it had long been helpful to have a loved one who knew the rigors of the job. But the pandemic has also revealed how frightening it can be to have a loved one in harm's way.

A nurse's brother tended to her when she had the virus before volunteering in another virus hot spot. A doctor had a bracing talk with her children about what would happen if she and her husband both died from the virus. And others described quietly weeping during a conversation about wills after putting their children to bed.

Dr. Fred E. Kency Jr., a physician at two emergency departments in Jackson, Miss., understood that he was surrounded by danger when he was in the Navy. He didn't expect that he would face such a threat in civilian life, or that his wife, an internist and pediatrician, would face the same hazards.



Dr. Fred E. Kency Jr., left, works at two emergency departments in Jackson, Miss. His wife is an internist and pediatrician.

BOB DYKES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



Gabrielle Dawn Luna, left, followed her father, Tom Onaolu Luna, into emergency nursing, and her mother is a nurse at a long-term care facility. Mr. Luna, far left, died of Covid-19 last April in New Jersey.

CALLA KOSZLOFF FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



GABRIELLA ANGIUCCI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



GABRIELLA ANGIUCCI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

In January, Dr. Nadia Zushi, left, lost her father, Dr. Sharaki Zushi, above with his wife, Vincenza, to Covid-19 in California. "He believed in me so much," she said.

"It is scary to know that my wife, each and every day, has to walk into rooms of patients that have Covid," Dr. Kency said, before he and his wife were vaccinated. "But it's rewarding in knowing that not just one of us, both of us, are doing everything we possibly can to save lives in this pandemic."

The vaccine has eased fears about getting infected at work for those medical workers who have been inoculated, but some express deep concerns about the toll that working through a year of horrors has taken on their closest relatives.

"I worry about the amount of suffering and death she's seeing," Dr. Adegunso I. Akhetuamhen, an emergency medicine physician at Northwestern Medicine in Chicago, said of her sister, who is a doctor at the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minn. "I feel like it's something I've learned to cope with, working in the emergency department before Covid started, but it's not something that's supposed to happen in her specialty as a neurologist."

She and her sister, Dr. Esezona T. Igbo-doro, have regularly talked on the phone to compare notes about precautions they're taking, provide updates on their family and offer each other support. "She completely understands what I am going through and gives me encouragement," Dr. Igbo-doro said.

The seemingly endless intensity of work, the mounting deaths and the cavalier attitudes some Americans display toward safety precautions have caused anxiety, fatigue and burnout for a growing number of health care workers. Nearly 25 percent of them most likely have PTSD, according to a survey that the Yale School of Medicine published in February. And many have left the field or are considering doing so.

Donna Quinn, a midwife at N.Y.U. Health in Manhattan, has worried that her son's experience as an emergency room physician

in Chicago will lead him to leave the field he only recently joined. He was in his last year of residency when the pandemic began, and he volunteered to serve on the intubation team.

"I worry about the toll it's taking on him emotionally," she said. "There have been nights where we are in tears talking about what we've encountered."

She still has nightmares that are sometimes so terrifying that she falls out of bed. Some are about her son or patients she can't help. In one, a patient's bed lines transform into a towering monster that chases her out of the room.

A Nurse's Purpose

When Ms. Luna first returned to her emergency room at Holy Name Medical Center in Teaneck after her father died, she felt as though something was missing. She had gotten used to having him there. It had been nerve-racking as every urgent intercom call for a resuscitation made her wonder, "Is that my dad?" But she could at least stop by every now and again to see how he was doing.

More than that though, she had never known what it was like to be a nurse without him. She remembered him studying to enter the field when she was in elementary school, coloring over nearly every line in his big textbooks with yellow highlighter.

Over breakfast last March, Ms. Luna told her father how shaken she was after holding an iPad for a dying patient to say goodbye to a family who couldn't get into the hospital.

"This is our profession," she recalled Mr. Luna saying. "We are here to act as family when family can't be there. It's a hard role. It's going to be hard, and there will be more times where you'll have to do it."

When government ignores how systemic racism — when they don't acknowledge unequal access health care and jobs — that essentially shapes their lives and experiences of people of color. **It results in the really profound and appalling health inequities that we've seen in this pandemic.** So they're not paying attention to policies around job housing and education, and access to health care when a pandemic hits, these inequities essentially exponentially worsen.

DR. DORIE BLACKSTOCK
URGENT CARE PHYSICIAN AND FOUNDER, ADVANCING HEALTH EQUITY, A HEALTH CARE ADVOCACY GROUP

The pandemic exposed the failures of the fragmented, profit-driven American health care system. Medicare for All would allow us to address the social determinants of health with a focus on prevention, primary care and chronic disease management instead of specialized care. **A robust public health system would allow us to quickly implement the type of surveillance, tracing, tracking and data collection that is critical in responding to a pandemic or any other emerging public health crisis.**

ZENI TRIUNFO-CORTES
PRESIDENT, CALIFORNIA NURSES ASSOCIATION AND NATIONAL NURSES UNITED

DON'T BE AGEIST

The most important lesson: This is what happens when we treat older people as expendable. There's definitely an element of ageism at work here. From the outset of the pandemic, we knew older adults and those with underlying health conditions were most at risk, and yet we chose to ignore the fact that we could mitigate some of that risk by providing enough testing, staffing and adequate personal protective equipment. And we just didn't. Older Americans and their care providers weren't properly prioritized until very recently, when vaccines became available. And what an amazing difference it has been.

KATIE SMITH SLOAN
PRESIDENT, LEADERSHIP, WHICH REPRESENTS NONPROFIT NURSING HOMES

COMMUNITIES NEED TO PREPARE TOO

We need to have ongoing community capacity to deal with crisis. We can't just rely on government and institutions. **Our own community members have to be consistently incorporated into systemic responses to crises.**

THE REV. PAUL T. ABERNATHY
NEIGHBORHOOD RESILIENCE PROJECT, PITTSBURGH, WHICH DOES OUTREACH TO COMMUNITIES OF COLOR

STOP WITH THE FRINGE TREATMENTS

There was so much uncertainty in the early months about how to treat patients, but we've come to realize it's best to stick to the basics of critical care medicine. Whether it's Covid-19 or the next viral pandemic, just trust what we know as the foundation for patient care — and **don't be distracted by looking for fringe or alternative interventions.**

DR. GREGORY S. MARTIN
CRITICAL CARE SPECIALIST, EMORY UNIVERSITY

LOOK IN THE MIRROR AND SEE WHO WE ARE

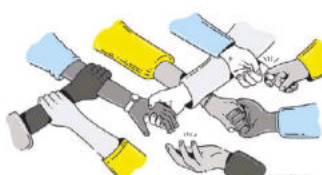
Many people had an awakening to the people who keep society going forward, and whom we take largely for granted. But if you can discount the essential worker — the African-American, the Latino, the Chinese immigrant who delivers your food — then think how easily you can discount any other human life.

If you are a person who thinks that you have a right not to wear a mask, that philosophy cascades. I couldn't give a darn about the cashier in the supermarket or the train driver because I don't care about anyone. I will go into the bar, and I will do what I will do.

This pandemic has shown us who we are, at level of clarity that is shocking to most people.

It's hard to imagine there are that many people in our country who really don't care about others. That is the scariest thing, it takes your breath away and you can diagnose everything else that is happening through that lens. That you could tolerate 500,000 deaths in less than a year is incomprehensible to me, that we are a nation that is so callous.

DR. REED TUCKSON
CO-FOUNDER, BLACK COALITION AGAINST COVID-19



NATHANIEU

Well

It's Okay to Mourn, No Matter the Size of a Loss

Grief over a lost semester or a canceled trip may seem small, but it should be acknowledged.

By TARA PARKER-POPE

When I've asked people what they lost in the past year of pandemic life, the answer often starts the same way.

"I can't complain."

"I'm one of the lucky ones."

"I know I should count my blessings."

They are, of course, comparing their losses to the loss of life of 2.6 million people around the world during this pandemic, which makes it harder to talk about these smaller losses. Many people have lost precious time with family and friends, or they've been forced to cancel travel plans and miss milestone events like graduations and weddings. In the hierarchy of human suffering during the pandemic, a canceled prom, a lost vacation or missing out on seeing a child's first steps may not sound like much, but mental health experts say that all loss needs to be acknowledged and grieved.

"People don't feel like they have the right to grieve," said Lisa S. Zoll, a licensed clinical social worker in Lemoyne, Pa., who specializes in grief counseling. "I just had this conversation in my office when this person said, 'I can't complain about my grief, because people have it worse.' But we have to correct that thinking. Your grief is your grief. You can't compare it to other people's."

A year ago, Georgiana Lotfy was forced to cancel her dream wedding in Joshua Tree, Calif. She and her partner, Stephen Schull, had found new love at the age of 72, and they had wanted to celebrate with 55 friends and family members. Instead, they got married in their Rancho Miraga backyard on March 21, by an officiant who stood eight feet away. Guests watched via Facebook Live, the wedding flowers were sent to nursing homes, and the caterer delivered the wedding dinner to a homeless shelter.

"I've cried over it," said Ms. Lotfy, who is a licensed psychotherapist. "When we started to think about how we are going to celebrate our first anniversary, I just hit me all over again, the sadness of the loss of this beautiful wedding. There's no ritual for this grief. It's not like losing a person, but it is a sadness."

Naming Your Grief

Disenfranchised grief, or grief that isn't routinely acknowledged, is a term that was coined in the 1980s by Kenneth J. Doka, a bereavement expert who began studying unacknowledged grief while teaching graduate students at the College of New Rochelle. When the class discussion turned to the death of a spouse, an older student spoke about the lack of social support when her ex-husband died. His new wife was the widow. Her children had lost their father. But she felt she had no standing to grieve for a man with whom she had gone to high school from and shared 25 years of her life.

The conversation prompted Dr. Doka to begin studying grief that isn't acknowledged or supported by social ritual. It can happen when we don't have a legal tie to the person we lose. When the loss makes others uncomfortable — like a miscarriage or suicide — we might also lack support for our grief. But often disenfranchised grief happens around smaller losses that don't involve loss of human life, like the loss of a job, a missed career opportunity or the death of a pet or lost time with people we love.

"A constant refrain is 'I don't have a right to grieve,'" Dr. Doka said.

An Unfulfilled Goal

When college campuses shut down a year ago, students had to pack up, say quick goodbyes to friends and finish the semester at home. Before the lockdowns, Victoria Addo-Ashong, who grew up in Falls Church, Va., had big dreams for her senior track season at Pomona College. After setting a school record in the triple jump and placing first in the 2019 N.C.A.A. Division III Outdoor Track and Field Championships, she had her eyes set on a national title.

But then Covid-19 arrived, and the 2020 track season was off before it started. "We only had three meets before our season was canceled," Ms. Addo-Ashong said. "The lack of agency and the complete surprise, it was pretty disheartening. It felt so surreal. It felt like no way this is happening."

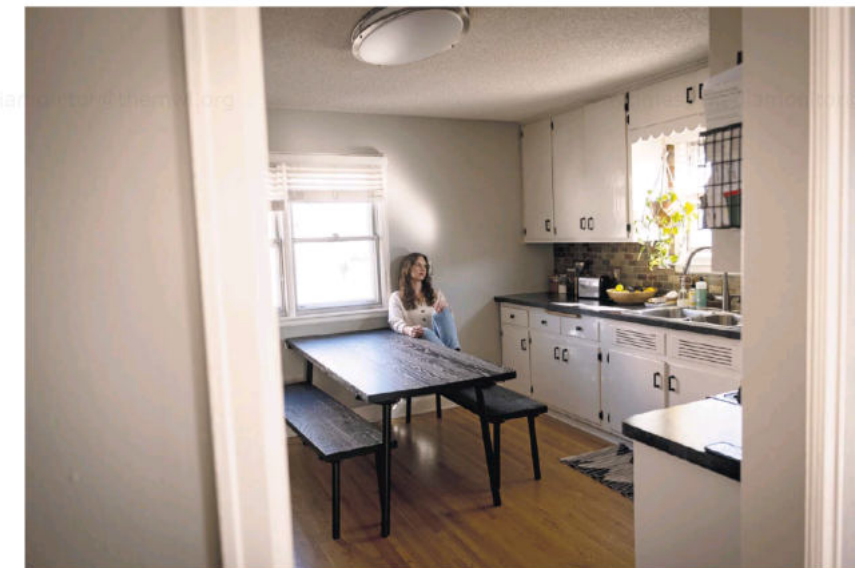
Ms. Addo-Ashong, 22, knows other people have lost so much more in the past year, which has made it hard to grieve her own loss. Her senior year was supposed to be the first time her parents saw her compete in a college meet. She also grieves for her teammates and her coaches, who invested so much time and energy in her training.

"I had these big goals together; it was such a disappointment," she said. "We lost it the way we wanted to," said Ms. Addo-Ashong, who now works in economic consulting in Los Angeles. "I've lost a track season whereas people have lost lives. But it was such a big part of who I was, and who I still am. It's hard because there's nothing I could do about it. There was no concrete way to go about mourning the end of a lost track season."

Missing a Chance to Help

A year ago, Ginger Nickel's life in Eugene, Ore., was full. The 74-year-old retired teacher was volunteering at a hospital, often accompanied by her white labradoodle, Gryffindor, a trained therapy dog. As part of a No One Dies Alone program, she would sit with dying patients, some of whom were homeless, with no family at their bedside. Her favorite job was working a three-hour shift as a "cuddler," holding the babies in the neonatal intensive care unit.

But in March, all hospital volunteers were sent home — there wasn't enough pro-



RONA ROBERTSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



MICHELLE CARUSO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

pective gear available, and the rapid spread of Covid made it too risky to allow volunteers to come and go from the hospital.

"It was so abrupt," Ms. Nickel said. "It wasn't anything I could prepare for. I remember I had that same feeling I had when my best friend died. It's like your day is normal, and you get this news and everything changes. You're standing around like, 'Well, what should I do now?' It was really an unsettling feeling. It was almost as if someone had died, and I would not see them again."

Ms. Nickel said she redirected her energy into sewing masks. She donated them to the hospital and to local homeless people, and even hung them from clotheslines in her front yard for people to take. Often she would find thank-you notes clipped to the clothesline where a mask had been.

But she misses the nurses and staff she saw every week for the past 13 years. And it's still not clear when or if the hospital will bring back volunteer workers.

"I know what I'm going through is nothing like what the families of 500,000 people have gone through," Ms. Nickel said. "But I'm grieving. I lost something. It's been a year, and I haven't seen any of them. I know the babies still need to be held."

The Grandchildren Not Yet Seen

Dr. Brian Edwards, 69, a retired physician in Topeka, Kan., calls himself a "cup half-full kind of guy" who doesn't like to complain. He and his wife, Ginger, missed out on a lot last year. They had two new grandchildren they weren't able to see. His daughter got married. They had five cruises planned in 2020 before Covid hit.

Dr. Edwards also has Alzheimer's disease, and time is precious to him. His doctors have advised him to "just have fun" while he's healthy, something that pandemic restrictions have made difficult.

"I know my time is limited," he said. "But I feel our loss is nothing compared to people losing loved ones. Did I ever feel sad? Yes, but that's not my way to linger on bad things. I try to think positively. We all have many losses in many ways. Some losses are more important than others. The big thing is, if you have a loss, you should grieve."

Cancer Diagnosis During Lockdown

Lockdowns had an immediate financial impact on Annabelle Gurwirth, a Los Angeles writer who lost assignments and speaking engagements. The promotion for her new book, "You're Leaving When?": Adventures in Downward Mobility, has gone virtual. But it was when her child's graduation from



MARKET IMAGES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Bard College moved online that she found herself weeping in her backyard.

"I was so proud of them for graduating college in four years," she said. "David Byrne was supposed to be the speaker. There's so much suffering going on, and I felt like such a terrible person being upset that I couldn't go to my kid's graduation and see David Byrne. That's low on the suffering level. But damn, we got our kid through four years. The kid got sober during college. Am I allowed to say we were disappointed?"

Around the same time as the graduation, Ms. Gurwirth developed a cough. She got a Covid test and a chest X-ray, which eventually led to a diagnosis of Stage 4 lung cancer. After her cancer diagnosis, Ms. Gurwirth noticed that her friends began to play down their own struggles and grief. One friend learned she had breast cancer and underwent a double mastectomy, but didn't want to tell her because she felt as though breast cancer was not as bad as lung cancer.

"I had out-canceled her," Ms. Gurwirth said. "It's terrible to not feel like your suffering has a place."

From top: RaeAnn Schulte of St. Paul, Minn., said she felt lucky, but missed her life before the pandemic; Victoria Marie Addo-Ashong won many awards for track and field, but because the 2020 season was canceled, she couldn't compete for a national title; Dr. Brian Edwards and his wife, Ginger, of Topeka, Kan., had two new grandchildren they weren't able to see, a loss made worse by the fact that Dr. Edwards has Alzheimer's disease.

Lost Fertility and a Broken Marriage

Erin, 38, who asked that her full name not be used to protect her privacy, said she lost another year of fertility during the pandemic lockdowns. After suffering a miscarriage a few years ago, she had been trying to conceive, but her husband didn't think it was wise to start a pregnancy during a pandemic. "Mother's Day came, and I was about to turn 38, and it became clear that I don't have a lot of time left," she said. "That biological clock — the tick is very loud, and it's a very real thing."

Erin said her marriage began to fall apart, and she realized that if she wanted to become a mother, she most likely would have to pursue it on her own. She and her husband are now divorcing, she's taking steps to freeze her eggs and she's exploring adoption and foster parenting. She said the grief of infertility and miscarriage had only been amplified by pandemic life, as she glimpsed people's family lives in video calls.

"A co-worker, every time we talk, she talks about Lamaze class," she said. "That's great for them, but it's not an OK space for me to say I'm struggling with this. I lost a child. I lost my fertile years. This is an area where I'm really struggling. It's not something we as a society openly talk about."

Acknowledging Your Grief

One of the biggest challenges with disenfranchised grief is getting the sufferers to acknowledge the legitimacy of their grief. Once you accept that your grief is real, there are steps you can take to help you cope.

VALIDATE THE LOSS Identify the thing or things you've lost this year. "I've gotten a number of letters from people who read my book and said, 'Give me your grief a name,'" Dr. Doka said. "There's power in naming it. It's a legitimate loss."

SEEK SUPPORT One of the challenges of disenfranchised grief is that we often suffer in silence. Going to a support group or a therapist or reaching out to friends is an important step in coping with it. "I think sharing helps because people feel a lot of times with grief, especially disenfranchised grief, they feel alone and isolated," Ms. Zoll said. "They think nobody else is experiencing what they're experiencing. Someone has to be brave enough to bring it up. When you talk about it, people will say, 'I've been experiencing that too.'"

CREATE A RITUAL Funerals, memorial services and obituaries are rituals around death that help process loss. Consider creating a ritual that honors your loss. Consider planting a tree, for example, or find an item that represents your loss, like canceled airline tickets or a wedding invitation, and bury it. Host a pretend prom or graduation ceremony. Some people might want to get a tattoo to memorialize the loss. "What we struggle with is to find meaning in the loss," Ms. Zoll said. "Grief and loss don't make sense. The rituals are part of finding the meaning."

Absent the Small Joys

To cope with grief, you shouldn't rank your loss as better or worse than another person's. Ms. Addo-Ashong, 29, of St. Paul, Minn., said her first reaction was always to say she had not lost anything during pandemic life. "I thought I was lucky," she said. "I haven't lost a loved one; I haven't lost a wedding or a graduation or a job. I haven't lost my health. So why do I feel so terrible?"

Ms. Schulte said she started thinking about all the small losses this year, like lost time with family, especially her young nieces and nephews who are changing every day. She misses her co-workers, browsing in bookstores and going to yoga class.

"I've lost vacations and concerts and hockey games and festivals," Ms. Schulte said. "And maybe by themselves none of these things matter so much. Certainly in the face of so much grief and loss, I realize how fortunate I am. But what is life if not a collection of small joys? Taken altogether, maybe my loss is not so small after all."

Well

PERSONAL HEALTH | JANE E. BRODY

A Dietary Warning in the Coronavirus Crisis

Americans are failing to combat obesity, a leading risk factor for death from Covid-19.

THE PANDEMIC HAS SHED A blinding light on too many Americans' failure to follow the well-established scientific principles of personal health and well-being. There are several reasons this country, one of the world's richest and most highly developed, has suffered much higher rates of Covid-19 infections and deaths than many poorer and less well-equipped populations.

Older Americans have been particularly hard hit by this novel coronavirus. When cases surged at the end of last year, Covid-19 became the nation's leading cause of death, deadlier than heart disease and cancer.

But while there's nothing anyone can do to stop the march of time, several leading risk factors for Covid-19 infections and deaths stem from how many Americans conduct their lives from childhood on and their misguided reliance on medicine to patch up their self-inflicted wounds.

After old age, obesity is the second leading risk factor for death among those who become infected and critically ill with Covid-19. Seventy percent of American adults are now overweight, and more than a third are obese. Two other major risks for Covid, Type 2 diabetes and high blood pressure, are most often the result of excess weight, which in turn reflects unhealthy dietary and exercise habits. These conditions may be particularly prevalent in communities of color, who are likewise disproportionately affected by the pandemic.

Several people I know packed on quite a few pounds of health-robbing body fat this past year, and not because they lacked the ability to purchase and consume a more nutritious plant-based diet or to exercise regularly within or outside their homes. One male friend in his 50s unexpectedly qualified for the Covid vaccine by his own admission, underlying health condition when his doctor found he'd become obese since the pandemic began.

A Harris Poll, conducted for the American Psychological Association in late February, revealed that 42 percent of respondents gave an average of 29 "pandemic pounds," increasing their Covid risk.

So what can we learn from these trends?



GRACIA LAN

Tom Vilsack, the new secretary of agriculture, put it bluntly a week ago in Politico Pro's Morning Agriculture newsletter: "We cannot have the level of obesity. We cannot have the level of diabetes we have. We cannot have the level of chronic disease. . . . It will literally cripple our country."

Of course, in recent decades many of the policies of the department Mr. Vilsack now heads have contributed mightily to Americans' access to inexpensive foods that flesh out their bones with unwholesome calories and undermine their health. Two telling examples: The government subsidizes the production of both soybeans and corn, most of which is used to feed livestock.

Not only does livestock production make a major contribution to global warming, much of its output ends up as inexpensive, often highly processed fast foods that can prompt people to overeat and raise their risk of developing heart disease, diabetes, high blood pressure and kidney disease.

But there are no subsidies for the kinds of fruits and vegetables that can counter the disorders that render people more vulnerable to the coronavirus.

As Mr. Vilsack said, "The time has come for us to transform the food system in this country in an accelerated way."

Early in the pandemic, when most businesses and entertainment venues were forced to close, toilet paper was not the only commodity stripped from market shelves. The country was suddenly faced with a shortage of flour and yeast as millions of Americans "stuck" at home went on a baking frenzy. While I understood their need to relieve stress, feed productive and perhaps help others less able or so inclined, bread, muffins and cookies were not the most wholesome products that might have emerged from pandemic kitchens.

When calorie-rich foods and snacks are in the home, they can be hard to resist when there's little else to prompt the release of

'The time has come for us to transform the food system in this country in an accelerated way.'

TOM VILSACK
SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

pleasure-enhancing brain chemicals. To no one's great surprise, smoking rates also rose during the pandemic, introducing yet another risk to Covid susceptibility.

And there's been a run on alcoholic beverages. National sales of alcohol during one week in March 2020 were 54 percent higher than the comparable week the year before. The Harris Poll corroborated that nearly one adult in four drank more alcohol than usual to cope with pandemic-related stress. Not only is alcohol a source of nutritionally empty calories, its rampant consumption can result in reckless behavior that further raises susceptibility to Covid.

Well before the pandemic prompted a rise in calorie consumption, Americans were eating significantly more calories each day than they realized, thanks in large part to the ready availability of ultraprocessed foods, especially those that taste, "you can't eat just one." (Example: Corn on the cob is ultraprocessed, canned corn is minimally processed, but Doritos are ultraprocessed.)

In a brief but carefully designed diet study, Kevin D. Hall and colleagues at the National Institutes of Health surreptitiously gave 20 adults diets that were rich in either ultraprocessed foods or unprocessed foods matched for calorie, sugar, fat, sodium, fiber and protein content. Told to eat as much as they wanted, the unsuspecting participants consumed 500 calories a day more on the ultraprocessed diet.

If you've been reading my column for years, you already know that I'm not a fanatic when it comes to food. I have many containers of ice cream in my freezer; cookies, crackers and even chips in my cupboard; and I enjoy a burger now and then. But my daily diet is based primarily on vegetables, with fish, beans and nonfat milk my main sources of protein. My consumption of snacks and ice cream is portion-controlled and, along with daily exercise, has enabled me to remain weight-stable despite year-long pandemic stress and occasional despair.

As Marion Nestle, professor emerita of nutrition, food studies and public health at New York University, says, "This is not rocket science." She does not preach deprivation only moderation (except perhaps for a total ban on soda). "We need a national policy aimed at preventing obesity," she told me, "a national campaign to help all Americans get healthier."

TIES

Glimpses of a Swimming Friendship

Plunging into the water has been essential for me and for my friend with cancer.

By BONNIE TSUI

Three mornings a week for nearly seven years, my neighbor Lessly and I swam together at our local pool. Often we shared a lane, at practice with the Masters swim club or on our own, doing a workout she'd conjured up. She was a strong butterflyer; she loved to send us charging through sprints and repeats and drills that turned my arms into noodles by the end of a set.

We loved swimming together, and we loved the community in our women's locker room. It was a tableau of aging. There were bodies and bottoms of every sort on display, from squishy baby to saggy lady. In that place, there was never a more cheerful and enthusiastic ambassador for water to treat all of life's ills than Lessly. Our swimming friendship was rooted in joy.

A little over a year ago, Lessly, at 52, was found to have Stage 4 oligometastatic breast cancer, which had infiltrated her bones. She cried underwater when she found out. We kept swimming. In the first weeks after the diagnosis, she talked through her treatment plan with all of us in the locker room after practice.

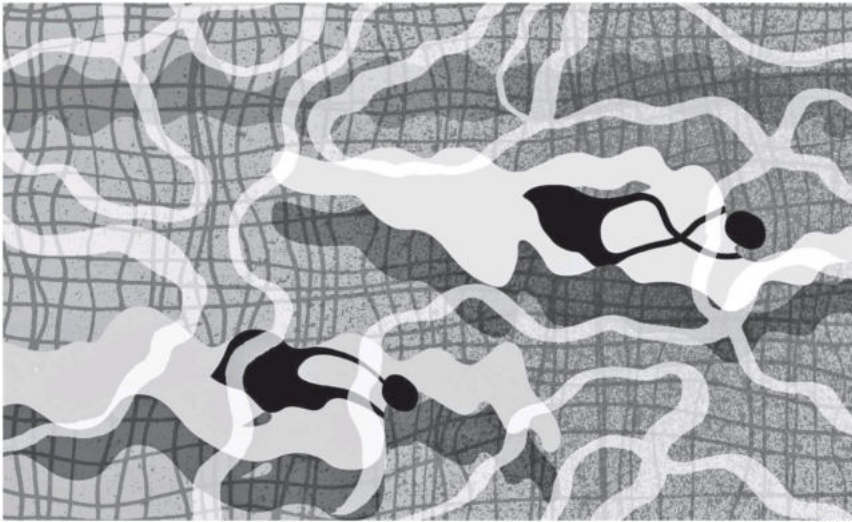
"How great it is to have this community of women around me to help me through this experience," she said. When she started chemotherapy and had to take days off from the pool, I began visiting her at home.

Then the pandemic hit, and the pool closed.

Soon after, she wound up in the hospital with sepsis. She told me about the glorious view of San Francisco Bay from her hospital room; one night, she had a dance party by herself, watching the rain fall on the empty streets of a locked-down world. The water lifted her, even from afar.

Our swims were replaced with walks, the length of which depended on how strong she was feeling that day. Sometimes she would just talk to me from the sidewalk, maintaining a carefully distanced bubble around her immunocompromised self. She wore a mask long before everyone else did. In the before times, I was rarely home before dark; now, at random hours in the afternoon or early evening, my family would hear Lessly's voice calling my name from the street. My husband or sons would look out the window and announce her arrival: "Mama, Lessly's here!" Sometimes Lessly's husband or 14-year-old son would escort her to our front steps, stopping to say hello before continuing on and leaving us to our chats.

Water was never far from her mind, nor from mine. We devised ways to stay afloat: I kept surfing, supplementing with open-water swims in the bay while Lessly began to swim in a friend's backyard pool. Afterward, she came by and reported on her



LUCY JONES

Immersion is cleansing and conducive to play, even when things are heavy.

workouts. "I did a whole 10 laps with an inflatable flamingo!" she crowed with glee.

"And it felt so good." When public outdoor pools began to reopen, she set phone alarms to be first in line to snag a lane reservation.

There was the time when she and her neighbor sneaked into a community pool for an illicit after-hours dip. In the morning, she called me with a sheepish confession, and a laugh: "I needed the water so bad I had to jump the fence."

If she walked past my house and saw my wet suit hanging on the porch railing, she'd inquire about the surf: "Tell me about the waves today."

I'd tell her about the pink morning light, the glassy swell, the dolphins nosing up to say hi.

"Oh, honey," she'd reply dreamily. "I'm so happy for you."

Water has long been a form of healing. It's a restorative, an antidote for depletion and depression. Time and time again it has carried me, through my own injuries, surgery, rehab, miscarriage — and through illness and death of ones dear to me.

In this year of sorrow, plunging into the ocean or pool or lake has been essential for me — it is momentary relief, forgetting and unburdening. Immersion is cleansing and conducive to play, even when things are

heavy. Our dopamine levels rise, our metabolisms rev up. We can't help feeling that outdoors, buoyed by water, we can breathe easier, even in — especially in! — a pandemic.

My friendship with Lessly began as a joyful thing at the pool, but it has deepened immeasurably over these long, dark months of loss. The water, in all its shapes and forms, reminds us that levity exists. It has kept us living.

In late summer, Lessly described two pivotal swims to me. The first one came just before surgery, when she came to grips with the fact she was losing her breast; the second was when she found out her mother was dying, from her own longtime struggle with cancer.

"It was feeling like the water was carrying me when I was dealing with these giant emotions," Lessly said, her voice breaking. The water felt like a friend, telling her what she needed to hear: *You can do this. Keep going.*

Her medical team encouraged swimming as a post-mastectomy recovery activity, because it promoted healing. So, in early fall, after her mastectomy but before radiation, she got up at dawn to swim in the kiddie pool during Masters practice — though a little ridiculous, it was what was available. And it was worth every minute to be in the

water around her community.

Swimming encourages a nakedness of body but also of spirit. It has been a privilege to be the witness in water for my friend. In this stripped-down state, we allow ourselves to see each other for who we really are. Our yearlong conversation about all the different ways water can heal you has been beautiful sustenance. There is renewed clarity.

In December, after 30 years of living on the same street in Berkeley, Lessly and her family made the decision to move to the dream house up north, cantilevered over a mirror-calm pond, with spectacular views of a river valley.

"The pond twinkles like music," she told me. "My stress levels have decreased by 75 percent. The solitude, the serenity, the nature, the eagles, the coyotes. There's constant flow."

Our friendship has taken us from pool to ocean and bay to backyard kiddie pool to lake and mirror pond. These days, Lessly is watching and waiting; she gets periodic PET scans and regular infusions to block estrogen and rebuild her bones. She can't wait for summer — and to receive a vaccine, so she can swim at a nearby indoor pool.

Me, I can wait to swim with my friend again.

BONNIE TSUI's books include "Why We Swim" and "The Uncertain Sea," out this month.

LESSONS FROM THE PANDEMIC

They Gave the Last Full Measure of Devotion

Many health care workers have sacrificed everything while trying to save others.

BY ANDREW JACOBS

Dr. Claire Reza is exhausted from counting the dead.

An anesthesiologist in Virginia, Dr. Reza, 41, has spent the past year running a Twitter feed that memorializes American health care workers who have died of Covid-19. So far, she has published more than 2,500 tributes to the doctors, emergency room nurses, respiratory therapists and mental health counselors cut down in their prime. Although she knows there are at least a thousand other deaths that remain unrecognized, Dr. Reza plans to discontinue the project at the end of March.

"I'd like to spend some time with my children," said Dr. Reza, who devotes most evenings after work to scouring GoFundMe pages, Facebook memorials and online death notices. "But I'd also like to stop thinking about death all the time."

Many Americans share that sentiment. But a year since the first recorded coronavirus death of a health care worker — a hospital custodian in Rochester, N.Y., who died on March 17, 2020 — those on the front lines are finding it hard to move on. They have been hailed as "Covid warriors," but so many do not feel like heroes. They are angry, burned out and feel unappreciated as they struggle with their own wounds, both psychic and physical.

Their fury is rooted in the weak government response last spring to the pandemic, including the scarcity of personal protective equipment that left workers vulnerable to infection.

Their ire has been compounded by the recent relaxation of mask mandates in some states, a move that experts say is premature given that only one in 10 Americans is fully vaccinated and more contagious variants are continuing to spread. The United States is still averaging more than 1,000 deaths a day.

"We're not out of the woods yet, so it just feels disrespectful to medical workers and devalues the sacrifices we've made," said Dr. Erica Bial, a pain specialist in Massachusetts who runs the Covid-19 Physicians Memorial, a Facebook group dedicated to doctors felled by the coronavirus.

The number of medical workers who lost their lives to the virus over the past year remains elusive. The federal government does not have a system for accurately counting these fatalities. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention lists 1,458 deaths, but its data covers less than one-fifth of the nation's health care work force. Its sister agency, the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services, counts roughly the same number of worker deaths, but those figures include only nursing home staff.

The best estimate comes from a project by Kaiser Health News and The Guardian newspaper that has documented the deaths of more than 3,500 health care workers in the United States since last March.

Dr. Reza is hoping her work can find a more permanent home so that the sacrifices are not forgotten. "Each health care worker death is a tragedy compounded," she said. "It represents the private pain of a sister, father or daughter taken in their prime, and the loss of expertise that impacts the colleagues and patients left behind."

What follows are just a few of those losses.



Dr. Jill Stoller, 59

"My mom was not one to sit on the couch," said her daughter, Jenna Stoller, a neonatal physician assistant. "She was extra about everything."

Dr. Jill Stoller, a pediatrician in New Jersey, never shied away from daunting challenges. She triumphed over breast cancer, raised two children while working full time and in 2009 joined a medical mission to Ghana, helping perform 150 pediatric surgeries in 10 days. "It just grounds me," she said at the time, explaining why anyone would want to use their vacation time to work 12-hour days without pay.

After a male pediatrician stood up during a medical conference and suggested that his female counterparts lacked the business acumen to manage a medical office, Dr. Stoller went on to run a consortium of pediatric practices, and later started a nationwide movement to empower female pediatricians to run their own practices.

Unabashedly liberal, Dr. Stoller took the election of Donald J. Trump as a personal affront. The day after Mr. Trump's inauguration as president, she marshaled three dozen subalterns onto a chartered bus bound for the Women's March on Washington.

Well into her 50s, she took up a side vocation as a dog trainer and traveled across the country to competitions and seminars. "My mom was not one to sit on the couch," said her daughter, Jenna Stoller, a neonatal physician assistant. "She was extra about everything."

Covid-19, however, challenged her der-

ring-do. The virus coursed through her practice early in March 2020, infecting Dr. Stoller and several other staff members. Dr. Stoller, 59, initially appeared to beat back the disease, but she could not shake the fatigue, shortness of breath and brain fog that sent her into a depression.

She returned to work, but spent hours each day researching the health challenges for Covid long-haulers. By the summer, she came to believe she would never recover her mental acuity. "She had this amazing ability to bounce back from anything, but this time was different," her son, Travis Stoller, said.

On Nov. 29, Dr. Stoller took her own life, shocking all of those who knew her. "I don't think any of us realized how hopeless she felt," her son said. "But she was absolutely convinced this virus had completely changed her as a person."



Raymond Joe, 48

"I am pleading with all my people to listen to the warnings and abide by the rules," he wrote in a letter to The Navajo Times. "The choices you make today influence all those around you."

When the coronavirus arrived last spring at the sprawling Navajo Nation, Raymond Joe, a home health nurse and former Marine, began sounding the alarm. He urged Navajo elders to self-isolate, and delivered food and cleaning supplies to the home-bound. He sent his children to live with relatives, so that he and his wife, Eugenia Johnson, an emergency room nurse, would not have to worry about infecting them when they returned home from work.

For years he had badgered officials about the poverty and threadbare medical care that contributes to the poor health of so many of his people. He knew that frequent hand washing would be challenging for the 40 percent of Navajo households that lack running water and indoor plumbing. With roughly a dozen ventilators and 400 hospital beds to serve a population of 170,000, he warned that a serious outbreak of the coronavirus would be devastating.

"I am pleading with all my people to listen to the warnings and abide by the rules," he wrote in a letter published in The Navajo Times. "The choices you make today influence all those around you."

Mr. Joe, 48, was widely known and respected in a community whose members are spread out across Arizona, New Mexico and Utah. A gifted joker and raconteur, he was the rare health care professional fluent in Navajo, a skill that comforted his older patients. "He had a huge heart and really worked his butt off to try to ensure his community was OK," Ms. Johnson said.

He fears proved prescient. According to the C.D.C., the coronavirus pandemic has killed Native Americans at nearly twice the rate of whites, a toll that has had ruinous impact on cultural and linguistic traditions as it decimates the ranks of tribal elders.

But Mr. Joe also feared for his own well-being. He had a history of diabetes and high blood pressure, and his time as an explosives expert during Operation Desert Storm left his lungs badly scarred by exposure to caustic chemical fumes.

In mid-November, after Ms. Johnson came down with a sore throat, the couple tried to stave clear of each other at home and wore masks indoors. A few days later, Mr. Joe also began to feel unwell. She quickly recovered, but his condition worsened. During their three-hour journey to a veterans hospital in Albuquerque, they held hands as Mr. Joe struggled to breathe.

He spent 11 days on a ventilator and died on Dec. 19, leaving behind four children. In his letter to The Navajo Times, Mr. Joe seems to have predicted his fate. "This virus has turned my job into a blessing and a curse," he wrote. "My expertise in my field has opened numerous opportunities. However, this could be a curse if I catch the virus doing the job that I love and have to pay with my life."



Sandra Oldfield, 53

"Her biggest concern about going to the hospital was that she would infect others," said her sister, Linda Rodriguez.

Accompanying Sandra Oldfield to the mall could be time-consuming. Ms. Oldfield, a registered nurse in Fresno, Calif., wasn't



ABOVE AND BELOW: CARLOS BERRIO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



Syvie Robertson, 51

"She was terrified of getting the virus, but she was also dedicated to her patients," said her daughter Meshayla Jones.

Syvie Robertson brimmed with verve and self-confidence. A Navy veteran and Prince devotee who raised three children on her own, Ms. Robertson earned a licensed practical nursing degree when she was well into her 40s.

The Robertson home in Petersburg, Va., was often packed with neighborhood children and, more recently, her four grandchildren. They came for Ms. Robertson's effusive warmth and no-nonsense advice but stayed for her cooking: Snickers cheesecakes, lemon tarts, prime rib and six-cheese macaroni salads. "She was a mom to everyone," her daughter Meshayla Jones said.

Ms. Robertson came from a long line of medical professionals — her mother and cousins were nurses, as is Ms. Jones. Her other daughter, Clara Robertson, is an occupational therapist.

Determined to advance her career, Ms. Robertson had recently returned to school part time so she could become a registered nurse. The schedule was grueling, but she never complained.

This winter, as the coronavirus coursed through the Virginia nursing home where she worked, her tough-as-nails bravado began to wilt. "She was terrified of getting the virus, but she was also dedicated to her patients," Ms. Jones said.

She wore two masks, but Ms. Robertson contracted the coronavirus in early December. She spent Christmas on a ventilator, and died on New Year's Day.



Celia Yap-Banago, 69

"Mom was loud and loved to crack jokes around people she knew," said her son Jhulan Banago. "If she wasn't making a joke about you, you were probably on her bad side."

You might not immediately notice Celia Yap-Banago in a crowded room. A telemetry nurse in Kansas City, Mo., she seemed shy, but she was no shrinking violet. "Mom was loud and loved to crack jokes around people she knew," said her son Jhulan Banago. "If she wasn't making a joke about you, you were probably on her bad side."

Ms. Yap-Banago was also widely admired for her boundless compassion, for both her patients and the generations of young nurses she mentored at Research Medical Center, her employer for nearly four decades.

Her decision to emigrate from the Philippines in her early 20s put her in good company. Filipinos are the single-largest group of foreign-born nurses in the United States. They also make up nearly a third of all Covid-related deaths among nurses, according to National Nurses United.

Ms. Yap-Banago never forgot the relatives she left behind in the Philippines — especially the six siblings who scraped together the money to send her to nursing school. The family compound she built in Aibay in the Philippines is a testament to that generosity. "Mom was always thinking about others," her son said.

Ms. Yap-Banago thought she could safely ride out the pandemic, especially given that the cardiac patients she cared for were far removed from the hospital's Covid ward. At least that's what she told her family when they expressed concern about the short-stages of personal protective gear.

Still, each night when returning home from her 12-hour shifts, Ms. Yap-Banago would go straight to the laundry room and remove her scrubs before sitting down to dinner with her husband and two sons.

On March 23, one of her patients began showing symptoms of Covid-19, and a few days later, Ms. Yap-Banago lost her sense of taste and smell, and then developed a fever.

Determined to stay home, she ordered her husband and sons to wear masks and sequestered herself inside the master bedroom, only opening the door for the home-cooked meals left at the threshold. Over the next month, she grew weak, and her breathing increasingly labored, but Ms. Yap-Banago refused to go to the hospital. "Don't worry," she told her son one day from the other side of the door. "I'll be fine." A few hours later, on April 21, she was gone.

Dr. Claire Reza, too, has published more than 2,500 tributes to health care workers who have died of Covid-19. After work, she searches online for information about such deaths, above.

"Each health care worker death is a tragedy compounded," Dr. Reza said. "It represents the private pain of a sister, father or daughter taken in their prime, and the loss of expertise that impacts the colleagues and patients left behind."

If you are having thoughts of suicide, call the National Suicide Prevention Lifeline at 1-800-273-8255 (TALK). You can find a list of additional resources at SpeakingOfSuicide.com/resources.

much of a shopper, but her predilection for chatting up strangers could be mildly exasperating. "You'd turn around and she'd be talking to someone, and when you'd ask who that was, she'd shrug and say, 'I don't know,'" recalled her sister, Linda Rodriguez.

Ms. Oldfield exuded kindness — to Freckles, Reeses and Dallas, the rescue dogs she adopted; to the nieces and nephews she shamelessly spoiled; and to the countless patients she cared for during her 25 years working at Kaiser Fresno Medical Center.

It was Ms. Oldfield who festooned the nurses' lounge with holiday decor. Ailing plants at the nursing station would be miraculously nurtured back to life, and if a co-worker complained about an aching back, Ms. Oldfield, a licensed massage therapist, would drop everything, fetch her massage oils and get to work.

Ms. Oldfield was also deeply spiritual. To her, nursing was a calling from God, who she credited with getting her through a childhood bout of leukemia. "She knew what it was like to lay there in bed and be ill," Ms. Rodriguez said.

When the pandemic hit California last spring, Ms. Oldfield tried to remain cheerful, but colleagues said she shared their concern over the lack of personal protective gear. Around St. Patrick's Day, one of Ms. Oldfield's cardiac patients tested positive for the virus; a few days later, she, too, began to feel ill.

It turns out that dozens of hospital employees had been exposed to the infected patient, according to their union, National Nurses United. Ten nurses were later tested positive for the virus, and three of them were hospitalized.

Ms. Oldfield held the severity of her symptoms from her family, they said. It was only when she collapsed on the floor and was unable to get up that she allowed her sister to call an ambulance — and only if she promised to tell the dispatcher that the paramedics had to wear gloves and masks. "Her biggest concern about going to the hospital was that she would infect others," Ms. Rodriguez said.

Her family takes comfort in knowing she was cared for by co-workers at Fresno Medical Center, but in the end, doctors placed her on a ventilator. She died on May 25, more than a month later. A candlelight memorial held outside the hospital a few days later drew a large crowd of colleagues. Many of them dressed in orange, her favorite color.