

Proud Boys Got Bigger as Police Looked Away

Until Jan. 6, Agencies Saw Little Threat

By DAVID D. KIRKPATRICK
and ALAN FEUER

A protester was burning an American flag outside the 2016 Republican convention in Cleveland when Joseph Biggs rushed to attack. Jumping a police line, he ripped the man's shirt off and "started pounding," he boasted that night in an online video.

But the local police charged the flag burner with assaulting Mr. Biggs. The city later paid \$225,000 to settle accusations that the police had falsified their reports out of sympathy with Mr. Biggs, who went on to become a leader of the far-right Proud Boys.

Two years later, in Portland, Ore., something similar occurred. A Proud Boy named Ethan Nordean was caught on video pushing his way through a crowd of counterprotesters, punching one of them, then slamming him to the ground, unconscious. Once again, the police charged only the other man in the skirmish, accusing him of swinging a baton at Mr. Nordean.

Now, Mr. Biggs, 37, and Mr. Nordean, 30, are major targets in a federal investigation that prosecutors on Thursday said could be "one of the largest in American history." They face some of the most serious charges stemming from the attack on the U.S. Capitol in January: leading a mob of about 100 Proud Boys in a coordinated plan to disrupt the certification of President Donald J. Trump's electoral defeat.

But an examination of the two men's histories shows that local and federal law enforcement agencies passed up several opportunities to take action against them and their fellow Proud Boys long before they breached the Capitol.

The group's propensity for violence and extremism was no secret. But the F.B.I. and other agencies had often seen the Proud Boys as they chose to portray themselves, according to more than a half-dozen current and former federal officials: as mere street brawlers who lacked the organization or ambition of typical bureau targets like neo-Nazis, international terrorists and Mexican drug cartels.

"There was a sense that, yes, their ideology is of concern, and, yes, they are known to have committed acts of violence that would be by definition terrorism, but we don't worry about them," said

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Enrique Tarrio, left, and Joseph Biggs, who is a major target of a federal inquiry.



Enrique Valenzuela, right, a coordinator for the Mexican government's migration efforts, advising migrants denied entry into the U.S.

Vaccine Czar Works Phones To Aid Cuomo

By JESSE MCKINLEY
and J. DAVID GOODMAN

ALBANY, N.Y. — At the height of the pandemic, Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo called upon some of his most trusted emissaries to return to the fold to help coordinate the state's coronavirus response, including Larry Schwartz, his former top aide who is now leading New York's vaccination efforts.

But with Mr. Cuomo facing current scandals and calls for his resignation, Mr. Schwartz has also assumed a more familiar role: as a political operative, asking state Democratic leaders to support the governor, a third-term Democrat, while continuing to discuss the urgent business of immunization.

According to two Democratic county executives, Mr. Schwartz placed calls to them in recent weeks, inquiring about their loyalty to the governor amid a series of sexual harassment allegations that have led many congressional Democrats in New York, including both the state's senators, to demand Mr. Cuomo's resignation.

In one case, a county executive, who spoke on the condition of anonymity for fear of retaliation, said that after Mr. Schwartz had discussed the governor's political situation, he then pivoted directly to a conversation about vaccine distribution.

In another example, a second county executive said Mr. Schwartz called immediately after a different Cuomo administration official had called about vaccine distribution in the county.

The close timing of those calls was unusual enough that the second executive's legal counsel filed a preliminary complaint on

Continued on Page A21

Tiny Town Asks: Who Pays to Fight a Rising Sea?

By CHRISTOPHER FLAVELLE

AVON, N.C. — Bobby Outten, a county manager in the Outer Banks, delivered two pieces of bad news at a recent public meeting. Avon, a town with a few hundred full-time residents, desperately needed at least \$11 million to stop its main road from washing away. And to help pay for it, Dare County wanted to increase Avon's property taxes, in some cases by almost 50 percent.

Homeowners mostly agreed on the urgency of the first part. They were considerably less keen on the second.

People gave Mr. Outten their own ideas about who should pay to protect their town: the federal government. The state govern-

Endless Struggle With Beach Erosion Along the Outer Banks

ment. Therest of the county. Tourists. People who rent to tourists. The view for many seemed to be, anyone but them.

Mr. Outten kept responding with the same message: There's nobody coming to the rescue. We have only ourselves.

"We've got to act now," he said. The risk to tiny Avon from climate change is particularly dire — it is, after all, located on a mere sandbar of an island chain, in a relentlessly rising Atlantic. But people in the town are facing a question that is starting to echo along the American coastline as sea rise and storms intensify. What price can be put on saving a town, a neighborhood, a home where generations have built their lives?

Communities large and small are reaching for different answers. Officials in Miami, Tampa, Houston, San Francisco and elsewhere have borrowed money, raised taxes or increased water bills to help pay for efforts to shield their homes, schools and roads.

Along the Outer Banks — where tourist-friendly beaches are shrinking by more than 14 feet a year in some places, according to the North Carolina Division of

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Sandbags in Buxton, N.C. The town replenished sand in 2018, but much of it has washed away.

On 5th Ave., a Symbol of Irish America Teeters

By DAN BARRY

An exquisite Fifth Avenue townhouse of Cilded Age pedigree is on the market for \$50 million. It features five stories, a curved terrace and a history that reads like a tragedy of manners, filled with grandeur and pride, pettiness and decay.

Think Wharton; better yet, think Joyce.

As home to the American Irish Historical Society, the mansion

Uproar as Group Lists Mansion for Sale

has long symbolized the immigrant ascent of Irish America. The Irish tricolor and the American stars and stripes flying from its beamed facade staked claim on rarefied pavement, directly across from the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

But for nearly a half-century, the building and society have been the fief of an eminent physician named Dr. Kevin M. Cahill, his family and his friends. Those who ventured to reform its nepotistic ways have historically been shown the ornate door.

Now the sudden plan to sell the mansion has exposed the profound problems beneath its mansard roof — including a very public and nearly violent con-

Continued on Page A18

Between Prayers, Clergy Preach Faith in Vaccine

By JAN HOFFMAN

During a recent Sunday service at the Gathering Place, an evangelical church in Orlando, Fla., the Rev. Gabriel Salguero focused his sermon on the Covid-19 vaccine, and the fear and suspicion that his largely Latino congregation clutches so tightly.

He turned to the New Testament: the parable of the good Samaritan, about the importance of aiding the stranger.

Dispelling Myths and Offering Reassurance

"In getting yourself vaccinated, you are helping your neighbor," he preached to about 300 masked and socially distanced worshippers. "God wants you to be whole so you can care for your community. So think of vaccines as part of God's plan."

Mr. Salguero is among thousands of clergy members — imams, rabbis, priests, swamis — from a cross-section of faiths who are trying to coax the hesitant to get vaccinated against Covid-19. By weaving scripture with science, they are employing the singular trust vested in them by their congregations to dispel myths and misinformation about the shots. Many are even offering their sanctuaries as vaccination sites, to

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INTERNATIONAL A10-14

A Killing Spurs Rage in Britain

Women are asking why the police are telling them to stay home rather than forcing men to stop violence. PAGE A10

More Troops in Afghanistan

The United States has 1,000 more soldiers there than previously counted, complicating drawdown talks. PAGE A14

TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-8

Anger Boils Over in Paraguay
Protesters are blaming the country's leaders as the infection rate soars, saying graft caused a shortage in basic drugs and medical supplies. PAGE A4

NATIONAL A15-23

Selling the Stimulus Plan
Democrats hope midterm voters will rebuke Republicans for opposing the \$1.9 trillion relief package. PAGE A16

Narrow Path for Voting Rights

The For the People Act, a bill to expand ballot access, is on a collision course with the filibuster. PAGE A15

SPORTSMONDAY D1-7

Let the Madness Begin

The brackets were released for the N.C.A.A. men's basketball tournament, which has been greatly reshaped by the pandemic. The women's brackets are to come out on Monday. PAGE D1

Drew Brees Is Retiring

The Saints quarterback revealed his decision 15 years after he joined the team. He has the most completions and passing yards in N.F.L. history. PAGE D7

BUSINESS B1-5

17 Reasons for Optimism

Have some gloomy economic trends run their course? One reporter who thinks so sees things lining up for a period of roaring growth. PAGE B1

OBITUARIES B6-7

1980s Middleweight Champ
Marvelous Marvin Hagler, one of boxing's greatest, successfully defended his title 12 times before losing to Sugar Ray Leonard. He was 66. PAGE B7

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A24-25

Farhad Manjoo PAGE A24



ARTS C1-6

Starry Night at the Grammys

Megan Thee Stallion, above, was named best new artist at the Grammys in Los Angeles. Harry Styles and Billie Eilish performed to open the show. PAGE C1



Of Interest

NOTEWORTHY FACTS FROM TODAY'S PAPER

It is common practice for the Defense Department to have more American troops in a country than it officially acknowledges.

As Biden Mulls Afghan Exit, U.S. Discloses 1,000 More Troops in Area A16

Gas prices have risen about 35 cents a gallon on average over the last month, according to the AAA motor club, and could reach \$4 a gallon in some states by summer.

Gas Prices May Be \$4 by Summer B1

During Drew Brees' career with the New Orleans Saints, each of the five times New Orleans finished in the bottom seven in scoring defense, he led the league in passing.

Brees Retires, His Focus on the Details Until the End D7



NIGLAN PERLETTOR

In Britain, unlike the United States, cable channels depend entirely on advertising, rather than regular payments from cable companies.

A New Era in Britain: American-Style Television B1

In the 18th century, Johann Joachim Winckelmann, scholar of the German Enlightenment, was the first to systematize the art of the past.

Beeper Has Won. Here's What We've Lost C1

Kate Baer wrote "What Kind of Woman," a poetry collection that recently topped The New York Times best-seller list for paperback trade fiction, in a Panera Bread parking lot.

She Is Speaking Truth From Her Minivan C3

With a print circulation of 1.2 million, Bild, a German daily with colorful graphics and emphasis on scandal, celebrities and sports in broadsheet format, is Europe's largest newspaper.

Editor of German Tabloid on Leave After Accusations B3

The Conversation

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

'I'd Much Rather Be in Florida'

In Sunday's most read article, Patricia Mazzei, The Times's Miami bureau chief, reports that South Florida's tourism season is giving the region a boontown feel with "a sense of making up for months of lost time." Children have been in school since August and the economy is open, yet Florida's Covid-19 death rate is no worse than the national average. Many residents are happy to live where they do.

The Imperious Rise and Accelerating Fall Of Andrew Cuomo

Shane Goldmacher, a national political correspondent, looked back at the last year of Andrew M. Cuomo's governorship in New York, and his recent fall from political stardom into scandal and accusations of sexual harassment. Mr. Cuomo is "now furiously plotting a path to salvage his job."

Police Shrugged Off the Proud Boys, Until They Attacked the Capitol

Two leaders of the far-right Proud Boys group who are accused of leading a mob of 100 people during the attack on the Capitol Jan. 6 had escaped police scrutiny at previous scenes of political violence. The group's appetite for extremism was in the open even as law enforcement groups shrugged them off as a bunch of street brawlers and rabble-rousers.

Sorry About Your Sleep

What is Daylight Saving Time for, anyway? Not for farmers' sake, as one popular myth goes. It's part of industrial-era regulation of time by the federal government, and it might have been Benjamin Franklin's idea. This article tackled common questions about our peculiar clock shift.

Tiny Town, Big Decision: What Are We Willing to Pay To Fight the Rising Sea?

An article on today's front page, which details the uncertain future of Avon, a small community on the Outer Banks, was a popular read in North Carolina on Sunday.

A Drunken Hazing, a Fatal Fall And a Cornell Fraternity's Silence

Antonio Tsialas was thriving in his first year at Cornell University. Then he was found dead in a gorge, and the fraternity that recruited him closed ranks. More than a year later, his parents are still trying to understand what happened.

Spotlight

STORIES CONTRIBUTED BY READERS OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

Tiny Love Stories, a Modern Love project, asks contributors to share their epic love stories in 100 words or less. This week's batch of micro-fiction includes tales of a stranger on the subway, music from Myanmar and homemade marmalade. Read one here.



For three days, Chris commuted six hours round trip from Virginia to his work in Pennsylvania so he could hold me as I mourned my father. Over the years, my father had done crazy drives for me, his steadfast help showing an unconditional love. Moving me from Virginia to Chicago, we talked so much we missed our exits. I thought the only people who would continue to love me that deeply were my mother and brother. But Chris did, and does. My father would be happy to know someone is still doing crazy drives for me. APURVA SISODIA

Submit your story at nytimes.com/tinylovestories.

Quote of the Day

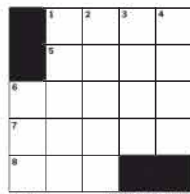
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"Politics is confusing, it's image-based, everyone calls everyone else a liar — but people are going to get the money in their bank accounts."

REPRESENTATIVE CONOR LAMB, Democrat of Pennsylvania, on why members of his party are likely to use the stimulus package as part of campaign messaging for the 2022 midterm elections.

The Mini Crossword

BY JOEL FAGLIANO



ACROSS

- Donkey ____ (classic videogame)
- The Buckeye State
- Novelist who created Gregor Samsa
- Unable to stop watching
- Make illegal

DOWN

- Sleepy marsupial
- "Wow, that's neat!"
- Sports sponsor of Rafael Nadal and Naomi Osaka
- Try to provoke
- C.I.A.'s Soviet counterpart

SOLUTION TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

P	D	S	E	S
A	P	P	L	E
T	R	A	I	N
H	A	D	T	O
S	H	E	C	R

Here to Help

VANESSA FRIEDMAN ANSWERS YOUR STYLE QUESTIONS



I want to stop buying fast fashion, but most slow fashion brands are light years out of my price range. Thankfully thrift stores exist. Do you have any tips on finding good pieces in either a brick and mortar or online secondhand store? JULIE, PORTLAND, ORE.



Welcome to the age of re-commerce. It's one of my favorite new terms.

Thrifting is probably going to be one of the biggest fashion phenomena of the 2020s. According to a report from GlobalData Retail and thredUP, the secondhand clothing site, the market will grow from \$28 billion last year to \$64 billion by 2024.

As you point out, though, it can be hard to navigate this brave new world, especially when you can't feel or try on a used garment for yourself. So for some concrete suggestions, I turned to two expert advisers: Brynn Heminway, the founder of Display Copy, a magazine dedicated to covering used fashion as if it were new fashion; and Sarah Sophie Flicker, the artist and activist — and one of the most stylish proponents of vintage fashion I know. Here's what they said.

Ms. Heminway recommends skipping eBay "unless you know what you're looking for. Etsy is easier and has amazing hidden gems, but you still have to like the thrill of the hunt." She suggests you search by brand or specific item type and make sure to include "vintage" in the search "so

you know you're getting pre-owned." She also recommends Depop, the social secondhand shopping site.

Then, she emailed, once you've found something you like, look at all available photos and ask the following questions: "Are there any stains or tears? Can you see a closeup of the stitches? Does the thread look synthetic and thin and poorly sewn? You can see good craftsmanship in the stitches."

Sarah Sophie favors sites like the RealReal, Depop and Poshmark, as well as vintage fairs like Pickwick and A Current Affair, which have now gone digital because of Covid. She also suggests combing through flea markets and Goodwill.

"That's where the best deals are," she emailed.

Finally, she suggests that you record your measurements properly and keep them written down. "Vintage sizing is often wonky," she wrote.

Every week in the Open Thread newsletter — a look from across The Times at the forces that shape the dress codes we share — The Times's chief fashion critic, Vanessa Friedman, answers a reader's fashion-related question. Sign up for Open Thread at nytimes.com/newletter.

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Tracking an Outbreak

The New York Times



MARIA MAGDALENA ARÉLLAGA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Demonstrators took to the streets in recent days to protest the government's lack of management and transparency during the pandemic and to demand the ouster of President Mario Abdo Benítez.

LATIN AMERICA

As Infections Surge in Paraguay, Protests Erupt Over Corruption

By SANTI CARNERI
and DANIEL POLITI

ASUNCIÓN, Paraguay — For nearly a year, Paraguay was a leader in keeping the pandemic at bay, and despite its persistent troubles, the country remained fairly calm. Not any more.

Paraguay's coronavirus infection rate has soared, becoming one of the worst in the Americas, and its already shaky health system has been stretched to the breaking point. In the last few days, demonstrators by the thousands have filled streets, demanding the ouster of President Mario Abdo Benítez, and in a few instances there have been bloody clashes with the police.

For many Paraguayans, corruption and elite entitlement that were once just unpleasant facts of life have become intolerable during the pandemic. There is a shortage of basic drugs that doctors and nurses blame on graft; nonemergency surgery has been suspended because of a shortfall in medical supplies, and there are few vaccines to be had.

The crisis has spilled into the streets with a level of rage the country's leaders have not faced in years. Protests started last Friday with medical workers, who were quickly joined by other frustrated people. Most have been peaceful, but in some cases security forces have met the demonstrators with rubber bullets, tear gas and water cannons.

"There are so many deaths and it is all the fault of the thieves who run our corrupt institutions," said Sergio Duarte, who joined a demonstration outside of Congress on Saturday in Asunción, Paraguay's capital and largest city.

The unrest in Paraguay is a snapshot of the massive challenges Latin America faces as the virus continues to take a heavy toll, while governments struggle to provide adequate health care and acquire enough vaccines.

The virus has sickened and killed Latin Americans in disproportionate numbers. The region has just over 8 percent of the world's population, and about one-quarter of its confirmed Covid-19 deaths.

Paraguay's official case and death rates remain well below the peaks suffered by much of the world, including the United States, but they are getting worse — the number of daily new infections has doubled in less than a month, to the highest level yet — even as many other countries improve.

"We're here because we're tired," said Rosa Bogarin, one of thousands of protesters in Asunción. "We need free vaccines for everybody, medicine, education and a way out of this situation."

Anger over the pace of vaccine rollout has hit many countries, aggravated in some places by the powerful and well-connected jumping the line and getting early access to shots.

In Paraguay, there has barely been a line to jump. A nation of 7 million people, by last week it had only received 4,000 doses of Russia's Sputnik V vaccine.

Santi Carneri reported from Asunción, Paraguay. Daniel Politi reported from Buenos Aires. Ernesto Londoño contributed reporting from Rio de Janeiro.

Over the weekend, Chile donated a shipment of 20,000 doses made by China's Sinovac.

The pandemic recession has worsened poverty, inequality and food insecurity in Latin America, as it has around the world, compounding frustrations over the handling of the virus. The United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean recently estimated that 209 million people in the region were living in poverty at the end of 2020, an increase of 22 million from a year earlier.

The crisis has fed longstanding frustrations with the wealthy and political leaders who do not feel bound by the same rules as others, said Alejandro Caterberg, a political analyst and pollster who runs Poliarquia, a Buenos Aires-based consultancy.

"In Latin America there is a general social structure in which the powerful have certain privileges and the political class has a self-imposed status as being different from the average citizen," he said.

In Paraguay, the basis of the current crisis, including corruption, poverty and a weak health care system, "was exacerbated by the pandemic" but existed much earlier, said Verónica Serafini Geoghegan, an economist at the Center for the Analysis and Dissemination of the Paraguayan Economy, a nongovernmental organization.

Mr. Abdo ousted his health minister, Julio Mazzoleni, and three other members of his cabinet over the weekend, but it did not quell the demonstrations. Mr. Mazzoleni followed in the footsteps of his counterparts in Peru, Brazil, Ecuador and Argentina, all forced out over the handling of the pandemic.

Paraguay was applauded, along with nearby Uruguay, for taking swift and decisive actions that kept their coronavirus outbreaks modest during the early months of the pandemic. But contagion began surging late last year, pushing intensive care units to the brink.

Opposition leaders have encouraged the demonstrations against Mr. Abdo, a conservative leader who has two years left in his term. On Saturday, the president asked all his ministers to draft resignation letters and told demonstrators that he understood their frustration.

"I'm a man of dialogue and not of confrontation," Mr. Abdo said.

Many demonstrators say they intend to remain on the street until the government falls. Popular chants have included "Elections now!" and "Marito must resign," a reference to the president's nickname.

Paraguay's foreign minister, Euclides Acevedo, said the government is scrambling to get the vaccines it has ordered from suppliers delivered.

"Paraguay is determined to obtain vaccines from any where, by any means," he said Tuesday. "Here everyone needs to get vaccinated, and for free, that's the government's intention."

But many young demonstrators say they have waited long enough for decent governance.

"We won't stop until Marito resigns," protester Melisa Riveros said.



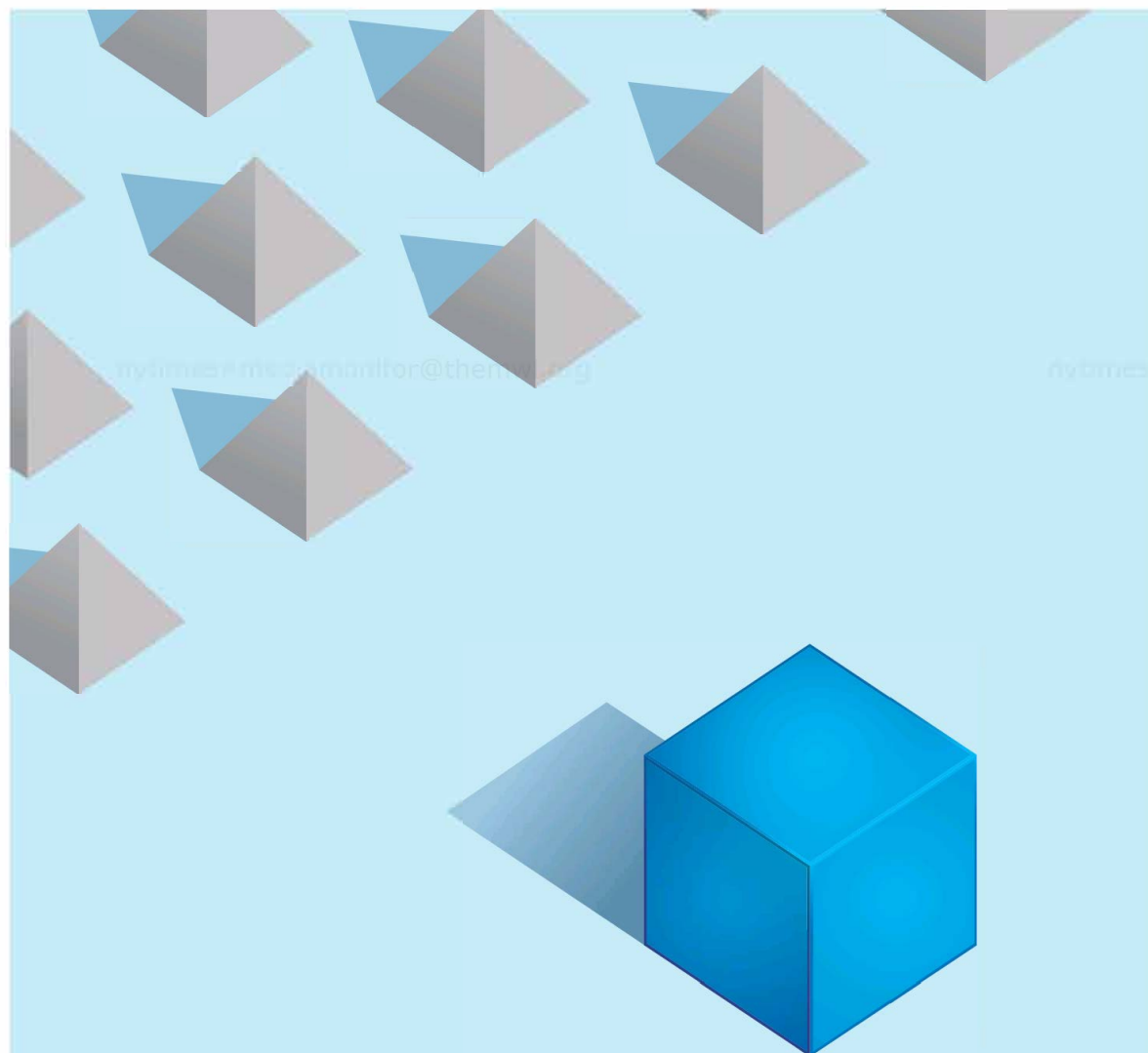
MARIA MAGDALENA ARÉLLAGA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A woman holding up a bloody Paraguayan flag during a demonstration. She was injured by a rubber bullet shot by police.



JORGE SAENZ/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Nurses carrying an empty coffin with a sign reading "corruption kills" during a protest in San Lorenzo, Paraguay.



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STAY OR GO?

Travel Planning in the 'Mid-Vaccine Era' Is Complicated and Subject to Change

By LAUREN SLOSS

Kristin Botuchis booked the tickets last month, almost on impulse. Two round-trip seats to London from Seattle for \$1,200 in July; the perfect start to a dreamy European vacation that would include France, Italy and Greece. She found herself clicking through the Icelandic Air website and entering her information, "just to see what would happen."

"My husband was definitely caught off guard. He would never pick this time to travel," she said, admitting she hadn't done much research beforehand. "It was a little impulsive on my part."

Ms. Botuchis lives in Everett, Wash., with her husband and two children. She is turning 50 this year and celebrating her 20th wedding anniversary. She is also one of millions of Americans who, after a 2020 full of lockdowns and anxiety, are eager to get back to normal and back out into the world. But since that initial flush of possibility, of those daydreams of the French Riviera, Ms. Botuchis now worries that the pandemic realities of closed borders, quarantine requirements, uncertain vaccine access and her husband's uneasiness will derail the trip from happening at all.

"I was trying to make this leap, and make this dream trip happen," she said. "But I started to realize that this may not be the trip I envisioned."

Welcome to the next phase of travel in a pandemic world: the post-vaccine era. Or maybe the mid-vaccine era is more accurate.

Vaccine rollouts are bringing hope to travelers as they explore, as are scattered liftings of lockdowns nationally and around the world. But travel planning remains far from simple. Vaccine supply remains limited almost everywhere, distribution is confusing and questions remain regarding their efficacy in preventing transmission. Family members and friends may have different timelines for receiving a vaccine. On top of all that, news about the spread of variants is worrisome, and international travel remains head-scratchingly confusing with restrictions and testing requirements. (If Ms. Botuchis left tomorrow, she would not be able to enter France or Italy without proving an essential reason for her visit. Even if she opted to fly only to London, she would be required to quarantine for at least five days upon arrival.) And don't forget

that your favorite travel partner may have a different level of comfort regarding travel than you.

Ms. Botuchis, who works with special-needs children, has already been vaccinated. Her husband, an industrial project manager, is not currently eligible. Taking a trip of any kind this summer might require her persuading him to take the risk, she said.

"We both had Covid in November, but his case was much worse than mine," she said. "He's definitely more scared of the virus than I am. And he's a little more cautious in general." That, coupled with uncertainty around when Mr. Botuchis will receive a vaccine, makes her European trip a harder case for Ms. Botuchis to make.

Vaccinated, but Still Uncertain

If the uncertainty of 2020 has taught us anything, it's the likelihood that any travel that happens this year will be similar to the "normal" of pre-pandemic times.

"Many of my colleagues in the travel industry are looking at the vaccine as a silver bullet to the situation," said James Ferrara, president and co-founder of InteleTravel, a global host travel agency. "I don't think that the science backs that yet."

Indeed, travel planning isn't necessarily more straightforward for those who have already been vaccinated. Loren Riskin, an anesthesiologist based in San Francisco, was vaccinated in January. Dr. Riskin, 37, is largely basing her willingness to travel on the current state of the pandemic in California.

"There's some data to suggest that, if you're vaccinated, you can still be an infectious carrier. And here in the Bay Area, we are still in a pretty dire place," she said. "My travel plans, which right now are mostly daydreams, are more based on what public health officials and leadership have said our system can tolerate, rather than my own direct risk."

Bill Jirsa and his wife, of Georgetown, Texas, are both fully vaccinated. Last fall, optimistic about the announcement of viable vaccines, Mr. Jirsa, 79, rebooked a land tour of Sicily, originally scheduled in 2020, for May. He also booked a cruise around the Caribbean and Brazil in the fall. Plus, there was an annual golf trip in Scottsdale, Ariz., with his brother and two friends. But receiving his second shot late last month didn't provide the feeling of confidence and safety he hoped for.

"We're just not comfortable with the current situation. Nobody can tell us that we can't carry the virus and give it to someone else; no one knows for sure what the shots do with these new variants," he said. "Nobody likes the unknown. So how can you plan when there's so much you can't plan for?"

The couple has decided to, again, cancel all of their international travel plans, and received refunds for flights from Delta and Alitalia. Mr. Jirsa feels more comfortable with the idea of the Arizona golf trip, but his brother and friends are facing resistance from their families who have young children and are concerned about transmission of the virus. But the golf group is determined to play next year, if not this fall.

"We don't have that many years left when we are ambulatory, when we can do the kind of traveling that we like to do," Mr. Jirsa said.

Shifting Pieces
Vaccines are just one piece of the puzzle. Shifting hot spots, regularly changing state and country restrictions and testing requirements remain a concern for many would-be travelers.

Stacey Burkert, who lives in Durham, N.C., her husband and their three teenage children traveled to Costa Rica in January — their first time flying since last spring — in part because she felt less safe at home with North Carolina's rising case numbers. In Costa Rica, she and her family stayed in a villa that allowed them to be relatively isolated. Her children were able to continue remote schooling while away, too.

The Burkerts are considering a family hiking trip in Europe this summer, but she'd like both the vaccine and more information before committing to those plans.

"Even when I'm vaccinated, I'd still rather avoid areas that are a hot spot," she said. "Our plans this summer will depend a lot on how Europe handles the virus."

Rebecca Williams, who lives in New York City, hopes to travel to Italy this August with her husband, daughter and newborn son. The trip had been canceled last year. Ms. Williams is 34 and her husband is 35; both are low-risk and will likely be one of the last



RICK BOWMER/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Vaccine rollouts are bringing hope to antsy travelers, but planning a trip remains far from simple as restrictions change.

groups vaccinated. While she is hopeful that they'll be vaccinated before later this summer, she does not see the vaccine as a panacea.

"Hopefully, we'll be vaccinated. We'll get a negative Covid test before we fly, and we'll get one when we land if we need to," she said. "We'll rent a house so we have our own space; I imagine we'll interact with the community less than we normally would." For now, she's looking at house rentals, but plans on holding off on booking flights until this summer.

With or without the vaccine, external factors mean that her long-awaited plans are far from certain. "We would have to cancel if a variant came out that was really dangerous for kids. Or if New York was in a state of lockdown. Or if a two-week quarantine was required at our destination; I'd have to re-evaluate our timing."

It's a lot. Not to mention that, at

present, nonessential travel to Italy from the United States is currently prohibited. Changing rules around testing and mandatory quarantines have become something of a constant in the last year; now, there's a possibility that proof of vaccine, or a vaccine passport, could become a necessity.

If travel planners learned anything in 2020, it was that the rapidity with which requirements can change, both state-by-state and country by country, can be dizzying. Ms. Botuchis expressed concern that, come summer, Americans will still be barred from entering much of the European Union without an essential reason. Even if she and her husband can enter the country, will quarantine requirements prevent them from actually seeing the place they're visiting? And then there are changing requirements for re-entering the United States.

The latest virus hot spots seem to emerge just as quickly. An August trip to Italy — which is currently reporting tens of thousands of new coronavirus cases a day — might sound somewhat feasible now, but would quickly lose appeal if the country saw an even further surge. It's a feeling of whiplash that Ms. Williams remembers all too well from 2020.

"I remember saying last March, 'Over my dead body will we cancel this trip! This will be over by Memorial Day!'" said Ms. Williams, referring to her 2020 travel plans. "Now, looking back on it, I can't help but think, 'Oh, Rebecca. Nope.'"

Ms. Botuchis has a map pinned to her wall and guidebooks full of highlighted passages, but, in the face of so much uncertainty, has only booked that one round-trip flight to London. She hasn't been able to bring herself to dig too deeply into cancellation and change policies.

Fear of Missing Out

More flexible change policies may make it easier for some to pull the trigger and book, but it doesn't change the fact that it's difficult to imagine what this summer will look like for travel. While it cannot be compared to the overwhelming loss of life and economic despair in the United States and elsewhere, the loss of travel over the past year has left a void for many.

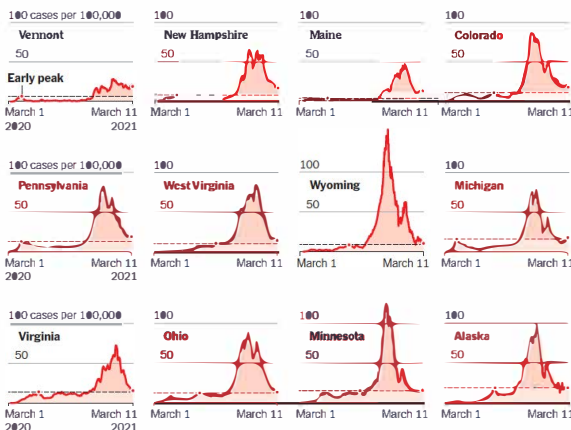
"We're in a weird inflection point between the physical risks of a deadly disease and the mental risks of not being able to pursue the things you love," Dr. Riskin said.

The possibility of missing out on more adventures for an undefined period is a hard reality to consider. For Ms. Burkert, that uncertainty makes it incredibly difficult for her to even think too far ahead. "We used to plan our travel two years out. But I just have to keep the blinders on right now, because I can't stand the meltdown," she said.

Dr. Riskin is heartened that numbers in California are steadily improving. The possibility of traveling further afield is a promise she's holding onto to continue getting through a particularly challenging year. Her dream trip is a multiday scuba diving trip on a boat, something that the vaccine at least allows her to consider again.

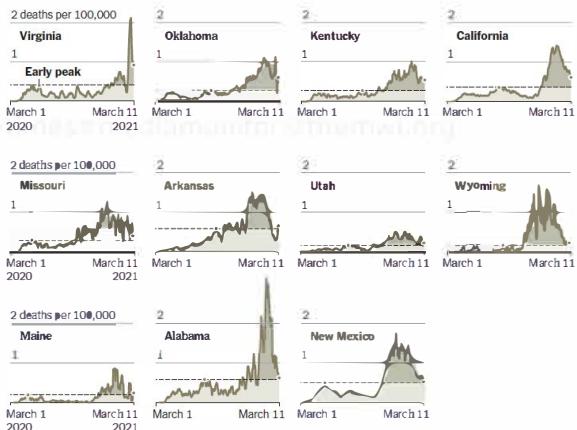
But she's not booking anything yet.

States where cases are currently higher than the spring or summer record



Note: Each state's early peak shows the record number of cases or deaths on or before Sept. 14, which was the day the U.S. seven-day average of cases hit a low point before rising again in the fall. Days with reporting anomalies are removed from the calculation of the seven-day average. Source: New York Times database of reports from state and local health agencies.

States where deaths are currently higher than the spring or summer record



THE NEW YORK TIMES

TROUBLING NUMBERS

Despite Encouraging Downward Trend, Daily Covid Death Rate in U.S. Remains at 1,500

By LAUREN LEATHERBY

Coronavirus cases are trending downward across the United States as the country's vaccine rollout picks up speed. But despite the large drop in new infections since early this year, the U.S. death rate remains at nearly 1,500 people every day. That number still exceeds the summer peak, when patients filled Sun Belt hospitals and outbreaks in states that reopened early drove record numbers of cases, though daily deaths nationwide remained lower than the first surge last spring. The number of new reported cases per day remains nearly as high as the summer record.

At the same time, officials in Texas and Mississippi have lifted mask mandates while other states are ending capacity limits on businesses.

Most experts believe that the worst days of the U.S. coronavirus outbreak are behind us. About 69.8 million Americans have been

at least partially vaccinated, and the rate of doses administered has risen to nearly 2.4 million per day from around 1.2 million per day in late January and continues to grow.

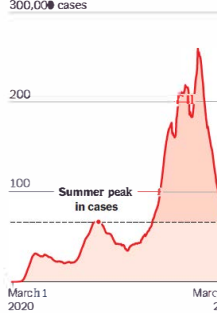
Combining the numbers of those vaccinated and estimates of those who have already had the virus could mean that about 40 percent of U.S. residents now have some protection from the virus, according to one analysis. And President Biden has directed states to make vaccines available to all U.S. adults by May 1.

But experts also warn the country is not in the clear yet: Variants of the virus that are more contagious threaten to drive cases upward again, especially if there are fewer measures in place to control transmission.

The average number of new cases per day has dropped more than 75 percent since the peak on Jan. 8, but the drop in deaths started a few weeks later and has

Average new reported cases in the U.S.

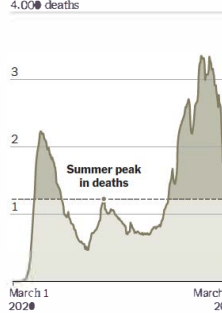
300,000 cases



Note: Days with reporting anomalies are removed from the calculation of the seven-day average. Source: New York Times database of reports from state and local health agencies.

Average new reported deaths in the U.S.

4,000 deaths



not been as steep. Reported Covid deaths often lag positive cases by up to several weeks, which could help explain why the death rate nationally still exceeds its summer peak while new cases do not.

"While these trends are starting to head in the right direction, the number of cases, hospitalizations and deaths remain too high and are sober reminders that we must remain vigilant as we work to scale up vaccination efforts," said Dr. Rochelle Walensky, the director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, on Wednesday.

A C.D.C. study from last week offered new evidence that prevention measures work to stop transmission: Mandating masks was associated with a drop in cases and deaths, while an increase in cases and deaths was associated with opening in-person dining. Dr. Walensky called the report a warning against prematurely lifting control measures.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

employmint

When I was a kid, I wanted to be a pilot, or a detective, or a hitman's bodyguard when I grew up. Of course, my staggering lack of skills made it clear that the best way to achieve those dreams was to become an actor instead.

I never thought I'd be the owner of one of the fastest growing wireless companies in America*. But it's one of my favorite jobs ever. Great co-workers. Exciting innovations.

Zero spandex uniforms.

And today I'm excited to announce that we're hiring. A lot.

If you go to MintMobile.com/Careers you'll see the 54 positions we're currently looking to fill. And if you don't, there'll be a 55th available in media buying.

See you at the water cooler.



Ryan Reynolds, Owner, Customer

mintmobile

Tracking an Outbreak Religion and Grief

INOCULATIONS

Between Prayers, Clergy Preach Faith in the Vaccine and Dispel Myths

From Page A1

make the experience more accessible and reassuring.

Their mission is becoming increasingly vital. With vaccine supply expected to surge in the coming months, and the White House promising enough doses for every American adult by May, public health officials are shifting their attention to the still-substantial number of people who are skeptical about the vaccines. Winning them over is imperative if the country is to achieve widespread immunity from the virus and a semblance of normalcy.

Some of the most potent reasons people cite in resisting vaccines are rooted in religious beliefs, and indeed one obstacle these clergy members face is the inveigling against the shots by their own peers. The United States Conference of Catholic Bishops recently predicted that Catholics should avoid the Johnson & Johnson vaccine if they have a choice, calling it "morally compromised" because it was developed with cell lines from a fetus aborted in 1985. A false rumor, taken up by some imams and rabbis, that Covid-19 vaccines contain pork byproducts pervades Muslim and Jewish communities.

But clergy members who believe in the importance of vaccines are uniquely positioned to counter those claims. Pope Francis himself declared that coronavirus shots are "morally acceptable" because of the severity of the pandemic and the remoteness of the connection to the aborted fetus. With Ramadan approaching next month, imams have been holding Facebook Live chats with Muslim doctors, organized around questions like, "Is the Covid-19 Vaccine Halal?"

Albert Mohler, the influential president of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, announced that he would take the vaccine. In YouTube videos, WhatsApp messages and podcasts, some ultra-Orthodox rabbinical scholars in Israel and Brooklyn are endorsing the vaccine, citing religious texts. Evangelical clerical activism that promotes vaccination, led by ministers like Mr. Salguero, is gaining momentum. This month, a national network of Latino evangelical pastors hosted a webinar in Spanish about vaccines with government medical experts.

In the Biden administration, the clergy has a new partner. The newly reinstated White House Office of Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships has been holding a weekly call with thousands of faith leaders across the country on strategies for working with clinics to administer the shots. During the March 4 call, Jared Moskowitz, director of the Florida Division of Emergency Management, said that faith leaders were crucial in getting vaccines to their communities.

"There are major trust issues, there are major transportation issues, and there are digital divide issues," Mr. Moskowitz said. "And what the church community has done is solve all of those issues."



BRYAN JONES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



CHANG W. LEE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Congregations, he said, "know the pastor, they trust the pastor, and the pastor is better than anybody at getting people to come out."

Evangelizing for the Shot

"Que lo prueben."

Let them prove it.

That is the throw-down retort from parishioners when Mr. Salguero hears when he brings up Covid-19 vaccines. His congregation includes African-Americans and multigenerational families from 20 countries throughout Latin America and the Caribbean. Members range from people who can't read to doctors and other highly educated professionals.

The virus has swept through the church as well as the pastor's family — him, his wife, his sister, both sons. Still, many in the congregation are steeped in myths about the vaccine and in experiences of unequal medical care.

Mr. Salguero, who is of Puerto Rican descent and mindful of the history of medical abuse of Latino

people, including decades of forced sterilization of Puerto Rican women, urges parishioners to ask as many questions as they want about the vaccine.

The queries pour forth: If you're undocumented, can the vaccine be used to track you? If you're not a citizen, can you still get it? Is the vaccine a mark of the Beast (a reference to a heralding of the End Times in the Book of Revelation)?

Through Mr. Salguero is full of faith — he has moderated national town halls with experts from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention — he tries to buoy them with biblical context: Yes, there is balm in Gilead.

"Our tradition is rich with Christ the Healer," he said. "And medicine is one way people are healed."

Medicine and Faith

In January, Swayanprakash Swami, a former medical doctor based in India who is now a senior monk affiliated with BAPS, a

mainstream Hindu denomination, gave his blessing to the Covid-19 shots. Now the ancient Hindu principle of ahimsa, an exhortation to do no harm and reverence life, is being used to encourage Hindus in North America to embrace the vaccine, said Dr. Kashyap Patel, a cardiologist in Atlanta who is a medical adviser to BAPS. American Hindu temples such as the BAPS Shri Swaminarayan Mandir in Melville, N.Y., are providing pop-up vaccine clinics.

Vaccine hesitance is more entrenched among American Muslims, who number nearly 3.5 million. About a quarter of them are African-Americans, who have their own historic reasons for mistrusting the shots.

Hagar Aboubakr, who runs an Islamic school in Howard County, Md., said she saw no reason to get the Covid vaccine. "But as she learned of teachers at her school being vaccinated, she thought: 'I have a responsibility to lead by example. Am I being selfish by not getting it?'"

She offered a supplication prayer, asking Allah to lead her to a good decision. She listened to talks by Muslim physicians. She consulted her imam.

He told her: "Muslim scholars advise you to take it. As Muslims, it is our responsibility to do what we need to do to relieve humanity of this pandemic."

Ms. Aboubakr recently got her first shot.

Imams worldwide have been

appearing in livestreamed conversations with doctors from the Islamic Medical Association of North America. In the talks, Dr. Uzma Syed, an infectious-disease physician, explains vaccine science but then turns to religious commentary.

Medicine has long been a firmament of Islam, she says, citing a narration about the Prophet Muhammad, who was asked if taking medicine for disease was permitted. "Yes, O you servants of Allah, take medicine, as Allah has not created a disease without creating a cure, except for one."

"Which one?" they asked. He replied, "Old age."

Although many Hasidic communities have defied Covid guidelines and oppose mandatory vaccinations generally, most Jewish denominations typically endorse them. But even some mainstream rabbis have been facing fresh questions about the Covid shots.

"It's a Jewish mandate to take whatever lifesaving measures are necessary, even in the case of potential risk," answers Rabbi Adir Posy of Beth Jacob, an Orthodox synagogue in Beverly Hills, who is also a leader of the Orthodox Union, a network of congregations.

Centuries ago, he said, rabbis defended the novel smallpox vaccine by ruling that "you can enter into small risk in order to avoid a bigger one down the line."

"For some people, that religious argument helps move the needle a

little," Rabbi Posy said. "So to speak."

Returning to a Safe Place

Just the thought of the Covid vaccine made Carolyn Posy stiffen up. Dr. Lowe, who is a consultant on corporate diversity and inclusion programs and is Black, is well aware that people of color have been treated dismissively by the health care system, and she herself holds it at arm's length.

But to find out more, she attended vaccine information sessions led by Black physicians. When she heard that Shorter Community A.M.E. Church in Denver, her faith home of 40 years, was offering the vaccine, that made the difference.

Black churches have formed pandemic-fighting national networks with a single-mindedness that mirrors their embrace of civil rights issues. A Florida task force led by Black churches has been armed with historically Black colleges and universities, offering sanctuaries as vaccination sites. The Black Coalition Against Covid-19 put out guidelines for faith leaders with tips about the pandemic as vaccination.

The Rev. Matthew L. Watley of Kingdom Fellowship A.M.E. Church in Silver Spring, Md., which shares vaccine information with congregations nationwide, bluntly confronts the Black community's deep-seated vaccine distrust. He tells skeptics, "The ultimate conspiracy could just be, 'Wait until there's a global pandemic that's disproportionately affecting African-Americans and then convince them not to take the one medical intervention that's proven to save lives.'"

At Shorter, the Rev. Dr. Timothy Tyler has spoken about vaccination in his online services, participated on panels, and posted about his show on Facebook. Now, when UCHealth, the health care system affiliated with the University of Colorado, sends word that it will administer 500 doses at Shorter on a Sunday, church members hit the phones, calling older members, offering transportation.

On a recent Sunday, after a hard year of being away from church, Dr. Lowe stepped back into Shorter to get her vaccine. She hailed pew mates she hadn't seen in too long. Kneeling before the sanctuary altar, she wept.

"I prayed for those who did not have the opportunity I was blessed with, and for a healing for our nation," she said.

Then she headed into the church's Omar D. Blair Fellowship Hall, named for a Tuskegee Airman who became a civil rights advocate. This is where she had led Girl Scout activities. Where the church celebrated her husband after he had passed.

Now, a new milestone. She sat down at a table to receive the shot, hopeful that it would help deliver her from the pandemic, restore her to the communal life she cherishes.

As she rolled up her sleeve, she looked around. This was so much better than a doctor's office, she thought.

GENERATION GRANDPARENT

Afraid the Little Ones 'Won't Know You' After a Year-Plus of Enforced Separation

By PAULA SPAN

Kathy Koehler had made elaborate plans to meet her first grandchild. Her daughter, who was expecting a baby last March, lived in London, and Ms. Koehler intended to fly there from her home in Ann Arbor, Mich.

She had collected a small stash of blankets, toys and clothes to tuck into her suitcase, and reserved a bed-and-breakfast near her daughter's flat for the month of April.

"I'd be there every day and help out and get to know this little guy," said Ms. Koehler, who's 63. "I could not wait."

That trip never took place, of course. Nor did her daughter make a planned visit home in October to introduce her new son, Elya, to the rest of the family. Covid-19 intervened.

Crushed, Ms. Koehler hoped she could at least celebrate her grandson's first birthday in person. Friends scoffed at her pessimism, assuring her that surely international travel would safely resume before then. But Elya turns 1 on March 19, and his maternal grandmother has yet to hold or kiss him.

"It feels like a double loss," she said. "I'm losing time with this newborn that I'll never get back. And I didn't get to see my daughter and son-in-law in love with him and become parents. I felt so cheated."

The enforced separations of the pandemic have caused widespread sorrow for grandparents.

Whether they live an ocean apart or around the corner, many have had to cancel visits, forgo holiday gatherings and give up the ordinary pleasures of reading stories and playing games. Even though distancing protects grandparents' physical health and safety, because elders are at higher risk, it has been a painful time.

And it's not entirely behind us. The vaccine rollout may prompt a spate of joyful reunions in coming weeks, new guidelines from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention say that fully vaccinated grandparents can now safely visit with grandchildren.

But, in many states, older people are still scrambling for appointments, and the C.D.C. has maintained its warnings against travel. Ms. Koehler, who doesn't yet qualify for vaccination in Michigan, will watch Elya's birthday party via Zoom.

Long before the pandemic, researchers knew that social isolation afflicted many older adults. In widely cited studies, about a quarter reported feeling isolated and more than 40 percent felt lonely, states that can affect both psychological and physical health. For many people, the pandemic intensified that sense of disconnection.

The inability to spend time with grandchildren brings a particular kind of loss, however. Children change more quickly than other relatives. As Ms. Koehler pointed out, missing time with babies means they have passed through phases and stages we will never witness, except on video

screens. Grandparents were unable to attend many older kids' milestones, too, over the last year — dance recitals, soccer games, graduations. Some special occasions did not take place at all.

Nor could they help their beleaguered children the way many wished to, as they faced uncommon economic and other pressures, often without child care or in-person school.

Kerry Byrne, founder of The Long Distance Grandparent, a business that helps build intergenerational connections, heard from distressed grandparents all year. After extended apartment, "they worry that the grandchildren won't know you or you won't know them," she said. "They worry they won't be able to maintain these bonds."

Risa Nye, 69, a writer in Oakland, was able to see her four grandchildren in the Bay Area, though in some cases only outdoors. But what about the two in Syracuse, N.Y.?

Prepandemic, Ms. Nye and her husband would fly east or her daughter and family would come west several times a year. Sometimes they'd vacation together at the Jersey Shore or in Southern California near Disneyland.

Now, she wonders if Madeleine, 13, and Ezra, 7, will remember eating blue pancakes at the Rise N Shine Diner or seeing "Wonder Woman" together. "It's been a year-plus," Ms. Nye said. "The older one's a teenager. I'm missing out."

"This has been devastating,"



SIA MARILEE TORRES

Marilee Reinertson Torres, of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, greeting her youngest grandchild from outside a hospital window last April.

agreed her daughter, Caitlin Nye, 43. Her parents hinted about visiting, and "it's very hard to tell your mom, 'There's no logistical way to do this safely and without huge anxiety.'" But as a nurse educator hyper-aware of viral risks, that is what she told her mother.

Grandparent risk — a term used by Emma Payne, founder of a company called Grief Coach — involves another dimension: older people recognize that time with their families is growing limited. The average age for becoming a grandparent in the United States is 50, but many grandparents are older, or face health problems.

A year apart can feel more wrenching to a 75-year-old, for whom it represents a greater proportion of her remaining life span, than to her 35-year-old son or daughter.

Marilee Reinertson Torres, 61, has five grandchildren within a half-hour drive of her home in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Last April, she greeted the youngest, Salma Elaine, from outside the window

of the hospital where she'd just been born. Though Ms. Torres could see her grandchildren outdoors over the summer, and had the newborn, those visits stopped in the November cold.

Because she undergoes chemotherapy infusions and scans every three weeks for a recurrence of cervical cancer, Ms. Torres said she is more aware of mortality than other people. "I saw Salma when she was born. Can I see her go to school? I want to see what my 10-year-old is like as an adult." She questions whether she will.

Experts in child development are reassuring on one score: Family bonds can weather this interruption.

"Grandparents shouldn't worry that they won't have important roles in their grandchildren's lives going forward," said Dr. Dimitri Christakis, who directs the Center for Child Health, Behavior and Development at Seattle Children's Research Institute.

"Children are resilient and they're highly adaptable," he said.

"If a child is being reintroduced to grandparents after a year apart, they will still have a very important place in that child's life."

Maintaining those connections, especially with children who didn't know their grandparents well before Covid-19, does take effort, however.

Ms. Koehler has Skyped with Elya and his mother every day. "He absolutely knows my face," she said. She and her husband show him their dog and cats and play where's-your-nose together. "It feels like a real relationship is being formed," said Ms. Koehler, who also Skypes with a second grandchild in Maine.

Kathryn Hirsh-Pasek, a psychologist at Temple University, Zooms nightly with her own young grandchildren. "If there are ways that allow you to see a face or hear a voice, that can be very powerful in maintaining relationships," she said.

"A willingness to be silly and playful is important," Ms. Byrne added. Oh, I know.

I haven't been separated from my granddaughter, now 4; she and her parents and I have formed a pandemic pod. We mask and distance from everyone else, but not from one another.

Since I'm lucky enough to remain her child care provider one day a week, we don't need to FaceTime often. But when we do, I pull out the hand puppets and have been known to get cheap laughs by bonking a pesky box puppet on the head with a banana.

But no matter how hard all parties have worked at staying in touch, many grandparents have suffered deeply this year. Resumed visits — the real kind, in person — cannot come too soon.

"Grief isn't too strong a word for those grandparents who have yearned all year for a small hand in theirs, for a hug without fear."

This announcement is not an offer to purchase or acquisition of an offer to sell Shares or ADSs (as defined below). The U.S. Offer (as defined below) is made solely pursuant to the Offer to Purchase (as defined below), dated as of March 15, 2021, any amendments or supplements thereto, the Form of Acceptance and the ADS Letter of Transmittal, and is being made to all U.S. holders of Shares and all holders of ADSs, wherever located. The making of the U.S. Offer in jurisdictions other than the United States may be restricted or prohibited by law. Purchaser (as defined below) is currently not aware of any jurisdiction where the making of the U.S. Offer is restricted or prohibited by law. If Purchaser becomes aware of any such restriction or prohibition on the making of the U.S. Offer or the acceptance of the Shares or ADSs, Purchaser will make a good faith effort to comply or seek to have such prohibition or restriction declared inapplicable in the U.S. Offer. If, after a good faith effort, Purchaser cannot comply, Purchaser will not make the U.S. Offer to holders of Shares and ADSs in that jurisdiction. In any jurisdiction where the securities laws of that country, but not the U.S. Offer, may be made by a licensed broker or dealer, the U.S. Offer shall be deemed to be made on behalf of Purchaser by one or more registered brokers or dealers licensed under the laws of such jurisdiction.

NOTICE OF U.S. OFFER TO PURCHASE FOR CASH
Up to 7,698,631,104 of the Outstanding Shares of Common Stock
(including Common Stock represented by American Depositary Shares, each representing 50 shares of Common Stock)

of
ENELAMÉRICAS S.A.
 at a Purchase Price of
CH\$140 PER SHARE OF COMMON STOCK (PAYABLE IN U.S. DOLLARS)
 and
CH\$7,000 PER AMERICAN DEPOSITARY SHARE (PAYABLE IN U.S. DOLLARS)
 by
ENEL S.p.A.

THIS U.S. OFFER AND THE CORRESPONDING TENDER WITHDRAWAL RIGHTS WILL EXPIRE AT 5:00 P.M., NEW YORK CITY TIME, ON APRIL 13, 2021 OR SUCH LATER TIME AND DATE TO WHICH THE U.S. OFFER IS EXTENDED AND IS INTENDED TO COINCIDE WITH THE EXPIRATION DATE OF THE CONCURRENT CHILEAN OFFER (AS DEFINED BELOW).

Enel S.p.A. ("Purchaser") hereby offers to purchase up to a total of 7,698,631,104 of the outstanding shares of common stock (the "Shares") of Enel Américas S.A. ("Enel Américas"), including Shares represented by American Depositary Shares (the "ADSs") and, together with the Shares, the securities represented by 100% of the subordinated capital stock of Enel Américas as of the date hereof, from all holders of Shares resident in the United States and all holders of ADSs wherever located for cash at a purchase price of CH\$140 per Share and CH\$7,000 per ADS, in each case payable in U.S. dollars, without interest, and less applicable withholding taxes and distribution fees, upon the terms and subject to certain conditions described in the Offer to Purchase and in the related Form of Acceptance and ADS Letter of Transmittal (which together, as they may be amended or supplemented from time to time, constitute the "U.S. Offer"). The U.S. dollar amounts payable will be based upon the U.S. dollar observed rate (dollar observed) published by the Chilean Central Bank for the business day prior to the date of settlement of the Offers. Through a concurrent offer in Chile, Purchaser is offering to purchase up to 7,698,631,104 of the outstanding Shares wherever located, including shares held by holders resident in the United States, at the same purchase price of CH\$140 per Share (the "Chilean Offer") and, together with the U.S. Offer, the "Offers"). The Offers exclude any Shares or ADSs held by Purchaser (including Shares received in the Merger (described below)). In no event will Purchaser purchase more than 7,698,631,104 Shares (including Shares represented by ADSs) in total in the Offers. If more than 7,698,631,104 Shares (including Shares represented by ADSs) are tendered in the Offers, Shares and ADSs properly and timely tendered in the Offers and not properly withdrawn will be subject to proration as described in "The U.S. Offer — Section 1. Terms of the U.S. Offer." Non-U.S. holders (as defined below) of Shares will not be permitted to tender their Shares (including Shares withdrawn from ADSs) in the U.S. Offer and instead must tender into the Chilean Offer ADSs (regardless of the location of the holders) may only be tendered into the U.S. Offer.

The U.S. Offer will expire at 5:00 p.m., New York City time, on April 13, 2021 (the "Expiration Date"), unless extended. No extension is currently contemplated. However, Purchaser may extend the U.S. Offer in certain circumstances. Any extension would be made in accordance with the section entitled "The U.S. Offer — Section 14. Extension of the U.S. Offer; Termination; Amendment" in the Offer to Purchase. No subsequent offering period is currently contemplated following the expiration of the initial offering period of the U.S. Offer.

The Offers are not conditioned on any minimum number of Securities being tendered. However, the Offers are conditioned on (i) the effectiveness of the merger of EGP Américas SpA ("EGP Américas") with and into Enel Américas (the "Merger") and the amendment of the Enel Américas bylaws (the "Bylaw Amendment") to remove the share ownership limitation of 65% by any single shareholder set forth under Title XII of Decree Law No. 3,500 of 1950 (which, among other conditions, are dependent upon the receipt of all required approvals and certifications from the National Superintendency of Customs and Tax Administration (Superintendencia Nacional de Aduanas y de Administración Tributaria) in Peru ("SUNAT"), which was received from SUNAT on March 4, 2021, resulting in all conditions to the Merger and the Bylaw Amendment being satisfied and the Merger and Bylaw Amendment becoming effective on April 1, 2021) and (ii) the absence of any pending judgment, resolution, demand, action or process, whether judicial or administrative, which could reasonably be expected to (1) prohibit or materially impede the implementation of the Offers; (2) impose material limitations on Purchaser's effective exercise of all property rights over the Enel Américas shares, including the right to vote such shares, and in general any other action by a court, department or other competent authority resulting in any of the effects listed in clauses (1)-(3) above. The Offers must also be conducted in compliance with all U.S., Chilean and other applicable regulations.

Under Chilean law, the initial offering period of the Chilean Offer must be 30 calendar days and may be extended one time for a period of between five to 15 calendar days. The initial 30-day offering period of the Chilean Offer is scheduled to expire on April 13, 2021. The U.S. Offer and the Chilean Offer are expected to be settled on the same day. In the event that the Chilean Offer is extended beyond April 13, 2021 for any reason, Purchaser intends to also extend the U.S. Offer so that the U.S. Offer offering period coincides with the offering period set forth for the Chilean Offer.

On December 17, 2020, in connection with the Merger, Purchaser committed to conduct Chilean and U.S. tender offers directed at the holders of Shares and ADSs for up to 10% of the then issued capital stock of Enel Américas, at a proposed price of CH\$140 per Share (or the equivalent in U.S. dollars of CH\$7,000 per ADS at the time of payment in the case of ADSs). Pursuant to Chilean law, each individual member of the Board of Directors of Enel Américas must express in writing his or her statement as to whether the Offers would be beneficial to the company's shareholders. Although under Chilean law the Board of Directors of Enel Américas, as a body, is not required to make a recommendation to its shareholders whether to accept or reject the tender offers, the Board of Directors of Enel Américas intends to take action immediately following the formal commencement of the Offers to determine the recommendation of the Board with respect to the Offers as required to be disclosed by Rule 14c-2 under the U.S. Securities Exchange Act of 1934, as amended (the "Exchange Act"). At such time, Enel Américas will file and distribute a Solicitation/Recommendation Statement on Schedule 14D-9 which will include the recommendation of the Enel Américas Board of Directors with respect to the Offers.

To tender your Shares in the U.S. Offer, prior to the Expiration Date of the U.S. Offer, you must (1) complete and sign the Form of Acceptance in accordance with the instructions in the Form of Acceptance and mail or deliver it to Computershare Trust Company, N.A. (the "U.S. Share Tender Agent"), (2) deliver a certificate from the share department of Enel Américas administered by DCV Registros S.A. ("DCV Registros") to the U.S. Share Tender Agent for receipt by the expiration of the U.S. Offer and (3) either (i) deliver the title(s) of securities (certificate(s) or title) representing your Shares to the U.S. Share Tender Agent at the address set forth in the Form of Acceptance or (ii) arrange for bank-entry delivery of your Shares through the system of the Depósito Central de Valores S.A.

to account number 12026005 (the "DCV Custodial Account") that has been established on behalf of the U.S. Share Tender Agent. See "The U.S. Offer — Section 3. Procedures for Accepting the U.S. Offer — Holders of Shares" in the Offer to Purchase. All of the above steps must be completed prior to 5:00 p.m., New York City time, on the Expiration Date, unless the U.S. Offer is extended. Any holders of Shares whose Shares are registered in the name of a broker, dealer, commercial bank, trust company or other nominee must contact such broker, dealer, commercial bank, trust company or other nominee if such holder desires to tender such Shares.

To tender your ADSs in the U.S. Offer, prior to the Expiration Date of the U.S. Offer, the ADS Tender Agent must receive the American Depositary Receipts ("ADRs") representing the ADSs or bank-entry transfer of such ADSs, together with a properly completed and duly executed ADS Letter of Transmittal or a message transmitted by The Depository Trust Company ("DTC") to Citibank, N.A. (the "ADS Tender Agent") stating that you have expressly agreed to be bound by the terms of the ADS Letter of Transmittal, and all other required documents. See "The U.S. Offer — Section 4. Procedures for Accepting the U.S. Offer — Holders of ADSs" in the Offer to Purchase. Each such procedure must be completed before 5:00 p.m., New York City time, on the Expiration Date, unless the U.S. Offer is extended. In connection with bank-entry transfers, the ADS Tender Agent must receive before 5:00 p.m., New York City time, on the Expiration Date, unless the U.S. Offer is extended, (i) a confirmation of such transfer into the ADS Tender Agent's account at DTC and (ii) a properly completed and duly executed ADS Letter of Transmittal or an Agent's Message (as defined in the Offer to Purchase). Securities intermediaries may establish cutoff times and dates earlier than 5:00 p.m., New York City time, on the Expiration Date to receive instructions to tender ADSs.

If not more than 7,698,631,104 Shares (including Shares represented by ADSs) are properly and timely tendered in the Offers and not properly withdrawn before the Expiration Date and the expiration date for the Chilean Offer, as applicable, Purchaser will, upon the terms and subject to the conditions of the U.S. Offer, purchase all of the Securities tendered and not withdrawn in the U.S. Offer and the Chilean Offer. In no event will Purchaser purchase more than 7,698,631,104 Shares (including Shares represented by ADSs) in total in the Offers. If more than 7,698,631,104 Shares (including Shares represented by ADSs) are properly and timely tendered in the Offers and not properly withdrawn before the Expiration Date and the expiration date for the Chilean Offer, as applicable, Purchaser will, upon the terms and subject to the conditions of the U.S. Offer, purchase 7,698,631,104 Shares (including Shares represented by ADSs) on a pro rata basis (with adjustments to avoid purchases of fractional shares or ADSs) according to the number of Shares (including Shares represented by ADSs) properly and timely tendered in the Offers and not properly withdrawn before the Expiration Date.

Subject to the terms and conditions of the U.S. Offer, Purchaser will pay for all Shares and ADSs validly tendered and not properly withdrawn and accepted by Purchaser after giving effect to proration, if applicable, promptly after the later of the Expiration Date and upon the satisfaction or waiver by Purchaser of all conditions to the U.S. Offer set forth in "The U.S. Offer — Section 12. Conditions of the U.S. Offer" in the Offer to Purchase, and in any case pursuant to applicable Chilean law or practice.

In all cases, payment for Shares and ADSs accepted for payment pursuant to the U.S. Offer will be made only after timely receipt of the required documents by the U.S. Share Tender Agent or the ADS Tender Agent, as applicable, in accordance with the procedures for tendering into the U.S. Offer. Payment for Shares or ADSs tendered and accepted for payment pursuant to the U.S. Offer will be made by deposit of the purchase price with the U.S. Share Tender Agent, which will act as agent for the tendering holders of Shares, or the ADS Tender Agent, which will act as agent for the tendering holders of ADSs, respectively, for the purpose of receiving payments from Purchaser and transmitting such payments to tendering holders of Shares and holders of ADSs, as the case may be. All payments will be less the amount of any withholding taxes and distribution fees that may be applicable. Under no circumstances will Purchaser pay interest on the consideration paid for Shares or ADSs pursuant to the U.S. Offer.

You can withdraw some or all of the Shares or ADSs that you previously tendered into the U.S. Offer at any time before 5:00 p.m., New York City time, on the Expiration Date, unless the U.S. Offer is extended. If you have tendered Shares or ADSs, you must properly complete and duly execute a notice of withdrawal for such Shares or ADSs, and such notice must be received by the U.S. Share Tender Agent or ADS Tender Agent, as applicable, before 5:00 p.m., New York City time, on the Expiration Date, unless the U.S. Offer is extended. After such time, your withdrawal rights will be suspended. Your withdrawal rights will subsequently terminate upon our acceptance for payment of your validly tendered Shares or ADSs.

For an explanation of certain effects of the Offers on the Shares and ADSs and the rights of holders thereof as a result of the transaction, see the section entitled "Special Factors — Section 3. Certain Effects of the Offers" in the Offer to Purchase.

For a U.S. Holder (as defined for U.S. federal income tax purposes) of Shares (or ADSs) that does not tender its Shares (or ADSs), the U.S. Offer will not constitute a taxable event for U.S. federal income tax purposes. For a U.S. Holder of Shares (or ADSs) of Enel Américas that tenders some or all of such Shares (or ADSs) in the U.S. Offer, such U.S. Holder will generally recognize gain or loss equal to the difference between the amount of cash received and the tax basis for the Shares (or ADSs) tendered. That gain or loss generally will constitute capital gain or loss. The deductibility of capital losses is subject to limitations. If a Chilean withholding tax is withheld on such disposition of all or some such Shares, a U.S. Holder's amount realized will include gross proceeds of the disposition before deduction of the Chilean tax (see "The U.S. Offer — Section 6. Tax Consequences — Chilean Tax Consequences for U.S. Holders" in the Offer to Purchase for more information on Chilean withholding taxes). See "The U.S. Offer — Section 6. Tax Consequences — Certain Material U.S. Federal Income Tax Consequences" in the Offer to Purchase for a more complete discussion of certain material U.S. federal income tax consequences of the U.S. Offer.

Each holder of Shares or ADSs is urged to consult its own tax adviser regarding the U.S. federal, state, local and non-U.S. income and other tax consequences of the tender of Shares or ADSs pursuant to the U.S. Offer.

The information required to be disclosed by paragraph (d)(1) of Rule 14d-6 of the Exchange Act is contained in the Offer to Purchase, the Form of Acceptance and the ADS Letter of Transmittal and is incorporated herein by reference. Enel Américas' stockholder list and securities position listings in respect of the Shares and ADSs for the purpose of disseminating the Offer to Purchase, the Form of Acceptance, the ADS Letter of Transmittal and other relevant materials to the holders of such Shares and ADSs. To the extent required by law, the Offer to Purchase, the Form of Acceptance and the ADS Letter of Transmittal will be mailed to record holders of Shares and ADSs and will be furnished to brokers and other securities intermediaries whose names, or the names of whose securities intermediaries, are listed as participants in a clearing agency's security position listing for subsequent transmittal to beneficial owners of securities.

The Offer to Purchase, the Form of Acceptance and the ADS Letter of Transmittal contain important information. Share and ADS holders should carefully read them in their entirety before any decision is made with respect to the U.S. Offer.

Any questions or requests for assistance may be directed to the Information Agent at its telephone numbers and address set forth below. Additional copies of the Offer to Purchase, the Form of Acceptance, the ADS Letter of Transmittal and other tender materials may be obtained from the Information Agent or from brokers, dealers, commercial banks and trust companies, and such copies will be furnished promptly at Purchaser's expense. Holders of Shares and ADSs may also contact their broker, bank or other securities intermediary for assistance concerning the U.S. Offer.

The Information Agent for the U.S. Offer is:

Georgeson LLC
 1290 Avenue of the Americas, 9th Floor
 New York, NY 10104
 U.S. Toll Free Number: (866) 431-2096
 Outside the U.S. Call: +1 781-575-2137
 Email: enelamericas@georgeson.com

International

The New York Times

In London, Fury Over the Lack of Safe Spaces for Women

Perhaps it was because pandemic lockdowns have left women clinging to whatever is left of their access to public space. Perhaps it was because after more than three years of the #MeToo movement, the police and society are still telling women to sacrifice their

THE INTERPRETER
AARON J. S. SAUD
liberties to purchase a little temporary safety. It all came to the surface when 32-year-old Sarah Everard, who disappeared as she walked home in London on March 3, was found dead a week later, after doing everything she was supposed to do. She took a longer route that was well-lit and populated. She wore bright clothes and shoes she could run in. She checked in with her boyfriend to let him know when she was leaving. But that was not enough to save her life.

So the response from British women to reports that police officers were going door to door telling women in the South London neighborhood where she disappeared to stay inside for their own safety became an outpouring of rage and frustration.

It has set off a social movement that feels, somehow, different from those that have come before: women from all walks of life demanding safety from male violence — and demanding that the police, the government and men collectively be the ones to bear the burden of ensuring it.

'Arrest Your Own'

"Hey, mister, get your hands off my sister!" the crowd chanted as police officers grabbed women while trying to disperse the vigil on Saturday night for Ms. Everard, a marketing executive, in a park in Clapham, South London.

"Arrest your own!" hundreds shouted, a reference to the police officer who has been charged with Ms. Everard's killing. "Police, go home!" As officers trampled the flowers laid on a memorial to Ms. Everard and wrestled shocked young women to the ground, London's Metropolitan Police could scarcely have provided a better example of what women were protesting if they had set out intentionally to do so.

In the days after Ms. Everard's disappearance, a group calling itself Reclaim These Streets announced that a vigil would be held on Saturday night in a South London park. The event would be partly to mourn and partly to protest the police instructions to women to stay home for their own security and to demand safer streets instead.

But "the Met," as London's police are known, once again told women to stay home. Citing lockdown restrictions, the police threatened sterner fines if the vigil was not canceled.

Eventually the organizers called off the event, in part because they could not bear the thought of their fines going to subsidize the very police force they were protesting, said Mary Morgan, a writer and scholar focused on body politics who was one of the event's original organizers. "It makes my stomach rot," she said in an interview.

Whatever the Met's internal reasoning, the message it sent to women across the country was that the police were doubling down on restricting women's freedom instead of men's violence.

"@metpoliceuk really do want women off the streets don't they?" Anne Lawley, 64, wrote on Twitter after organizers announced the cancellation of the gathering. She was shocked, she said in a telephone interview, that it had been shut down. "We can't have a vigil? People standing still, in a park, wearing masks?"

A huge crowd turned out anyway, carrying candles and bouquets, crocus bulbs in glass jars and flats of pansy seedlings to add to the pile of blooms. With no audio equipment, women climbed on the Victorian bandstand that had become a memorial and used an Occupy Wall Street-style human microphone. The crowd repeated what was said so that it could be heard at the back.

"The police are trying to silence us, the police are trying to repress us," hundreds repeated in unison. "The



People held up their smartphones as police officers moved to break up a South London gathering on Saturday for Sarah Everard, 33, who was killed this month.



Above left, a rally for Ms. Everard. Right, officers detaining Patsy Stevenson, a rally participant. City officials said coronavirus restrictions made the rally illegal.



police said we can't have a vigil to remember Sarah Everard. The police have the nerve to threaten us. The police have the nerve to intimidate us."

Then, louder: "WE SAY NO."

A Bad Bargain

To be a woman is to be "in a constant state of bargaining," the author and columnist Nesrine Malik wrote in her book, "We Need New Stories."

Ms. Everard's disappearance called attention to the terms of a safety bargain so ubiquitous that many women might never have considered it in such terms: that in order to buy their own safety from male violence, they must make the "right" choices. And that if a woman fails to do so, her fate is her own fault.

Online, women shared the details of their side of that bargain. What they wore. Where they walked. Whom they checked in with before they left, and after they got home. When they would go out alone, or with other women, or with men.

Some reflected on their own close calls. Nosisa Majuwana, 26, an advertising producer who lives in East London, said she told her friends, "Thank God I was wearing trainers, thank God I was carrying a rucksack" on the night a strange man approached her on a deserted path, pulled out a knife and told her to be quiet. "You would never walk home in London wearing heels."

But Ms. Everard's death has led Ms. Majuwana and many others to reject

the bargain outright. "It doesn't matter what women do," Ms. Morgan said. "We can be hypervigilant, we can follow all the precautions that have been taught to us since we were children."

The killing has "shocked people out of accepting that it's normal" to make those trade-offs, said Anna Birley, an economic policy researcher and local politician in South London who also worked to organize the Reclaim These Streets event. "Every woman can see themselves in that situation."

Who Should Sacrifice?

Why does the burden of women's safety fall on women, rather than on the men who are the source of most of the violence against them?

"Women's freedoms are seen as dispensable, as disposable — very much like sometimes, tragically, women ourselves," Kate Manne, a professor of philosophy at Cornell University and author of two books on the ways sexism shapes society, said in an interview.

"There is just an immediate assumption that men's lives won't be significantly affected by this," so they cannot be asked to make sacrifices to change it.

As women's role in public life has grown, the differences have become plain, and painful. The #MeToo movement revealed that many women left their jobs or entire industries to avoid predators like Harvey Weinstein — with the result that their abusers were able to continue harming other women

for decades.

Women in abusive relationships are often told to just leave their violent partners, but in fact often face the worst violence when they try to do so.

Sometimes the calculus is more subtle, but the collective impact is still significant.

A working paper from Grijia Worker, a researcher at the World Bank, found that women in India were willing to go to far worse colleges, and pay more tuition, in order to avoid harassment or abuse on their daily commutes to classes. The impact of that "choice" on one woman can be hard to measure — but among the thousands she documented in her research, it can be expected to have an effect on earnings, economic power and social mobility.

But British women's anger is beginning to shift assumptions about who should make sacrifices for safety. Jenny Jones, a baroness and Green Party peer, suggested in the House of Lords last week that there should be a 6 p.m. curfew for men in the wake of Ms. Everard's disappearance. She later clarified that it was not an entirely serious suggestion, telling Britain's Sky News: "Nobody makes a fuss when, for example, the police suggest women stay home. But when I suggest it, men are up in arms."

When asked about the proposal, Mark Drakeford, the first minister for Wales, said in a BBC interview that a curfew for men would be "not at the top of our list," but seemed to imply it could

be considered in some circumstances. (He later clarified that the Welsh government was not considering such a measure.)

Focused on Policing

Demands for men to make changes have become more prominent. But public fury has also fallen heavily on the police. And as photographs circulated of women being detained and manhandled by police officers after the Clapham vigil on Saturday, anger grew.

"There's so much anger in the fact that this isn't the first time that the Metropolitan Police let down women on such a large scale," Ms. Majuwana said.

She said she spoke from personal experience. A few years ago, she said, a man grabbed her by the arm, then hit her in the face with a glass bottle when she declined his advances. But when police officers arrived, they said there was nothing they could do unless she wanted to be arrested, too, because she had admitted to hitting her assailant back in self-defense.

Stiers Uncut, a feminist group that had encouraged women to go to the park even after the official Reclaim These Streets event was canceled, announced a protest on Sunday as well, this time outside Police Headquarters.

"Police are perpetrators of individual and state violence against women — as evidenced last night," the group wrote on Twitter, adding, "4pm. New Scotland Yard."

'Unacceptable': Mayor Demands Inquiry Into Police Tactics Used at Slain Executive's Vigil

By ISABELLA KWAI

LONDON — The mayor of London and the British cabinet minister responsible for policing called Sunday for an independent inquiry into how the city's main police force broke up a vigil for Sarah Everard, the 33-year-old marketing executive whose killing has spurred a reckoning over violence against women.

The demand for an investigation came after images of officers clashing with women at the event prompted a widespread outcry.

The mayor, Sadiq Khan, said that "scenes arising from the policing of the vigil," which had been banned under coronavirus restrictions, "were completely unacceptable," and that he was "not satisfied" with explanations from the two top officers in the force, the Metropolitan Police.

A spokesman for the Home Office, the government department that oversees policing, confirmed on Sunday that Priti

Patel, the home secretary, had asked the Inspectorate of Constabulary, a government body that assesses police forces, for a report into what happened at the vigil.

Mr. Khan said in a statement that he had sought a full inquiry from the same body, and that he was also asking another regulator, the Independent Office for Police Conduct, to investigate the actions of officers at the vigil.

The demands came as hundreds of people marched in central London on Sunday against police brutality and a bill to give the police more powers to control protests.

Women's rights activists and lawmakers called the police actions heavy-handed and particularly upsetting given that the rally was staged to decry violence against women — and that a Metropolitan Police officer has been charged with kidnapping and murdering Ms. Everard. She disappeared while walking



Sarah Everard

home from a friend's house in Clapham on March 3.

Deme Cressida Dick, commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, said Sunday that she welcomed an independent review. Commissioner Dick said the first six hours of the vigil had been "calm and peaceful," with few officers around. But after a big crowd gathered, she said, officers felt it had become an "unlawful gathering, which poses a considerable risk to people's health."

Activists had in Italy called people to attend the vigil, at Clapham Common in South London, on Saturday evening near where Ms. Everard was last seen. But police officials warned that the gathering was unlawful, though people congregated in the park anyway.

As evening fell, the vigil grew into a protest over violence against women, and officers used force to try to disperse some people.

Among the four people arrested was a 28-year-old protester, Patsy Stevenson. Images of her being pinned to the ground by several police officers quickly went viral.

"This incident is an opportunity to constructively start a dialogue and a movement for change within society so that no woman feels fear walking down the street," Ms. Stevenson said in an interview.

She called on protesters to gather Monday at Parliament Square.

For many, Ms. Stevenson's treatment at the hands of the police resonated deeply.

Jamie Klingler, an organizer of the vigil, called the image of "a man on her back at a violence against women vigil" horrific and "very upsetting."

Mayor Khan said that the police had assured him last week that the vigil would be handled with sensitivity. He said he had met Sunday with Commissioner Dick, and her deputy, Stephen House, to demand an explanation.

"I am not satisfied with the explanation they have provided," the mayor said. In a statement overnight, Helen Ball, an assistant commissioner for the Metropolitan Police, said that officers on the ground were "faced with a difficult decision" in the evening after hundreds of people "packed tightly together, posing a very real risk of easily transmitting Covid-19."

"Police must act for people's safety," she said. "This is the only responsible thing to do. The pandemic is not over, and gatherings of people from right across London and beyond are still not safe."

Still, she said, "We accept that the actions of our officers have been questioned."



THANK YOU

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American Federation of Teachers



New York State United Teachers



Migrants crossing into the U.S. from Mexico. A wave of migrants is crushing U.S. checkpoints. Many of them have been encouraged by false claims that President Biden has opened the border.

At the U.S. Border With Mexico, a Cascade of Migrants Strains Shelters

From Page A1

cago. "Biden promised us!" wailed another woman.

Many of the migrants said they had spent their life savings and gone into debt to pay coyotes — human smugglers — who had falsely promised them that the border was open after President Biden's election.

Still, the migrants keep coming, and many officials believe the numbers could be bigger than those seen in recent years, after the pandemic and recent natural disasters in Central America wiped away livelihoods.

Mr. Biden is now directing the Federal Emergency Management Agency to help manage the thousands of unaccompanied migrant children who are filling up detention centers after Mr. Biden said, shortly after taking office, that his administration would no longer turn back unaccompanied minors.

Mexican officials and shelter operators say the number of children, with parents or unaccompanied, is reaching levels not seen since 2018. Late that year, tens of thousands of migrants headed for the border each month, prompting Mr. Trump's administration to separate families and lock them up. Hundreds of children remain separated from their parents to this day.

Mr. Biden has asked Mexico's government for help in easing the pileup at the border. So far, Mexico's response has mostly been to ramp up raids of smuggling rings and to begin sending migrants — most of them from Central America — back home, according to shelter operators in Mexico. The government is also trying to keep more migrants from crossing into Mexico from Central America, as it did during the Trump administration, officials said.

A Mexican Foreign Ministry official said the government was within its right to deport illegal migrants but did not comment on whether raids had increased in recent weeks or whether the Mexican government was responding to a U.S. request.

At the international bridge on Saturday, Dagoberto Pineda, a Honduran migrant, looked shocked as he discreetly wiped away tears and held his 6-year-old son's hand. He had thought he was entering the United States, but here he was in Ciudad Juárez, crying underneath a Mexican flag. He asked Mr. Valenzuela and New York Times journalists for help: Was he allowed in or not?

A massive hurricane hurtled through Mr. Pineda's town late last year, destroying the banana plantation he worked on, owned by Chiquita Brands International. After years of paying Mr. Pineda about \$12 a day to help fill American grocery stores with fresh fruit, the company laid him off. When coyotes offered him a chance to cross into the United States for \$6,000 — more than his annual salary — he took it.

Mr. Pineda had crossed from Tamaulipas State into southern

Texas, where he was detained by American officials for several days. When he was flown 600 miles to a second detention center in El Paso, he thought his entry into the United States had finally been granted.

Instead, on Saturday, border patrol agents released him on the Paso del Norte bridge, linking El Paso to Ciudad Juárez, and told him to walk in the direction of the Mexican flags.

Over the past week, Mexican officials and shelter operators like the International Organization of Migration said they had been surprised by the Department of Homeland Security's new practice of detaining migrants at one point of the sprawling border only to fly them hundreds of miles away to be expelled at a different border town.

The United States is doing this under a federal order known as Title 42. The order, introduced by Mr. Trump but embraced by Mr. Biden, justifies rapid expulsions as a health measure amid the pandemic. But crumpling migrants into airplanes and overcrowded detention facilities without any coronavirus testing defeats the purpose of Title 42, observers say.

Stephanie Malin, a spokeswoman for Customs and Border Protection, said that the American authorities had seen "an increase in

encounters" but that to adhere to federal guidelines for Covid-19, border officials were "expediently" transferring migrants out of their custody.

"Trump got his wall, it's called Title 42," said Rubén García, the founder of Annunciation House, one of the largest shelter networks in the United States, based in his shelter, none of them tested for Covid-19.

Still, the new surge of migrants is straining resources throughout the system. Last Sunday, Mr. García said, he was left with barely 30 minutes to prepare after being told by the authorities that 200 migrants were about to be deposited at his shelter, none of them tested for Covid-19.

"I'm on calls with staffers at the White House and D.H.S. and when I'm on those calls I say: 'You're not prepared. You're not prepared for what is about to happen,'" Mr. García said in an interview, using the acronym for the Department of Homeland Security.

Across the border, Mexican officials are also ill prepared to handle the rising number of migrants, with shelters at a breaking point.

If Mr. Valenzuela's daughter had not looked up from her book to spot the families crossing the border, all 19 migrants would have been dumped in downtown Ciudad Juárez, one of Mexico's most dangerous cities, at the mercy of

the cartels or human traffickers.

The night before, Mr. Valenzuela welcomed 45 families in the same, haphazard way, with little time to prepare.

Under Mr. Trump's Remain in Mexico Policy, which deported migrants to Mexico to wait out their court cases for asylum in the United States, communication and coordination was better between the various organizations operating along the border, shelter

Falling victim to human traffickers peddling false hopes.

ter operators and Mexican officials said. Mr. Biden ended that policy in January and promised to start processing some of the 25,000 migrants enrolled in that program. In recent weeks, hundreds have been let in.

Jetter, 29, a migrant from Honduras, is one of those who was allowed in to the United States. After waiting for nearly two years on the border with his wife and two daughters, it took them barely an hour on Friday to be processed at the border and let in. He swiftly went to his sister's house in Dal-

las.

As he walked up the bridge, leaving Ciudad Juárez behind as he strode toward El Paso, he was confident. "My life is going to change 180 degrees," said Jetter, who asked that only his first name be used, fearing reprisals for his family back home.

Though American officials insist that the border is closed to new migrants, that has not stopped thousands from making the dangerous journey north, most from Central America.

Just four months ago, the Filter Hotel shelter in Ciudad Juárez was so empty that they used several rooms as storage. The shelter, run by the International Organization of Migration, now has signs on its door declaring "no space."

Of the 1,165 people the Filter Hotel has processed since early May, when it opened, nearly 38 percent were minors, most of them younger than 12, employees said. Its staff often has to shoot smugglers away when they loiter around shelter entrances.

Gladys Oneida Pérez Cruz, 48, and her 23-year-old son, Henry Arturo Menjivar Pérez, who has cerebral palsy, came to the shelter after being expelled from the United States late last month. Shortly after Mr. Biden's inauguration, smugglers began cruising her neighborhood in Honduras for

business, falsely putting out the word that the United States border was open.

Ms. Pérez hoped to join her sister in Maryland, and to find work that would help her afford medicine for her son.

A coyote charged her \$9,000 for the trip — a steeper price than she expected, but it came with the promise she would travel by car and his colleagues would help her carry her son across the border, as he had to leave his wheelchair behind. Her sister wired the money. She and her son embarked on the dangerous trek on Feb. 7, she said. Nearly two weeks later, the smugglers dumped them at the border and said they would have to cross on their own.

They managed to cross after hours of effort, but were quickly detained by American border patrol agents and expelled back to Mexico. She has decided to return to Honduras, preferring to face poverty than be killed or kidnapped in Mexico.

"I apologize for having tried to enter the United States like this, but it was because of my need and my son's illness," she said through her tears.

"Biden promised us that everything was going to change," she added. "He hasn't done it yet, but he is going to be a good president for migrants."



"I did not make it," said Jenny Contreras, 19, left, who was denied at the border.



A Honduran family seeking asylum being escorted to the United States



Migrants heading to an office in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico, to ask for shelter.



Gladys Oneida Pérez Cruz caring for her son, who has cerebral palsy.

Albinson Linares contributed reporting from Ciudad Juárez, Mexico.

Germany Starts Election Year With Losses for Merkel's Party in 2 States

By MELISSA EDDY

BERLIN — Voters in two south western German states punished Chancellor Angela Merkel's conservative party in regional elections on Sunday, early results showed, turning from the Christian Democrats in record numbers amid the coronavirus pandemic and a growing scandal over lawmakers who accepted kickbacks for selling masks.

The elections in the states of Baden-Württemberg and Rhineland-Palatinate were the first in a year that will see voting for new legislators in four more states, and for the country's Parliament. In September, Germans will choose a new chancellor and government to take over Europe's largest economy after 16 years under Ms. Merkel's leadership.

Projections based on partial vote counts showed the conservative party poised to lose support in both states. The results pointed to challenges the party faces in trying to restore confidence lost after three conservative lawmakers — including one representing a district in Baden-Württemberg — were forced to resign after revelations they had received compensation worth tens of thousands of euros for arranging the sale of medical-grade masks to municipalities when supplies were tight.

"Today was not a good election evening for the Christian Democratic Union," Paul Ziemniak, secretary general of the party, said Sunday at a news conference after the polls had closed. "We wanted to see better results."

The Christian Democrats saw support drop by at least four percentage points compared with 2016 in the state of Baden-Württemberg and more than five percentage points in Rhineland-Palatinate, according to projections. Although the party came in second place, the losses still amounted to the worst showing since the end of World War II for the conservatives in each of the states.

The Greens, by contrast, made gains in both states, reflecting the party's steadily growing popularity. That could help it emerge as the strongest force in the September national election, raising the prospect that Germany could see its first Greens chancellor.

"Under Chancellor Angela Merkel, the conservatives have built up an image of being Germany's indispensable natural government party; this image is fading," said Arne Jungjohann, a political scientist who is close to the Greens party. "The conservatives no longer have a lock on the chancellorship."

In Baden-Württemberg, voters gave Winfried Kretschmann of the Greens a third term in office, with projections showing the party in the lead with nearly a third of the vote. It ran a campaign largely focused on his personality. Under the slogan "You know me," Mr. Kretschmann, 72, promised to continue his party's consensus-seeking policies of the past five years.

Voters in neighboring Rhineland-Palatinate also sought to return the incumbent governor to office, with the Social Democrats emerging as the strongest party by winning roughly a third of the vote, early results showed. Based on those figures, the Social Democrats would be able to continue their coalition government, led by Malu Dreyer, with the Greens and the pro-business Free Democrats.

Sunday's voting took place after largely muted campaigns that were overshadowed by the threat of the coronavirus and driven online by lockdowns. Germany has seen a recent increase in infections in recent days, and fewer voters turned out in both states compared with five years ago. At least half the ballots in each state were submitted by mail.

The Alternative for Germany, or AfD, also suffered losses in both states, preliminary results showed, although the party remained the third-largest force in each of the states.

The party blamed a recent attempt by the German domestic intelligence service to place it under observation on suspicion of posing a threat to the Constitution. Yet despite the AfD's populist, anti-establishment stance, the party has not been able to capitalize on growing criticism of the government's inability to secure enough vaccines and its patchwork reliance on lockdowns.

Three conservative lawmakers in the federal Parliament have resigned over the mask scandal, including a member of the Christian Democratic Union representing a district in Baden-Württemberg. Another conservative lawmaker from the state of Thuringia, as well as a member of the Christian Social Union, the conservative party in the state of Bavaria, also resigned.

After the payouts came to light, party leaders required all 240 conservative lawmakers to sign a declaration pledging they had not used their positions for financial gain in connection with fighting the pandemic.



PHOTO BY MORGAN KATZ

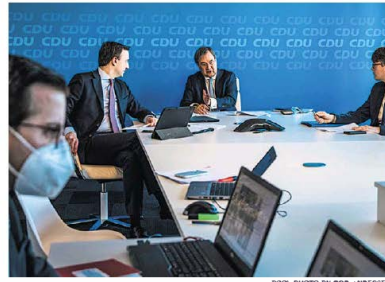


PHOTO BY BOB ANGERSEN

Above right, Winfried Kretschmann of the Greens was a projected winner. Armin Laschet, center, leads the Christian Democrats.

The conservatives' poor showing could pose a challenge to Armin Laschet, who took over as leader of the Christian Democratic Union in January. Many in the party are not certain he will become the candidate in the race to replace Ms. Merkel.

Normally the party would put

forward its leader as the candidate in the race for the chancellor, but Mr. Laschet has so far proved to be less popular with the German public than the governor of Bavaria, Markus Söder, who could instead be tapped as the conservative candidate.

Mr. Söder has raised his profile

as someone who has taken tough, decisive action to halt the spread of the virus in his state, closing the border to Austria and sending vaccines to help the beleaguered Czech Republic. Mr. Söder is also the head of the Bavaria-only Christian Social Union, which forms a conservative bloc with the

Christian Democrats in Parliament.

"Today is not a good day for Armin Laschet," Marcel Dirsus, a fellow at the Institute for Security Policy at Kiel University, wrote on Twitter. "These are the first important elections since he became C.D.U. leader and the results are

Three conservatives have resigned over a mask scandal.

disastrous."

Mr. Laschet has said conservatives will decide in the coming months whether the head of the Christian Democratic Union or the head of the Christian Social Union will run in September as the conservative bloc's candidate for chancellor. But the Christian Democrats' poor showing on Sunday could accelerate that decision.

Whoever is selected will face the Greens' candidate, who has yet to be named, and Germany's finance minister, Olaf Scholz, who is running for the Social Democrats.

Support for the Greens across Germany has nearly doubled since the election in 2017, making it the second strongest party six months before the national election, after the conservatives and ahead of the Social Democrats.



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WE SAVE MORE TREES THAN IN CENTRAL PARK — EVERY DAY

As Biden Mulls Afghan Exit, U.S. Discloses 1,000 More Troops in Area

This article is by Thomas Gibbons-Neff, Helene Cooper and Eric Schmitt.

KABUL, Afghanistan — Facing a high-stakes choice and running out of time to make it, the Biden administration is wrestling with whether to follow through with a full withdrawal in the next seven weeks of the 25,000 American troops still in Afghanistan — except, as it turns out, that number is actually around 3,500.

The United States has about 1,000 more troops in Afghanistan than it has disclosed, according to U.S., European and Afghan officials. That adds another layer of complexity to the swirling debate at the White House over whether to stick with a deal, struck by the Trump administration and the Taliban, that calls for removing the remaining American forces by May 1.

A thousand troops may seem like a small number compared to the roughly 100,000 who were there at the height of the war. But the scope of the U.S. presence has become a contentious issue in Afghanistan — where the Taliban want the Americans gone, while the government's beleaguered security forces rely on U.S. air support — and also in Washington.

Members of Congress have repeatedly called for an increase in troops if the United States decides to stay past the withdrawal date outlined in the agreement, which was reached just over a year ago.

The cloudy accounting around the troop numbers results from some Special Operations troops having been put "off the books," according to a senior U.S. official, as well as the presence of some temporary and transitioning units. These troops, according to a second U.S. official, include Joint Special Operations Command units, some of them elite Army Rangers, who work under both the Pentagon and the C.I.A. while deployed to Afghanistan.

Having more troops in a country than the Defense Department officially acknowledges is common practice. From Syria to Yemen to Mali, the United States often deploys military troops to the C.I.A. or other agencies, declares that information "classified" and refuses to publicly acknowledge their presence.

So last year, as former President Donald J. Trump pushed for rapid troop withdrawals from Afghanistan, the Defense Department and other national security

Thomas Gibbons-Neff reported from Kabul, and Helene Cooper and Eric Schmitt from Washington. Najim Rahim contributed reporting from Kabul, and Asadullah Timiry from Herat, Afghanistan.



JIM HOLTZ/BOOK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



AP/WIDE WORLD

Above, U.S. troops in Kabul, Afghanistan. The U.S. had previously said it had 25,000 soldiers in the country. Left, a bomb blast scene in Kabul last month. Taliban attacks are increasing there.

troop numbers in Afghanistan have declined from 12,000 to the current number. That drop was staunchly opposed by Pentagon leaders, who have long said that at least 8,600 U.S. troops are needed, both to support the Afghan forces and to conduct counterterrorism missions.

But a review of the U.S.-Taliban deal by the Afghan Study Group, a congressionally mandated report that submitted its findings to lawmakers last month, concluded that maintaining around 4,500 troops in Afghanistan could be enough "to secure U.S. interests under current conditions and at an acceptable level of risk."

In addition to the 3,500 Americans, there are roughly 7,000 NATO and allied troops still in Afghanistan who depend on U.S. forces for logistics and force protection. If the United States did, indeed, try to leave by May 1, it would be almost impossible logistically to withdraw both the American and the allied forces in time, experts have said, though U.S. officials insist it remains an option.

Despite the shrinking timeline, Mr. Biden has yet to decide whether U.S. troops will stay beyond the proposed date — and if so, how many — or leave, ending

America's longest war after more than 18 years.

Mr. Biden's own inclination, when he was Mr. Obama's vice president, was toward a reduced U.S. presence. But as president, he must weigh whether following such instincts would run too high a risk of the Taliban defeating gov-

Considering what to do with 3,500 soldiers as a deadline nears.

ernment forces and taking over Afghanistan's key cities. Many senior military commanders still argue that a full withdrawal could also lead to Al Qaeda and other groups hostile to the United States regaining a prominent presence in the country.

But troop levels are just one of many issues the Biden administration faces as it tries to make peace in Afghanistan.

Afghan leaders were already angry about being left out of the Trump administration's negotiations with the Taliban. They were also unhappy with the deal that re-

sulted; in the past year, the Taliban have largely kept to their promise not to attack Americans, but they have stepped up violence against fellow Afghans.

Last week, Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken sent a blunt letter to Afghanistan's president, Ashraf Ghani, first reported by the Afghan outlet **Tolo News**, that proposed several steps to revive the stalled peace negotiations between the Afghan government and the Taliban. The letter, which asked the Afghan leader to "understand the urgency of my tone," was received by Mr. Ghani as a personal slight, suggesting that he was one of the main obstacles to the process, said an Afghan official with direct knowledge of the matter.

Mr. Blinken's letter also signaled continued high-level support for Zalmay Khalilzad, the longtime lead U.S. diplomat involved in the peace process, who is a divisive figure in Kabul, Afghanistan's capital. Many in Mr. Ghani's circle have resented the pressure that the Afghan-born Mr. Khalilzad put on the government over contentious issues, including the release of roughly 5,000 Taliban prisoners, during the lead-up to the talks in Doha, Qatar, which began in September.

Trying to inject new energy into the talks between negotiators in Qatar, Mr. Blinken proposed in his letter that the Taliban and Afghan leadership meet next month in Turkey, where they would likely discuss a cease-fire and power-sharing proposal outlined by American officials. Neither side has agreed to the deal, nor is it clear who would be attending the meeting in Turkey from either side.

In addition, Mr. Khalilzad, who is in Doha, continues to meet with the Taliban in an effort to reduce violence in Afghanistan, and he is exploring other ways the Taliban can engage Afghans and the international community in pursuit of a political solution, according to U.S. officials.

On Friday, a massive car bombing in the western Afghan city of Herat decimated a neighborhood and killed at least seven people, leaving more than 50 wounded. The attack was carried out by the Taliban, Afghan officials said, and it was condemned by Mr. Ghani. No group claimed responsibility.

Earlier last week, the Taliban captured a district center in the northern province of Faryab, routing Afghan special operations forces and forcing the surrender of the district's police chief.

The Americans did not come to the Afghans' aid, according to the Afghan official, despite repeated requests for airstrikes.

Killings Rise, but Protesters in Myanmar Remain Defiant

By RICHARD C. PADOCK

Soldiers and police officers shot and killed at least 51 people in Myanmar over the weekend, as they pressed their campaign of attrition against protesters who have defied them in cities and towns across the country.

Despite weeks of killings by the security forces, a nationwide civil disobedience movement — which has paralyzed much of the economy as well as the government's operations — shows no sign of waning, a month and a half after the Feb. 1 military coup that ousted the civilian leadership.

"The world is upside down in Myanmar," said U. Tin Tun, who said he saw military personnel in the city of Mandalay commander an ambulance and drive off with a woman who had been shot in the head by a fellow soldier.

"We must fight until we win," said Mr. Tin Tun, 46. "The regime must step down. There is no place for any dictator here in Myanmar."

Last Sunday afternoon, another wave of killing began in the Hlaingthaya district of Yangon, which is heavily populated by factory workers and where the protests against military rule have been among the most aggressive. A large force of soldiers and police officers was deployed to the township and fatally shot at least 31 protesters, according to a doctor at Hlaingthaya General Hospital. It was the highest daily death toll in one location since the coup.

On Sunday evening, the ruling junta declared martial law in the district — the first such declaration since the takeover — allowing the military to assume all authority in the township from the police. The declaration came after two Chinese-owned factories in the district caught fire and the Chinese Embassy called on the government to take strong action to "stop all terrorism activities." The embassy said that many Chinese employees had been injured by the fires, whose cause had not been established.

The government also placed Yangon's Shwepyithar district in Yangon, another heavily industrial area, under martial law after large protests were held there on

Sunday.

In a Facebook Live video, Mahn Win Khaing Than, one of the leaders of a self-declared civilian government formed in defiance, urged ethnic rebels who have fought the army for decades to join the protest movement in working toward a federal democracy to replace military rule. He called this "the darkest moment of the nation and the moment that the dawn is close."

Mr. Mahn Win Khaing Than, who was the speaker of the upper house of Parliament before the coup, said in the video posted on Saturday that his group, the Committee Representing the Myanmar Parliament, had spoken by Zoom with leaders of the armed ethnic groups that control much of northern Myanmar.

He said Myanmar's ethnic minorities had been "suffering various kinds of oppression from the dictatorship for decades" and appealed for unity. "This revolution is the chance for us to put our efforts together," said Mr. Mahn Win Khaing Than, who is from the Karen ethnic group.

Myanmar's military, known as the Tatmadaw, has run the country for most of the past 60 years. For the majority of that time, it has battled rebel armies made up of members of ethnic minorities, who inhabit areas rich in jade, timber and other resources.

Though the Tatmadaw ceded some power to elected officials during the past decade, chief among them the Nobel laureate Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, it continued to operate without civilian oversight. In 2017, it waged an internationally condemned campaign of ethnic cleansing against the Muslim Rohingya in western Myanmar, killing thousands and forcing more than 700,000 to flee to neighboring Bangladesh.

Now, the military has brought similar tactics — and some of the same military units — to cities and towns around the country. Soldiers and police officers, who are also under the authority of the army's top commander, have fired into homes and crowds of protesters, beaten demonstrators in the streets and arrested many hundreds of people, some whom



PHOTOGRAPHS BY THE NEW YORK TIMES

were later tortured, victims and witnesses have said.

More than 110 people have been killed by the military and the police since the coup, according to the United Nations, doctors, hospital staff and relatives of victims.

Of these killed since the protests began, about a fifth have been shot in the head, according to information compiled by The New York Times. More than a fifth of these killed have been teenagers.

The ruling generals' current strategy, it appears, is to wear down the populace with daily killings and arbitrary violence, calculating that people will abandon their hopes for democracy if enough of them are slaughtered, beaten and arrested.

But so far, the bloodshed has only solidified the resistance.

The Biden administration, which has repeatedly called on the generals to restore power to civilian leaders, announced on Friday that it would let Myanmar citizens who are now in the United States apply for "temporary protected status" because of the danger they would face at home.

"Due to the military coup and security forces' brutal violence against civilians, the people of Burma are suffering a complex and deteriorating humanitarian crisis in many parts of the country," said the secretary of homeland security, Alejandro N. May

orkas, using Myanmar's former name. He said its citizens would be eligible to stay in the United States for 18 months.

The weekend's wave of killings began just before midnight on Friday, when a crowd of people gathered outside a police station in Yangon seeking the release of three brothers who had been seized from their home. The police

opened fire, killing two men, relatives of the victims said.

On Saturday, the killing continued with four more victims in Yangon, three in the town of Pyaw and one in the town of Chauk. Both towns sit on the Irrawaddy River north of Yangon, Myanmar's largest

city.

In Mandalay, the second-largest city, where the first major street protests against the coup were held on Feb. 4, four protesters were shot and killed by the security forces on Saturday, according to doctors who tried to treat the victims. A fifth death was confirmed by a relative of the victim.

On Sunday, four protesters in Yangon were shot and killed, according to the clinic and hospital where their bodies were taken. Another protester was shot and killed in Mandalay, according to the hospital there, where she was pronounced dead on arrival.

A wounded man in the Hlaingthaya district of Yangon, Myanmar, where at least 31 people were killed on Sunday. Below, protesters prepared for advancing security forces.

In Mandalay on Saturday, after police officers began shooting at protesters, about two dozen students who had been demonstrating fled and took refuge in the nearby home of Daw Pyone, a police officer and soldier followed them there and confronted Ms. Pyone, said her daughter, Ma Tin Nilar San, who hid with the students under blankets and mosquito nets. When Ms. Pyone refused to give them up, Ms. Tin Nilar San said, a soldier shot her in the head from a few feet away.

"I was crying in hiding and I was shaking because I was so afraid," said Ms. Tin Nilar San, 28. "My mother gave birth to me by risking her life. But I could not save my mother's life when she was in need and calling my name."

The soldiers began firing randomly inside the house, and most of the students came out of hiding, she said. Eighteen were arrested. After the police and soldiers left, Ms. Tin Nilar San said and the remaining students carried her mother, who was still alive, to a nearby Buddhist monastery, where volunteer medics were treating wounded protesters.

They put her in an ambulance. But before it could be driven away, about 20 soldiers and police officers arrived, said Mr. Tin Tun, who was coordinating emergency care at the monastery. They broke down the door of the monastery, and everyone fled or hid, he said.

Mr. Tin Tun said he found a place to hide near the ambulance. He said he heard the soldiers say that Ms. Pyone appeared to have died, and that they should take her to a cemetery to be cremated.

The soldiers then drove off in the truck. In the hospital, Ms. Pyone has not been seen since. Family members, hoping she might have survived, have looked for her at a prison and at police and military hospitals, without success.

"I cannot sleep, I cannot eat anything," Ms. Tin Nilar San said. "I was my mother. She was such a nice woman with a kind heart. She risked her life to save all the students hiding in our house."

National

The New York Times

No Margin for Error in a Fight Against Voting Restrictions

Democrats May Need Some G.O.P. Help

By NICHOLAS FANDOS
and MICHAEL WINES

WASHINGTON — State and national voting-rights advocates are waging the most consequential political struggle over access to the ballot since the civil rights era, a fight increasingly focused on a far-reaching federal overhaul of election rules in a last-ditch bid to offset a wave of voting restrictions sweeping Republican-controlled state legislatures.

The federal voting bill, which passed in the House this month with only Democratic support, includes a landmark national expansion of voting rights, an end to partisan gerrymandering of congressional districts and new transparency requirements on the flow of dark money financing elections that would override the rash of new state laws.

The energy in support for it radiates from well-financed veteran organizers to unpaid volunteers, many who were called to political activism after former President Donald J. Trump's upset win in 2016. It is engaging Democrats in Washington and voting rights activists in crucial states from Georgia to Iowa to West Virginia to Arizona — some facing rollbacks in access to the ballot, some with senators who will play pivotal roles and some with both.

But after approval of the Democratic bill in the House, the campaign to pass the For the People Act, designated Senate Bill 1, increasingly appears to be on a collision course with the filibuster. The rule requires 60 votes for passage of most legislation in a bitterly divided Senate, meaning that Republicans can kill the voting bill and scores of other liberal priorities despite unified Democratic control of Washington.

To succeed, Democrats will have to persuade a handful of moderate holdouts to change the rules, at least for this legislation, with the likelihood that a single defection in their own party would doom their efforts. It is a daunting path with no margin for error, but activists believe the costs for failure, given the Republican limits on voting, would be so high that some accommodation on the filibuster could become inevitable.

Two left-leaning elections groups, the advocacy arm of End Citizens United and Let America Vote along with the National Democratic Redistricting Committee, plan this week to announce an infusion of \$30 million to try to hasten the groundswell. The money will fund paid advertising in at least a dozen states and finance organizers to target Democratic and Republican swing senators in six of them.

"We are at a once-in-a-generation moment," said Tiffany Muller, president of End Citizens United and Let America Vote. "We either are going to see one of the most massive rollbacks of our democracy in generations, or we have an opportunity to say: 'No, that is not what America stands for. We are going to strengthen democracy and make sure everyone has an equal voice.'"

The sense of a pivotal moment is the one thing Democrats and Republicans agree on. Republicans are still inflamed by Mr. Trump's false claims of a stolen election and the party's unified message that voting restrictions, many of which fall most heavily on minorities and Democratic-leaning voters, are needed to prevent fraud, which studies have repeatedly shown to be barely existent.

"This bill is the opposite of good governance — it's a cynical attempt by the left to put their thumb on the scales of democracy and engineer our laws to help them win elections," said Dan Consten, president of the Republican-aligned American Action Network. "They want to limit free speech, funnel public funds into their campaign accounts, seize from states the ability to run their own free and fair elections, and then spin it like this is really all about protecting voting rights."

Ms. Muller and others are ostensibly focused on winning support for election legislation from 10 moderate Republican senators, including Lisa Murkowski of Alaska and Susan M. Collins of Maine.

But with Republican leaders promising near-unanimous opposition in the Senate, Democrats and their allies are positioning voting rights as the most persuasive case for scrapping or changing the filibuster that would limit much of Democrats' legislative agenda.

"It is too important an issue and we are facing too big a crisis to let an arcane procedural motion hold back the passage of this bill," Ms. Muller said. She argued that the rollback of voting rights was an existential threat to the democracy on which all other liberal causes, from gun control to health care reform, depend.

The urgency for federal action has mounted not just among Washington lobbyists and Democratic lawmakers, but grass roots groups that normally fight battles in state legislatures and city councils. Many spent the winter opposing the Republican voting agenda that included curbs on mail-in and early voting and stiffer voter ID requirements.

Lawmakers in Republican-controlled states have largely rebuffed these groups, leaving Democrats to see federal action as the only possible brake on widespread voting restrictions. At the same time, a handful of crucial Republican-led states are preparing to draw new state and congressional district maps in



A protest this month in Atlanta against proposed changes to Georgia's voting laws. Several Republican-led states are preparing to redraw state and congressional district maps in ways that could lock Democrats out of power for years.



'We're using digital ads, billboards, direct action at warehouses and call centers — we're serious. This is urgent.'

NSÉ UFOT, the chief executive of the voting-rights group New Georgia Project.

the fall that could further tilt power in their direction and lock Democrats out of a House majority for years.

Voting-rights proponents say they have not given up on stepping restrictive laws in states. The Arizona group Civic Engagement Beyond Voting has already registered 2,000 people this year to testify remotely on proposed state legislation, with voting rights as a priority.

"People are up in arms," said Cathy Kauts Sigmon, the group's founder. "They're relating these bills to how they vote and how members of their family vote."

Voting-rights advocates in Georgia, who claim to have slowed or killed some restrictive bills, are aiming at local companies that have supported the bills' sponsors, including Home Depot, Coca-Cola, Delta Air Lines and UPS. An advertising campaign led by voting and civil rights groups demands that the firms use their lobbying muscle in the Georgia statehouse to stop repressive voting bills instead of contributing to their Republican authors.

"They spent most of Black History Month peppering us with Martin Luther King quotes, but now that Blacks' future is in jeopardy, they're silent," Nsé Ufot, the chief executive of one participant, the New Georgia Project, said last week. "We're using digital ads, billboards, direct action at warehouses and call centers — we're serious. This is urgent."

One possible sign of some success: On Sunday, the Georgia Chamber of Commerce, whose members include those companies, expressed "concern and opposition" to restrictive clauses in two Republican bills.

Increasingly, though, the focus is on federal legislation. Ms. Sigmon's group is

recruiting Arizonans to lobby their senators on the elections bill. So are local chapters of Indivisible, a movement founded in response to Mr. Trump's election, in Georgia and Arizona.

And so have national advocacy groups. Common Cause runs weeknight phone banks recruiting backers for the bill, and says it has generated 700,000 text messages supporting it. "It's been a pretty incredible outpouring of support, because we all knew what this moment means," said Izzy Bernstein, the group's national campaigns manager.

In Phoenix, the advocacy group Progress Arizona coordinates a statewide campaign to persuade Senator Kyrsten Sinema, a first-term Democrat, to drop her support of the filibuster. Among its tactics: billboards projected at night onto buildings and poster spots, calling for an end to the filibuster and displaying the senator's Capitol Hill phone number.

In Charleston, W.Va., Takeiya Smith of the advocacy group For West Virginia's Future works with some 70 students at six state colleges to generate calls on Senate Bill 1 to Senators Shelley Capito, a Republican, and particularly Joe Manchin III, a Democrat whose support for the filibuster is a liberal target. The group plans daily campaign events this week highlighting different parts of the measure. It is in turn allied with a national coalition, the Declaration for American Democracy, that has enrolled 150 organizations to push for its passage.

In Atlanta, the Black Voters Matter Fund is preparing with other groups a national campaign for Senate Bill 1 aimed at both senators and President Biden, who has expressed hope for the bill's passage but has not actively worked for it.

"He's got to have his Lyndon B. Johnson moment," said Cliff Albright, the group's executive director, referring to the former president's arm-twisting on Capitol Hill for the Voting Rights Act in 1965.

"You're president of the United States. You need to do more than hope that it passes," he said of Mr. Biden. "He needs to use everything he's learned over 47 years in Washington, D.C., to get this bill passed."

Democrats first introduced the elections bill in 2019 as a catchall measure to address growing public disillusionment with dark money and corporate interests in politics. But as Republican state officials have raced to target voter participation, the bill's voting provisions have increasingly been viewed by many on the left as essential protections to American democracy — and to the ability of Democratic voters to cast ballots.

If it became law, the bill would drastically expand early and mail-in voting, neuter restrictive state voter ID laws, make it harder to purge voter rolls while automatically registering all eligible voters and restoring voting rights to former felons. Those and other changes would most likely increase voter participation, especially by minority voters who disproportionately lean Democratic.

Senators plan to reintroduce the bill this week and Amy Klobuchar, Democrat of Minnesota and the chairwoman of the Senate committee that will advance it, has promised a hearing on March 24.

But what happens next is a matter of hot political and strategic debate centered on Democrats' fight over the filibuster, where a handful of moderates so far appear unwilling to change or drop the tactic. All 50 Democrats probably would have to agree to alter the rules.

In an interview, Ms. Klobuchar suggested that if senators could not agree to scrap the filibuster altogether, they could try to find a compromise, potentially allowing measures on voting and elections like Senate Bill 1 to pass with a simple majority, but not other bills.

"It is so fundamental to everything else, it has to get done," she said.

Senator Chuck Schumer, Democrat of New York and the majority leader, has been less definitive but indicated last week that he, too, may view voting rights as a unique case. "If we can get some bipartisan support, great, but if not, our caucus will meet and we will figure out how to get it done," he said in a radio interview. "Failure is not an option."

End Citizens United, Let America Vote and the National Democratic Redistricting Committee plan to run television and digital ads in Alaska, Arizona, Georgia, Maine and Pennsylvania, homes to several key swing senators. A later phase will target up to 15 red and blue states. The groups will also dispatch 50 paid staff members to states like Mr. Manchin's West Virginia.

"We almost don't have a choice," said Kelly Ward Burton, executive director of the Democratic redistricting group. "Because of what's happening in the states, it's not theoretical. It's happening right before our eyes. It would be irresponsible not to do anything about this."



Voting-rights groups are courting moderate G.O.P. senators like Lisa Murkowski, left, and Susan M. Collins.

Selling Stimulus Plan, Democrats Seek Edge With Midterm Voters

By JONATHAN MARTIN

WASHINGTON — Triumphant over the signing of the far-reaching \$1.9 trillion stimulus package, Democrats are now starting to angle for a major political payoff that would defy history: Picking up House and Senate seats in the 2022 midterm elections, even though the party in power usually loses in the midterms.

Democratic leaders are making one of the biggest electoral bets in years — that the stimulus will be so transformational for Americans across party lines and demographic groups that Democrats will be able to wield it as a political weapon next year in elections against Republicans, who voted en masse against the package.

Republicans need to gain only one seat in the Senate and just five in the House in 2022 to take back control, a likely result in a normal midterm election, but perhaps a trickier one if voters credit their rivals for a strong American rebound.

Yet as Democrats prepare to start selling voters on the package, they remain haunted by what happened in 2010, the last time they were in control of the White House and both chambers of Congress and pursued an ambitious agenda. They lost 63 House seats, and the majority, and were unable to fulfill President Barack Obama's goals on issues ranging from gun control to immigration.

It has become an article of faith in the party that Mr. Obama's presidency was diminished because his two signature accomplishments, the stimulus bill and the Affordable Care Act, were not expensive enough and their pitch to the public on the benefits of both measures was lacking. By this logic, Democrats began losing elections and the full control of the government, until now, because of their initial compromises with Republicans and insufficient salesmanship.

"We didn't adequately explain what we had done," President Biden told House Democrats this month about the 2009 Recovery Act. "Barack was so modest, he didn't want to take, as he said, a 'victory lap.'"

Now they are determined to exercise those old ghosts by aggressively promoting a measure they believe meets the moment and has broader appeal than the \$787 billion bill they trimmed and laced with tax cuts to win a handful of Republican votes in Mr. Obama's first months in office.

Republicans say the Democratic bet is a foolhardy one, both because of how little of the spending is directly related to the coronavirus pandemic and because of fleeting voter attention spans. But Democrats say they intend to run on the bill — and press Republicans over their opposition to it.

"This is absolutely something I will campaign on next year," said Senator Raphael Warnock of Georgia, who may be the most vulnerable incumbent Senate Democrat in the country on the ballot in 2022. Senator Gary Peters of Michigan, who heads the Democratic Senate campaign arm, said he would go on "offense" against Republicans who opposed the bill and sketched out their attack: "Every Republican said no in a time of need."

Party lawmakers point out that the measure Mr. Biden signed on Thursday is more popular than the 2009 bill, according to polling;

contains more tangible benefits, like the \$1,400 direct payments and unemployment benefits; and comes at a time when the pandemic and former President Donald Trump's continued appetite for big spending have blunted Republican attacks.

"People are going to feel it right away, to me that's the biggest thing," said Representative Conor Lamb, a Pennsylvania Democrat whose 2018 special election victory presaged the party's revival. "Politics is confusing, it's image-based, everyone calls everyone else a liar — but people are going to get the money in their bank accounts."

And, Representative Sara Jacobs of California said, Democrats have "learned the lessons from 2009, we made sure we went back to our districts this end to tell people how much help they were going to get from this bill."

Mr. Obama's aides are quick to note that they did promote their stimulus and the health care law but ran into much more fervent, and unified, opposition on the right as the Tea Party blossomed and portrayed the measures as wasteful and ill-conceived.

At the end of last week, with the House's first extended recess looming at month's end, Speaker Nancy Pelosi pushed House Democrats to seize the moment.

Ms. Pelosi's office sent an email to colleagues, forwarded to The Times, brimming with talking points the speaker hopes they'll use in town halls and news conferences. "During the upcoming district work period, members are encouraged to give visibility to how the American Rescue Plan meets the needs of their communities: putting vaccines in arms, money in pockets, workers back on the job and children back in the classroom safely," it said.

Farther part, White House officials said they would deploy "the whole of government," as one aide put it, to market the plan, send cabinet officers on the road and focus on different components of the bill each day to highlight its expanse.

Democrats' hopes for avoiding the lesser typical in a president's first midterm election will depend largely on whether Americans feel life is back to normal next year — and whether they credit the party in power for thwarting the disease, despair and dysfunction that characterized the end of Mr. Trump's term.

If voters are to believe the Democrats are delivering on an American rebound, of course, it's essential the country is rearing back to pre-pandemic strength in a way it was not at the end of 2009, when unemployment reached 10 percent.

"You could be looking at an extraordinary growth spurt in the third and fourth quarters, and that takes you into the year when candidates make their way," said Representative Richard E. Neal of Massachusetts, chairman of the Ways & Means Committee, where much of the bill was crafted.

The politics of the legislation, in other words, will be clear enough by this time next year. "If all the sudden you get high inflation and things are hitting the fan, Republicans are going to run on it," said Representative Filemon Vela, a Texas Democrat. "If things are going well they're going to run on something else."

For now, Republicans are ex-



STEFAN REYNOLDS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



BREX ANDERSON/GETTY IMAGES

pressing little appetite to contest a measure that has the support of 70 percent of voters, according to a Pew survey released last week.

Part of their challenge stems from Mr. Trump's aggressive advocacy for \$2,000 direct payments in the previous stimulus package late last year, a drumbeat he's kept up in his political afterlife as he argues Republicans lost the two

ment questions.

Asked if they would run against the bill next year, the House minority leader, Kevin McCarthy, said, "There's going to be a lot of things we run against."

At the weekly news conference of House Republican leaders, Representative Liz Cheney of Wyoming spoke about the stimulus for 45 seconds before changing the subject to the rising number of migrants at the Southern border.

And by the end of the week, Mr. McCarthy announced he and a group of House Republicans would travel to the border on Monday in a bid to highlight the problem there — and change the subject.

After spending the campaign vowing to find common ground with Republicans and make Washington work again, Mr. Biden, in his first major act as president, prioritized speed and scale over bipartisanship.

He and his top aides believe in legislative momentum, that success begets success and that they'll be able to push through another pricey bill — this one to build roads, bridges and broadband — because of their early win on Covid-19 relief.



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Reflecting on the 2009 Recovery Act, President Biden said that Democrats "didn't adequately explain" the bill, and paid a price.

Capitol Police To Scale Back Fencing Built After the Riot

By NICHOLAS FANDROS

The Capitol Police in the coming days will begin scaling back and in some cases removing fencing erected around the Capitol after the Jan. 6 riot, a Democratic aide familiar with the plans confirmed on Sunday, a visible milestone as Congress tries to return to normal.

The agency, working with the architect of the Capitol, will take steps beginning this week to first move an inner perimeter of fencing closer to the Capitol building and remove longer cables that strung stop it, according to the aide, who spoke anonymously to discuss security plans that were still private. The agency will then proceed to remove altogether a secondary, outer perimeter next week, allowing Independence and Constitution Avenues to reopen to traffic for the first time since January.

It was unclear on Sunday exactly how long the inner perimeter fencing might remain in place, as lawmakers and the law enforcement agency continue to plot a path forward to ensure there is no repeat of the deadly rampage. The Democratic aide familiar with the plans said it would stay in place for at least as long as it takes to make security repairs to the Capitol building.

The Capitol Police did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

Imposing and impenetrable, the fence has become a charged political symbol in the two months since the attack, barring most Americans from the seat of government and causing headaches for the thousands of staff members, journalists and lawmakers who work inside the Capitol. In recent weeks, lawmakers in both parties, wary about the message it sent the country, had been agitating for its removal and a broader reconsideration of the security posture.

It has also significantly disrupted the Capitol Hill residential neighborhood adjacent to the historic building, forcing road closures and cutting off access to a spacious plaza frequently used by local residents for recreation, commuting or even protesting.

National Guard troops who arrived after the attack will continue to patrol the Capitol building and grounds. Their ranks have already been cut roughly in half, to 2,200, but the Pentagon and the Capitol Police have indicated that they might further reduce that number in the weeks ahead.

The extraordinary measures were put in place as a result of one of the most stunning security failures in the history of Congress. A mob of thousands, egged on by President Donald J. Trump, succeeded in overrunning officers and storming into the Capitol building in a last-ditch effort to stop lawmakers from certifying Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s electoral victory. Many of the invaders were armed and sent the vice president and members of the House and the Senate running for their lives. The attack left five people dead and more than 100 police officers injured.

As they curtail some of the fencing, the police are planning to place bike racks outside House office buildings to create another barrier. Collectively, the National Guard deployment, perimeter fencing and other new security measures have been costing taxpayers almost \$2 million a week.

"The public didn't know about the Affordable Care Act and the administration was not exactly advertising," Ms. Pelosi told reporters last week.

Senator Chuck Schumer, the majority leader, was just as blunt, singling out the Maine moderate who was wooed by Mr. Obama to ensure bipartisan support for the 2009 Recovery Act but whose appeals for a far-smaller compromise bill were ignored last month.

"We made a big mistake in 2009 and 10, Susan Collins was part of that mistake," Mr. Schumer said on CNN. "We cut back on the stimulus dramatically and we stayed in recession for five years."

And, he could have noted, his party would not have full control of both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue for another decade.

Colorado Snow Knocks Out Power to 30,000 and Makes Travel 'Nearly Impossible'

By BRYAN PIETSCH

DENVER — A snowstorm sweeping through Colorado and Wyoming on Sunday was expected to bring as much as four feet of snow to some parts of the region, and has left more than 30,000 people without power in Colorado.

The storm brought heavy, wet snow and downed trees and power lines. More than 25,000

Wyo.

The National Weather Service warned that an additional two to six inches of snow and wind gusts as high as 45 miles per hour could create "nearly impossible travel conditions."

As of Sunday afternoon, more than 19 inches had fallen at Denver International Airport, making it the city's largest snowstorm since 2016, said Kylie Bearse, a meteorologist at News in Denver.

The storm was the city's 11th-largest snowstorm on record and was on track to reach the top 10 "pretty easily," she said. Forecasters expected the snow to continue through early Monday morning. Estes Park, a town about 30 miles northwest of Boulder, could get two to four feet of snow, Ms. Bearse said. She added that Cheyenne was expected to get as much as 32 inches of snow and had already gotten 25.8 inches this weekend, breaking a record of 25.6 inches set in 1978.

Colorado had been bracing for this snowstorm. Gov. Jared Polis activated the Colorado National Guard, grocery store shelves were left bare by Friday as shoppers prepared for the storm and Denver International Airport can-

celed nearly 750 flights on Saturday and more than 1,200 flights on Sunday.

The airport said on Twitter on Sunday that it had closed all of its runways "due to blowing snow and poor visibility."

Eldora Mountain, a ski area on the Front Range that is about 20 miles west of Boulder, had gotten

11 inches of snow since Saturday afternoon, and was expected up to 23 inches in additional snow on Sunday, according to Open Snow, which provides forecasts for ski resorts.

Though Colorado is known for its late-season snowfall — March is Denver's snowiest month on average — "it's definitely a rare

event," Ms. Bearse said, "to get this much snow."

Much of the snow was falling on Colorado's Front Range and Foot Hills, leaving its more mountainous High Country without such intense snowfall because of an "upslope effect" that brought wind from the east, she said.

Parts of major roadways, like Interstate 50 in Wyoming and Interstate 70 between Denver and Silverthorne, Colo., near many of the state's ski areas, were closed overnight on Saturday, and a section of Interstate 70 was closed again on Sunday afternoon.

The Colorado State Patrol said on Twitter that snowplows were stuck or overturned on the roads.

Denver's transportation authority said on Twitter that, because of blizzard conditions, all of its bus and rail operations were experiencing significant delays. "All travel is discouraged at this time unless it is critical," it said.

Amanda Nebelsick, a Fort Collins resident, lost power for about seven hours on Sunday morning.

Her neighbors hosted a pancake breakfast for those who were unable to cook on Sunday, she said, and her normal view of the mountains was blocked by heavy

snowfall.

"New that the power's back on, we'll just hunker down and enjoy the afternoon," she said.

The avalanche danger on the Front Range was high on Sunday, the Colorado Avalanche Information Center said, warning that "intense snowfall will cause large and destructive avalanches."

Snow had been forecast to start falling early Saturday in Denver, but higher temperatures caused the snow to fall instead as a drizzle, Ms. Bearse said. The storm also moved into the area more slowly than anticipated, leaving many Denverites — including Ms. Bearse — underwhelmed by the snowfall totals on Saturday.

"I was frustrated seeing that storm come in so slowly," she said, adding, "I barely slept last night."

More snowstorms are likely in the state through March and April, with snow expected this week and next week in Denver.

The storm is set to move on from Colorado and Wyoming on Monday morning, bringing a mix of rain and snow to the Midwest on Monday, Ms. Bearse said. It is expected to bring rain to the East Coast and potentially snow to parts of New England on Tuesday,



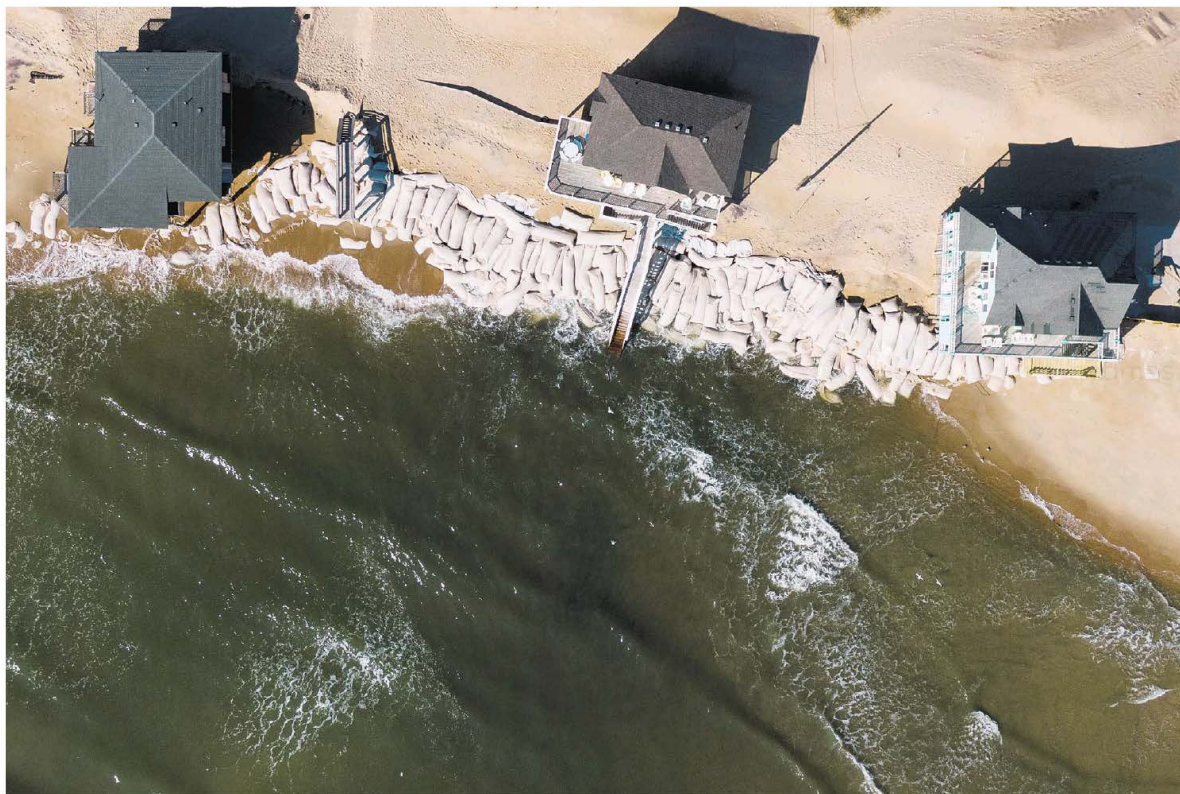
CHRIST STRANGE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Clearing snow in Boulder, Colo. Denver International Airport has gotten over 19 inches — the city's largest snowfall since 2016.

On track to be a top 10 storm on record for the region.

customers near Greeley, Colo., about 50 miles north of Denver, were without power on Sunday, according to Xcel Energy. About 5,000 people around Fort Collins and about 1,000 people in the Denver suburbs were also without power.

A blizzard warning was in effect on Sunday for Colorado's Front Range, an area that includes the Interstate 25 corridor from south of Denver up through Cheyenne,



PHOTOGRAPHS BY ERIN SCHAPIRO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Along the Outer Banks of North Carolina, where tourist-friendly beaches are shrinking by more than 14 feet a year in some places, towns have imposed tax increases to fight coastal erosion.

On the Outer Banks, a Tiny Town Asks: Who Pays to Fight a Rising Sea?

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Coastal Management — other towns have imposed tax increases similar to the one Avon is considering. On Monday, county officials will vote on whether or not Avon will join them.

This despite the reality that Avon's battle is most likely a losing one. At its highest point, the town is just a couple dozen feet above sea level, but most houses, as well as the main road, are along the beachfront.

"Based on the science that I've seen for sea-level rise, at some point, the Outer Banks — the way they are today — are not forever," said David Hallac, superintendent of the national parks in eastern North Carolina, including the Cape Hatteras National Seashore, which encompasses the land around Avon. "Exactly when that happens is not clear."

The Outer Banks have a rich past. Hatteras Island, originally home to members of the Algonquin tribe, is near the site of the so-called lost colony of Roanoke. A few miles north and several centuries later, the Wright brothers flew their first airplane.

And it is the vulnerability to the sea — the very threat Avon is wrestling with today — that, in a twist of fate, helped transform the Outer Banks into a tourist spot, according to Larry Tise, a former director of North Carolina's Division of Archives and History.

In 1899 a terrible hurricane all but destroyed the islands, and the state decided not to spend money developing them. Land speculators later swooped in, snapping up property and marketing the curious local history to attract tourists.

Today, tourism dominates Avon, a hamlet of T-shirt shops and cedar-shake mansions on stilts lining the oceanfront. A few blocks inland sits a cluster of modest older houses, called the Village, shaded by live oaks, Eastern red cedars and wax myrtles. This is where most of the remaining lifelong Avon residents live.

Audrey Farrow's grandfather grew up in Avon and met Ms. Farrow's grandfather when he moved to town as a fisherman in the late 1800s. Ms. Farrow, who is 74, lives on the same piece of land she, and her mother before her, grew up on.

Standing on her porch last week, Ms. Farrow talked about how Avon had changed in her lifetime. Vacationers and buyers of second homes have brought new money but have pushed out locals.

And the ocean itself has changed. The water is now closer, she said, and the flooding more constant. The wind alone now pushes water up the small road where she lives and into her lawn. "If we've had rain with it, then you feel like you've got waterfront property," she said.

From any angle, the reckoning for Avon seems to be drawing nearer.

Over the last decade, hurricanes have caused \$65 million in damage to Highway 12, the two-lane road that runs along the Outer Banks and connects Avon and other towns to the mainland.



When Carole and Bob Peterson bought an oceanfront house in Avon, N.C., in 1997, it was protected by two rows of huge dunes, but years of storms have washed them away. Sam Eggleston, who moved to Avon three years ago, said homes in danger should be moved.



The federal and state governments are spending an additional \$55 million to replace a section of Highway 12 with a 2.4-mile bridge, as the road can no longer be protected from the ocean. Hatteras Island has been evacuated five times since 2010.

County officials turned to what is called beach nourishment, which involves dredging sand from the ocean floor a few miles off the coast and then pushing it to shore through a pipeline and layering it on the beach. But those projects can cost tens of millions of dollars. And the county's requests for federal or state money

to pay for them went nowhere.

So the county began using local money instead, splitting the cost between two sources: revenue from a tax on tourists, and a property tax surcharge on local homes. In 2011, Nags Head became the first town in the Outer Banks to get a new beach under that formula. Others followed, including Kitty Hawk in 2017.

Ben Cahoon, the mayor of Nags Head, said that paying \$20 million to rebuild the beach every few years was cheaper than buying out all the beachfront homes that would otherwise fall into the sea. He said he could imagine an-

other two or three cycles of beach nourishment, buying his city 20 or 25 more years. After that, he said, it's hard to guess what the future holds.

"Beach nourishment is a great solution, as long as you can afford it," Mr. Cahoon said. "The alternative choices are pretty stark."

Now the county says it's Avon's turn. Its beach is disappearing at a rate of more than six feet per year in some places.

During the meeting last month, Mr. Outten described Avon's needs. As the beach disappears, even a minor storm sends ocean water across Highway 12. Eventu-

ally, a hurricane will push enough water over that road to tear it up, leaving the town inaccessible for weeks or more.

In response, the county wants to put about one million cubic yards of sand on the beach. The project would cost between \$11 million and \$14 million and, according to Mr. Outten, would need to be repeated about every five years.

That impermanence, combined with the high cost, has led some in Avon to question whether beach nourishment is worth the money. They point to Buxton, the next town south of Avon, whose beach

got new sand in 2018, paid for through higher taxes. Now most of that sand has washed away, leaving a beachfront motel and vacation rentals teetering over the water.

"Every bit of it's gone," Michael David, who grew up in Avon and owns a garage in Buxton, said during last month's meeting. "We're just masking a problem that never gets fixed."

Speaking after the meeting, Mr. Outten defended beach nourishment, despite its being temporary. "I don't think we can stop erosion. I think we can only slow it down," he said.

In interviews with more than a dozen homeowners in Avon, a frequent concern was how the county wants to divide the cost. People who own property along the beach will benefit the most, Mr. Outten said, because the extra sand will protect their homes from falling into the ocean. But he said everyone in town would benefit from saving the road.

To reflect that difference, the county is proposing two tax rates. Homeowners on the ocean side of the road would pay an extra 25 cents for every \$100 of assessed value — an increase of 45 percent over their current tax rate. On the inlet side, the extra tax would be just one-fifth that much.

Sam Eggleston, a retired optometrist who moved to Avon three years ago from outside Raleigh and bought a house on the western side of town, said even that smaller amount was too much. He said that because Highway 12 is owned by the state, the state should pay to protect it.

If the government wants to help, Mr. Eggleston argued, it should pay people to move their houses somewhere else — a solution he said would at least be permanent. "To keep spending millions and millions of dollars on the beach, to me doesn't make sense," he said.

That view was not shared by people who live on the beach.

When Carole and Bob Peterson bought a house on the ocean in 1997, it was protected from the water by two rows of huge dunes, Ms. Peterson said. Years of storms have washed away those dunes, leaving their 2,800-square-foot home exposed to the water.

Ms. Peterson acknowledged that she and her neighbors would benefit the most from rebuilding the beach. But the rest of the town should be willing to pay for it too, she said, because it protects the jobs and services they depend on. "People that live over there, on that side, don't understand that the beach is what keeps them alive," she said, pointing across the road. "If you don't have this beach, people aren't going to come here."

Audrey Farrow's son, Matthew, a commercial fisherman, said he worried about the future of the place he grew up in. Between the flooding and the demand for vacation homes, which continues to drive up real estate prices, he said, it was getting harder to do a good life in Avon.

"I'm telling my kids already," Mr. Farrow said, "go somewhere else."

'People that live over there, on that side, don't understand that the beach is what keeps them alive. If you don't have this beach, people aren't going to come here.'

CAROLE PETERSON, who argues that rebuilding the beach will protect jobs and services in Avon.



Nags Head was the first town in the Outer Banks to get a new beach by taxing tourists as well as imposing a property tax surcharge.

'The building on Fifth Avenue is something that stands for all of us.'

BRIAN McCABE, a former New York City homicide detective and one in a long line of ousted society leaders.

5th Avenue Symbol Of Irish America Put For Sale, to Uprou

From Page 1

frontation provoked by its executive director, Dr. Cahill's son — and elevated what might be dismissed as an internal squabble to international embarrassment.

"The building on Fifth Avenue is something that stands for all of us," said Brian McCabe, a former New York City homicide detective and one in a long line of ousted society leaders. "This is about a very small group controlling what is held in trust for the Irish in America and around the world."

The Irish government, which has given nearly \$1 million to the society since 2008, has publicly decried the proposed sale, while dozens of prominent artists and business leaders have joined nearly 30,000 others in petitioning the state attorney general to step in.

Dr. Cahill, 84, did not respond to requests for comment, but a society board member and longtime friend of the doctor, Guy L. Smith IV, dismissed the notion of a Cahill-controlled club. He said the sale would allow the society to preserve its extensive library in some undetermined location, and he played down the significance of the mansion the society has called home for 80 years.

"The building is not historically related to the Irish experience," he said. "It's just a nice building on Fifth Avenue."

The mansion at 991 Fifth Avenue is a confection of its era. Built in 1901 for the widow of a wealthy merchant, it eventually passed hands to a steel magnate who had given New York society the vapors by leaving his wife for a musical-comedy actress. After she left him in turn, he lived alone until his death, upstairs, in 1934.

Several years later, the Irish moved in.

The American Irish Historical Society had been founded in 1897 to ensure that the Irish contribution to the American experience was duly recognized. It held large gatherings and published a journal that occasionally leaned into grandiose boasts.

The purchase of the Fifth Avenue building, noteworthy enough for Mayor Fiorello La Guardia to speak at its dedication in 1940, provided suitable space for its books and centuries-old artifacts, including a first printing of the Bible in the Irish language, from 1685.

As the years passed, the foundational fervor waned; the society became an afterthought. The scholar and politician Daniel Patrick Moynihan once described its underused mansion as a "great tomb."

Then, in the mid-1970s, a physician stepped up to tend to the patient: Dr. Cahill, a tropical-disease specialist known for his humanitarian work around the world.

Dr. Cahill's résumé includes treating Pope John Paul II after he was shot in 1981, leading a groundbreaking AIDS symposium in 1983 that countered the prevailing homophobic indifference; and serving as a special adviser to his friend Hugh L. Carey, New York's governor from 1975 to 1982. To his admirers, the doctor was a health care visionary; to his critics, the embodiment of imperious self-regard.

With Dr. Cahill as president-general, the society's profile grew. It held an annual gala at which gold medals were awarded to the likes of President Ronald Reagan, the financier Wilbur L. Ross Jr. and Dr. Cahill himself. And every March, the doctor donned a morning coat and joined a select group of guests in watching the St. Patrick's Day parade from the mansion's terrace — until the city shortened the route a decade ago.

The society became a Cahill bastion. The doctor's son Christopher, now 55, was its well-paid executive director, while relatives — including two other sons — and loyalists peppered the board.

Around 2012, Dr. Cahill asked Thomas Dowling, a partner at Goldman Sachs, to serve as president. Mr. Dowling's parents were neighbors and friends of the Cahills when he grew up on Long Island, and he had made substantial donations to the society, including \$250,000 for a multi-million-dollar restoration of the mansion that had a \$3 million overrun.

Despite the "great honor," Mr. Dowling said, he soon realized that the society was managerially dysfunctional, with limited public purpose or financial transparency. The entire enterprise depended on the success of one event: its annual gala.

"After seeing the shenanigans first hand," Mr. Dowling said, he and the chairman presented a re-

structuring plan to Dr. Cahill. It called for hiring a business manager and reassigning the executive director — the doctor's son Christopher.

"He turned red, got visibly annoyed and said, 'We're not going to run it your way, we're going to run it my way,'" Mr. Dowling recalled.

Mr. Dowling resigned, as did the chairman. A Grounding Day pattern was emerging.

Before long, another board member well established in the business world — Michael Dowling, the president and chief executive of Northwell Health, the state's largest health care provider — was advocating similar reforms. So was an independent contractor, Harry C. Barrett, a former president of New York Medical College.

To no avail. Mr. Dowling, no relation to Thomas Dowling, stepped down in disappointment. And Mr. Barrett was abruptly fired, after which he expressed baffled sorrow that his efforts to address the "bad ways" were "so utterly defeated."

Mr. Smith, the society representative, did not deny that a succession of experienced administrators had raised alarms. But he said they had left for failing to raise enough money for the annual dinner — a charge that others vehemently dispute.

"It just didn't work," Mr. Smith said. "The society moved on."

In 2018, the insular society agreed to open the mansion for an Irish Repertory Theater production of "The Dead, 1904." The play, adapted from the Joyce short story by the Irish poet Paul Muldoon and his wife, the author Jean Hanif Korelitz, placed the audience amid a post-Christmas gathering in Edwardian-era Dublin.

The well-received seven-week production generated \$79,000 for the society, showed off its building to celebrities and the well heeled, and fulfilled the goal of promoting Irish culture. Staged again in 2017 and 2018, the play was on the cusp of becoming a holiday tradition.

But in January 2019, during an after-party celebrating the season's final performance, there was an incident. An agitated Christopher Cahill rushed down the mansion's balustraded stairwell and made a beeline for Ciaran O'Reilly, the play's director and co-founder of the Irish Rep.

"He lunged towards me to hit me," Mr. O'Reilly said.

"He was yelling, 'I'm going to kill you, Ciaran!'" recalled Kathleen Begala, the theater company's chairwoman. When she stepped in front of him, she said, Mr. Cahill threatened her as well, after which he was restrained and escorted to the lobby.

Mr. Cahill did not answer requests for comment. Mr. Smith said the executive director's behavior had been prompted by his interpretation — a misinterpretation, it turned out — of how long the Irish Rep could linger after the last performance.

"The response from Chris was overly exuberant," he said.

By this point, the society's new president, a lawyer named James Normile, and its new chairman, Mr. McCabe, the former detective, had already resurrected the familiar call for urgent reorganization. The society, Mr. McCabe later wrote, "was in disarray," with a \$3 million loan owed to one board member.

Their plan called for hiring a director of business and development. Mr. Cahill would be required to seek counseling and assume reduced role of director of cultural and archival affairs — a plan he agreed to in a letter.

The Irish government, which had given the society \$934,000 over the previous decade, also signed on to what it viewed as a much-needed restructuring plan. It agreed to provide \$50,000 for the new business position.

But the plan for reform blew up. Again.

First, an emissary of the Cahill-controlled board notified Mr. Normile that he had been removed as president. ("I almost threw him out of my office," he said.) After that, Mr. McCabe — whom the society had recently applauded for making the 2018 gala a success — was ousted as chairman. "A series of governance lapses by Mr. Normile and Mr. McCabe," Mr. Smith explained.

Also terminated: the new business director, David O'Sullivan, who had presented a plan for revenue streams that included opening the building to exhibitions and special events like weddings.

"This never appealed to the Cahills," he said. "They always wanted to keep the doors locked." Mr. Smith said Mr. O'Sullivan



SARAH BLISSER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



MICHAEL APLETON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The exquisite townhouse at 991 Fifth Avenue has been home to the American Irish Historical Society for 80 years. Built in 1901 for the widow of a wealthy merchant, the home provided suitable space for the society's books and centuries-old artifacts and for large gatherings. Above left, former Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg and Dr. Kevin M. Cahill, president-general of the society, on the balcony.



MICHAEL FALCON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

had been fired because he had "tanked" the upcoming gala by sharing internal documents that tipped off the would-be honoree to the society's struggles, after which the businessman declined the honor. Mr. O'Sullivan scoffed at this, saying the strife was already public knowledge.

Taken back by the turmoil, the Irish government halted payment for the new position, and exercised its contractual right to audit the society's books. Mr. Smith said

the audit merely "had some suggestions of governance," the Irish consulate in New York, though, said the review had identified "significant issues."

Meanwhile, Mr. McCabe and Mr. Normile asked the state attorney general's charity bureau, which oversees nonprofit organizations, to intervene. (Mr. McCabe said last week that he was in contact with the bureau, and that its inquiry remained open. A spokeswoman for the attorney

general declined to say whether the office was investigating the society.)

The fallout continued. The society, now fully returned to Cahill control, notified the Irish Rep that the mansion would not be available for a fourth season of "The Dead, 1904" — even though Mr. O'Sullivan had negotiated a deal that would have increased revenue and exposure for the society.

When asked why the society killed the event, Mr. Smith re-

sponded that "it was determined that it would not work for the society."

In late January, after a year of pandemic-related inactivity, the society put its rare jewel of a mansion on the market for \$52 million. "One for the ages," trumpeted the real estate firm handling the sale, Akin to "acquiring the Holy Grail."

The news horrified the Irish-American community, prompting many to call on the attorney general to halt the sale. Under state law, the sale of property by a nonprofit organization is contingent on the approval of the attorney general or the State Supreme Court.

The Irish parliament's foreign affairs committee and foreign affairs minister, Simon Coveney, urged the society to reconsider. The building, Mr. Coveney said, is "an iconic emblem of Ireland in New York."

The society responded to the parliament last week with a suggestion — that Ireland buy the building.

Meanwhile, various Irish-Americans of means are standing in the wings to salvage the building and, by extension, the society. "There is enthusiasm to fix it," Thomas Dowling said. "But there will be hesitation until the society has sound leadership and sound governance."

For now, the repository of a culture at 991 Fifth Avenue remains closed. And the Irish and American flags that once bracketed its Gilded Age entryway have been removed.



SARA KIRK/WHICH/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Dessert service during the Irish Repertory's production of "The Dead, 1904" at the society in 2016.

White House Rethinks Cybersecurity After Failure to Detect Hackings

This article is by David E. Sanger, Julian E. Barnes and Nicole Perlroth.

WASHINGTON — The sophisticated hacks pulled off by Russia and China against a broad array of government and industrial targets in the United States — and the failure of the intelligence agencies to detect them — are driving the Biden administration and Congress to rethink how the nation should protect itself from growing cyberthreats.

Both hacks exploited the same gaping vulnerability in the existing system: They were launched from inside the United States — on servers run by Amazon, GoDaddy and smaller domestic providers — putting them out of reach of the early warning system run by the National Security Agency.

The agency, like the C.I.A. and other American intelligence agencies, is prohibited by law from conducting surveillance inside the United States, to protect the privacy of American citizens.

But the F.B.I. and Department of Homeland Security — the two agencies that can legally operate inside the United States — were also blind to what happened, raising additional concerns about the nation's capacity to defend itself from both rival governments and nonstate attackers like criminal and terrorist groups.

In the end, the hacks were detected long after they had begun not by any government agency but by private computer security firms.

The full extent of the damage to American interests from the hacks is not yet clear, but the latest, attributed by Microsoft to China, is now revealing a second vulnerability. As Microsoft releases new "patches" to close the holes in its system, that code is being reverse-engineered by criminals groups and exploited to launch rapid ransomware attacks on corporations, industry executives said. So a race is on — between Microsoft's efforts to seal up systems, and criminal efforts to get inside those networks before the patches are applied.

"When not one but two cyber-hacks have gone undetected by the federal government in such a short period of time, it's hard to say that we don't have a problem," said Representative Mike Gallagher, Republican of Wisconsin and a co-chairman of a congressionally mandated cyberspace commission. "The system is blinking red."

The failures have prompted the White House to begin assessing options for overhauling the nation's cyberdefenses even as the government investigates the hacks. Some former officials believe the hacks show Congress needs to give the government additional powers.

But briefing reporters on Friday about the progress of the investigations, senior administration officials said the White House had no plans to urge Congress to rewrite the laws that prevent American intelligence agencies from operating inside America's borders.

One senior adviser to President Biden said, however, that a new structure was needed, one that combined traditional intelligence collection with the talents of private-sector firms.

It was FireEye, a cybersecurity company, that ultimately found the SolarWinds attack organized by Russia, and a small Virginia firm named Velocity that revealed to Microsoft the fact that Chinese hackers found four previously unknown vulnerabilities in their systems, exposing hundreds of thousands of computer servers that use Microsoft Exchange software.

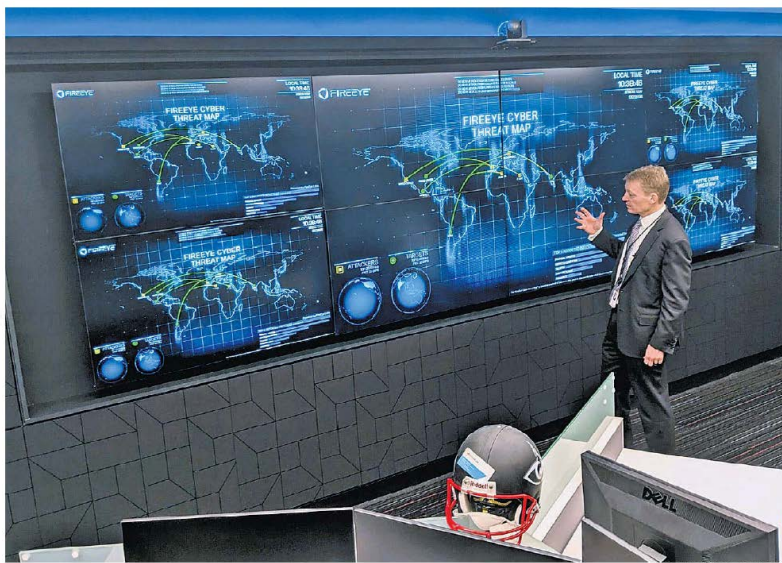
But even as officials try to assemble the lessons of those attacks, the one on Microsoft's systems, used by companies and government agencies, has grown more complex. On Friday, Microsoft warned that cybercriminals are using the back doors Chinese hackers left behind to deploy ransomware, which is used to lock up computer systems until payment is made.

The first efforts to freeze up American systems began Thursday night, Microsoft said, and American officials warned Friday that its customers had limited time, "measured in hours, not days" to patch their systems to avoid a costly nightmare.

Mr. Biden was briefed last week on the effort to seal up the holes in federal defenses, a senior administration official told reporters on Friday, adding that the federal government was in the third week of a monthlong effort to plug holes made obvious by the SolarWinds hack. A presidential order on longer-range fixes is coming.

But the first problem is detecting attacks — and there the United States has enormous work to do.

America's foremost hacking teams and digital defenders reside in Fort Meade, Md., home to the National Security Agency and its military counterpart, United States Cyber Command. Over more than a decade, with billions



NATHAN ELGREN/ASSOCIATED PRESS



TOM WILLIAMS/COMMITTEE VIA GETTY IMAGES



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Clockwise from top: Kevin Mandia, C.E.O. of FireEye, which detected the SolarWinds hack; Jake Sullivan, National Security Adviser, said an investigation of the Microsoft hack is underway; Representative Mike Gallagher, right, said, "When not one but two cyber-hacks have gone undetected by the federal government in such a short period of time, it's hard to say that we don't have a problem."

of dollars in new technology, they have littered foreign networks with various forms of "beacons" that give them access to detect attacks as they are coming together or begin.

But, like missile defense, that is hardly an impermeable shield. And foreign actors have begun to identify America's blind spot: If hackers can assemble an attack from inside America's borders, the U.S. government's best hunt teams can be blindsided.

"The N.S.A. cannot operate in the domestic infrastructure," retired Adm. Michael S. Rogers, the former director of the agency, said on Friday at the Kellogg School of Management at Northwestern University. "You can't defend something you can't see."

But there is no political appetite to reverse decades of limits on intelligence agencies to monitor and

Project Maven, a Pentagon effort to use artificial intelligence to make its drones more accurate.

Amazon, in contrast, has no such compunctions about sensitive government work: It runs the cloud server operations for the C.I.A. But when the Senate Intelligence Committee asked company officials to testify last month — alongside executives of FireEye, Microsoft and SolarWinds — about how the Russians exploited systems on an American sail to launch their attacks, they declined to attend.

Companies say that before they share reporting on vulnerabilities, they would need strong legal liability protections.

The most politically palatable headquarters for such a clearinghouse — avoiding the legal and civil liberties concerns of using the National Security Agency — would be the Department of Homeland Security's Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency. Mr. Gerstell described the idea as "automated computer sensors and artificial intelligence acting on information as it comes in and instantaneously spitting it back out."

The department's existing "Einstein" system, which is supposed to monitor intrusions and potential attacks on federal agencies, never saw the Russian attack underway — even though it hit nine federal departments and agencies. The F.B.I., lawmakers say, does not have broad monitoring capabilities, and its focus is divided across other forms of crime, counterterrorism and now domestic extremism threats.

"I don't want the intelligence agencies spying on Americans, but that leaves the F.B.I. as the de facto domestic intelligence agency to deal with these kinds of attacks," said Senator Angus King, a Maine independent, member of the Senate Intelligence Committee and co-chairman of the cyberspace commission. "I'm just not sure they're set up for this."

There are other hurdles. The process of getting a search warrant is too cumbersome for tracking nation-state cyberattacks, Mr. Gerstell said. "Someone's got to be able to take that information from the N.S.A. and instantly go take a look at that computer," he said. "But the F.B.I. needs a warrant to do that, and that takes time by which point the adversary has escaped."

Another obstacle is the slowness of identifying attackers. While the director of national intelligence concluded that the SolarWinds attack, carried out last year, was "likely" Russian in origin, a definitive assessment is not expected until this week or next. Only then can the United States respond with sanctions or cyber-operations — nearly a year after the attack began.

"The thing that worries me in both of these cases, too, is just how slowly we tend to attribute, and respond," Mr. Gallagher said.

On Friday, Jake Sullivan, the

president's national security adviser, told reporters that an investigation was underway to identify who was behind using the hack of the Microsoft systems to spy on

law firms, infectious disease research, universities, military contractors, think tanks and other targets. Microsoft has already said the hackers were a Chinese, state-backed group.

Last month, in the days before Microsoft released an emergency patch for vulnerable Exchange Servers, multiple state-backed Chinese groups were apparently tipped off that the company was testing a patch. They began going on vulnerable systems with a speed and aggression that some security experts said they had never seen before.

It is unclear how exactly these Chinese groups learned of Microsoft's patch, but the timing suggests they caught wind of the moves when Microsoft rolled out a test version of its patch to its security partners at cybersecurity firms in late February.

Eighty companies participate in a longstanding partnership with Microsoft, known as the Microsoft Active Protections Program, including 10 Chinese firms. Microsoft confidentially alerts these companies to emerging cyberthreats and vulnerabilities ahead of its official patch cycle. The company is investigating whether one of its partners may have leaked to Chinese hackers or was itself hacked.

Microsoft said that if it determined a leak was responsible for the spike in attacks, the responsible partners would "face consequences."

The attacks forced Microsoft to release its patch one week early, on March 2. Within a week, the number of vulnerable Exchange servers dropped from 400,000 to 100,000, according to RiskIQ, an internet security company.

Now, however, 32,000 servers are still awaiting updates. Among these still vulnerable are more than 400 state, local and federal government entities in the United States — including more than a dozen servers run by federal agencies — according to an analysis by RiskIQ, a cybersecurity risk ratings company. The Biden administration has said nothing about the scope of federal vulnerability.

If the government is able to attribute the Microsoft attack to the Chinese, Mr. Gallagher said, there are "a variety of things we could do to inflict pain" on the government in Beijing.

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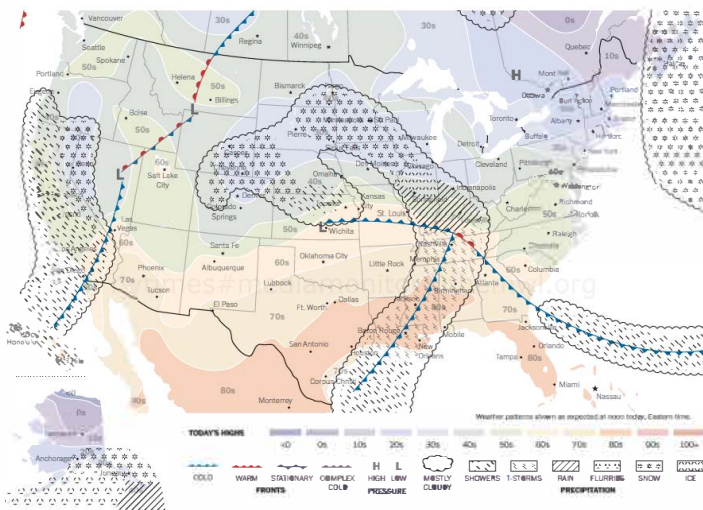
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In Mayor's Race, Adams Wins Union Backing and Sutton Withdraws

This article is by Emma G. Fitzsimmons, Dana Rubinstein, Andy Newman and Jeffery C. Mayes.

Labor leaders are throwing their weight behind Eric Adams in the New York City mayoral race. Mr. Adams, the Brooklyn borough president, has won three major labor endorsements in the past two weeks, cementing his status as one of the top candidates in the crowded Democratic primary field.

As Mr. Adams rose, one of the first women to join the race dropped out, and the campaigns pushed to qualify for public matching funds. Andrew Yang, the former presidential candidate, announced over the weekend that he had raised an impressive fund-raising haul.

Here is what you need to know:

Key Labor Endorsements

Mr. Adams is making the case that he is the candidate for working-class New Yorkers.

"We are building a blue-collar coalition that will deliver results for the New Yorkers who need them the most," Mr. Adams said last week.

He has received support from three unions: Local 32BJ of the Service Employees International Union, which represents about 85,000 building workers in New York; the Hotel Trades Council, which has nearly 40,000 members in the hotel and gaming industry; and the District Council 37 Executive Board, the city's largest public employees union, representing 150,000 members and 50,000 retirees.

The string of endorsements shows that some Democrats believe Mr. Adams has the best chance of beating Mr. Yang, who has been leading the field in recent polls.

While Mr. Adams has secured some of the city's most coveted labor endorsements, Maya Wiley, a former counsel to Mayor Bill de Blasio, was recently endorsed by Local 1199 of the S.E.I.U. The powerful United Federation of Teachers has not yet picked a candidate. Scott Stringer, the New York City comptroller, had been a contender for the 32BJ endorsement, according to the union president, Kyle Bragg.

"But this is more than just about friendships," Mr. Bragg said, adding that the union had to consider who had "the strongest path to victory."

Long-shot Bid Comes to an End
For Larry Sutton, the retired Army brigadier general who withdrew from the mayor's race on Wednesday, the turning point came in late February when a state judge rejected a lawsuit



Eric Adams, the Brooklyn borough president, has won three major labor endorsements in the last two weeks.



The campaign for Maya Wiley, a former counsel to Mayor Bill de Blasio, declined to release its fund-raising figures.



Andrew Yang, the former presidential candidate, announced over the weekend that he had raised more than \$2.1 million.

seeking to limit in-person petition-gathering during the coronavirus pandemic. Candidates must gather a certain number of signatures in person in order to get their names on the ballot.

"I just would not go out and do

in-person petition-gathering under these circumstances," Ms. Sutton said. It was, she said, a matter of "public health principle."

Her mayoral bid was always a long shot. The former commissioner for the City's Department of

Veterans' Services, she had little in the way of political experience or name recognition. She was running as a law-and-order moderate in a primary that tilts left.

Some advisers had encouraged her to run as a Republican, but doing so would have felt inauthentic, she said. Centrism, she argues, remains an essential part of the Democratic Party.

But early on there were signs that her brand of moderation would be unwelcome.

She was excluded from an early Democratic forum because she had argued that protesters should be required to obtain city permits.

She campaigned on the importance of public safety and rejected calls to defund the police, a posture that seemed out of step with many of her competitors.

"Some of the worst atrocities in human history have taken place under the misconception that somehow we can create a utopian society," she said.

In the end, Ms. Sutton pulled out of the race having raised only \$200,000.

She has yet to decide when she will endorse, but she was complimentary of Kathryn Garcia, the former Sanitation Department commissioner, who is running as a pragmatist. And she has not ruled out running for office again someday.

"It's the journey of a lifetime," she said.

How to Fix Public Housing

At a mayoral forum on housing on Thursday, a tenant leader at a city public-housing complex, Damaris Reyes, challenged the candidates: "I want to know if you will commit to preservation of public housing, and how you will repair trust and empower resident decision-making."

The 175,400 apartments in the city's public housing system have been sliding into disrepair for decades, with the price tag for replacing leaky roofs, old heating systems, broken elevators and other problems now estimated at \$30 billion to \$40 billion.

But the city's proposal to fund the repairs by using a program that would hand over management of tens of thousands of apartments to private developers has been greeted with skepticism. Many New York City Housing Authority residents fear their apartments would be privatized, leading to rent increases and evictions.

At the housing forum, hosted by the latest news channel NY1, two candidates with experience running housing systems said the city's plans provided a realistic platform.

Ms. Garcia, who served as in-

terior commissioner of NYCHA in 2015, said the blueprint would let the city leverage federal money that was already available. She said she could win over skeptics by taking them on tours of the Queens Bay complex in Queens, where a private landlord has been making repairs. "You know who the best spokespersons are?" she asked. "The people who have actually had their apartments renovated."

Shaun Donovan, who ran the city's department of housing preservation under Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg and who served as President Barack Obama's commissioner of housing and urban development, said that partnering with the federal government provided "the only pathway where we can truly get to scale."

Mr. Donovan's plan also calls for the city to kick in \$2 billion a year and includes job-training programs for NYCHA residents who would be hired to do much of the work, he said.

Mr. Yang has promoted his own \$45 billion — and entirely federally funded — "green new deal" for NYCHA. To combat Kathryn Garcia's "massive trust deficit," the city should "make NYCHA residents the majority of the board of NYCHA itself," he has said.

Public Money Rolls In

Five candidates now say they have qualified for public matching funds, and a sixth may qualify soon.

At the latest donation deadline last week, Mr. Yang proved that he is a strong fund-raiser. He reported that he had met the matching-funds threshold by raising more than \$2.1 million from 15,600 individual donors in the 57 days that he has been in the race.

"With 100 days left, we have built the foundation and energy to win," Mr. Yang's campaign managers said in a statement.

To qualify for public matching funds, a candidate must raise \$250,000 from at least 1,000 New York City residents. These donations are matched at either an \$8 to \$1 rate or \$6 to \$1 rate, depending on which plan the candidate chose for a maximum of \$1,400 to \$2,000 per contributor.

Mr. Donovan reported meeting the threshold, which would bring his total to \$4 million. Ms. Garcia reported meeting the threshold by raising over \$300,000 in matchable contributions.

The fund-raising leaders have also continued to rake in public dollars. Mr. Adams and Mr. Stringer, the only two candidates who have received matching funds so far, reported having raised a total of more than \$9 million each once matching funds were factored in.

Ms. Wiley, who announced that she had met the threshold last period before an audit from the Campaign Finance Board determined that she had not, declined to release fund-raising figures. Her campaign was waiting on a ruling Monday from the board.

Raymond J. McGuire, a former banking executive who shook up the race when he raised \$5 million in three months, is not participating in the public funds program. His campaign said he had raised another \$2.6 million since the last filing period.

According to campaign finance rules, if a nonparticipating candidate raises or spends more than half of the \$7.8 million spending limit, the spending cap could be increased by 50 percent. Matthew Sollars, a spokesman for the board, said a determination on an increased spending cap would be made late next month.

Looking for the Latino Vote

Little known fact about Scott Stringer, who is white and Jewish: His stepfather immigrated from Puerto Rico as a toddler, his stepfamily is Latino and, partly on that basis, he hopes to win the Latino vote in the mayoral election.

"Buenos dias a todos," Mr. Stringer said on Sunday in Upper Manhattan, as he formally kicked off his "Latino agenda," not far from the Washington Heights neighborhood where he grew up. His stepfamily joined him and lauded his record, character and intelligence. "Scott is simpático," said Carlos Cuevas, Mr. Stringer's stepbrother, a lawyer.

Mr. Stringer's efforts at highlighting his family to identify with a particular constituency is not a novel one. Mr. de Blasio relied heavily on his African-American wife and biracial children in his 2013 run for mayor. At a forum about Jewish issues, Ms. Wiley, whose father was African-American and mother was white, made a point of noting that her partner is Jewish and the son of Holocaust survivors.

The Latino vote — which is far from monolithic — is coveted, representing about 20 percent of the New York City electorate.

The mayor's race has several candidates of Latino descent: Diane Morales, the former executive of a nonprofit, and Carlos Menchaca, a councilman from Brooklyn, both of whom are Democrats; and Fernando Mateo, a Republican. None responded to requests for comment on Mr. Stringer's Latino voter push. The same day Mr. Stringer was rolling out his agenda, his competitor Mr. Yang made his pitch to Spanish language viewers of Telemundo.

As Cuomo Reels, Vaccine Czar Works Phones to Rally Support, Raising Eyebrows

From Page A1

day with the state attorney general office's public integrity bureau, about a possible ethics violation by the governor's office, according to an official with direct knowledge of the complaint.

Mr. Schwartz insisted in a statement on Sunday that he had never mixed Covid-response policy with political considerations, noting that "distribution and the administration of vaccines in New York State is based on a clear formula."

"All decisions regarding vaccines are done based on public health considerations, not politics," Mr. Schwartz said. "At no time has politics ever entered into the discussion or decision-making regarding vaccines. I have never discussed vaccines in a political context, and anyone who thinks that is seriously mistaken."

Beth Garvey, the acting counsel to the governor, praised Mr. Schwartz for working "night and day to help New York through this pandemic," and rejected any intimations from the county executives of improper politicking.

"Any suggestion that he acted in any way unethically or in any way other than in the best interest of the New Yorkers that he selflessly served is patently false," Ms. Garvey said.

The disclosure of Mr. Schwartz's phone calls comes as Mr. Cuomo is engaged in a fight for his political survival unlike any he has confronted in his decades in politics.

A string of women have made accusations against him, including groping, sexual harassment and other inappropriate behavior, and their claims are being investigated by independent lawyers overseen by the state attorney general. The governor has denied touching anyone inappropriately. Mr. Cuomo has faced a fusillade of calls for his resignation that, on Friday, also included dozens of Democratic members of the State Assembly, though that chamber remained a bulwark between the governor and impeachment.

The speaker, Carl E. Heastie of the Bronx, announced last week that the Judiciary Committee would investigate the issue. But neither Democrats nor Republicans in that chamber have the votes to impeach Mr. Cuomo and force a trial in the State Senate,



New York Governor Andrew Cuomo walking with his daughter at the Governor's Mansion on Friday. Larry Schwartz, left, a former top aide, remains a trusted ally.



JUAN LAMARQUE/REUTERS/PHOTO VIA GETTY IMAGES

where the majority leader, Andrea Stewart-Cousins, has said Mr. Cuomo should resign.

With the exception of minor legislative issues, the Democrats, who rule the 150-member Assembly by a more than two-to-one ratio, never move a bill or measure to a vote without having a simple majority — 76 votes — among their own party members.

For impeachment to proceed, backers of such a move would need to reach that level of support among Democrats, but are still short of that threshold. The 43 Republicans in the chamber, most of whom are in favor of impeachment, are not being considered in the calculus.

The Assembly investigation — and a parallel inquiry overseen by the state attorney general, Letitia James — could take months to complete, effectively buying the governor time to repair his battered public image. And the governor, his supporters and his aides have, in fact, worked to shore up support behind the scenes. A Democratic political operative who has been a longtime ally of the governor, Charlie King, has in recent days solicited public comments urging that the investigations be given time to be completed.

For most of his tenure, Mr. Cuomo has relied on a close set of advisers who act as both political

enforcers and point people on government operations. In February, The New York Times reported that at least nine top officials in the state Health Department had resigned or retired during the pandemic as Cuomo aides acted without their input or expertise.

Mr. Cuomo had made it clear, in public and private comments, that he believed state public health officials had no understanding of how to conduct a large-scale operation like vaccinations, and that his close aides, who like Mr. Schwartz did not have public health experience, could do a better job.

Mr. Schwartz, who is unpaid, has been in charge of vaccination planning, a position that puts him in frequent contact with local officials.

Indeed, the two county executives they spoke of on the condition of anonymity because they did not want to endanger their local vaccination efforts.

The phone calls by Mr. Schwartz, who for much of the pandemic has lived with Mr. Cuomo in the Governor's Man-

sion, put on stark display the political concern for Mr. Cuomo, who has long held a dominant place in state politics, and just a year ago was well on his way to becoming a hero of the pandemic, with soaring approval ratings.

Now, however, he faces a struggle to simply hold onto his job, arguing that he has a unique skill set to guide the state through the end stages of the pandemic, and pleading for New Yorkers to await the outcome of the two separate investigations into his behavior.

"I'm going to avoid distractions, and I'm going to focus on my job," he said on Friday, noting the state's budget was due soon. "I have to rebuild the state."

But many other New York Democrats believe that the governor has lost his mandate and ability to lead.

"I got to tell you, the folks in this state and the political leadership don't believe in him anymore," Mayor Bill de Blasio, a frequent political foe, said on CBS's "Face the Nation" on Sunday, reiterating a call for Mr. Cuomo to resign. "He's holding up our effort to fight Covid. He's literally in the way of us saving lives right now."

The news of Mr. Schwartz's calls to county executives also gave fresh ammunition to Republicans, the minority party in Albany, which has seen a sliver of political hope in the possibility of Mr. Cuomo's fall.

"I've said it numerous times, but I'll say it again: @NYGovCuomo hasn't been following the medical science," State Senator Rob Witt, the minority leader, said on Sunday on Twitter. "He's been following the political science."

The seeming mixing of politics and the state's vaccination program threatened to further complicate Mr. Cuomo's efforts to forge ahead with the day-to-day business of government despite the deep uncertainty about his future.

It also threw a spotlight on a county executive who had been an official in recent months: that the Cuomo administration may have viewed its central over the scarce supply of vaccines doled out by the federal government as a means to reward or punish local officials.

Not every county executive received a call. Many county executives in the state are Republican, and several who were reached on

Friday said that Mr. Schwartz had not called them to discuss politics or the governor. A third county official confirmed that Mr. Schwartz had called to gauge the official's opinion of Mr. Cuomo's political straits, but said the issue of vaccination had not come up.

Beyond the accusations of sexual harassment by Mr. Cuomo, his administration is also being investigated by federal prosecutors for its handling of nursing homes during the pandemic. Several of Mr. Cuomo's top aides, including his most senior adviser, Melissa DeRosa, directed the state's Health Department to remove figures on residents' deaths from a report on nursing homes, a Times investigation found.

Days after the report appeared in early July, Mr. Cuomo discussed writing a book about his pandemic

Timing of a call about vaccine distribution prompts a complaint.

leadership for the first time. The book became a best seller after its release in October, but last week his publisher said it would no longer be promoting the title and would not issue it in paperback because of the investigation.

Mr. Cuomo has rejected calls for him to resign, though the governor has admitted to making remarks that might have been construed as "unwanted flirtation." In a defiant news conference on Friday, the governor said he was resigning would be tantamount to "bowing to cancel culture" and lashed out at lawmakers for "reckless and dangerous" statements about him needing to step aside.

Still, by the end of the day on Friday, these endorsements at the end of the Cuomo administration included Senators Chuck Schumer and Kirsten Gillibrand, both of whom have been allies of the governor in the past.

That same day, Mr. Cuomo was photographed outside the Governor's Mansion in Albany, where he has grown increasingly isolated, a blanket thrown over his shoulders, a cellphone pressed to his ear.

Proud Boys Got Bigger as Police Looked Away

From Page 1

Elizabeth Neumann, an assistant secretary for threat prevention in the Department of Homeland Security who left last year. “The Proud Boys are just the ‘guys that drink too much after the football game and tend to get into bar fights’ type of people — people that never looked or organized enough to cause serious national security threats.”

Although law enforcement agencies cannot investigate political groups with out reasonable suspicion of a crime, some former officials said they were surprised by the Proud Boys’ apparent impunity.

“They committed violence in public, used videos of that violence to promote themselves for other rallies and then traveled across the country to engage in violence again,” said Mike German, a fellow at the Brennan Center for Justice at New York University and a former F.B.I. agent who worked undercover among right-wing groups. “How that didn’t attract F.B.I. attention is hard for me to understand.”

Local police officers have appeared at times to side with the Proud Boys, especially when they have squared off against leftists openly critical of law enforcement. Some local officials have complained that without guidance from federal agencies, their police departments were ill equipped to understand the dangers of a national movement like the group.

“It has largely been left to the locals to sort things out for themselves,” said Mitchell Silber, the former director of intelligence analysis at the New York Police Department.

To pre-empt violence by other far-right groups, federal authorities have often used a tactic known as the “knock and talk.” Agents call or confront group members to warn them away from demonstrations, sometimes reviving past criminal offenses as leverage.

Christopher Wray, the F.B.I. director, told a Senate committee this month that agents had done that in the run-up to a pro-Trump rally in Washington on Jan. 6 that preceded the Capitol assault. They contacted “a handful” of people already under criminal inquiry to discourage attendance, he said.

Enrique Tarrío, the chairman of the Proud Boys, said that federal agents had called or visited him on eight or so occasions before rallies in recent years. But it was never to pressure him to stay away.

Instead, he said in an interview, the agents asked for march routes and other plans in order to separate the Proud Boys from counterprotesters. Other times, he said, agents warned that they had picked up potential threats from the left against him or his associates.

But before the Jan. 6 event, no one contacted the leaders of the Proud Boys, Mr. Tarrío said, even though their gatherings at previous Trump rallies in Washington had been marred by serious violence.

“They did not reach out to us,” he said.

‘Disavow, Disavow, Disavow’

In summer 2017, neo-Nazis, Klansmen and other white supremacists gathered in Charlottesville, Va., to announce their resurgence at the “Unite the Right” rally. Its organizer, Jason Kessler, was a member of the Proud Boys.

The group had been founded a year earlier by Gavin McInnes, now 50, the co-creator of the far-right outlet Vice. (The company has long since severed all ties.) He was a Canadian turned New Yorker with a record of statements attacking feminists and Muslims, and he often expressed a half-ironic appetite for mayhem. “Can you call for violence generally?” he once asked in an online video. “Cause I am.”

The Proud Boys had been volunteering as body guards for right-wing firebrands like Ann Coulter and Milo Yiannopoulos and frequently clashed with left-wing crowds, especially at college campuses. Proud Boys “free speech” rallies in bastions of the left like Seattle, Portland or Berkeley, Calif., routinely ended in street fights.

Yet Mr. McInnes founded the Unite the Right gathering, saying in an online video: “Disavow, disavow, disavow.” By his account, the Proud Boys were not white supremacists but merely “Western chauvinists.” That stance helped the Proud Boys evade scrutiny from federal law enforcement.

The rally turned violent — a participant drove his car into a crowd of counterprotesters, killing one and injuring more than a dozen — setting off a broad repudiation of the groups that attended.

Despite Mr. McInnes’s cautions, several prominent Proud Boys attended, including Mr. Tarrío, the current chairman, who was photographed blowing kisses to a crowd of counterprotesters. But members cite his role to argue that the Proud Boys are not racially exclusive: Mr. Tarrío’s background is Afro-Cuban, making him one of the rare nonwhite faces in the group.

The group, whose total membership is unknown but believed to be in the thousands, has never articulated a specific ideology or dogma. Its rallies, though, feature hyper-nationalist chants about immigration, Islam and Mr. Trump. Members have lionized Augusto Pinochet, the Chilean dictator, and their events often appear to be thinly disguised pretexts to bait opponents into confrontations.

Indeed, the Proud Boys have made little effort to hide violent intentions. In fall 2018, for example, members of a New England chapter posted notes on the online service Venmo as they paid their monthly dues and transportation costs to an October “Resist Marxism” rally in Providence, R.I.

The event would quickly degenerate into brawls, just what some of the Proud Boys had anticipated.



DAVID J. PHILLIP FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

“October blood money and bus,” one wrote with his payment.

“Night wing atrocities,” wrote another. “Helicopter fuel. Those filthy commies are not going to push themselves out of helicopters,” quipped a third, alluding to Pinochet’s practice of executing dissidents by dropping them from the air.

The payments even revealed that one member of that chapter was a police officer: Kevin P. Wilcox of East Hampton, Conn. (He did not post violent messages.)

After a complaint from the Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, the police department said the officer’s affiliation with the Proud Boys did not violate its policies, in part because it was not considered a white supremacist group. Officer Wilcox, now retired, could not be reached for comment.

“We tried to bring attention to the Proud Boys’ violence back then,” said Megan Squire, a computer scientist at Elm University who documented the Venmo transactions. “Nobody listened.”

Career officials in federal enforcement have complained that the Trump administration sought to divert investigative resources toward poorly defined threats from the left, such as the movement of violence-prone activists known as antifa.

Despite those distractions, the officials note, federal agents worked undercover for months last year to arrest members of a secretive neo-Nazi group, the Base. Prosecutors have accused members of the Base of detailed plots to murder a married couple for supporting antifa and to inject violence into a gun rally in Virginia, all with the aim of triggering a racial civil war.

The E.B.I. later broke up a group of militants accused of planning to kidnap Michigan’s governor, Gretchen Whitmer. An informant recorded them conspiring during an armed intrusion into the Michigan statehouse to protest Covid-19 stay-at-home orders.

Unlike with those groups, federal law enforcement officials said, no evidence emerged that the Proud Boys had plotted murders, kidnappings, gun crimes or — apart from Jan. 6 — insurrection.

Yet the Proud Boys’ belligerence fit the definition of terrorism, other officials said: unlawful violence and intimidation for political aims. Members raised money to travel across state lines to dozens of rallies with the intent of street fighting, at least once explicitly targeting a Muslim community in upstate New York for harassment — activities that could have justified the scrutiny of federal law enforcement.

A spokesman for the F.B.I. declined to comment on the group.

Some former officials said that the failure to recognize the threat of the Proud Boys was a blind spot in the culture of law enforcement that transcended the Trump administration. “If the Proud Boys was not a white male chauvinist club but a Black male chauvinist club, I think that, sadly, we would have seen a different policing posture,” said Ms. Neumann, the former Homeland Security official.

Municipal police, without federal guidance, took a piecemeal approach, occasionally arresting Proud Boys for egregious violence but more often simply showing the gang along.

About a week after the October 2018 clashes in Providence, members of the group set up protesters outside a speech Mr. McInnes was giving at the Metropolitan Republican Club in Manhattan. Two of the Proud Boys were eventually convicted of assault and sentenced to four years in prison.

Critics argued that such arrests were rare because police generally favored the Proud Boys over their left-leaning opponents. Mr. McInnes apparently agreed.

“I have a lot of support in the N.Y.P.D.,” he said, without evidence, in an online video shortly after the arrests, “and I very much appreciate that.”

After a Philadelphia rally by Vice President Mike Pence last year, officers



ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Proud Boys stood guard as Joseph Biggs, with microphone, spoke at a rally in September in Portland, Ore., top. Mr. Biggs got his start on the far right working as an Infowars correspondent. Dominic Pezzola, a member of the Proud Boys, breached the Capitol holding a police shield, above.

‘If the Proud Boys was not a white male chauvinist club but a Black male chauvinist club, I think that, sadly, we would have seen a different policing posture.’

ELIZABETH NEUMANN, former assistant secretary for threat prevention in the Homeland Security Department

at a members-only police union bar mingled inside with about 10 Proud Boys wearing their distinctive regalia. When members of the group confronted journalists who were lingering outside, The Philadelphia Inquirer reported, the police asked the Proud Boys if they were OK.

‘A Very Soft Civil War’

Mr. Nordean became one of the group’s marquee stars, mainly through a viral video of his 2018 knockout punch in Portland.

An amateur body builder who had once trained to be a Navy SEAL, Mr. Nordean was working at his family’s chowder restaurant near Seattle when he first encountered the Proud Boys in 2017, during a scuffle in the city with immigrant-rights demonstrators.

He quickly began to see Proud Boys street fights as part of a much loftier contest.

“You start to kind of develop this feeling that these people are no longer Americans per se but they are kind of anti-American,” Mr. Nordean later told the conspiracy theorist Alex Jones on his Infowars program, calling the struggle “a very soft civil war.”

Mr. Nordean adopted the nom de guerre “Ruffo Panman,” after a character in the Peter Pan movie “Hook.” About the same time, he went into business with a local police officer, Trevor Davidson, selling fitness supplements. (Although there is no evidence that he aided the Proud Boys, the Renton Police Department is investigating how much the officer knew of Mr. Nordean’s involvement.)

In June 2018, Mr. Nordean went to Portland, where the Proud Boys had repeatedly clashed with local leftists. After a so-called Freedom and Courage rally at a federal building, dozens of members marched around the block to confront waiting counterprotesters.

Video footage showed Mr. Nordean shoving one to the ground before another, David Busby, approached with a metal baton.

By then a street-fighting veteran, Mr. Nordean had put shin guards on his forearms to prepare for combat. Deflecting the baton with one arm, he delivered a right hook to Mr. Busby’s jaw that knocked him unconscious, then threw the man to the ground. Mr. Busby was hospitalized with a “significant concussion,” a police report noted.

Proud Boys websites replayed the video incessantly, calling it “the punch heard round the world.”

“I just love how you giant-roundhouse-right-hook and then shove him down so his head hits the pavement — that probably hurt him worse!” Mr. Jones exulted in an interview with Mr. Nordean, adding, “It’s so exciting!”

On six Facebook pages the group used to vet new recruits, the number of prospective members jumped more than 70 percent over the next 30 days, adding more than 820 potential Proud Boys, said Cassie Miller, a researcher at the Southern Poverty Law Center. The number of active chapters around the country exploded, increasing from three in 2017 to about 44 by the end of 2018, according to a count by the center.

Two other Proud Boys were arrested that day for violence during previous clashes. But Mr. Nordean was not. He “claimed he exercised his right to defend himself and others,” the police report noted. The department declined to comment, as did Mr. Nordean’s lawyer.

Mr. Nordean said on Infowars that he could tell the Portland police despised



JEFF KOWALSKI/AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

The incursion at the Michigan statehouse last April has been seen as a prelude to the Capitol riot. Militiamen there were recorded plotting to kidnap the governor.



JONAH SCHOENFELD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



JOHN MITCHELL FOR ASSOCIATED PRESS

Gregory Johnson, top, is a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party. A law enforcement officer took Mr. Johnson into custody after he started to burn an American flag, above, at the 2016 Republican National Convention in Cleveland. Video indicated Mr. Biggs had started the melee.

the counterprotesters but left the fighting to the Proud Boys. The police, he added, were caught “in between doing what’s right and getting in trouble” because they were “entangled in a whole bunch of politically correct things.”

The ‘Thin Blue Line’

Mr. Biggs, the future Proud Boys leader who attacked the flag burner in Cleveland, was a barrel-chested Army veteran who had served in Afghanistan and Iraq. He got his start on the far right working as an Infowars correspondent, which is how he encountered Mr. Nordean and the Proud Boys.

Mr. Biggs’s record of violence predated his affiliation with the group. He was arrested in North Carolina on a domestic violence charge in 2007; prosecutors dropped the case after his wife failed to appear as a witness. He was convicted of resisting arrest in South Carolina in 2012 and sentenced to probation. And he was arrested in early 2016, accused of assaulting a security officer outside his apartment in Austin, Texas.

He boasted on Infowars that the Texas episode was a struggle against tyranny, but his account raised questions. He and a girlfriend had come home “tipsy” after drinking shots with a friend, he said, and he angrily refused a security guard’s instructions to keep the noise down and to go inside. The two men fought until the police arrived. But a grand jury declined to bring charges.

A few weeks later, Mr. Biggs was at the Republican convention in Cleveland as a correspondent for Infowars when he attacked the flag burner, Gregory Johnson, now 64.

A member of the Revolutionary Communist Party, he had been the plaintiff in the landmark 1989 Supreme Court case *Johnson v. Texas*, which established that the First Amendment protected flag burning.

Although video recordings indicated that Mr. Biggs started the melee by pummeling Mr. Johnson, a police officer said in an affidavit that Mr. Johnson “caused two media members to get burned by the fire” — Mr. Biggs and an Infowars colleague.

“He is a fascist,” Mr. Johnson said of Mr. Biggs in an interview.

A lawyer for Mr. Biggs declined to comment.

The Trump adviser Roger J. Stone Jr., an Infowars regular, introduced Mr. Biggs to Mr. Tarrio, the Proud Boys chairman, and by 2019 he had started helping him organize events.

There was another flag-burning incident. On July 4, 2019, Mr. Biggs helped lead a Proud Boys rally in front of the White House to protest a demonstration by Mr. Johnson and fellow Communist Party members.

The Proud Boys attacked the flag burners, but the Metropolitan Police Department instead arrested Mr. Johnson and another Communist, on assault and other charges. The police then escorted the Proud Boys to a nearby bar. Several officers were captured on video exchanging fist bumps with one of them. Department officials said they found “insufficient facts” to identify any policy violation.

A month later, in August, Mr. Biggs helped organize an “End Domestic Terrorism” rally in Portland. He posted a series of social media messages threatening leftist counterprotesters, including photos of him wielding a huge spiked baseball bat emblazoned with Mr. Trump’s slogan, “Make America Great Again.”

F.B.I. agents pulled Mr. Biggs and Mr.



VICTOR J. BLUE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Proud Boys burned a Black Lives Matter banner torn from a church in Washington in December. Mr. Biggs then chanted with the crowd as he led them to a bar.

Tarrio aside at the Portland airport but did not ask them to tone down the posts or stay away from the rally, the Proud Boys chairman recalled.

Instead, he explained, the agents warned the two Proud Boys of threats against them from antifa activists. (The Portland police separated the antagonists, avoiding major violence.)

At the end of the year, as Mr. Trump was trying to overturn his election loss, Mr. Biggs and Mr. Tarrio marched at the head of hundreds of Proud Boys during a pro-Trump “Stop the Steal” rally in Washington. That night, members stole a Black Lives Matter banner and burned it in the street.

In video footage, Mr. Biggs urged the crowd of Proud Boys to celebrate by drinking. As he led them to a bar, he chanted, “I like beer!” — a Proud Boys inside joke alluding to testimony by Justice Brett M. Kavanaugh during his Supreme Court confirmation.

Mr. Biggs’s mood changed after a tumultuous night of street clashes. Two Proud Boys were stabbed, and he grew angry at the police for failing to more actively defend the Proud Boys.

“We are the ones that back you!” he yelled through a megaphone at a phalanx of riot officers. “That thin blue line is getting thinner and thinner.”

The Washington police arrested Mr. Tarrio on Jan. 4, questioning him about the banner burning and charging him with illegal possession of two high-capacity magazines for an AR-15 (each stamped with the Proud Boys rooster logo). But the authorities released him on condition he stay out of the District of Columbia during the Trump rally two days later. No other Proud Boys were arrested in connection with the incident.

Take Back ‘Your House’

The Proud Boys made no effort to hide their anticipation of political violence in the weeks leading up to Jan. 6. “If there ever was a time for there to be a second civil war, it’s now,” Mr. Biggs wrote in a blog post shortly after the election. “Buy ammo, clean your guns, get storable food and water.” In December, he helped spread the word on social media that when the Proud Boys showed up in Washington, they should do so not in their customary black-and-yellow polo shirts but “incognito.”

Mr. Nordean, meanwhile, used social media to solicit donations for “protective gear” and “communications equipment,” court papers say. After Mr. Tarrio was expelled from Washington, according to prosecutors, the Proud Boys tapped Mr. Nordean to assume “war powers” and lead them at the Capitol. (It is unclear exactly what “war powers” referred to.)

The 100-strong mob behind Mr. Biggs and Mr. Nordean was almost certainly the single largest organized group that took part in the attack, and prosecutors said its members spearheaded the violence. One Proud Boy, Dominic Pezzola, armed with a riot shield he had stolen from the police, was among the first to shatter a window and break into the Capitol, court papers say.

“Do you want your house back? Take it!” urged another Proud Boy, William Christman, clad in military gear and wielding an ax handle.

Federal agents have now executed search warrants on Proud Boys in four states, scoured members’ social media accounts and dug into their private communications. Prosecutors have so far accused 10 members of crimes including destruction of government property and threatening a federal officer. They are now seeking to link as many as possible in an overarching conspiracy indictment.

Agents came for Mr. Biggs on Inauguration Day, arresting him in Florida only hours before President Biden was sworn in.

When agents came for Mr. Nordean two weeks later, court papers say, they raided his home in the Seattle suburbs with assault rifles and flash-bang grenades.

A History of Violence

2007

Joseph Biggs is arrested in North Carolina on a domestic violence charge. Prosecutors drop the case when his wife fails to appear as a witness.

2012

Mr. Biggs is convicted of resisting arrest in South Carolina and sentenced to probation.

2016

Mr. Biggs is accused of assaulting a security officer and arrested. No charges are brought. A few weeks later, he is at the Republican convention in Cleveland as a correspondent for Infowars. He clashes with a protester who was burning a flag. The police charge the flag burner with assault, and the city later pays a \$225,000 settlement over accusations the police violated the protester’s civil rights.

2017

Ethan Nordean first encounters the Proud Boys, founded by Gavin McInnes in 2016, at a skirmish with immigrant rights demonstrators in Seattle.

2018

Mr. Nordean is seen on video punching a counterprotester and slamming him to the ground in Portland, Ore. Police charge the counterprotester, who had tried to stop Mr. Nordean with a metal baton. The video of the punch propels Mr. Nordean into Proud Boys stardom with the help of Infowars.



Ethan Nordean fought with a protester and left him with a concussion, the police said.

2019

After becoming acquainted with Enrique Tarrio, the Proud Boys chairman, Mr. Biggs helps lead a Proud Boys rally in front of the White House in July.

In August, Mr. Biggs helps organize another rally, this time in Portland, Ore. He posts aggressive messages on social media threatening counterprotesters.



The head of the Proud Boys, Enrique Tarrio, with Joseph Biggs at a rally in Portland, Ore.

2020

Mr. Trump refuses to condemn the Proud Boys at a debate, which the group sees as an endorsement of their violence.

In December, Mr. Biggs marches at a pro-Trump rally challenging the election results. A group of Proud Boys steals a Black Lives Matter banner and burns it. Two Proud Boys are stabbed during clashes with opponents, and Mr. Biggs is seen yelling at riot police for failure to protect the group.



President Donald J. Trump told the Proud Boys to “stand back and stand by” during a debate.

2021

Many members of the Proud Boys are under investigation in the aftermath of the Jan. 6 attacks on the Capitol, including Mr. Biggs and Mr. Nordean, who face some of the most serious charges.

Opinion

The New York Times

EDITORIAL

The Fighter Jet That's Too Pricey to Fail

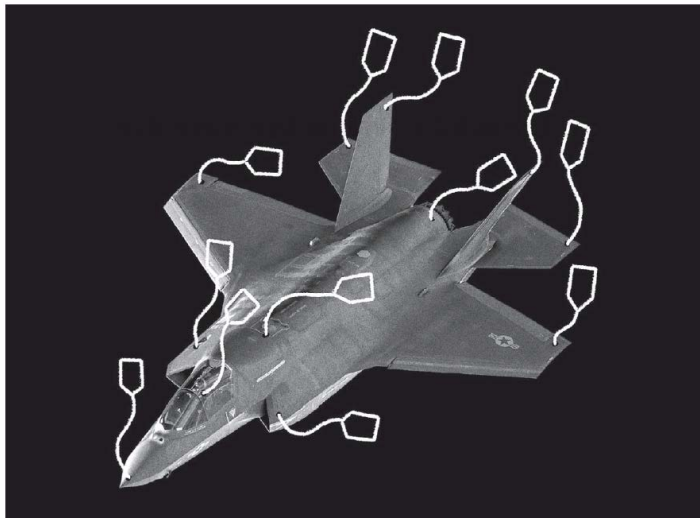


ILLUSTRATION BY THE NEW YORK TIMES. PHOTOGRAPH BY VALLA GAZDAR

This month, the new head of the House Armed Services Committee, Representative Adam Smith, said that the F-35 fighter jet was a "rathole" draining money. He said the Pentagon should consider whether to "cut its losses." That promptly set off another round of groaning about the most expensive weapon system ever built, and questions about whether it should — or could — be scrapped.

Conceived in the 1990s as a sort of Swiss army knife of fighter jets, the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter was meant to come as a conventional fighter for the Air Force, as a carrier-based fighter for the Navy and as a vertical-landing version for the Marines. The problems, and there were lots of them, set in early. All three versions of the plane ended up at least three years behind schedule, and sharing less than a quarter of those already built need updates; hundreds of defects are still being corrected; the jet is so expensive to maintain that it costs around \$36,000 per hour to fly (compared with \$22,000 for an older F-16). At the current rate, it will cost taxpayers more than \$1 trillion over its 60-year life span.

So, kill the monster and start looking for alternatives? Or declare it too big to fail and make the best of it?

Last month, the Air Force chief of staff, Gen. Charles Brown Jr., gave his answer when he said that the F-35 should become the Ferrari of the fleet: "You only drive it on Sundays." For other days, Air Force officials recently said they were exploring less expensive options, including new F-16s, low-cost tactical drones or building another fighter from scratch. But the F-35 is here to stay, General Brown insisted, saying: "The F-35 is the cornerstone of what we're pursuing. Now we're going to have the F-35, we're getting it out, and we're going to have it for the future."

Representative Smith — a Democrat whose Washington constituency includes Boeing, which was beat out for the F-35 contract by Lockheed Martin — acknowledged in an interview that there was no easy way to get rid of the F-35.

The reasons are many: Contractors on the project are scattered among so many states that Mr. Smith would find few congressional allies for scrapping it. Several NATO and Asian allies have already bought into the F-35. Developing a new fighter from scratch would be prohibitively costly, and the F-35 replaces too many older planes for which there is no ready alternative. Older fighters in the American fleet simply lack the stealth needed in modern warfare.

Plus, as more F-35s are churned out, the price is dropping — the tag on the Air Force version has already slid below \$80 million, less than some other advanced fighter planes. As problems are eliminated, the fighter is arguably doing better than some of the criticism suggests — the Marines have used it in Afghanistan, the Air Force in Iraq, and

Israel in Syria. Whatever its flaws, the F-35 is a sophisticated plane, capable of generating a dynamic image of the battlefield that can be shared with friendly forces. Its cutting-edge helmet for the pilot melds imagery from many sensors into a single picture — though that, too, took a while to get right.

In short, the F-35, whatever it makes of it and however overpriced, is here to stay for a few more decades as a deterrent in the skies against a resurgent Russia and a rising China. But as General Brown suggested, the program should be scaled sharply down below the 1,763 planes the Air Force is supposed to get — especially as currently there are not enough available air bases for so many — and complemented with a mix of less expensive, older fighters and drones for more routine tasks, like patrolling American skies or hammering insurgents who pose no threat to a high-flying jet.

The F-35 is a boondoggle. But we're stuck with it for a few more decades as a deterrent in the skies against Russia and China.

The Pentagon carries the primary responsibility for figuring out how to move ahead. But Congress must also resume the sort of close monitoring of the F-35 and other major programs that John McCain practiced as chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee. In 2016, he labeled the F-35 program a "scandal and a tragedy with respect to cost, schedule and performance," and he regularly grilled Defense Department officials at congressional hearings. Taxpayers need to know what they're getting when they plunk down so many billions.

There's no need for a scapegoat. The F-35 was conceived in a different era when the notion of a one-size-fits-all fighter jet seemed a good way to save money. But after two decades of development, the fighter flew into a world whose geopolitics and military challenges were far different from those for which it was conceived. It is essential not to repeat the mistakes that led to the mess.

Trying to replace four different airframes for three different service branches with one fighter was an obvious mistake. Another was attempting to develop too many technologies at the same time, which resulted in long delays when progress on one front disrupted planning for others. Above all, the time for developing a fighter cannot be the decades it took to bring out the F-35. There will always be new battlefields to contend with and new technical problems to solve; all sorts of new concepts are already on the horizon, including drones operated by artificial intelligence. A shorter schedule and smaller budget would allow for quicker innovation, and would prevent projects from becoming too pricey to fail.

travel was slashed in half, our faces were stuck in screens, and yet many of the companies used to spending boatloads on travel are doing just fine.

Hence my regret for past ramblings. After a year of videoconferencing and suffering little for it, I look back on the profligacy of my pre-pandemic air travel with embarrassment. I think about my lost productivity and personal time, my boss's money and the pollution spewing from my plane as it jetted to that very important event in Key West.

OK, I don't really think about my boss's money. Still: Mexico City, Austin, Hyderabad, D.C. How many of those trips would have been unnecessary if I'd only Zoomed?

My estimate runs somewhere between most and all. Aviation is a modern miracle; it is also expensive, annoying and environmentally costly. Now that videoconferencing has been shown to be an acceptable way to get work done, there's no reason to quit it when the virus is gone. We can all afford to be much more judicious about traveling for work, even if Zoom isn't perfect.

I say "we" because the airports and hotels on my less-than-necessary trips weren't empty. Americans took more than 400

million trips for work in 2019. A lot of my fellow travelers were likely wondering, as I was, whether the benefits of each particular jaunt justified the expense and inconvenience.

I spoke to several erstwhile road warriors — mainly salespeople — who told me they were often of two minds about their nomadic ways. On the one hand, flying was terrible. A round-trip cross-country

Videoconferencing is good enough to replace a lot of pointless business travel.

flight takes up most of two days just getting there. Then there's the unhealthy eating, the poor sleep, the drinking.

But what choice was there? For years, it has been a truism that face-to-face meetings are far better than videoconferencing, for obvious reasons. They foster deeper relationships and perhaps better group decision-making.

"I grew up in a sales culture that said, 'You want to close a deal, you go get in front of the client,'" said Darren Marble, an entrepreneur based in Los Angeles

who used to travel to New York every other week. When the pandemic hit, he didn't know how he'd do business. "Working at home was antagonistic to everything I'd learned over my career," he said. But in the Zoom era, everything worked out. In fact, Marble told me, 2020 was a "breakout year"; his firm, Crush Capital, recently raised more than \$3 million from over 30 investors, all through Zoom. "Rapport is overrated," Marble said.

That sounded jib, but several other former frequent fliers said something similar. Jack Duhamel, a software salesman who moved to a Connecticut fishing town during the lockdown, told me about a sale he'd made to a company based in Eastern Europe. The deal started cold; Duhamel had no prior relationship with the company. But over a series of more than a dozen Zoom meetings over four months, a big sale came together.

"In years past, we would have had to fly there and make a whole thing of it," he said.

I've felt something similar with video calls. They're obviously not as intimate as face-to-face meetings, but they're not that much worse. And the virtual era has its own advantages. It's faster, it's cheaper and you're not stuck in a middle seat for

five hours.

When there's climate change, an inescapable cost of flying. Aviation accounts for just about 25 percent of the world's carbon dioxide emissions, but for complex reasons airplane emissions actually contribute more to warming the planet than their carbon output would suggest. Another problem is the per-use cost of flying; just one long round-trip flight can produce more carbon, per passenger, than the average person in many countries produces in a year. One round-trip trans-Atlantic flight is almost enough to wipe out the gains you might get from living car-free for a year, according to one estimate.

Suzanne Neutang, the CEO of the Global Business Travel Association, said airlines are working on ways to make their flights carbon neutral. Her group predicts business travel will return to 2019 levels by 2025, but when it does, she says, it may have much less environmental impact. "It doesn't have to necessarily come back in the same way," she told me.

But I'm skeptical. It will likely be decades before the aviation industry becomes carbon neutral, if it ever does. In the meantime, we've found a perfectly reasonable alternative to meeting up in person. Log in, and fly less. □

LETTERS

Is Too Much Choice Ruining Us?

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Too Much Choice Is Hurting America," by Paul Krugman (column, March 2).

While our digital world was expected to simplify our lives and leave us freer for discretionary activities, it has led instead to ubiquitous frustration and paralysis. What was once simple now involves 15 steps with uncertain success (think phone answering menus). What was once routine now requires study and perseverance (think "smart TV").

Requests for assistance typically demand arduous computer "chat" sessions or long waits to speak in person to a different expert whose perfect but tone-deaf English and scripted courtesy unsuccessfully camouflage an inability to truly assist.

While the complexity may be unavoidable in light of our goals, much of it can be made more navigable by more thoughtful programming and greater respect for human limitations, both intellectual and emotional.

MICHAEL SCHUBERT, TEANECK, N.J.

The writer is a psychologist.

TO THE EDITOR:

I agree with Paul Krugman that sometimes we have too many choices. It is certainly true in health insurance. The only reason to have more than one plan to choose from is that you can't afford the good one. But where we really want a choice in health care is of doctor and hospital. This is what you would get with Medicare for All or, in New York, with the NY Health

Act. And both of these would give everyone the same guaranteed, very comprehensive, lifelong "platinum plan."

ELIZABETH R. ROSENTHAL, LARCHMONT, N.Y.

The writer is a retired dermatologist.

TO THE EDITOR:

What Paul Krugman leaves unsaid is who actually gets to choose given our "limited ability to process information." Answer: the well-educated, well-positioned elites like Mr. Krugman himself.

This conceit has been the essential component of collectivist movements from the beginning. We're incapable of knowing what's best for us, so our intellectual betters should decide.

I'll cast my lot instead with those who have to live with the consequences of their decisions, not the so-called experts who are insulated when making the wrong call. Freedom to choose means more freedom, not less, regardless of what people with the right degrees and awards might tell you.

STEVEN D. ANDERSON, SACRAMENTO

The writer is president and chief executive of the Pacific Legal Foundation.

TO THE EDITOR:

A good metaphor for too much choice is an email ad I recently received about tennis rackets.

Wilson is among several other companies that make more than 30 models each.

Besides never being able to try all of them, unless your last name is Federer or Nadal, you would lack the expertise to tell the difference between them.

MICHAEL MAREK, FORT LAUDERDALE, FLA.

Holocaust Remembrance

TO THE EDITOR:

"Of Nazis, Crimes and Punishment," by Margaret Renkl (Op-Ed, March 9).

For survivors, like those in our museum's Speakers Bureau, the Holocaust is not some vague, far-off memory. They continue to live with the trauma, and their testimonies include detailed recollections of the horrors they faced, even 75 years later.

Friedrich Karl Berger, the subject of the essay, recently deported to Germany by the United States for taking part in Nazi war crimes, shows no remorse and appears to believe that the passage of time absolves him of any responsibility. At the same time, many survivors and their descendants have made lifelong, multigenerational commitments to remember and share their stories. Why should Mr. Berger be allowed to forget?

The thought of deporting or incarcerating a 95-year-old man may make some uncomfortable, but it is a necessary discomfort to be reminded that the Holocaust did not happen all that long ago but within many of our lifetimes. Today's work is to ensure that it never happens again, and that requires accountability.

JACK KLIGER, NEW YORK

The writer is president and chief executive of the Museum of Jewish Heritage: A Living Memorial to the Holocaust and the site of Holocaust survivors.

FARHAD MANJOO

Do You Really Need to Fly?

ONCE FLEW round-trip from San Francisco to London to participate in an hour-long discussion about a book. Another time it was San Francisco-Hong Kong-Hong Kong-Singapore and back again for two lunch meetings, each more lunch than meeting. I went to Atlanta once to interview an official who flaked out at the last minute. And there was that time in Miami: three days, 5,000 miles, hotel, rental car — and on the way back a sinking realization that the person I'd gone to profile was too dull for a profile.

I confess to this partial history of gratuitous business travel knowing that I'll be screenshot and virally mocked. Check out the New York Times columnist whining about all the fabulous trips he's had to endure!

But I'll accept the flagellation, for I see now how I've sinned. We are a year into a pandemic that has kept much of the world grounded. Yet in many sectors that once relied on in-person sessions, big deals are still getting done, sales are still being closed and newswriters can't quit networking.

Face-to-face interactions were said to justify the \$14 trillion spent globally on business travel in 2019. In 2020, business

travel was slashed in half, our faces were stuck in screens, and yet many of the companies used to spending boatloads on travel are doing just fine.

Hence my regret for past ramblings. After a year of videoconferencing and suffering little for it, I look back on the profligacy of my pre-pandemic air travel with embarrassment. I think about my lost productivity and personal time, my boss's money and the pollution spewing from my plane as it jetted to that very important event in Key West.

OK, I don't really think about my boss's money. Still: Mexico City, Austin, Hyderabad, D.C. How many of those trips would have been unnecessary if I'd only Zoomed?

My estimate runs somewhere between most and all. Aviation is a modern miracle; it is also expensive, annoying and environmentally costly. Now that videoconferencing has been shown to be an acceptable way to get work done, there's no reason to quit it when the virus is gone. We can all afford to be much more judicious about traveling for work, even if Zoom isn't perfect.

I say "we" because the airports and hotels on my less-than-necessary trips weren't empty. Americans took more than 400

million trips for work in 2019. A lot of my fellow travelers were likely wondering, as I was, whether the benefits of each particular jaunt justified the expense and inconvenience.

I spoke to several erstwhile road warriors — mainly salespeople — who told me they were often of two minds about their nomadic ways. On the one hand, flying was terrible. A round-trip cross-country

Videoconferencing is good enough to replace a lot of pointless business travel.

flight takes up most of two days just getting there. Then there's the unhealthy eating, the poor sleep, the drinking.

But what choice was there? For years, it has been a truism that face-to-face meetings are far better than videoconferencing, for obvious reasons. They foster deeper relationships and perhaps better group decision-making.

"I grew up in a sales culture that said, 'You want to close a deal, you go get in front of the client,'" said Darren Marble, an entrepreneur based in Los Angeles

who used to travel to New York every other week. When the pandemic hit, he didn't know how he'd do business. "Working at home was antagonistic to everything I'd learned over my career," he said. But in the Zoom era, everything worked out. In fact, Marble told me, 2020 was a "breakout year"; his firm, Crush Capital, recently raised more than \$3 million from over 30 investors, all through Zoom. "Rapport is overrated," Marble said.

That sounded jib, but several other former frequent fliers said something similar. Jack Duhamel, a software salesman who moved to a Connecticut fishing town during the lockdown, told me about a sale he'd made to a company based in Eastern Europe. The deal started cold; Duhamel had no prior relationship with the company. But over a series of more than a dozen Zoom meetings over four months, a big sale came together.

"In years past, we would have had to fly there and make a whole thing of it," he said.

I've felt something similar with video calls. They're obviously not as intimate as face-to-face meetings, but they're not that much worse. And the virtual era has its own advantages. It's faster, it's cheaper and you're not stuck in a middle seat for

five hours.

When there's climate change, an inescapable cost of flying. Aviation accounts for just about 25 percent of the world's carbon dioxide emissions, but for complex reasons airplane emissions actually contribute more to warming the planet than their carbon output would suggest. Another problem is the per-use cost of flying; just one long round-trip flight can produce more carbon, per passenger, than the average person in many countries produces in a year. One round-trip trans-Atlantic flight is almost enough to wipe out the gains you might get from living car-free for a year, according to one estimate.

Suzanne Neutang, the CEO of the Global Business Travel Association, said airlines are working on ways to make their flights carbon neutral. Her group predicts business travel will return to 2019 levels by 2025, but when it does, she says, it may have much less environmental impact. "It doesn't have to necessarily come back in the same way," she told me.

But I'm skeptical. It will likely be decades before the aviation industry becomes carbon neutral, if it ever does. In the meantime, we've found a perfectly reasonable alternative to meeting up in person. Log in, and fly less. □

CHARLES M. BLOW

Democrats Repent for Bill Clinton

BILL CLINTON WAS a charismatic Southern governor — extraordinarily at ease around nonwhite people and possessing a preternatural social sensibility — who became a remarkable president. He knew how to make people feel positive and hopeful, to make them feel seen and heard.

He was a gifted politician, a once-in-a-generation kind of prodigy, and many liberals adored him for it.

But Clinton's record, particularly with respect to Black and brown Americans and the poor, was marked by catastrophic miscalculation. It was characterized by tacking toward a presumed middle — "triangulation," the administration called it — which on some levels, abandoned and betrayed the minority base that so heavily supported him.

Two major pieces of Clinton-signed legislation stand out: The crime bill of 1994 and the welfare reform bill of 1996.

I view the crime bill as disastrous. It flooded the streets with police officers and contributed to the rise of mass incarceration, which disproportionately impacts Black men and their families. It helped to drain Black communities of fathers, uncles, husbands, partners and sons.

A 2015 New York Times Upshot analysis of 2010 census data found that there were 1.5 million "missing" Black men between the ages of 25 and 54, comparing the totals of Black men and women who were not incarcerated. According to the report: "Using census data, we estimated that about 625,000 prime-age Black men were imprisoned, compared with 45,000 Black women. This gap — of 580,000 — accounts for more than one-third of the overall gap."

It continued: "It is the result of sharply different incarceration rates for Black men and any other group. The rate for prime-age Black men is 8.3 percent, compared with 1.6 percent for nonblack men, 0.5 percent for Black women and 0.2 percent for nonblack women."

The 2010 figure is just a snapshot in time. It doesn't fully account for the decades of destruction wreaked by the crime bill.

But in the last decade, the party and Clinton himself have been forced to admit the failures of the bill and to work to rectify it. As Clinton told the N.A.A.C.P. in 2015, "I signed a bill that made the problem worse, and I am sorry to admit it."

Part of the goal of the bill was to blunt Republican criticisms that Democrats were soft on crime, so the bill gave permission for Democrats across the country to engage in a sort of criminal justice policy and punishment arms race with Republicans, each group attempting to be more draconian than the other.

He and the party have been forced to admit his administration's failures.

Black bodies and Black communities were the casualties of this struggle.

Then there was the welfare reform bill, which Clinton promised would "end welfare as we know it." One of its central provisions was block-grant assistance to the states.

As Clinton said when the bill was passed: "Today the Congress will vote on legislation that gives us a chance to live up to that promise, to transform a broken system that traps too many people in a cycle of dependence to one that emphasizes work and independence, to give people on welfare a chance to draw a pay check, not a welfare check."

On the day Clinton signed the bill, Marian Wright Edelman, the founder of the Children's Defense Fund and Hillary Clinton's longtime mentor, released a statement that read, "President Clinton's signature on this pernicious bill makes a mockery of his pledge not to hurt children."

Some thought the bill had early successes. But that wouldn't last.

As the Center for Budget and Policy Priorities pointed out in 2020, the block grant to states "has been set at \$16.5 billion each year since 1996; as a result, its real value has fallen by almost 40 percent due to inflation."

Furthermore, only a fraction of the money goes to income assistance, and state-set benefit levels are low and "do not enable families to meet their basic needs," the report outlines. It continues: "The wide variation in benefit levels across states exacerbates national racial disparities because many of the states with the lowest benefits have larger Black populations. Fifty-five percent of Black children live in states with benefits below 20 percent of the poverty line, compared to 40 percent of white children."

With the passage of the "American Rescue Plan," the Democrats, alone, took another major step away from the mistakes of the Clinton legacy by increasing aid to families with children and to workers.

As The Times reported on Saturday, "Whether the new law is a one-off culmination of those forces, or a down payment on even more ambitious efforts to address the nation's challenges of poverty and opportunity, will be a defining battle for Democrats in the Biden era."

Either way, it is a distancing from the Clinton doctrine.

Clinton is rightly regarded a political genius, with a gift for masking the complex plain — "putting the hay down where the goats can get it," as we Southerners say — but he made some huge mistakes for which his party must repent, and that party is well down that road. □



PHOTOGRAPHS BY DAMON WINTER, THE NEW YORK TIMES

Why Is Space Command Moving?

Diane McWhorter

AS UNCOMMON as it is for the White House to worry about where the Pentagon puts its people and hardware, President Biden may need to follow the example of his predecessor and take a hard look at the site selection for U.S. Space Command. It tells a tale of two cities, Colorado Springs and Huntsville, Ala., and reveals a lot about our modern-day season of stunt guilottes and Trumpist trevolutions.

The Trump administration's decision to move Space Command — the Defense Department's coordinating body for space-related military operations — from Colorado Springs to Huntsville came one week after the congressman from Huntsville, Mo. Brooks, took the stage at President Donald Trump's last stand rally on Jan. 6, invoked the patriotic ancestors who "sacrificed their blood, their sweat, their tears, their fortunes and sometimes their lives" and rasped at the crowd, "Are you willing to do what it takes to fight for America?"

Rumors of Trumpian *quid pro quo* ensued, especially from Aerospace Alley in Colorado, which seemed to have the advantage of incumbency over five other contenders. (Space Command was based in Colorado Springs from 1985 to 2002 and was deactivated for 17 years before being revived. It is not to be confused with Mr. Trump's military legacy, Space Force, the littlest branch of the armed services.)

Was the Huntsville pick Mr. Trump's thank-you to Mr. Brooks, the very first member of Congress to declare, in December, that he would challenge Mr. Biden's victory on Jan. 6? Or perhaps bug off to Colorado for repudiating Mr. Trump along with Cory Gardner, the Republican senator, last November?

The Defense Department's inspector general has agreed to review the transfer, which won't occur until 2026 at the earliest. But even if the study finds that Huntsville beat out Colorado Springs on the merits, would the Biden administration have cause to rescind the move? Or put another way, should law-abiding taxpayers be asked to send their government's treasure to a district whose chosen representative was at the fore of the government's attempted overthrow (or

whatever that was)?

Roughly half of Huntsville's economy already comes from federal spending, and most of that money is dedicated to the defense and security of the United States. Yet for 10 years, the city has been represented in Congress by an antigovernment nihilist whose crusade has ultimately endangered democracy itself. The riot fueled by Mr. Brooks's big lie of a stolen election also contributed to the death of one of its constituents and resulted in the arrest of another North Alabama man, a military veteran whose truckload of weaponry included machetes and a crossbow with bolts.

Reasonable Americans might ask whether our national security should be entrusted to a community in which significant portions of the work force may not believe that Mr. Biden is the legitimate commander in chief. (When I asked Mr. Brooks by email whether he considered Mr. Biden the legitimate president, he did not answer the question.)

History advises that collective punishment is rarely a good teacher. That is why Huntsville should try to live up to its reputation as the forward-looking, high-tech standstill in an underdeveloped Heart of Dixie and redeem itself through a little enlightened self-interest. As the 2020 election deniers found their precedent in the Compromise of 1877, which anointed President Rutherford B. Hayes and not coincidentally ended Reconstruction, Huntsville could begin a reverse process of self-Reconstruction by rejecting Confederate politics and bringing them in line with its Union purpose.

Huntsville has long had an exceptional attitude toward the rest of the state. Even Mr. Brooks plays into the local "most Ph.D.s per capita" urban legend as the nerd-demagogue with a degree in politics and economics from Duke.

There's no question that Huntsville is competent to host Space Command. It has called itself the Rocket City since the 1950s, when Wernher von Braun and the German engineers who built Hitler's V-2 rocket — the first long-range ballistic missile — were imported to make missiles for the U.S. Army. The group had switched over to NASA by 1961, when John F. Kennedy decided the United States should send a man to the moon, which happened in 1969, courtesy of the German-American team's Saturn V rocket.

Huntsville's Marshall Space Flight Center was the biggest of the Apollo-boom NASA installations in the so-called Space Crescent of federal money leveraged to the Southland — scything from Cape Canaveral, Fla., to the Manned Spacecraft Center in East Texas. The reason Houston gets to hear about the problem is undoubtedly related to its being in the home state of Lyndon B. Johnson. Especially as a senator and as vice president, he helped shape the space program as an agent of economic reconstruction; he expected social progress to flow from it throughout the South. His presidency's civil rights program, after all, was also framed in economic terms, as a War on Poverty.

Among the grinding obstacles to Johnson's aspirations was George C. Wallace, Alabama's "Segregation forever!" governor and Mr. Trump's John the Baptist. In the fall of 1964, it was impossible in Alabama to vote to re-elect the sitting president. (The Democratic electors were unpunged, meaning, basically, that they would vote in the Electoral College for whomever Wallace told them to.)

And so after a visit with Alabama business leaders that October, NASA's head, James Webb, threatened to pull high-level Marshall personnel — and their portion of the multimillion-dollar payroll — out of the state. The practical reason was that von Braun could not recruit talent to a place so egregious on civil rights. And on a personal note, Webb was not crazy about how unappreciative Alabama was toward the government that fed it.

NASA's Marshall Space Flight Center stayed intact, thanks in good part to Huntsville's impressive advocates in Congress. Its former representative, John Sparkman, was the junior senator to the still powerful Franklin Roosevelt point man Lister Hill and had been Adlai E. Stevenson's running mate on the 1952 Democratic ticket. Representative Robert Jones was a stoic Johnson ally — and later a key sponsor of the 1972 Clean Water Act (undermined by Mr. Trump).

The reason you probably haven't heard of them is that their more positive legacies were eclipsed by their racist votes. Still, when Johnson gave him permission to expediently open his poverty bill, Jones replied, "My conscience won't let me." Decades later, his suc-

cessor, Mr. Brooks, consulted his conscience after the sacking of the Capitol and found that "fascist ANTIFA" was likely to blame.

Not surprisingly, the local committee of business leaders and state officials that wooed Space Command to Huntsville "did not coordinate our efforts with Congressman Brooks," as a Chamber of Commerce spokesman told me by email. But historically, the educated, white-collar Alabamians that are Huntsville's proud base have tended to regard their more deplorable politicians as harmless if not useful.

Consider one of Mr. Brooks's largest donors, the law firm of McDaniel & McDaniel. One of its co-founders, Mark McDaniel, is a Democrat turned self-described "very moderate Republican" who currently recognizes the legitimacy of Mr. Biden's election — "Oh, absolutely I do," he told me, adding, "I don't think it was a hoax, and Covid is real."

Even so, he said he does not intend to "bail out" his friend. "Mr. Brooks is just a decent human being," he said, plus the two guarded each other on rival basketball teams in high school. Shortly before Mr. Trump left office, Mr. Brooks announced the president's appointment of Mr. McDaniel to a U.S. Agency for International Development advisory board.

And what of Mr. Brooks's top corporate donors, including the household names of the military-industrial complex? Asked if they would follow the lead of the other

An Alabama congressman's district thrives on federal funds.

brand-name companies that have pledged to withhold cash from Congress's election-rejection caucus, Lockheed Martin and Boeing would not commit to anything beyond a pause in political contributions. Northrop Grumman did not respond to several inquiries.

As for the homegrown defense contractors behind Mr. Brooks — Radiance Technologies, Torch Technologies and Davidson Technologies — it may require some bottom-line blowback from the congressman's free-enterprise extremists to make them appreciate the democracy that has so enriched them.

Perhaps they would take their representative more seriously if the Biden administration decided to take his antigovernment talk literally and withdrew — along with the 1,400-job prospect of Space Command — the Army Materiel Command, the E.R.I.'s so-called second headquarters and NASA, which is overseeing the launch vehicle for the coming Artemis lunar missions (and employs Mr. Brooks's son).

The stakes of enabling Mr. Brooks increase as the unbound congressman — facing a censure resolution from House colleagues and a lawsuit filed by Representative Eric Swalwell against him, Donald Trump, Donald Trump Jr. and Rudy Giuliani — eyes the Senate seat that Alabama's quasi-independent senior senator, Democrat turned Republican Richard Shelby, is vacating in 2023. A win would make Mr. Brooks the junior senator to his election-defying confederate Tommy Tuberville, the civically illiterate former football coach who also carried Huntsville's Madison County in November.

While the inspector general is evaluating the Space Command decision, Colorado Springs may want to order up some blue #uspaceCOM T-shirts to replace the MAGA red ones the local Chamber of Commerce distributed for Mr. Trump's visit there last year. Colorado is hardly Alabama, what with two Democratic senators and an openly gay governor.

But Doug Lamborn, the congressman from Colorado Springs, is his state's answer to Mo Brooks: anti-gay, anti-PBS, anti-"wvcon Christmas." He voted against certifying Mr. Biden's election on Jan. 6, after the Capitol was stormed by his constituents. Klete Keller, who was an Olympic swimmer, and Robert Gieswein, who is suspected of being a Three Per-

center. Given the long reach of Trumpism and the reluctance of multinational defense industries to take a stand against even a hypothetical Senator Mo Brooks, Alabama is beginning to look like a state of mind without borders. □

DIANE MCWHORTER, who is writing a book about Huntsville and the Cold War space race, is the author of "Carry Me Home: Birmingham, Alabama: The Climactic Battle of the Civil Rights Revolution."



The U.S. Space and Rocket Center's recreation of Wernher von Braun's office.



The future site of U.S. Space Command in Huntsville, Ala.

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The tax evasion case of a private equity firm's founder spurred a disconcerting lack of interest from investors.



The powerful editor of Bild, Europe's largest newspaper, took a leave of absence after misconduct allegations.



Creating products used by millions of people doesn't make tech executives fortunetellers.

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Business

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17 Reasons for Hope On the Economy



JORDY VAN DEN NIEUWENHUIJ

The economic planets appear to be aligning in favor of a roaring recovery after the pandemic.

By NEIL IRWIN

The 21st-century economy has been a two-decade series of punches in the gut. The century began in economic triumphalism in the United States, with a sense that business cycles had been vanquished and prosperity secured for a blindingly bright future. Instead, a

mild recession was followed by a weak recovery followed by another weak recovery followed by a pandemic-induced collapse. A couple of good years right before the pandemic aside, it has been two decades of overwhelming inequality and underwhelming growth — an economy in which a persistently weak

job market has left vast human potential untapped, helping fuel social and political dysfunction.

Those two decades coincide almost precisely with my career as an economist's writer. It is the reason, among my colleagues, I have a reputation for writing stories that run the gamut from

CONTINUED ON PAGE B2

Gas Prices May Be \$4 By Summer

By CLIFFORD KRAUSS

HOUSTON — Even as oil and gasoline prices rise, industry executives are resisting their usual impulse to pump more oil out of the ground, which could keep energy prices moving up as the economy recovers.

The oil industry is predictably cyclical: When oil prices climb, producers race to drill — until the world is swimming in petroleum and prices fall. Then, energy companies that overextended themselves tumble into bankruptcy.

That wash-rinse-repeat cycle has played out repeatedly over the last century, three times in the last 14 years alone. But, at least for the moment, oil and gas companies are not following those old stage directions.

An accelerating rollout of vaccines in the United States is expected to turbocharge the American economy this spring and summer, encouraging people to travel, shop and commute. In addition, President Biden's pandemic relief package will put more money in the pockets of consumers, especially those who are still out of work.

Even before Congress approved that legislation, oil and gasoline prices were rebounding after last year's collapse in fuel demand and prices. Gas prices have risen about 35 cents a gallon on average over the last month, according to the AAA motor club, and could reach \$4 a gallon in

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Tribune Deal Is Said to Be In Trouble

By MARC TRACY

A deal that would reshape the American newspaper industry has run into complications just one month after an agreement was reached, according to three people with knowledge of the matter. As a result, the New York hedge fund Alden Global Capital may have to fend off a new suitor for Tribune Publishing, the chain that owns major metropolitan dailies across the country, including The Chicago Tribune, The Daily News and The Baltimore Sun, the people said.

On Feb. 16, Alden, the largest shareholder in Tribune Publishing, with a 32 percent stake, reached an agreement to buy the rest of the chain in a deal that valued the company at \$650 million. In the deal, Alden would take ownership of all the Tribune Publishing papers — and then spin off The Sun and two smaller Maryland papers at a price of \$65 million to a nonprofit organization controlled by the Maryland hotel magnate Stewart W. Bainum Jr.

In recent days, Mr. Bainum and Alden have found themselves at loggerheads over details of the

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A New Era in Britain: American-Style Television

Ben Smith
THE MEDIA EQUATION

When Piers Morgan stormed off the set of "Good Morning Britain" last week as a Black colleague chided him for "trashing" Meghan Markle, it felt like a familiar American scene: a tone-deaf old-timer getting swept aside by an anti-racist younger generation, as the culture of media changes.

Mr. Morgan sure embraced that narrative. Last week, he tweeted, among other things, a photograph of a defiant Winston Churchill, a clip of Tucker Carlson calling him an "inspiration" and then, apparently getting impatient for the arrival of a

mob, a demand that the Society of Editors remove his nomination as columnist of the year. "I am canceling myself," he announced.

British media has traditionally presented a dynamic opposite to that of the United States. Here, we have radio screamers and spittle-flecked television hosts, while broadsheet newspapers seek to balance both sides of a story. In Britain, the newspapers are often wildly partisan and the television is customarily staid. But Mr. Morgan's theatrics last week seemed to signal a shift, and to mark the extent to which the forces driving the culture wars are money and commercial opportunity.

"This is the moment that is going to transform British TV,"

CONTINUED ON PAGE B4

With a Muted Buzz, Oscar Campaigns Go Virtual

By BROOKS BARNES
and NICOLE SPERLING

LOS ANGELES — As a potential Oscar nominee for film editing, William Goldenberg should be feeling dizzy right about now. So many tastemaker cocktail parties to attend. So many panel discussions to participate in.

So much flesh to press. Instead, his tuxedo has been gathering dust. Mr. Goldenberg, who stitched together the Tom Hanks western "News of the World," has participated in get-out-the-vote screenings on Zoom, and that's about it. During afternoon walks with his dog, a handful of neighbors have told him they liked the film. Mr. Goldenberg, an Oscar winner in 2013 for "Argo," described those impromptu encounters as "really fun."

Such is life on Hollywood's virtual awards scene, where the pandemic has vaporized the froth



TAG CHRISTOP FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Billboards are recommending films for Oscars as usual, but Hollywood is feeling its way through other promotions.

ECONOMY

17 Reasons an Economics Writer Is Optimistic

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

ominous to gloomy to terrifying. But strange as it may seem in this time of pandemic, I'm starting to get optimistic. It's an odd feeling, because so many people are suffering — and because for so much of my career, a gloomy outlook has been the correct one.

Predictions are a hard business, of course, and much could go wrong that makes the decades ahead as bad as, or worse than, the recent past. But this optimism is not just about the details of the new pandemic relief legislation or the politics of the moment. Rather, it stems from a diagnosis of three problematic mega-trends, all related.

There has been a dearth of economy-altering innovation, the kind that fuels rapid growth in the economy's productive potential. There has been a global glut of labor because of a period of rapid globalization and technological change that reduced workers' bargaining power in rich countries. And there has been persistently inadequate demand for goods and services that government policy has been unable to fix.

There is not one reason, however, to think that these negative trends have run their course. There are 17.

1 The ketchup might be ready to flow

In 1987, the economist Robert Solow said, "You can see the computer age everywhere but in the productivity statistics." Companies were making great use of rapid improvements in computing power, but the overall economy wasn't really becoming more productive.

This analysis was right until it was wrong. Starting around the mid-1990s, technological innovations in supply chain management and factory production enabled companies to squeeze more economic output out of every hour of work and dollar of capital spending. This was an important reason for the economic boom of the late 1990s.

The Solow paradox, as the idea underlying his quote would later be called, reflected an insight: An innovation, no matter how revolutionary, will often have little effect on the larger economy immediately after it is invented. It often takes many years before businesses figure out exactly what they have and how it can be used, and years more to work out kinks and bring costs down.

It's like the old ditty: "Shake and shake the ketchup bottle. First none will come and then a lot'll."

Or, in a more formal sense, the economist Erik Brynjolfsson, Daniel Rock and Chad Syverson call this the "productivity J-curve," in which an impor-



tant new general-purpose technology — they use artificial intelligence as a contemporary example — initially depresses apparent productivity, but over time unleashes much stronger growth in economic potential. It looks as if companies have been putting in a lot of work for no return, but once those returns start to flow, they come faster than once seemed imaginable.

2 2020s battery technology looks kind of like 1990s microprocessors

Remember Moore's Law? It was the idea that the number of transistors that could be put on an integrated circuit would double every two years as manufacturing technology improved.

Battery technology isn't improving at quite that pace, but it's not far behind it. There have been similar advances in solar cells, raising the prospect of more widespread inexpensive clean energy.

Another similarity: Microprocessors and batteries are not ends unto themselves, but rather technologies that enable lots of other innovation. Fast, cheap computer chips led to software that revolutionized the modern economy; cheap batteries and solar cells could lead to a wave of innovation around how energy is generated and used. We're only at the early stages of that process.

3 Emerging innovations can combine in unexpected ways

In the early part of the 20th century, indoor plumbing was sweeping the nation. So was home electricity. But the people installing those pipes and those power lines presumably had no idea that by the 1920s, the widespread availability of electricity and free-flowing water in homes would enable the adoption of the home washing machine, a device that saved Americans vast amounts of time and backbreaking labor.

It required not just electricity and running water, but also revolutions in

manufacturing techniques, production and distribution. All those innovations combined to make domestic life much easier.

Could a combination of technologies now maturing create more improvement in living standards than any of them could in isolation?

Consider driverless cars and trucks. They will rely on long-building research in artificial intelligence software, sensors and batteries. After years of hype, billions of dollars in investment, and millions of miles of test drives, the possibilities are starting to come into view.

4 The pandemic has taught us how to work remotely

Being cooped up at home may pay some surprising economic dividends. As companies and workers have learned how to operate remotely, it could allow more people in places that are less expensive and that have fewer high-paying jobs to be more productive. It could enable companies to operate with less office space per employee, which in economic terms means less capital needed to generate the same output. And it could mean a reduction in commuting time.

Even after the pandemic recedes, if only 10 percent of office workers took advantage of more remote work, that would have big implications for the United States' economic future — bad news if you are a landlord in an expensive downtown perhaps, but good news for overall growth prospects.

5 Even Robert Gordon is (a little) more optimistic!

Mr. Gordon wrote the book on America's shortfall in innovation and productivity in recent decades — a 784-page book in 2016, to be precise. Now Mr. Gordon, a Northwestern University economist, is kind of, sort of, moderately optimistic. "I would fully expect growth in the decade of the 2020s to be higher than it was in the 2010s, but not as fast as it was between 1995 and 2005," he said recently.

6 Crises spur innovation

The mobilization to fight World War II was a remarkable feat. Business and government worked together to drastically increase the productive capacity of the economy, put millions to work, and advance countless innovations like synthetic rubber and the mass production of aircraft.

Could our current crises spur similar ambition? Already the Covid-19 pandemic has accelerated the use of mRNA technology for creating new vaccines, which could have far-reaching consequences for preventing disease.

As the 2020s progress, the deepening sense of urgency to reduce carbon emissions and cope with the fallout of climate change is the sort of all-encompassing challenge that could prove galvanizing — with similar implications for investment and innovation.

7 Tight labor markets spur innovation, too

Why did the Industrial Revolution begin in Britain instead of somewhere else? One theory is that relatively high wages there (a result of international trade) created an urgency for firms to substitute machinery for human labor. Over time, finding ways to do more with fewer workers generated higher incomes and living standards.

But why might the labor market of the 2020s be a tight one? It boils down to two big ideas: shifts in the global economy and demographics that make

workers scarcer in the coming decade than in recent ones; and a newfound and bipartisan determination on the part of policymakers in Washington to achieve full employment.

8 There's only one China

Imagine an isolated farm town with 100 people.

Five of the 100 own the farms. An additional 10 act as managers on behalf of the owners. And there are five intellectuals who sit around thinking big thoughts. The other 80 people are laborers.

What would happen if suddenly another 80 laborers showed up, people who were used to lower living standards?

The intellectuals might tell a complex story about how the influx of labor would eventually make everyone better off, as more land was cultivated and workers could specialize more. The owners and their managers would be happy because they could pay people less to plow the fields.

But the existing 80 laborers — competing for their jobs with an influx of lower-paid people — would see only immediate pain. That's essentially what has happened in the last few decades as China has gone from being isolated to being deeply integrated in the world economy.

But that was a one-time adjustment. To the degree globalization continues in the 2020s, it should be a more gradual process.

9 There's only one Mexico

For years, American workers were also coming into competition with lower-earning Mexicans after enactment of the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1994. As with China, the new dynamic improved the long-term economic prospects for the United States, but in the short run it was bad for many American factory workers.

But it, too, was a one-time adjustment.

10 The offshoring revolution is mostly played out

Once upon a time, if you were an American company that needed to operate a customer service call center or carry out some labor-intensive information technology work, you had no real choice but to hire a bunch of Americans to do it. The emergence of inexpensive, instant global telecommunication changed that, allowing you to put work wherever costs were the lowest.

But it's not as if the internet can be invented a second time.

Sensing a theme here? In the early years of the 21st century, a combination of globalization and technological advancements put American workers in competition with billions of workers around the world.

It created a dynamic in which workers had less bargaining power, and companies could achieve cost savings not by creating more innovative ways of doing things but by exploiting a form of labor cost arbitrage. That may not be the case in the 2020s.

11 Baby boomers can't work forever

The surge of births that took place in the two decades after World War II created a huge generation with long-reaching consequences for the economy. Now, their ages ranging from 57 to 76, the baby boomers are retiring, and that means opportunity for the generations that came behind them.

According to the Social Security Administration's projections of the so-called "dependency ratio," in 2030 for every 100 people in their prime working years of 20 to 64, there will be 81 people outside that age range. In 2020 that number was 73.

That is bad news for public finances

and for the headline rate of G.D.P. growth, but good news for those in the work force.

12 The millennials are entering their prime

Spending has a life cycle. Young adults don't make much money. As they age, they earn more. Many start families and begin spending a lot more, buying houses and cars and everything else it takes to raise children. Then they tend to cut back on spending as the kids move out of the house.

The rate of consumption spending soars for Americans in their 20s and 30s, and peaks sometime in their late 40s. It's probably not a coincidence that some of the best years for the American economy in recent generations were from 1983 to 2000, when the ultra-large baby boom generation was in that crucial high spending period.

Guess what generation is in that life phase in the 2020s? The millennials, an even larger generation than the boomers.

13 Everybody likes it hot

Twelve years ago, the last time the United States was trying to claw out of a recession, President Obama spoke of his plans to reduce the budget deficit. Republicans in Congress demanded even more fiscal restraint. Top Federal Reserve officials fretted about inflation risks.

The Trump presidency changed that discussion. It was evident, based on how the economy performed in 2018 and 2019, that the U.S. economy could run hotter than the Obama-era consensus held. That insight has powerful implications for the 2020s.

14 Joe Biden wants to let it rip

President Biden and congressional Democrats are determined to learn the lessons of the Obama era, which they view as this: Do whatever it takes to get the economy humming, and the politics will work in your favor.

That thinking helped lead to the \$1.9 trillion relief bill signed on Thursday.

15 Jay Powell wants to let it rip

"To call something hot, you need to see heat," Federal Reserve Chair Jerome Powell said in 2019.

In its new policy framework, the Fed says it will raise interest rates in response to actual inflation in the economy, not just forecasts, and will not act simply because the unemployment rate is low.

Nearly every time he speaks, Mr. Powell sounds like a true believer in the church of full employment.

16 Republicans are getting away from austerity politics

Less than three months ago, overwhelming bipartisan majorities in Congress passed a \$900 billion pandemic relief bill. Then a Republican president threatened to veto it, not because it was too generous, but because it was too stingy.

As Republican Party becomes more focused on the kinds of culture-war battles that former President Donald J. Trump made his signature, and its base shifts away from business elites, it wouldn't be surprising if we saw the

Three major negative trends seem to have run their course.



end of an era in which cutting government spending was its animating idea. This would imply a U.S. government that aims to keep flooding the economy with cash no matter who wins the next few elections.

17 The post-pandemic era could start with a bang

It's easy to see the potential for the economy to burst out of the 2021 starting gate like an Olympic sprinter.

A rapid start to the post-pandemic economy could create a virtuous cycle in which consumers spend, companies hire and invest to fulfill that demand, and workers wind up having more money in their pockets to consume even more.

Americans have saved an extra \$1.8 trillion during the pandemic, reflecting government help and lower spending. C.E.O. confidence is at a 17-year high. And on a psychological level, doesn't everybody desperately want to return to feeling a sense of joy, of exuberance?

Economics may be a dismal science, and those of us who write about it are consigned to see what is broken in the world. But sometimes, things are in surprising ways, and the result is a period in which things really do get better. This is starting to look like one of those times.

The Upshot

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FINANCE | MEDIA

Why Investors Shrugged at a C.E.O.'s Tax Scandal

By MATTHEW GOLDSTEIN

Last fall, Robert F. Smith, the billionaire founder of Vista Equity Partners, a private equity firm, paid \$139 million to federal authorities to settle one of the biggest tax evasion cases in American history.

His investors barely blinked. The cultural institutions and colleges that benefited from Mr. Smith's philanthropy, including Carnegie Hall and Morehouse College, have also stood by him, and he remains at the helm of his company.

The muted public reaction from the public pension plans, sovereign wealth funds and endowments that invest in Vista's funds highlights an unflinching reality of the financial world: Investors are often willing to overlook the misdeeds of money managers if they're posting solid returns. And in a prolonged era of low interest rates, private equity is one of the few places where big investors can expect better returns than the bond market.

"The typical private equity investor puts money in and hopes to get it back within 10 years or so," said Larry Swedroe, chief research officer for Buckingham Wealth Partners, a wealth management firm. "You have no real control over anything." Even if they don't like something a private equity manager has done, Mr. Swedroe said, investors often have limited recourse because dollars in a fund cannot be easily withdrawn.

Still, the low-key response to Mr. Smith's tax violations stands in contrast to how a scandal played out involving Leon Black, a fellow private equity billionaire and a co-founder of Apollo Global Management. After the revelation, also last fall, that Mr. Black had paid Jeffrey Epstein, the disgraced financier and registered sex offender, tens of millions of dollars for tax and estate planning services, Apollo had an outside review conducted at Mr. Black's behest. In January, Apollo announced that Mr. Black, 69, had done nothing wrong but would step down as chief executive by this summer and introduced several corporate governance changes.

Although investors didn't pull their money from Apollo funds, shares of the firm, which is publicly traded and much bigger than Vista, have since lagged the performance of its rivals Blackstone Group and KKR. Some Apollo investors expressed their reservations publicly. Mr. Black's dealings also prompted calls in the art world to oust him as chairman of the Museum of Modern Art.

The scandal involving Mr. Smith raised different ethical issues for investors, since Mr. Black's dealings were with a convicted sex offender. But another reason both Mr. Smith, 58, and Vista have appeared unscathed



Robert F. Smith, who runs Vista Equity Partners, has kept investors' support.

from the tax evasion episode is that the firm was quick to alert investors — who dislike surprises and value disclosure — that trouble was brewing. By the time federal prosecutors said in October that Mr. Smith had engaged in a 15-year scheme to hide \$200 million in income and "evade millions in taxes" through a network of offshore trusts and bank accounts, Vista's investors had been bracing for bad news for roughly four years. The scheme came to light after a long investigation into the ties between Mr. Smith and Robert T. Brockman, a billionaire Texas businessman who Vista, which is based in Austin, got off the ground.

Mr. Smith, who is Vista's chairman and chief executive, learned in the summer of 2016 that he was the subject of a criminal tax investigation involving Mr. Brockman. That fall, Vista began providing investors with periodic — if minimal — updates on the federal inquiry, five people briefed on the matter said. The firm provided at least 10 updates to investors, said a person briefed on the firm's activities, who declined to be identified because the matters aren't public. The person did not provide details of what those disclosures included.

"There would have been hell to pay" if Vista had not provided any warning, said an investment officer for one institutional investor that has money with the firm, which specializes in buying and lending to technology companies and manages about \$73 billion in assets. But the officer, who declined to be identified because of his employer's relationship with Vista, noted that prosecutors' documents accompanying Mr. Smith's nonprosecution agreement in October provided far more details and indicated that Mr. Smith knew he had violated the law.

As part of the deal, Mr. Smith agreed to pay \$139 million in fines and penalties and forgo claims he made on his tax returns for \$182 million in charitable deductions in 2018 and 2019.

Representatives for two other

Vista investors, who also declined to be identified, said the impact on Vista and its 500 employees would have been far worse had Mr. Smith been indicted, given how critical he has been to the firm's success. He is cooperating with the investigation.

Vista's buyout funds have historically performed above average. A recent Vista marketing document reviewed by The New York Times shows the funds have collectively generated an internal rate of return — a measurement for projecting the annualized rate of return of an investment — of 31 percent for investors, after fees are deducted. By comparison, a study of several thousand private equity funds found that the best-managed ones tended to generate returns in the low 20 percent range.

Vista also convinced investors that Mr. Smith was not involved in the tax evasion. By convincing them that it was a "personal tax matter" and directing those wanting to know more to the news release that federal prosecutors issued.

Prosecutors have alleged no wrongdoing by Vista. Its birth, however, is tied up with the tax fraud. Mr. Smith met Mr. Brockman in 1997 when Mr. Smith was an investment banker at Goldman Sachs, court filings show. Three years later, Mr. Smith set up Vista with what he said was \$1 billion from Mr. Brockman for its very first fund. Mr. Brockman, who gave Mr. Smith instructions on how to structure his investment, used offshore companies and trusts to avoid paying taxes on any capital gains from the investments the Vista fund made. Court filings show that Mr. Smith was aware of Mr. Brockman's activities and had relied on a Houston lawyer referred by Mr. Brockman to establish similar offshore entities to avoid paying taxes as well.

Mr. Smith's defenders have pointed out that Mr. Brockman — who was indicted in October on charges that he sought to hide about \$2 billion in income — was the sole investor only in Vista's first fund, and no other Vista fund

is mentioned in his indictment. The court filings do note that Mr. Brockman lent Mr. Smith \$75 million in 2014, when Mr. Smith and his first wife divorced. As part of his nonprosecution deal, Mr. Smith agreed to testify against Mr. Brockman.

Mr. Smith declined to comment. A lawyer for Mr. Brockman did not return a request for comment.

Vista was less forthcoming about the federal tax investigation with would-be investors. When the New Mexico Educational Retirement Board began negotiating with Vista last April about investing \$100 million in a credit fund, no one from Vista mentioned the tax investigation, said Bob Jacksha, chief investment officer of the pension fund.

The fund canceled its investment plans after Bloomberg reported in August that Mr. Smith and Mr. Brockman were under investigation and could face serious charges. Mr. Jacksha said he and his colleagues had felt blindsided by the report. "We were not initially aware of the investigation," he said.

In the world of philanthropy, Mr. Smith's supporters have rallied to his defense publicly. With an estimated fortune of \$7 billion, he is one of the wealthiest men in America.

Carnegie Hall, where Mr. Smith serves as chairman, said it continued to support him. And Morehouse College, the historically Black college where Mr. Smith famously announced in 2019 that he would pay off \$34 million in student loan debt of the 400 members of the college's graduating class, said it, too, remained solidly in his camp.

David A. Thomas, president of Morehouse, said Mr. Smith could have moved on after making his commitment in 2019 but instead had started an initiative to relieve the debt burden of students at other colleges and universities that are historically Black.

"Robert's passion for solving problems with solutions that scale, and his continued engagement beyond writing big checks, is what sets him apart from just about any philanthropist," Mr. Thomas said in an emailed statement.

At a DealBook conference in November sponsored by The Times, Mr. Smith briefly addressed the tax evasion case during a panel discussion on race and corporate America. He said, "I'm moving forward. I made a right with the government. I'm absolutely committed to continuing my important work, my philanthropy, returns to all the stakeholders."

After he spoke, another panelist, Michael Reuter, the social activist and rapper better known as Killer Mike, defended Mr. Smith's charitable giving as important to the Black community. He then added: "Never forget that this country was founded by people who didn't want to pay taxes."

Editor of German Tabloid On Leave After Accusations

Female employees of Bild, a populist paper, spoke of coercion by their boss.

By JACK EWING

The editor in chief of Bild, Europe's largest newspaper and an influential force in German politics and society, has taken a leave of absence while a law firm conducts an investigation into accusations made against him, the publication's owner said.

Julian Reichelt, the editor, denies accusations of misconduct. Axel Springer, Bild's publisher, said in a statement. Springer said it had no "clear evidence" of misconduct, but had hired the law firm Freshfields to investigate the accusations. It did not specify what they were.

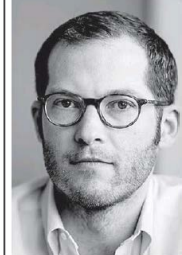
The accusations were first reported by the magazine Spiegel, which cited half a dozen female employees who had worked for Bild and complained of coercion by Mr. Reichelt. Spiegel did not name the female employees. The magazine said the women accused Mr. Reichelt of abusing his position of authority and creating a hostile work environment but did not provide further details.

"To make sure that the investigation process can be seen through to the end undisturbed, and the editorial team can work without further burdens," Springer said, Mr. Reichelt "has asked the Axel Springer board to release him from his functions until the accusations have been clarified."

Alexandra Würzbach, editor of Bild's Sunday edition, will take over Mr. Reichelt's duties, Springer said.

The #MeToo movement has hit Europe with much less force than in the United States, and cases of powerful men brought down by accusations of misconduct against women have been relatively rare.

Germany and most European



Julian Reichelt denied the claims.

countries protect the identities of accused people in legal proceedings, making it more difficult for the media to report about cases of harassment.

Courts have often been unsympathetic. In 2019, a French court ordered the leader of the country's equivalent to the #MeToo movement to pay damages to a former television executive she had accused of making salacious and humiliating advances to her.

With a print circulation of 12 million, Bild is Europe's largest newspaper, but like most publications has suffered steep declines in print readership. In 2011, daily print sales averaged 28 million, according to the newspaper's website, and that was down from 4 million in 1965.

With its colorful graphics and emphasis on scandal, celebrities and sports, Bild — which means "picture" — is Germany's populist daily newspaper. The readership skews male. Until 2012, Bild featured a photo of a topless woman on the front page every day, and continues to publish images of semi-nude "Bild Girls" online.

Unlike Britain's right-wing tabloids, Bild is relatively nonpartisan, but nevertheless opinionated, with an aggressive tabloid style although it is printed on a broadsheet format. Because of Bild's reach it is often the publication that leading political figures use to communicate with voters, offering exclusive interviews or juicy leaks.

Mr. Reichelt, 40, a former war correspondent who became editor in chief of Bild in 2017, also frequently wrote opinion pieces. He had lately railed against what he said was the German government's mismanagement of the pandemic crisis. He complained earlier this month that the authorities fined joggers for not wearing masks while federal and state governments bungled the rollout of vaccines.

Axel Springer, Bild's parent company, is one of Europe's most prominent media firms. Springer also owns Welt, a German daily newspaper; the online news site Business Insider; and Politico Europe. KKR, the private equity firm, owns 36 percent of Springer shares and holds three seats on the company's nine-person supervisory board. Riede Springer, widow of founder Axel Springer, remains a major shareholder and a member of the board.

Springer said in a statement on Saturday that the investigation involving Mr. Reichelt would include "an evaluation of the credibility and integrity of all parties involved."

The publisher added: "Prejudgments based on rumors are unacceptable for the Axel Springer corporate culture."

Hotel Magnate Said to Enter Tribune Publishing Bid

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

erating agreements that would be in effect as the Maryland papers transitioned from one owner to another, the people said. In response, Mr. Bainum has taken a preliminary step toward making a bid for all of Tribune Publishing, the people said.

Mr. Bainum has asked the Tribune Publishing special committee, a group made up of three independent board members, for permission to be released from a nondisclosure agreement prohibiting him from discussing the deal, so that he would be able to pursue partners for a new bid, the people said.

A spokeswoman for Mr. Bainum said he had no comment. Through a spokesman, Tribune Publishing's special committee declined to comment. An Alden spokesman had no comment.

Alden has invested in the newspaper business for more than a decade. It owns around 60 dailies, including The Denver Post and The San Jose Mercury News, through a subsidiary, MediaNews Group. Its deal to acquire the rest of Tribune Publishing would make it an even greater force in the news media industry, by some measures the second-largest newspaper company after Gannett, the company that publishes one-fifth of all American newspapers, including USA Today.

Journalists have criticized Alden for deep cost-cutting at its newspapers, often through laying off journalists and shrinking its local news coverage. Over the last year, journalists at several Tribune papers have led public campaigns urging local benefactors to buy the newspapers that employ them so that they would not fall under the hedge fund's control. Alden maintains that it is the rare company that keeps local newspapers from going out of business.



The Alden-Tribune deal requires the approval of the shareholders who own the roughly two-thirds of Tribune Publishing stock not owned by Alden. The largest holder of those shares, with a nearly 25 percent overall stake, is Patrick Soon-Shiong, the biotech billionaire who owns The Los Angeles Times with his wife, Michele B. Chan. Dr. Soon-Shiong, who owns enough of Tribune Publishing to veto the deal himself, has declined to comment on the agreement between Alden and Tribune.

He did not immediately reply to a request for comment.

If Mr. Bainum manages to reach an agreement to buy Tribune, he would be likely to seek local owners for the other newspapers, which include The Hartford Courant, The Orlando Sentinel and The South Florida Sun Sentinel, the people said.

Two of the people said Mr. Bainum, who resides in a Maryland suburb of Washington, was

prepared to put up \$100 million for a bid and then seek additional investments from others. Since 1997 Mr. Bainum has been the chairman of Choice Hotels, a multi-billion-dollar public company that owns the Comfort Inn, Quality Inn and MainStay Suites brands, a company that grew out of his father's business.

Alden has sought full ownership of Tribune Publishing since 2019, when it revealed that it had bought its 32 percent stake. Last year, it failed to reach an agreement to buy the rest of the company with a bid that valued the total company at \$520 million.

Tribune announced last month that it held \$99 million in cash at the end of 2020. It also announced in December the sale of a majority-owned subsidiary for \$160 million.

Payments Start-Up Stripe Hits \$95 Billion Valuation

By ERIN GRIFFITH

The payments company Stripe is worth \$95 billion after a new round of funding, making it the most valuable start-up in the United States.

The San Francisco and Dublin-based company said on Sunday that it had raised \$600 million in new funding from investors including Sequoia Capital, Fidelity Management and Ireland's National Treasury Management Agency. The investment nearly triples Stripe's last valuation of \$35 billion.

The funding comes amid a surge in the adoption of digital tools and services in the pandemic as more people live, work and make purchases online. That has fueled a wave of investment into, and eye-popping valuations at, tech start-ups, as well as a frenzy of highly valued initial public offerings. Investors have valued Airbnb, the home rental start-up that recently went public, at \$123 billion. Roblox, a children's gaming start-up, saw its valuation soar to \$45 billion when it went public last week.

Founded in 2010, Stripe builds software that enables businesses to process payments online. As more people have turned to online shopping in the pandemic, Stripe's offerings have been in demand. It is the largest among a class of fast-growing, highly valued financial technology companies.

Stripe is now processing hundreds of billions of dollars in payments each year across 42 countries. Dhruva Suryadevara, Stripe's chief financial officer, said in an interview. "We are in a hyper-growth industry and within that, the company itself is experiencing hyper-growth," she said. Ms. Suryadevara declined to share specifics on Stripe's revenue or growth.

Stripe has been considered a candidate to go public. Coinbase, another financial technology start-up, filed to go public later this month in a transaction that some expect could hit \$100 billion. Robinhood, a stock trading app, has also seen its valuation surge in the pandemic.

Stripe said in an announcement that it planned to use the money to expand in Europe, including its office in Dublin. The company's sibling founders, John Collison, 30, and Patrick, 32, were born in Ireland.

In a statement, John Collison, Stripe's president, said the company would focus heavily on Europe this year. "The growth opportunity for the European digital economy is immense," he said.

The company, which started working with start-ups and small businesses, will also invest in building more tools to help larger businesses handle payments. It counts 50 businesses that process more than \$1 billion a year as customers.

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MEDIA

A New Era in Britain: Offering Television With American Style

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE
And take it in a direction that is more Americanized," Amol Rajan, the former editor of *The Independent* who now is now the host of "The Media Show" on BBC Radio 4, said in an interview.

Of course, sober-minded British commentators wonder, as my colleague Mark Landler recently reported, why anyone would want to import any element of our hyper-polarized American life. The answer, of course, is that it sells. And at a confusing and unstable moment in American media, there's something clarifying about watching Britain's television drama play out around its monarchy.

The whole thing, at times, has the schematic quality of theater, sometimes verging into parody, as various actors play their parts and state their values with admirable clarity. But the players also speak openly about the opportunities the new cultural conflict presents, as their country's political split over Brexit settles into a lasting divide.

"The American culture war has come here in a big way," Mr. Morgan told me cheerfully in a telephone interview, appearing to be welcoming its arrival. And while he denied that his walkout was in any way "staged," he acknowledged that his departure comes at a particularly opportune time.

Mr. Morgan, a former tabloid editor, "America's Got Talent" judge and CNN host, spent the last five years nudging upward the ratings of ITV's morning show — long a distant second to the BBC's more staid "Breakfast" — largely by generating an unending stream of news about his own on-air antics.

The show for the first time outdrew the BBC last Tuesday,

when he walked off the set. And he is walking straight into a bidding war for his services between two new news networks, one backed by the Fox News founder Rupert Murdoch. Both are aiming to capitalize on populist discontent with the BBC. (Many of the nationalists who supported Brexit — and the royal family — believed that the network was unfair to their cause, even as Brexit critics complained that the BBC was too soft on Brexit supporters' rosy projections.)

The opportunity for a new era in British television begins in the studios of LBC, a radio station that has tested, and effectively stretched, the British legal requirements that broadcast news be "balanced." Instead of offering down-the-middle recitations of news developments, the network serves up clashing and sometimes strident debates over issues. The station thrived during the long run-up to Brexit, making clear to broadcasters that they could abandon their starchy customs and reflect more partisan passions — as long as the stations didn't embrace just one political side.

Now, television is poised to fill the space that LBC opened. The most ambitious player in this new arena may be Andrew Neil, a Scot who transformed *The Sunday Times* for Mr. Murdoch in the 1980s before emerging as one of the BBC's most formidable interviewers. He's a conservative, but his style shares almost nothing with the right-wing American counterparts, who alternate between tossing codding questions to Republican politicians and obliterating obscure liberals who have foolishly wandered onto their sets. Mr. Neil is an equal opportunity interviewer, and may be best known in the United States for a



Piers Morgan storming off the set of "Good Morning Britain" last week.

hosting in 2019 of the conservative figure Ben Shapiro. In the 2019 British election, the Tory prime minister Boris Johnson refused to submit to an interview with him.

I reached Mr. Neil at his home in the French Riviera, where he has been weathering the pandemic and preparing the start of a new 24-hour cable channel network, GB News, this spring. When I called, he was watching "MSNBC Live with Craig Melvin." "I think there are things to learn from it in terms of programming, and the visuals are very strong," he said of the left-leaning American channel. "In terms of formatting and style, I think MSNBC and Fox are the two templates we're following."

Mr. Neil has raised 80 million pounds (about \$83 million) to start the channel, including investments from the American giant Discovery and the hedge fund manager Paul Marshall. (Mr. Marshall's son, unrelatedly, is taking time off from playing banjo in the band Mumford and Sons to "examine my blind spots" after praising a far-right book on Twitter.) Mr. Neil said he expected that sum to last the network at least three years, though it's a pittance by the standards of American cable news.

He said he planned to hire some 100 journalists, a fraction of the more than 2,000 at the BBC, but aimed to capture the resentment of the London-based media by having many of them broadcast from their hometowns

in the north. The channel will run on other news services for its breaking news, he said, and focus its resources on producing American-style, personality-driven news shows. But he said he wouldn't follow the American right into outlandish conspiracy theories, and he has denounced Donald Trump's claim that he won the U.S. election.

"I don't think there's an appetite in Britain for ridiculous conflict," Mr. Neil said. Still, he plans to carry a segment on his own prime-time show called "woke watch" in which he can mock what he sees as progressive excesses. He cited as an example a recent report that British nurses were told they could use the word "chestfeeding" rather than "breastfeeding" to be inclusive of transgender people.

GB News will need a huge audience to succeed, because in Britain, unlike the United States, cable channels depend entirely on advertising, rather than regular payments from cable companies. Mr. Morgan, an old friend of Mr. Neil, would be "a huge asset for the channel," Mr. Neil said. And, indeed, Mr. Morgan seems an ideal fit for a network determined to showcase personality and passion without violating British rules against partisanship.

Mr. Morgan lost his job running the left-leaning *Mirror* in 2004 for publishing fabricated pictures of alleged British war crimes in Iraq. Before emerging as the queen's leading defender, he was a confrontational critic of

Mr. Johnson's flawed response to the pandemic. He told me he'd proven at ITV that he could be "highly opinionated but without the viewers ever having any idea what my personal politics would be."

The delightful British gossip newsletter *Popbitch* noted last Thursday that Mr. Morgan appeared to be weighing his options for his next job. But his defense of the crown against the assault from Los Angeles can only make him more valuable to GB News.

"I don't think the channel will have a corporate voice," Mr. Neil said. "But I think it will be the natural inclination of most of our presenters to side with the dignity of the queen as opposed to the victimization portrait of two of the most privileged and pampered people in the world."

Mr. Neil is challenging the BBC as the broadcaster has restored some of its centrality to British culture through its coverage of the pandemic. But his main competition for Mr. Morgan's services may be a new digital television service planned by Mr. Murdoch's News Corp. News UK, that will be led by a former Fox executive and CBS News president, David Rhodes. The first move by that service has been to import a different American television format: the soft showbiz news embodied by "Inside Edition" and "Access Hollywood," for an evening broadcast called "News To Me." But it also promises to carry on Mr. Murdoch's long crusade against the BBC into right-leaning shows.

It now suffers, however, from Mr. Murdoch's longstanding tendency to underfund digital projects in favor of his first loves, print and television. And it has shrunk in ambition from a full-scale television network to a series of shows associated with newspaper brands and carried on video streaming platforms. Mr. Rhodes, who declined to be interviewed, has tried to cast that as an advantage, as traditional television is gradually replaced by digital services. Mr. Neil bitterly suggested otherwise, casting Mr. Rhodes as

losing out inside the Murdoch empire to the company's powerful newspaper boss Rebekah Brooks, who is perhaps best known here for being tried and acquitted in a scandal over the British tabloids' hacking of crime victims' phones. (Mr. Morgan was also accused of, and denied, employing the tactic when he was editor of *The Mirror*.)

"In the old days, Murdoch wouldn't have allowed that to happen," Mr. Neil said of the modest scale of the News UK plan. "He would have said either, 'We're not going there' or 'Here's 100 million — go blow GB News out of the water.'"

News Corp.'s current challenge, though, may be the broader uncertainty surrounding the direction of a company whose dominant figure celebrated his 90th birthday in Los Angeles last week. His birthday party was canceled for the second year in a row because of the restrictions on gatherings during the pandemic that Fox's anchors have often criticized. (His son Lachlan, the chief executive of Fox News's parent company, decamped with his family from Los Angeles to Sydney, Australia, after his father's birthday.)

These days, at least some of the company's energy is going into producing a star-studded video for the delayed birthday celebration, two people familiar with the project said. It is being produced by a former News Corp executive, David Hill, and will feature figures from Mr. Murdoch's history, including the former News Corp president, Peter Chernin, and the former New York Post editor, Col Allan, telling the story of his career.

Mr. Morgan said he was currently fielding offers and enjoying revised sales of his 2020 book on cancel culture (focused on what you've got broad shoulders like me you can handle it"). He said he hoped to record his segment for Mr. Murdoch's birthday soon.

In the meantime, he's simply enjoying the attention. "I've got the whole world talking about me in varying degrees of either praise or shame," he said with satisfaction.

With a Diminished Buzz, Oscar Campaign Season Goes Virtual

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE
(Champagne toasts! Standing ovations! Red-carpet reunions!) and created an atmosphere more akin to a dirge. There is a dearth of buzz because people aren't congregating. Screenings and vote-focused Q and A sessions have moved online, adding to existential worries about the future of cinema in the streaming age.

And some film insiders are privately asking an uncomfortable question: How do you tastefully campaign for trophies when more than 1,000 Americans a day are still dying from the coronavirus?

Oscar nominations will be announced on Monday, but almost none of the movies in the running have even played in theaters, with entry multiple times struggling to stay afloat. "In terms of campaigning, there is a why-are-we-even-doing-this feeling," said Matthew Belloni, a former editor of *The Hollywood Reporter* and co-host of "The Business," an entertainment industry podcast.

Ever since Harvey Weinstein turned Oscar electioneering into a bloodsport in the 1990s, the three-month period leading up to the Academy Awards has been a surreal time in the movie capital, with film distributors only ever seeming to push harder — and spend more — in pursuit of golden statuettes. In 2019, for instance, Netflix popped eyeballs by laying out an estimated \$30 million to evangelize for "Roma," a film that cost only \$15 million to make.

But it's not as easy to influence voters and create awards momentum during a pandemic. Roughly 9,100 film professionals worldwide are eligible to vote for Oscars. All are members of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, which has nine pages of regulations that campaigners must follow. Film companies, for instance, "may not send a member more than one email and one hard-copy mailing" per week. Hollywood lobbying is forbidden.

The 93rd Academy Awards will take place April 25, delayed two months because of the pandemic. Calling off the campaigns is not an option for Hollywood, where jockeying for awards has become an industry unto itself. Sins and their agents (and publicists) also pay keen attention to campaign party: If *Netflix*, if you are going to back up the Brink's trucks to barnstorm for "Mank," you'd better do it for us, too.

"There are so many egos to serve," said Sasha Stone, who runs *AwardsDaily*, an entertainment honors site.

Contenders, wary of tone-deaf missteps, have been feeling their way.

Sacha Baron Cohen, for one, has



Awards bring legitimacy and allow streaming services like Hulu, Amazon and Netflix, which released "Pieces of a Woman," to compete for top filmmakers.

been openly mocking the process, even as he has taken part in Zoom events to support "The Trial of the Chicago 7" (Netflix) and "Borat Subsequent Moviefilm" (Amazon). Asked by phone how the virtual campaign trail was going, he quipped, "I imagine it's much better than being on an actual one."

At times, however, Mr. Cohen has been willing to play along. In a skit on "Jimmy Kimmel Live" this month, he pretended to be moonlighting as a black-market vaccine procurer for desperate celebrities. "It seems like you should be focused on your Oscar campaign," Mr. Kimmel said at one point. Mr. Cohen responded dryly, "This is my Oscar campaign."

There is business logic to the seasonal insanity. The spotlight generates interest from the news media, potentially increasing viewership. For streaming services like Amazon, Hulu, Apple TV+ and Netflix, awards bring legitimacy and a greater ability to compete for top filmmakers.

"The business benefit is that we will win deals that we wouldn't have otherwise," Reed Hastings, Netflix's chief executive, told analysts at a conference call last year. Because in-person events have

been scuttled this time around, less money has been flowing into the Oscar race.

"In a good year, the awards season represents 40 percent of our annual business," said Toni Krogli, the chief executive of Red Carpet Systems. "And it's gone. Just gone." Last year, Red Carpet Systems handled more than 125 awards-season events, including Golden Globes parties and the SAG Awards.

Caterers, chauffeurs, florists and DJs have also suffered major losses. All after a year when more than 36,000 motion picture and sound-recording jobs were lost in Los Angeles County, according to a county report that was released last month.

At the same time, studios and streaming services are still spending heavily on "for your consideration" spreads in trade publications. For \$80,000 to \$90,000, for instance, campaigners can cover *Variety*'s cover with voter-focused ads. Hulu recently procured the United States vs. *Babe* Holiday that way. ("For your consideration in all categories including BEST PICTURE.") Netflix and Amazon have given films like "Da 5 Bloods" and "One Night

in Miami" similar treatment.

"It has been a huge, really strong season for us," said Sharon Waxman, the founder and chief executive of *The Wrap*, a Hollywood news site. *The Wrap* hosted 40 virtual awards-oriented screenings in January, underwritten by film companies.

"We have another whole round on the way," Ms. Waxman said.

The price for events can be steep. A virtual panel discussion, hosted by *Vanity Fair* or *The Hollywood Reporter*, costs around \$30,000, the same as last year, when receptions accompanied the events. Studios normally pay \$15,000 to \$25,000 for a table of eight at the Critics Choice Awards, an additional opportunity to solidify a film's place in the awards conversation. This year, each guest was charged \$5,000 for a "virtual seat," which some saw as an exorbitant price for a square on a computer screen. (Joey Berlin, chief operating officer of the Critics Choice Association, said it was not intended to produce a live-hour TV special and come out even.)

And don't forget the for-your-consideration billboards. One eight-block stretch of Melrose Avenue in Los Angeles has nine of

them, with Netflix pushing "Ma Rainey's Black Bottom" and Warner Bros. extolling "Judas and the Black Messiah."

Those blocks are typically brimming with voters; Paramount Pictures is there, as is Raleigh Studios, whose Netflix remake production space. With most people in Los Angeles still holed up at home, however, the thoroughfare was eerily quiet last Monday at 5:30 p.m. Actual crickets were chirping at Paramount's closed Bronson Gate, which bore a sign reading, "Per government direction, access to the studio is now restricted."

Comical at best, absurd at worst?

"The public must be so confused," Ms. Stone said.

It is easy to understand where they are coming from, though. "Like a political campaign, you have to crest at the right moment," said Paul Hardart, director of the entertainment, media and tech-

nology program at New York University's Stern School of Business. "You need the maximum exposure at that time. And that's a hard thing to do. How do you become top of mind at the right time?"

So the swag must go on.

As part of its promotional effort for "Nomadland," about an impoverished van dweller, Searchlight Pictures sent a bound copy of the screenplay to awards voters. The Hollywood press corps received "Nomadland" wine glasses, a "Nomadland" license plate, a "Nomadland" key chain, a "Nomadland" T-shirt and a 5-by-2-foot "Nomadland" windshield sunshade.

To celebrate the film's Feb. 18 virtual premiere, Searchlight teamed with local small businesses to have a "curated concessions crate" delivered to the homes of invitees. It included artisanal beef jerky, wild berry jam, oranges, pears, dried apricots, dill pickle slices, banana bread, saimi ("humanely raised") and a canister of chocolates.

Still, it is hard for publicists to know if such buzz-building efforts are working. They don't know what academy members are talking about with one another because academy members aren't talking to one another.

"People are relying more on what the critics are saying than what their friends are saying, because people aren't congregating," Mr. Goldenberg, the "News of the World" editor, said.

On the bright side, the pandemic has made it easier for studios and streaming services to attract voters to awards-oriented screenings, which are followed by Q and A sessions focused on various specialties: art design, editing, song composing.

In years past, when attendance obstacles included Los Angeles traffic, filling the 468-seat Writers Guild Theater for such an event involved sending out more than 5,000 invitations. Similar events — held virtually — have recently had a higher turnout rate: 1,000 invitations might yield 200 attendees, most of whom are stuck around for the post-screening discussion, organizers said.

Campaigners have been generating interest with celebrity moderators. Oprah Winfrey interviewed Viola Davis ("Ma Rainey's Black Bottom") at the former President Barack Obama participated in a chat to support the Netflix/Higher Ground documentary "Crip Camp."

Netflix paired Amanda Seyfried ("Mank") with Cher. It may not sound like an intuitive coupling, but even if you weren't terribly interested in "Mank," wouldn't you tune in just to get a peek into Cher's living room?

TECHNOLOGY | ENERGY

Tech Executives Don't Have Crystal Balls

A track record of innovation leading to unintended consequences should foster healthy doubt.

On Tech

By SHIRA OVIDE

People who work in technology are often incredibly smart. But that doesn't necessarily make them accurate forecasters of human and social behavior.

This week, Airbnb's chief executive said that he thought more people would hop between multiple homes when the pandemic ends. Mark Zuckerberg talked about his vision of people using goggles that read their minds. A co-founder of Stripe, the digital finance start-up, spoke about a range of things, including worker productivity metrics and the need for improved medical technology.

These were thought-provoking ideas, and successful tech executives have been right an awful lot.

But I am asking for a little more humility from technologists and a little more skepticism from the rest of us. Being really smart and overseeing products used by millions of people doesn't make tech executives oracles. (That's true even for the tech company named Oracle.)

As tech has become more enmeshed in our lives and the economy — and as tech founders have become red-carpet-worthy celebrities — people want to know what technologists think about

... everything: the future of cities, education, health care, jobs and the environment. It makes sense. I want to hear what they think, too.

Seeing the activity of millions or billions of people and businesses gives technology companies insights that few others have. We want powerful corporate leaders to be thoughtful about the world. And technologists can turn their beliefs into our reality.

But like all of us, technologists have blind spots and biases. They can misjudge or opine on topics that they don't really understand. And humans are not always good at understanding humans.

The problem, I fear, is that we too often associate running an innovative company with an ability to predict the future. And that can have real consequences if we build policy and our lives around what they say.

One of the most glaring examples was Uber's proclamations that it would help alleviate traffic and pollution in major metropolitan areas and reduce

the number of cars in the United States. In 2015, Uber's co-founder, Travis Kalanick, described the future of his company: "Fewer cars, less congestion, more parking, less pollution and creating thousands of jobs."

Research now shows that Uber and other on-demand ride services largely did the opposite. They made traffic in many cities worse, contributed to an increase in miles driven in the United States and pulled people from shared transit to solo cars.

Perhaps Mr. Kalanick and others who backed Uber's vision of a less car-reliant country didn't mean it. Maybe they just wanted to make Uber sound virtuous.

But more likely, the lesson here is that technologists often don't foresee how people will respond to what they create. Mr. Zuckerberg now says that he didn't anticipate that Facebook would empower authoritarians and create incentives for the most radical voices.

Some of the same promises that Uber was making a few years ago are now coming from companies working on computer-driven cars, fast trains and other transportation innovations. I'm excited about these ideas, but also mindful what happened to the original hope of the ride services.

That track record calls not for cynicism but for healthy doubt and self-criticism. We need more questions asked, both by the technology companies and the rest of us. We could start with: What makes you think that? What if you're wrong? What might you be missing?

It might also help if technologists answered, "I don't know," when someone asks them to weigh in on China's gross domestic product.

Geopolitics under the sea

I wrote in Wednesday's newsletter about the blurry line between countries' desire for technology self-reliance and protectionism. Now I want to make the connection to undersea cables. (As regular *On Tech* readers know, I love boring technology.)

Most of us will never see the cables that run under oceans and seas, but a few hundred of these pipelines move nearly all international internet and telephone traffic around the world.

That makes the people and compa-



KAR MORA

nies that control the undersea cables the masters of the internet. They wield choke points that could be abused to spy on what's happening online or cut a country off from large swaths of the internet.

With that kind of power, these dull clusters of glass fibers are of great concern to governments.

You can see that in the tussle over a new undersea internet cable called Peace that is snaking from China to Pakistan and then under water around Africa to France.

This cable is being built by Chinese companies, and U.S. security officials worry that Peace could be used by China's government for sabotage or surveillance. France says the undersea link will help its economy, and it's stuck in the middle between its American allies and China.

The Wall Street Journal also reported on Wednesday that a group led by

Facebook dropped its plans to build a new internet cable between California and Hong Kong after months of pressure from U.S. national security officials. Again, the officials' concern is that a physical link to Hong Kong — and China's greater assertion of control over the island — could be a security risk.

The fights over undersea cables raise a messy question about technology in a fractured world: Is there a way to connect people without laying the foundation for security threats? Shared internet infrastructure has been essential to link the world, but it doesn't work if countries don't trust one another.

Before we go . . .

■ Two new technology stars: The video game beloved by tweens, Roblox, went public on Wednesday, my colleague

Kellen Browning reported. My colleague Chae Sang-Hun also detailed how the newly public e-commerce giant Coupang has transformed South Korea's always-connected, delivery-obsessed economy. Its couriers are now called "Coupang Friends."

■ Want to feel freaked out? The Wall Street Journal reported on license plate scanners on tow trucks, garbage trucks, telephone poles, police cars, parking garages and more that routinely record billions of records of Americans' travel. The license plate data has helped solve crimes, but there is little oversight over how the information is used.

■ I don't understand any of this: A digital file by the artist Rieple sold for \$69.3 million in a Christie's auction.

This essay was adapted from the *On Tech* newsletter, delivered every weekday. To sign up, go to [nytimes.com/newsletters](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters)

As Oil Companies Keep Supply in Check, Summer Gas Prices May Hit \$4

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

same states by summer. While overall inflation remains subdued, some economists are worried that prices, especially for fuel, could rise faster this year than they have in some time. That would hurt working-class families more because they tend to drive older, less efficient vehicles and spend a higher share of their income on fuel.

In recent weeks oil prices have surged to over \$65 a barrel, a level that would have seemed impossible only a year ago, when some traders were forced to pay buyers to take oil off their hands. Oil prices fell by more than \$50 a barrel in a single day last April, to less than zero.

That bizarre day seems to have become seared into the memories of oil executives. The industry was forced to idle hundreds of rigs and throttle many wells shut, some for good. Roughly 120,000 American oil and gas workers lost their jobs over the last year or so, and companies are expected to lay off 10,000 workers this year, according to Rystad Energy, a consulting firm.

Yet, even as they are making more money thanks to the higher prices, industry executives pledged at a recent energy conference that they would not expand production significantly. They also promised to pay down debt and hand out more of their profits to shareholders in the form of dividends.

"I think the worst thing that could happen right now is U.S. producers start growing rapidly again," Ryan Lance, chairman and chief executive of ConocoPhillips, said at the IHS Markit CERAweek conference, an annual gathering that was virtual this year.

Scott Sheffield, chief executive of Pioneer Natural Resources, a major Texas producer, predicted that American production would remain flat at 11 million barrels a day this year, compared with 12.8 million barrels immediately before the pandemic took hold.

Even the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries and allied producers like Russia surprised many analysts this month by keeping several million barrels of oil off the market. OPEC's 13 members and nine partners are pumping roughly 78,000 barrels of oil a day less than at the beginning of the year, even though prices have risen by 30 percent in recent months.

"The discipline to support higher prices is needed for the re-



A girl playing near drill rigs in a storage yard in West Odessa, Texas. Roughly 120,000 U.S. oil and gas workers lost their jobs in the last year, and hundreds of rigs have been forced to idle.

covery of their economies," said Rene Ortiz, a former secretary general of OPEC who is now Ecuador's energy minister, adding that many of the group's members needed higher oil prices to balance their budgets and service their debts. "Their reserves have been drained."

The decision to keep production restrained was principally the work of Saudi Arabia and its closest Persian Gulf allies and was a reversal of their position from just a few years ago. In late 2014, as oil prices began to sag as American oil production surged, Saudi Arabia and OPEC cranked up production, sending prices plummeting. The cartel seemed to want to undercut drilling in U.S. shale fields, particularly in Texas and North Dakota.

But the U.S. oil industry was far more resilient than Saudi officials expected, and American produc-

tion continued to rise as companies cut costs. While many shale companies were hurt by OPEC's move and oil prices never completely recovered, the economies of Saudi Arabia and other oil-de-

Peaking prices as many plan to resume travel and commutes.

pendent nations were damaged far more than the United States.

But the temptation to produce more when prices rise has not disappeared completely, especially for countries like Colombia and Guyana, that want to pump as much oil as they can before rising concerns about climate change reduce the demand for fossil fuels in favor of electric and hydrogen-powered vehicles. Russia has

been pressing Saudi Arabia to loosen production caps, while Kazakhstan, Iraq and several other countries are exporting more. Even Iran and Venezuela, which have struggled to sell oil because of U.S. sanctions, are beginning to export more.

Some analysts expect that when OPEC and its allies meet again next month, they will allow more production, which could drive down prices.

But for now, petroleum stockpiles are dwindling around the world as energy demand begins to recover.

As always, tensions in the Middle East could determine what happens to oil prices.

In recent weeks drone attacks on energy facilities in Saudi Arabia sent shudders through oil markets. While Houthi rebels in Yemen claimed credit for the opera-

tion, the drones may well have been launched by Iran, which is allied with the rebels, according to Saudi security officials.

"The heating up of what's commonly understood as a proxy war between Iran and Saudi Arabia in Yemen is just adding to the bullish oil price fever," said Louise Dickson, a Rystad Energy oil markets analyst.

Iraqi militias believed to be allied with Iran have also attacked American military forces. Some tensions in the region could ease if the Biden administration and Iranian officials restart negotiations on a new nuclear agreement to replace the one that was negotiated by the Obama administration and abandoned by the Trump administration. Iran would then most likely export more oil.

Of course, U.S. oil executives have little control over those geo-

political matters and say they are doing what they can to avoid another abrupt reversal.

"We're not betting on higher prices to bail us out," Michael Wirth, Chevron's chief executive, told investors on Tuesday.

Chevron said this month that it would spend \$14 billion to \$16 billion a year on capital projects and exploration through 2025. That is several billion dollars less than the company spent in the years before the pandemic, as the company focuses on producing the lowest-cost barrels.

"So far, these guys are refusing to take the bait," said Raoul LeBlanc, a vice president at IHS Markit, a research and consulting firm. But he added that the investment decisions of American executives could change if oil prices climb much higher. "It's far, far too early to say that this discipline will last."

Luis Palau, 86, Preacher Called the 'Billy Graham of Latin America,' Is Dead

By CLAY RISEN

Luis Palau, who rose from preaching on street corners in Argentina to become one of the most significant evangelical leaders in the generation following his mentor, Billy Graham, died on Thursday at his home in Portland, Ore. He was 86.

His death, from lung cancer, was confirmed by the Luis Palau Association, the ministry he founded in 1978 with \$100,000 in seed money from Mr. Graham.

Though his headquarters were in Oregon, Mr. Palau was often called "the Billy Graham of Latin America." He addressed that region's 120 million evangelicals through three daily radio shows (two in Spanish, one in English), shelves of Spanish-language books and scores of revival crusades, in which he might spend a week, and millions of dollars, preaching in a single city. The Luis Palau Association estimates that he preached to 30 million people in 75 countries.

"I don't think it's hyperbole to say that he was the premier evangelical in the Spanish-speaking world, maybe in the whole world, second only to Billy Graham," the Rev. Gabriel Salguero, president of the National Latino Evangelical Coalition, said in a phone interview.

But if Mr. Palau followed in Mr. Graham's footsteps, he didn't copy them. Instead he charted a course between the conservative evangelism of his mentor and a more socially conscious Christianity that found deep roots in communities of color, both overseas and in the United States.

And whereas Mr. Graham's

Befriending a liberal Argentine priest long before he became Pope Francis.

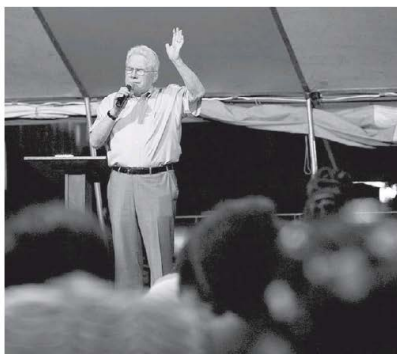
events were formal affairs, with choirs and long sermons, Mr. Palau's were casual family-oriented festivals, with pop music and extreme sports demonstrations — he was a pioneer in welcoming Christian rock bands to his stage. In March 2001, he attracted 300,000 people to BeachFest, a two-day festival in Fort Lauderdale, Fla., aimed at students on spring break.

Speaking to the faithful, he could be chatty and self-deprecatingly funny — another contrast with the more dignified Mr. Graham, and a departure from the stereotypical image of an evangelical preacher — another contrast with the more dignified Mr. Graham, and a departure from the stereotypical image of an evangelical preacher.

"He remained theologically orthodox without being obnoxious, which is not something we evangelicals always do well," Ed Stetzer, the executive director of the



YANA PASKOVA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



VICTOR J. BELL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Clockwise from above: Luis Palau in Central Park in 2015; books by Mr. Palau, many in Spanish, for sale at one of his crusades; and Mr. Palau in Queens in 2015. He could be chatty and self-deprecatingly funny, in contrast with his mentor, Billy Graham.



VICTOR J. BELL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Wheaton College Billy Graham Center, said in an interview.

Mr. Palau was especially aware of the common assumption that evangelicals are rabid right-wingers — one reason, he said, that he often held his festivals in bastions of liberalism like New York City, the Pacific Northwest and New England. In 2001 he held a \$2.5 million weeklong campaign across Connecticut.

"In New England, when you say 'Christian,' they think 'those maniacs on the right,'" he told The New York Times in 2001. "I feel a challenge in Connecticut. I want to show that we are not maniacs but that we are well educated. This is a rational faith, but a faith that fires you up."

Luis Palau Jr. was born on Nov. 27, 1934, in Ingeniero Maschwitz, Argentina, a town about 30 miles north of Buenos Aires. His family spoke English and Spanish at home. His father, a businessman, was the child of Spanish immigrants; his mother, Matilde Balfour de Palau, came from Scottish and French stock.

His father died when Luis was 10, not long after his parents had converted to evangelical Christianity, and the family slid into poverty. Mr. Palau remembered his mother cutting pieces of bread and steak eight ways — one moral apiece for her, him and each of his six siblings.

Luis converted to the faith in 1947, after a summer-camp coun-

selor had taken him under his wing. He was 18 when he heard Mr. Graham for the first time, on a shortwave radio, and the experience inspired him to take up preaching.

After high school he got a job at a bank in Córdoba, in western Argentina, and in his off hours he started sermonizing on street corners. He eventually persuaded a local radio station to put him on the air.

At a Bible study group he met Ray Siedman, a writer and pastor from Palo Alto, Calif., who persuaded him to come to America to attend a seminary. In 1960 he enrolled in a one-year program at Multnomah School of the Bible (now Multnomah University) in

Portland, Ore.

There he met Patricia Scofield, a former teacher and fellow student. They married in 1961. She survives him, along with their four sons, Andrew, Kevin, Keith and Stephen; his sisters, Matilde, Martha, Catalina, Margarita and Ruth; his brother, Jorge; and 12 grandchildren.

Returning to the Bay Area, Mr. Palau met Mr. Graham, who was preparing for a crusade in Fresno. Mr. Palau interned with him for six months, translating Mr. Graham's sermons when he addressed Spanish-speaking audiences. Mr. Palau was ordained in 1963.

He continued to work as an interpreter for Mr. Graham for the

next 20 years, even after he became a minister with Overseas Crusades (now known as OC International), a missionary organization. Over the next decade he and his family moved around Latin America, setting up churches and holding citywide campaigns similar to Mr. Graham's in the United States.

The Palau family returned to Portland in 1972, and he served as president of Overseas Crusades from 1976 until he founded his own ministry two years later.

Partly in deference to Mr. Graham's dominant hold on American evangelicals, Mr. Palau spent the first 20 years of his ministry focused overseas. Along with crusades in Latin America, he ventured to Europe and the Middle East and was one of the few Western religious figures allowed to preach in the Soviet Union.

Like Mr. Graham, he kept his crusades apolitical, in terms of both his message and the people he was willing to work with. He befriended a liberal Argentine priest named Jorge Bergoglio long before he became Pope Francis. But he also drew criticism for collaborating on a 1982 crusade in Guatemala with the dictator Efraín Ríos Montt, who had recently taken power in a coup.

As Mr. Graham moved into semiretirement in the late 1990s, Mr. Palau turned to the United States. He also moved away from the Graham model of crusades: He shortened his events to just a few days and called them festivals. Held in city parks, they might feature skateboarding, family activities and Christian hip-hop; each night he would preach for about 45 minutes, right before the main act.

Mr. Palau was more than just Mr. Graham's successor in the United States. As a Latino, and with a more socially engaged ministry, he was more successful in reaching the country's growing number of Latinos, who today make up about 12 percent of America's evangelical population.

"His ministry was able to bridge gaps between whites and Latinos in a way that suburban white ministers could not, especially in the 1980s and '90s," said Darren Dochuk, a historian at the University of Notre Dame.

In 2015, Mr. Palau organized an event in New York called CityFest. In preparation, he moved to the city for two months, visiting churches, meeting with Mayor Bill de Blasio and setting up community-service projects.

The festival drew 60,000 people to Central Park, the legal limit, and about 120,000 more to events in places like Times Square, Radio City Music Hall and Flushing Meadows in Queens.

"The world thinks, and I used to think, that New York is all secular," Mr. Palau told The Times. "There's a hunger and a desire to talk about spiritual things, which surprised me about New York."

Carmel Quinn, 95, Singer And Variety Show Regular

By KATHARINE Q. SEELYE

Carmel Quinn, a blue-eyed, flame-haired Irish singer and storyteller who packed Carnegie Hall on St. Patrick's Day for a quarter-century and regaled her audiences with tunes and tales from the Old Country, died on March 6 at her home in Leonia, N.J. She was 95.

The cause was pneumonia, her family said.

Ms. Quinn, who was born and raised in Dublin, came to the United States in 1954 and won an audition on "Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts" the next year. Those auditions were famous for their rigor: Others who passed them included Pat Boone, Tony Bennett and Connie Francis; those who flunked included Elvis Presley and Buddy Holly.

Ms. Quinn became a regular on another Godfrey television show, "Arthur Godfrey and His Friends," for six years while rotating through other popular variety shows of the 1950s, '60s and '70s, including "The Pat Boone Chevy Showroom," "The Ed Sullivan Show," "The Mike Douglas Show" and many more. Much later, she showed up on "Live With Regis and Kathie Lee."

With the gift of gab and a voice that some compared to Judy Garland's, she performed at the White House, first for John F. Kennedy and then for Lyndon B. Johnson. The standard Irish songs in her repertoire included "The Whistling Gypsy," "Galway Bay" and "Isle of Inisfree." In later years she filled out her act with a patter of anecdotes about life in general and amusing relatives in particular. One was her Aunt Julia.

As Ms. Quinn told the story, Aunt Julia always wore her hat in

the house so that if someone came to the door whom she didn't want to see, she could say, "I was just one way out."

Ms. Quinn disapproved of bachelors. "Make you sick, they would," she would say, "out there sowing their wild oats and praying for a crop failure."

And her way of bringing people back down to earth if they got too big for their britches was to call out loudly: "Sorry to hear about the fire in your bathroom. Thank God it didn't reach the house!"

But holding pride of place for Ms. Quinn were her concerts at Carnegie Hall. They began in 1955, when she was approached by a group that wanted to raise money for a hospital in Ireland. Mr. Godfrey built an audience for her that first year, instructing his radio listeners, "Now, you get out there and go to Carmel's concert." But after that, she was draw enough on her own. She gave benefit performances each St. Patrick's Day for more than two decades, and they all sold out.

"The night of the concert, you couldn't get in the place," she told The New York Times in 1975 on the eve of the 20th anniversary of her first St. Patrick's Day show. Hers was initially a solo act, but she later included groups like the Clancy Brothers and the Chieftains, their spirited performances turning Manhattan's prestige concert stage into an old-fashioned Irish music hall.

Writing after her St. Patrick's Day show in 1969, Robert Sherman of The Times called her "a breezy hostess and a totally engaging singer." Her music, he said, would "warm the cockles of any son, daughter or passing acquaintance of the old sod."

Carmel Quinn was born on July 31, 1925, and grew up in Phibsbor-



SOLITERS-ARCHIVE



CARNEGIE HALL, SUSAN W. ROSE ARCHIVES

Clockwise from top: Carmel Quinn with President John F. Kennedy, right; an ad for Ms. Carmel's Carnegie Hall benefit; and Ms. Carmel, second from left, with, from left, the actor Niall Toibin, the performer Julie Wilson and William Warnock, Ireland's ambassador to the U.S., in 1970.

ough, a now trendy neighborhood on the north side of Dublin. Her father, Michael, was a violinist and a bookie. Her mother, Elizabeth

(McPartlin) Quinn, a homemaker, died when Carmel, the youngest of four siblings, was 7.

Carmel sang with local bands

and studied for a while at a teachers' college, but she dropped out when she started winning singing engagements. Then she left for

Turning Carnegie Hall into an old-fashioned Irish music hall on St. Patrick's Day.

America.

She married Bill Fuller, a colorful Irish music impresario, in 1955. As more Irish were coming to America, Mr. Fuller opened ballrooms in New York, Boston, Chicago and San Francisco, and she sang in many of those venues.

The couple initially lived in the Bronx, but they would take Sunday strolls over the George Washington Bridge and soon found a small brick house in Leonia, just across the Hudson River. They separated in the early 1970s, and she lived in the same house for the rest of her life.

Ms. Quinn is survived by two daughters, Jane and Terry Fuller, and a son, Sean Fuller; five grandchildren; and two great-grandchildren. Her son Michael died of a heart problem in 1988.

Her love of being onstage took her to cabarets, clubs and Off Broadway. She starred in several musicals, on the road and in summer stock, including "The Sound of Music," "Finian's Rainbow" and "The Boy Friend."

She also presented revues of her own work at the Irish Repertory Theater in Manhattan: "Wait 'Til I Tell You" in 1997 and "That and a Cup of Tea" in 2001, in which, Neil Gendlinger of The Times said, she demonstrated "a Jack Benny-like gift for comic timing."

She continued to perform until she was 88. But it wasn't all laughter and song. One of her final performances was in November 2013, after the death of the Irish poet Seamus Heaney. Ms. Quinn took the stage at the Irish Rep and recited his "Aye" and "Old Smoothing Iron," evoking the working women she knew so well. She received standing ovations.

Marvelous Marvin Hagler, Middleweight Champion Of the 1980s, Dies at 66

By RICHARD GOLDSTEIN

Marvelous Marvin Hagler, who became one of boxing's greatest middleweight champions, wielding awesome punching power while shrugging off opponents' blows, died on Saturday in New Hampshire. He was 66 and lived in Bartlett, N.H.

Hagler's wife, Kai, announced on his fan club's Facebook page that he had died "unexpectedly" at their home, but did not provide details.

Hagler made 12 successful title defenses in the 1980s, 11 by knockouts along with a unanimous decision in 1983 over Roberto Duran when the middleweight division

the fight.

"Once I see the blood, I turn into the bull," The New York Times quoted Hagler as saying. "I had to get serious and get it done quicker."

"The reason I started out punching," Hearn remarked, "was that Marvin started coming in and I had to show Marvin I deserved some respect."

"His awkwardness messed me up but I can't take anything away from him," Hearn told The Associated Press upon Hagler's death. "He fought his heart out and we put on a great show for all time."

Following an outstanding amateur career, Hagler turned pro in 1973. He captured the middleweight crown in London in September 1980 when he scored a technical knockout of Alan Minter of Britain, a bout in which the excitement did not end in the moments that followed. When referee stopped the fight in the third round because of Minter's facial cuts, the crowd at Wembley Stadium pelted the ring with debris.

Hagler's Marvelous nickname was bestowed by a Lowell, Mass., journalist when he fought there as an amateur and preened in the ring, emulating Muhammad Ali. He legally changed his name to Marvelous Marvin Hagler in 1982.

Hagler won 62 bouts (52 by knockouts) with three losses and two draws. He maintained that the only time he was ruled to have been knocked down, in a title bout against Juan Roldan of Argentina in 1984, in fact, resulted from a slip. He won the fight on a technical knockout.

Hagler fought Vito Antuofermo of Italy to a draw in 1979, Hagler's first bid for the middleweight title. As the champion, Antuofermo retained his crown. But after gaining the title in 1980, Hagler got his revenge, defeating Antuofermo on a fifth-round technical knockout in 1981.

After a knockout of John Mugabi in 1986, Hagler lost his championship in Las Vegas in April 1987 on a controversial split decision that went to Sugar Ray Leonard, who was making a comeback after almost three years away

'After I had nothing to prove to myself, it was the best thing to walk away.'

featured a host of outstanding fighters. Fighting from an unorthodox left-handed stance, his head shaved, he was perpetually bearing in on his foes.

Hagler's knockout of Thomas Hearns at 2 minutes 1 second of the third round of his title defense in Las Vegas in April 1985 had been hyped as "war," the single word on a baseball cap Hagler wore on a 23-city promotional tour with Hearns.

It became one of the most famous bouts in memory for the furious and virtually nonstop exchanges of blows from the opening bell.

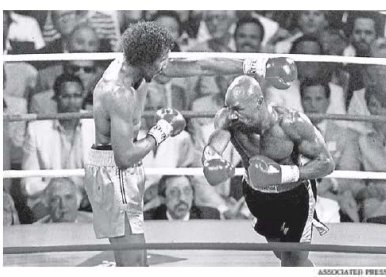
Midway through the third round, Hagler, his face smeared with blood from cuts on his forehead and under his right eye, delivered a right hand that put Hearns on his back.

Hearns arose wobbly, apparently at the count of nine, and the referee, Richard Steele, stopped

Michael Levenson contributed reporting.



LEONARD MCLENNAN/ASSOCIATED PRESS



ASSOCIATED PRESS

from the ring. Hagler retired afterward amid disagreement over terms for a rematch.

"Why do you want to hang around all your hard work and let someone get lucky and destroy your record," he told Ring magazine in 2014. "After I had nothing to prove to myself, it was the best thing to walk away."

Marvelous Marvin Hagler, above left, in the last fight of his career, which he lost to Sugar Ray Leonard in 1987 in Las Vegas. Left, Hagler fighting Thomas Hearns in Las Vegas in 1985.

Marciano, to be with relatives. A social worker in Newark had given Hagler a taste of boxing when he was 10. He dropped out of school at 15 to pursue boxing at a Brooklyn gym owned by the brothers Pat and Goody Petrone, who became his trainers and managers.

Hagler was inducted into the International Boxing Hall of Fame in 1993. Ring magazine named him fighter of the year in 1983 and 1985.

He had four children from his marriage to his first wife, Bertha, which ended in divorce. A complete list of survivors was not immediately available.

Hagler moved to Milan in 1989 to seek a career in movies. "I like the country, the culture, the people," he told Sports Illustrated in 1990. "And I knew Milan had people who could help me get into movies."

"People said I wouldn't last a

week here, and I'll tell you, this was a challenge," he said. "The first day I was here I got locked in my room because my landlady didn't speak English, and I had to jump off the balcony, and then I had nothing to eat and no fire, and I'm this Black guy who doesn't speak Italian, and you know, I stuck it out because I'm a survivor. Now I love it here."

He appeared in the action films "Indio" and "Indio 2."

Hagler said his had been conservative with the roughly \$40 million in purses he earned and was saddened by the poor financial state many great fighters had faced.

"I saw Joe Louis at the door at Caesars Palace, just shaking hands, and that left a bad taste in my mouth," he told Sports Illustrated. "Then I saw Jersey Joe Walcott doing the same thing in Atlantic City. Great champions. That keeps me moving."

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Arts

The New York Times

THE GRAMMYS

For Beyoncé, a Record-Setting Night



CHRIS PIZZELLO/INVISION, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS



FRANCIS SPICER/ONYX



FRANCIS SPICER/ONYX



EVAN AGOSTINI/GETTY IMAGES FOR THE RECORDING ACADEMY

In a year when we all seem to be standing far apart, an awards show offers an evening of togetherness.

By BEN SISARIO

The 63rd annual Grammy Awards combined splendor, star power and pandemic-era versatility on Sunday night to celebrate a deeply challenging year in music, highlighting the Black Lives Matter protests and — after years of pointed criticism — the role of women in pop music.

With touring artists grounded and fans stuck at home, and the music industry pulling in billions of dollars from streaming yet criticized by artists over pay, the music world has been upended for the last year.

But the producers of the show promised a night of respect and togetherness, with a novel outdoor setting in downtown Los Angeles in which performing musicians faced each other while performing — and then gathered together, masked and socially distant, to politely applaud for each other as they gave acceptance speeches.

Megan Thee Stallion, the sparkplug

Houston rapper who described her young ambition as becoming “the rap Beyoncé,” took best new artist, and her song “Savage” — which featured Beyoncé as a guest — won best for rap performance and for best rap song.

“It’s been a hell of a year, but we made it,” Megan Thee Stallion said when accepting the award for best new artist, while downtown traffic roared.

In an upset, the singer-songwriter known as H.E.R. won song of the year — beating Beyoncé, Taylor Swift, Billie Eilish and Dua Lipa — for “I Can’t Breathe,” a fist-in-the-air anthem for Black Lives Matter, with lines like “Stripped of bloodlines, whipped and confined/This is the American pride.”

“We wrote this song over FaceTime,” H.E.R. said, accepting the award, “and I didn’t imagine that my fear and that my pain would turn into impact, and that it would possibly turn into change.”

The Grammys have frequently been criti-

Clockwise from upper left: Beyoncé; Cardi B; Megan Thee Stallion; and Billie Eilish with her brother Finneas.

cized for their record of recognizing women, but this year — perhaps in response — the show highlighted women.

Beyoncé won four awards, bringing her lifetime total to 28 Grammys — more than any other woman. Accepting the award for best R&B performance for her song “Black Parade,” which was released just as protests were breaking out last summer, she said: “As an artist I believe it’s my job, and all of our jobs, to reflect the times, and it’s been such a difficult time.”

Accepting the award for best country album, for “Wildcard” — a category in which all the contestants were women — Miranda Lambert thanked the Grammys “for putting us together and letting us at least kind of be together and say hi,” and then called out to her band and crew: “I miss the hell out of y’all.”

A shirtless Harry Styles, in a leather jacket and feathery boa, opened the night

CONTINUED ON PAGE C2

JASON FARAGO | CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

Beeple Has Won. Here's What We've Lost.

On ‘nonfungible tokens,’ 3-D software and a new art world.

“I WANT TO BE A MACHINE.” Andy Warhol once said. Apparently the public wouldn’t mind either.

Lately a digital artist from South Carolina, known mononymously as Beeple, has won a following by using 3-D rendering software to make colorful, digestible pastiches, which he now sells as files authenticated with a unique bit of code. On Thursday, a montage of these digital files, titled “Everydays — The First 5000 Days,” went on the block in a one-lot online auction at Christie’s, where it became the “What Does the Fox Say?” of art sales. A crypto whale known only by the

pseudonym Metakovan paid \$69 million (with fees) for some indiscriminately collated pictures of cartoon monsters, gross-out gags and a breastfeeding Donald Trump — which suddenly makes this computer illustrator the third-highest-selling artist alive.

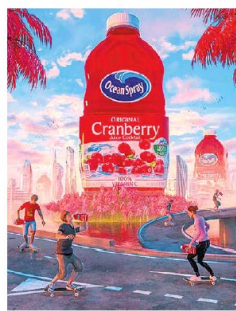
The purchase was executed with a cryptocurrency called Ether, and Beeple’s connection to digital speculation is not incidental. Several of the images included in “Everydays” depict bulls lugging Bitcoin gold pieces or sliced open to reveal precious metal; recently he released an image of two fornicating bulls on a gold pedestal, topped with a massive Bitcoin emblem shaped like a rapper’s chain.

Welcome, users, to your new cultural settlement! A century ago, Andrew Carnegie and his ilk used their new money to buy the

prizes of the past and fund the institutions of the present. Today’s new money prefers its own systems of both finance and culture, where cryptocurrency’s anarcho-libertarianism dovetails with certain boys’ amusement: the subterfuge comedy of Salt Lake and Boaty McBoatface, the penny-ante heroism of online role-playing games, and the stunted emotions of streaming porn.

What Christie’s sold was not an object but a “nonfungible token,” so we had better start with some definitions. “Token” is just bit-coinese for a unique string of characters, logged on a blockchain (or decentralized database), that can be transferred and traded between users. Most tokens are fungible: that is to say, exchangeable, like for like, as with dollars or gold bars or

CONTINUED ON PAGE C4



One of the images incorporated in Beeple’s “Everydays — The First 5000 Days,” a digital artwork that sold for \$69 million last week, refers to a briefly viral TikTok.

THE GRAMMYS

For Beyoncé, a Record-Setting Night



FRANCIS SPICKARD/CBS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1
with "Watermelon Sugar," as Ed Sheeran nodded along admiringly. The sisters of Haim and the rock-soul duo Black Pumas held their instruments, waiting their own turns. It was the kind of musical interactions that music fans used to see every night, but have been starved for since March 12, 2020, when virtually all live music shut down.

"Tonight is going to be the biggest outdoor event this year besides the storming of the Capitol," the night's host, Trevor Noah, announced at the start of the show, televised by CBS.

In early performances, Swift sang a medley of songs from her twin pandemic albums "Folklore" and "Evermore" looking like a woodland heroine from a Maxfield Parrish print. ("Folklore" earned a total of five nominations, including album of the year.) The rapper DaBaby, in a glittery white suit and Chanel brooches, sang "Rockstar," an anthem that resonated in Black Lives Matter protests last year, while conducting a choir of older white singers.

Megan Thee Stallion and Cardi B performed their ribald hit "W.A.P." — "Wet, wet, wet," they sang, one of the many censored versions of a song that is defiantly raunchy.

The Latin superstar Bad Bunny sang "Dákiti" with purple and blue lights dancing off his chain-link vest, and the dance-pop queen Dua Lipa — the best new artist winner two years ago — led her hit "Don't Start Now" surrounded by dancers in silvery face masks.

Bruno Mars and Anderson .Paak debuted their new project, Silk Sonic, like 1970s "Soul Train" crooners in three-piece suits and wide lapels. ("I won't bite unless you like," they sang.)

In an extended "in memoriam" segment, Lionel Richie paid tribute to Kenny Rogers; Mars and Anderson .Paak feted Little Richard; Brandi Carlile sang John Prine's "I Remember Everything"; and Brittany Howard and Coldplay's Chris Martin honored Gerry Marsden of the Merseybeat group Gerry and the Pacemakers.

Dua Lipa won best pop vocal album for "Future Nostalgia," and Harry Styles's "Watermelon Sugar" took best pop solo performance.

In an early ceremony on Sunday afternoon, where 72 of the night's 83 prizes were given out, Beyoncé took two prizes: best rap performance, as a guest on Megan Thee Stallion's "Savage," and best music video for "Brown Skin Girl" (which she shared with her 9-year-old daughter, Blue Ivy Carter).

Ed Sheeran and his brother, Finneas, shared an early prize for best song written for visual media, for the theme song to the latest James Bond film, "No Time to Die," which was delayed early on by the pandemic and still has not been released.

Early prizes also went to Fiona Apple, who won best rock performance for "Shameika" and alternative album for "Fetch the Bolt Cutters," a huge critical hit. (Hours before the show began, Apple posted online that she would not be attending because of the scrutiny it brings.) The Strokes, among rock's brightest lights in the early 2000s, won their first Grammy, best rock album, for "The New Abnormal."

Swift and Lipa are each up for six awards, with music that reflected two sides of the pandemic. Swift's pared-down, acoustic album "Folklore" was one of two last year she made in quarantine; Lipa's disco-drenched "Future Nostalgia," which came out just as the music world was shutting down, provided a joyful release just as pop's usual nighttime rites had vanished.

This year's Grammys also brought to fever pitch some of the controversies that have been surrounding the show and its parent organization, the Recording Academy, for years.

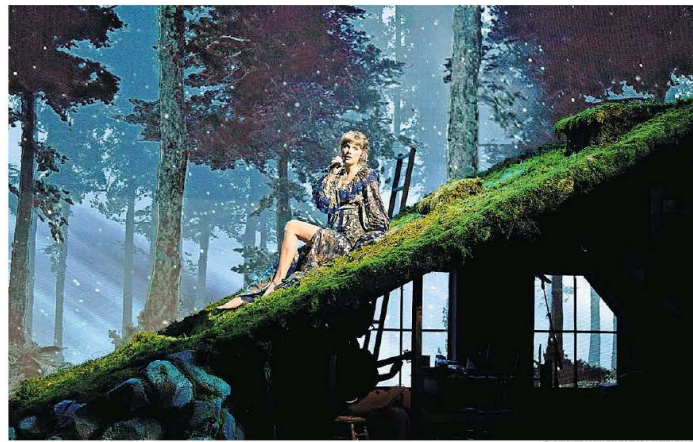
After the Weeknd, the singer of megahits like "Blinding Lights" — and the performer at last month's Super Bowl halftime show — was shut out of the nominations entirely, critics of the academy noted the tendency for Black artists to lose out in the top categories, and also attacked its academy's practice of using unaccountable expert committees to make the final choices about nominations in 61 categories.



KEVIN MAZUR/RECORDING ACADEMY, VIA GETTY IMAGES



FRANCIS SPICKARD/CBS



TED RUZICKA/MANGLA MEDIA, VIA GETTY IMAGES

The Weeknd himself (Abel Tesfaye) told The New York Times last week that he would boycott future Grammys in protest of those committees.

The awards also capped a tumultuous year in the music industry, with musicians losing the vital lifeline of touring but the business that surrounds them riding the popularity of streaming to new financial heights on the stock market and in private deals.

Some musicians, like Bob Dylan, Neil Young and Stevie Nicks, reaped huge rewards by selling their song catalogs for sums in the tens or even hundreds of millions of dollars — figures that seemed impossible just a decade ago, when the music business was widely seen as a ruined ship, sinking in a sea of digital piracy.

To survive, musicians have sold what assets they could, doubled down on creating content and toured via live streams from their homes. Sarah Jarosz, who won best Americana album for "World on the Ground," spoke to reporters on a Zoom call about making "lots of videos from here, in my living room, over the last year."

The Grammys also highlighted the struggles of independent venues by having staff from four music spots — the Apollo Theater in New York, Station Inn in Nashville and the Troubadour and Hotel Café in Los Angeles — present four awards.

Jimmy Jam, the producer of Janet Jackson and the Time, who appeared in his char-

acteristic black suit, hat and shades, announced the best R&B album award, which went to John Legend for "Bigger Love." Accepting from the podium, Jimmy Jam said: "I will accept this on behalf of John. Actually, he lives right around the corner from me. So I'll drop it off at his house — socially distanced, of course."

Prine, the folk singer who died of Covid-19 last year at age 73, won two awards for his song "I Remember Everything." Chick Corea, the jazz keyboardist who died of cancer last month at 79, also won two. Both men's widows accepted their awards on their behalf.

Even in the Grammy celebrations themselves, hints came through of the turmoil behind the scenes of the Recording Academy.

Controversies over the lack of minority representation at the Grammys went all the way down the ballot to the children's music album category. Three of the five original nominees dropped out as a protest because no Black artists had been recognized.

Joanie Leeds, one of the two remaining nominees, won for "All the Ladies," a tribute to great women, made with a long list of female collaborators. In her acceptance speech she cited a recent report about the poor representation of women in the music world, and sent a message to others in her field.

"We may be a small genre," she said, "but we are really powerful. Let's continue to be the change that we want to see."

Top, Coldplay's Chris Martin accompanying Brittany Howard at the Grammy Awards in Los Angeles. Center left, Dua Lipa's outfit became more revealing as she performed. Center right, Harry Styles opened the night. Above, Taylor Swift on a elaborate set.

acteristic black suit, hat and shades, announced the best R&B album award, which went to John Legend for "Bigger Love." Accepting from the podium, Jimmy Jam said: "I will accept this on behalf of John. Actually, he lives right around the corner from me. So I'll drop it off at his house — socially distanced, of course."

Prine, the folk singer who died of Covid-19 last year at age 73, won two awards for his song "I Remember Everything." Chick Corea, the jazz keyboardist who died of cancer last month at 79, also won two. Both men's widows accepted their awards on their behalf.

Even in the Grammy celebrations themselves, hints came through of the turmoil behind the scenes of the Recording Academy.

Controversies over the lack of minority representation at the Grammys went all the way down the ballot to the children's music album category. Three of the five original nominees dropped out as a protest because no Black artists had been recognized.

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"We may be a small genre," she said, "but we are really powerful. Let's continue to be the change that we want to see."

2021 Grammy Awards

These are select winners. A complete list is at nypm.com/grammys.

Album of the Year

"Folklore," Taylor Swift

Song of the Year

"I Can't Breathe," Dermot Earle, H.E.R. and Tiara Thomas, songwriters (H.E.R.)

Best New Artist

Megan Thee Stallion

Best Pop Solo Performance

"Watermelon Sugar," Harry Styles

Best Pop Duo/Group Performance

"Rain on Me," Lady Gaga with Ariana Grande

Best Pop Vocal Album

"Future Nostalgia," Dua Lipa

Best Traditional Pop Vocal Album

"American Standard," James Taylor

Best Dance Recording

"10%, "Kaytranada featuring Kali Uchis

Best Dance/Electronic Album

"Bubblegum," Kaytranada

Best Contemporary Instrumental Album

"Live at the Royal Albert Hall," Snarky Puppy

Best Rock Performance

"Shameika," Fiona Apple

Best Metal Performance

"Burn-Rush," Body Count

Best Rock Song

"Slow High," Brittany Howard, songwriter (Brittany Howard)

Best Rock Album

"The New Abnormal," The Strokes

Best Alternative Music Album

"Fetch the Bolt Cutters," Fiona Apple

Best R&B Performance

"Black Parade," Beyoncé

Best Traditional R&B Performance

"Anything for You," Ledisi

Best R&B Song

"Better Than I Imagine," Robert Glasper, Meshell Ndegeocello and Gabriela Wilson, songwriters (Robert Glasper featuring H.E.R. and Meshell Ndegeocello)

Best Progressive R&B Album

"It Is What It Is," Thundercat

Best R&B Album

"Bigger Love," John Legend

Best Rap Performance

"Savage," Megan Thee Stallion featuring Beyoncé

Best Melodic Rap Performance

"Lockdown," Anderson .Paak

Best Rap Song

"Savage," Beyoncé, Shawn Carter, Brittany Hazzard, Derrick Milano, Taurus Nash, Megan Pete, Bobby Session Jr., Jordan Kyle Lanier Thorpe and Anthony White, songwriters (Megan Thee Stallion featuring Beyoncé)

Best Rap Album

"King's Disease," Nas

Best Country Solo Performance

"When My Army Prays," Vince Gill

Best Country Duo/Group Performance

"10,000 Hours," Dan + Shay and Justin Bieber

Best Country Song

"Crowded Table," Brandi Carlile, Natalie Hemby and Lori McKenna, songwriters (The Highwomen)

Best Country Album

"Wildcard," Miranda Lambert

Best New Age Album

"More Guitar Stories," Jim "Kimo" West

Best Improvised Jazz Solo

"All Blues," Chick Corea, soloist

Best Jazz Vocal Album

"Secrets Are the Best Stories," Kurt Elling featuring Danilo Pérez

Best Jazz Instrumental Album

"Friday 2," Chick Corea, Christian McBride and Brian Blade

Best Large Jazz Ensemble Album

"Data Lords," Maria Schneider Orchestra

Best Latin Jazz Album

"Four Questions," Arturo O'Farrill and the Afro Latin Jazz Orchestra

Best Gospel Performance/Song

"Movin' On," Darryl L. Howell, Jonathan Caleb McReynolds, Kortney Jamaal Pollard and Terrell Demetrius Wilson, songwriters (Jonathan McReynolds and Mali Music)

Best Contemporary Christian Music Performance/Song

"There Was Jesus," Case Beathard, Jonathan Smith and Zach Williams, songwriters (Zach Williams and Dolly Parton)

Best Gospel Album

"Gospel (According to PJ)," PJ Morton

Best Contemporary Christian Music Album

"Jesus Is King," Kanye West

Best Roots Gospel Album

"Celebrating Fisk! (The 150th Anniversary Album)," Fisk Jubilee Singers

Best Latin Pop or Urban Album

"H.U.M.I.D.G.," Bad Bunny

Best Latin Rock or Alternative Album

"La Conquista Del Espacio," Fito Páez

Best Regional Mexican Music Album (Including Tejano)

"Un Canto Por México, Vol. 1," Natalia Lafourcade

Best Tropical Latin Album

"40," Grupo Niche

Best American Roots Performance

"I Remember Everything," John Prine

Best American Roots Song

"I Remember Everything," Pat McClaughlin and John Prine, songwriters (John Prine)

JOSHUA BARONE | CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

German Orchestra Peeks Into the Future

Simon Rattle will take the helm of the Bavarian Radio Symphony in 2023.

IN AN EVENING of back-to-back concerts recently, the Bavarian Radio Symphony Orchestra played music that asks the big questions: Is there a God? What are we to make of war and death? How do we perceive the world around us?

But perhaps the biggest question was the one raised by the concert's themselves: What will the future of this orchestra look like under its new chief conductor, Simon Rattle?

These livestreamed performances, along with a third last Friday — all available on demand from BR-Klassik — were his first with this ensemble since he was named to the post in January. And while they offered glimpses of the Rattle era to come in 2023, they more urgently provided an assurance that this excellent orchestra, previously led by Mariss Jansons until his death in 2019, will be in good hands.

News of Rattle's hiring came with an announcement that shocked the classical music world: He would also step down from the helm of the London Symphony Orchestra, where his arrival in 2017 had been heralded as a homecoming for a globally acclaimed British conductor. (He will stay on, partially, in an emeritus position.)

The reason for the move to Munich, Rattle has said, is personal: He wants to spend more time with his wife, the mezzo-soprano Magdalena Kozena, and their children, at home in Berlin, where he was the chief conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic from 2002 to 2018. But it's difficult to ignore the coincidence of Brexit, which he has sharply criticized and which took effect in January, threatening the livelihoods of British musicians who had benefited from the ease of open borders. (Not for nothing did he also announce that he had applied for European citizenship.) And it's maybe not so coincidental that last month, London officials scrapped plans for a much-needed new concert hall there — a project with no greater champion than Rattle.

The construction of a new hall, and the headaches that go with it, await him in Germany. But, like the start of his tenure with the Bavarian Radio Symphony Orchestra, that is years away. In the meantime, there was something of a preview in the three recent livestreams — contemporary-minded programs for the Musica Viva series, and a deceptively traditional one of works by Brahms, Stravinsky and Haydn. Rattle is a clever programmer, with an open ear and an unremitting commitment to living composers. And he has a gift for, even an insistence on, clarity within chromaticism and complexity.

Crucially, the musicians appear to respond well to Rattle's direction, an affinity that probably was honed during his appearances with the orchestra since his debut with the orchestra in 2010. Since then, he

has recorded three albums with them: a sometimes frustrating take on Mahler's "Das Lied von der Erde" and burning accounts of Wagner's "Das Rheingold" and "Die Walküre."

Rattle made more of a statement, though, with his latest concerts, which covered roughly 325 years of music history and opened at the Philharmonie in the Gasteig with a world premiere: Ondrej Adamek's "Where Are You?" an unruly song cycle for mezzo-soprano and orchestra. It was written for Kozena, and began with her waving her arms in what looked like a breathing exercise, then revealed itself as extended technique — her vocalise matched by the primal airiness of a flute.

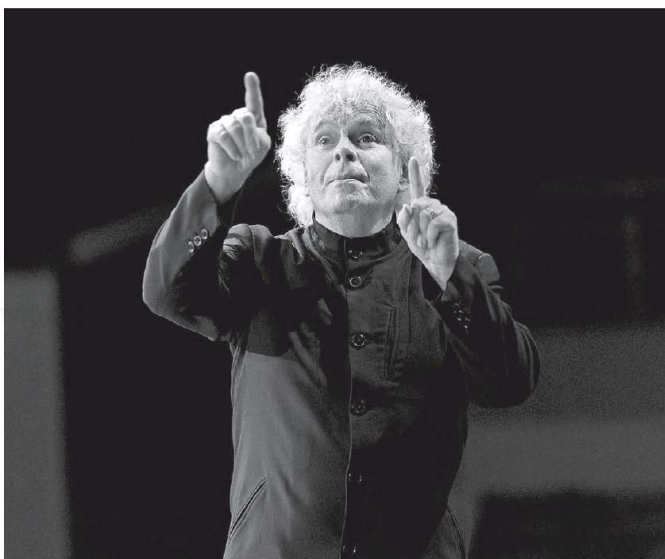
In 15 songs that flow together in an unbroken monologue, the soloist continuously wrestles with questions of faith, drawing on sources in Aramaic, Czech, Moravian dialect, Spanish, English and Sanskrit. Words are stripped down to elemental syllables, repeated with chattering anxiety or prolonged with wide, sirens-like vibrato. Occasionally the work's modernist tropes, which peek with the use of a loudspeaker, are pierced by stylistic interjections: a fiddling folk song, Eastern idioms. There may be a point here about universal experience, but it's too often muddled by the work's impatient focus.

Who's to say what effects Adamek's contrasts would have had in person? Unlike soloists and chamber groups, orchestras are particularly ill-suited for the virtual performances made necessary by the pandemic. Large ensembles are complex organisms, at constant risk of being flattened online. Video is fine as a document, but it remains a poor substitute for the concert-going experience.

That was especially evident in the piece that followed, Messiaen's "Et exspecto resurrectionem mortuorum." Premiered within the Gothic grandeur of the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris and intended for vast spaces, this work can be overwhelming, a vision of the apocalypse. But its resonance — acoustic and otherwise — felt stifled here, clearly recognizable but inaccessible.

After that concert, Rattle hopped across the Isar river to the Herkulesaal, the orchestra's home at the Residenz in central Munich, for a program of Purcell's 17th-century "Music for the Funeral of Queen Mary" and Georg Friedrich Haas's "in vain" (2000), which Rattle, during a prepped interview, described as "one of the few pieces from this century that we already know will have a life for all the centuries afterwards."

Rattle's reverence for the Haas shone through in what amounted to a faultless reading of the score, which calls for a lighting scheme to match the shifting tones and textures, rendering any performance more of an installation — at times, in total darkness. The experience of "in vain" is specific to the point of exploring, and raising questions of the relationship between a composer and musicians, and in turn the audience. Yet as I watched the players navigate their instruments blindly, I was sitting near



Simon Rattle, above, shocked the classical music world in January by saying he would leave the London Symphony Orchestra to lead the Bavarian Radio Symphony Orchestra, left. He recently conducted livestreamed concerts there.



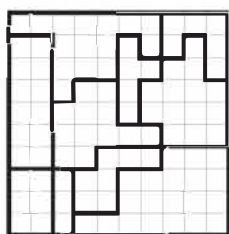
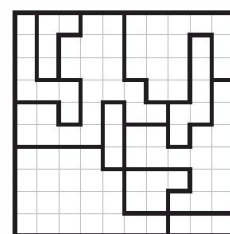
an open window, bathing in the warmth of the midday sun and enjoying the freshness of spring's awakening.

If there is a benefit to pandemic-era programming, it's scale. Because of their relative safety, works traditionally overlooked because of their small size have flourished. Hence Friday's livestream from the Herkulesaal, a program of familiar names and less-familiar music: Brahms's Serenade No. 2 in A, sweetly plain-spoken and elegiac; Stravinsky's "Symphonies of Wind Instruments," its distinct threads gracefully and harmoniously entwined; and Haydn's Symphony No. 90 in C, a little smushy at

first but settled into with crisp playfulness.

The Haydn has a false ending: a joke at the expense of the audience members, who often applaud then laugh at themselves as the music goes on. With no one in the hall, the punchline fell flat, more of a "heh" than a "heh." But, as Rattle said in an interview with BR-Klassik, he is just getting started on a long journey with the Bavarians, and he plans to program Haydn, a personal favorite, more in the future. When that happens, the symphony can tickle its listeners again. Because they know that after the pause, the orchestra comes back. It always does.

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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Brain Tickler

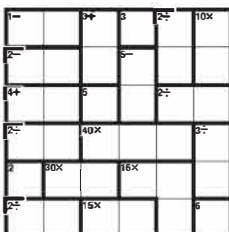
Insert two letters in the exact center of each of these six-letter words to make an eight-letter one.

CORRAL CHAISE SANITY ROSARY

PUZZLE BY WILL SHORTZ

SATURDAY'S ANSWER: Oceanic, moans, exanans

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.

For solving tips and more KenKen puzzles: www.nytimes.com/kenken. For feedback: nytimes@kenken.com

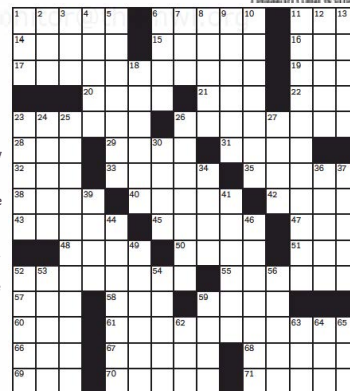
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Crossword Edited by Will Shortz

ACROSS

- 1 Vehicles on snow-covered hills
- 6 Watering place (for a camel)
- 11 Indoor animal
- 14 "The Fox and the Grapes" storyteller
- 15 Trick-taking card game
- 16 Messenger
- 17 Large bird of prey with a brownish-yellow neck
- 19 Suffix with cynic or skeptic
- 20 Pleased
- 21 Hombre
- 22 Pool stick
- 23 Make excited, as a crowd
- 26 Smooched into compact layers
- 28 ... carte (ordered separately)
- 29 Blue race in "Avatar"
- 31 Kind of pickle
- 32 ... for tat
- 33 Actor Kevin whose last name shares four letters with his first
- 35 Eric Clapton hit that's over seven minutes long
- 38 Light bulb unit
- 40 Butchers' offerings
- 42 Like tops and tales
- 43 Speak extemporaneously
- 45 Boringly proper
- 47 Conclude
- 48 Greek god of love
- 50 Away from the wind, nautically
- 51 It's just a number, they say
- 52 Single, double and triple, on the diamond
- 53 Shows mercy to
- 57 Plant bristle
- 58 Poet's "before"
- 59 Olla podrida, for one
- 60 Sheep's cry
- 61 Where you can find a 17-Across perched on an 11-Down devouring a 25-Down
- 66 Noah's construction
- 67 Opening remarks
- 68 One of the Allman Brothers
- 69 Envision

PUZZLE BY PHILIP K. CHOW



- 70 Valuable item
- 71 New York's Memorial ... Kettering Cancer Center
- 12 Follow as a consequence
- 13 No longer feral
- 18 Incendiary bomb material
- 23 Formal ruling on a point of Islamic law
- 24 Trojan War epic poem
- 25 Venomous predator with a vibrating tail
- 26 They get smashed at parties
- 27 "Sadly ..."
- 30 Strives for victory
- 34 And others: Abbr.
- 36 Sudden forward thrust
- 37 World's longest continental mountain range
- 39 Lose stamina
- 41 Afternoon nap
- 44 European region that lent its name to a nonconforming lifestyle
- 46 "Could be ..."
- 48 Ambulance sounds
- 52 Rum-soaked dessert
- 53 In the loop
- 54 Messages that sometimes contain emojis
- 56 Really, really bad
- 59 Get off ... free
- 62 Fury
- 63 Philosopher — tu
- 64 Get ... on (acc)
- 65 Four-star officer: Abbr.

DOWN

- 1 Droop
- 2 Zodiac sign before Virgo
- 3 Course for some immigrants, in brief
- 4 Historic Kansas fort name
- 5 Explore caves
- 6 Like debts
- 7 "Bingo!"
- 8 Letter after rho
- 9 Cuba or Aruba
- 10 Sign maker's pattern
- 11 Cactus with an edible fruit

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE



On-line subscriptions: Today's puzzle and more than 9,000 past puzzles, nytimes.com/crosswords (\$39.95 a year). Read about and comment on each puzzle: nytimes.com/wordplay.

This Week on TV

A SELECTION OF SHOWS, SPECIALS AND MOVIES. BY GABE COHN

Monday

TINKER, TAILOR, SOLDIER, SPY (2011) 8 p.m. on HBO2. John le Carré, who died in December at 89, made a name for himself writing espionage novels with spy characters who are flawed and fallible. If they order vodka martinis it's probably to stave off loneliness, not to look suave. Such is the case with the MI6 officer George Smiley, a recurring character in le Carré's novels and the focus of "Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy," which concerns an aging Smiley's efforts to weed out a double-agent in the service's ranks. Gary Oldman (right) plays Smiley in this film version, which was directed by Tomas Alfredson and which, in her review for The New York Times, Manohla Dargis called a "superb" adaptation of the novel. Oldman, she wrote, gives "a fascinatingly gripping performance that doesn't so much command the screen, dominating it with shouts and displays of obvious technique, as take it over incrementally, an occupation that echoes Smiley's steady incursion into the mole's lair."



ROBIN AND MARIAN (1976) 6 p.m. on TCM. Five years after ostensibly hanging up his James Bond tux with "Diamonds Are Forever," Sean Connery starred opposite Audrey Hepburn in this swashbuckling take on the Robin Hood legend. Connery plays an aging Robin Hood, who, after the death of Richard the Lionheart (Richard Harris), returns to Sherwood Forest to discover that Maid Marian, who has become the mother superior of a convent, is under threat from Robin Hood's nemesis, the Sheriff of Nottingham (Robert Shaw). The adventure is set to a score by John Barry, who also wrote the musical accompaniment for numerous James Bond movies, including most of Connery's.

Tuesday

MAYNARS M.C. 10 p.m. on FX. This "Sons of Anarchy" spinoff has offered a distinctive blend of gasoline and adrenaline since its debut in 2018. The third season, which premieres on Tuesday, continues the story of Ezekiel Reyes (J.D. Pardo). It picks up after the events of the show's intense Season 2 finale, which included a consequential murder.

Dates, details and times are subject to change.

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MINARI
10:00, 11:30am, 12:30, 2:00, 3:00, 4:30, 5:30, 7:00, 8:00pm

NOMADLAND
10:30am, 12:00, 1:00, 2:00, 2:30, 5:00, 6:00, 7:30, 8:30pm

THE FATHER
10:30am, 12:15, 1:00, 2:35, 4:55, 5:30, 7:50pm

QUO VADIS, AIDA?
10:00pm, 2:35, 8:15pm

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JEOPARDY!
GAME OF THE DAY

FICTIONAL PLACES

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FOR THE CORRECT RESPONSE, WATCH JEOPARDY! TONIGHT OR LOOK IN THIS SPACE TOMORROW IN THE TIMES.

Friday's Response: WHAT IS ANTIFAT?

Watch JEOPARDY!
7 p.m. on Channel 7

MySavvyCook.com

Cooking

nytcooking.com

Cynthia Erivo dramatizes the life of Aretha Franklin in "Genius: Aretha," on National Geographic.

Wednesday

A GRAMMY SALUTE TO THE SOUNDS OF CHANGE 9 p.m. on CBS. The hip-hop artist Common is the host of two-hour special, which will pay tribute to music's ability to catalyze social change. Artists scheduled to appear include Yolanda Adams, Andra Day, Cynthia Erivo, John Fogerty, Gladys Knight, Patti LaBelle, Brad Paisley, Leon Bridges (right), Billy Porter and Gloria Estefan. The ongoing criticism of the Grammys' lack of diversity, including its poor record of recognizing people of color, is bound to create some dissonance — but the power of the artists, including those involved here, was never in question.



FINIAN'S RAINBOW (1968) 5:30 p.m. on TCM. Four years before "The Godfather," Francis Ford Coppola directed this film adaptation of the 1947 fantasy musical "Finian's Rainbow." The story follows an Irish father (Fred Astaire) and daughter (Petula Clark) who steal a leprechaun's pot of gold, then flee to the United States. While the film has its fans — including the Coen brothers, who have expressed a love for it — it was largely panned by critics, including Renata Adler, who in her review for The Times in 1968 referred to the film as a "cheesy, joyless thing."

Thursday

SHREK (2001) 6 p.m. on Freeform. This spring marks 20 years since Mike Myers, Eddie Murphy and Cameron Diaz teamed up in the original, animated, tongue-in-cheek "Shrek" fairy tale. Its original audience might enjoy revisiting it for a dose of nostalgia — or perhaps to show it to their own children.

Friday

GREAT PERFORMANCES AT THE MET 9 p.m. on PBS (check local listings). The New York performing arts venue the Shed announced last week that it would reopen for indoor performances next month, with a lineup that includes a concert from the soprano Renée Fleming. But even most people who feel ready to return to indoor performances won't get to go — the size of the virus-tested audience will be limited. Instead, they can watch Fleming remotely on Friday, when PBS runs this episode of "Great Performances at the Met." The recorded program includes arias by Puccini and Massenet, as well as works by Handel and Korngold. PBS is pairing it with "Live From Lincoln Center Presents: Stars in Concert," with Andrew Rannells, which is at 10 p.m.

JASON FARAGO | CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

Beeple Has Won. Here's What's Lost.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1
GameStop shares.

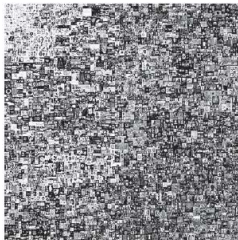
A "nonfungible" token, by contrast, is valued independently of all other tokens. It is, in this way, like a work of art — this Monet can't be replaced by that Monet, and certainly can't be replaced by that Warhol or that "Dogs Playing Poker." The NFT produces what digital art has always lacked: limited editions. The actual images remain in circulation, and any citizen or curator can print them out or project them (unless Beeple, who remains the copyright holder, objects). What Christie's sold was a related asset, which can be resold or even chopped up like so many Beeple stocks.

Best not to freak out about the price as such. Art prices have been speculative for decades now. And artists have been selling abstract rights rather than objects for a century. Marcel Duchamp's "Monie Carlo Bond" turned the artist's person into a tradable security; Tino Sehgal's performances are sold and certified through oral contracts. If anything, the recourse to Christie's and the introduction of blockchain "uniqueness" gives the lie to the techno-optimist pitch that NFTs allow an end run around the art establishment. The aura of singularity and the auction house's legitimization serve, transparently, to goose the price of assets functionally equivalent to Beanie Babies or CryptoKitties.

(If NFTs bring any thing new to art speculation, it is the appalling environmental price of blockchain transactions; the artist Memo Akten computed that the average NFT has a carbon footprint equal to a European citizen's power use for a month. Artist-activists who bristle at the inequities of museum collections or the misdeeds of board members should be enraged by NFTs, though it does seem suitable that art like this is literally hastening the extinction of life on earth.)

So freak out about something else: the cultural tendency Beeple signals. NFT boosters like to say that a decentralized art market will allow a flowering of creativity beyond the elitist art world. This isn't quite right. Museums, galleries, magazines and art schools have happily absorbed cultural production from well beyond their borders, from folk art to popular dances to memes themselves. What distinguishes Beeple's digital imagery from other "non-establishment" art is the violent erasure of human values inherent in the pictures, and how happy his crypto fans are to see them go.

Look closely — does anyone, though? — at the component images of "Everydays." The NFT in question comprises thousands of images that the artist makes once a day with Cinema 4D and Octane software, and which Beeple has posted publicly since 2007. They're études, I guess. Many assign politicians the status of cartoon characters: Joe Biden as the "Toy Story" character Buzz



Lightyear; Kim Jong-un as one of the Transformers. Also, rote regurgitation of the day's memes: for instance, a battery-acid genre scene of skateboarders drinking cranberry juice, in tribute to a briefly viral TikTok starring an Idahoan swigging Ocean Spray. (Here the skateboarders coast beneath an Ocean Spray monolith, towering over a futuristic city.)

There are misty, techno-japanese seascapes and icebergs for those who prefer "Final Fantasy" to Caspar David Friedrich. Weirdly, many of Beeple's daily images rely on off-color sex gags, some of which a borscht-belt comic would find demeaning. Christmas brought from Beeple "Santa Came Early," which pictures an ashamed St. Nicholas in bed with his unsatisfied girlfriend after the titular sexual mishap.

Visually, many of Beeple's pictures mimic the Japanese Gothic fantasies of video games. Some recall the art of the insane. (On the eve of Thanksgiving, he drew a picture of a man performing oral sex on a turkey.) Beeple has a talent for rendering architecture, though he struggles with flesh; as in many video games, the skins appear waxy and desiccated. It's as if every remaining human in this cryptouniverse has scurvy, though maybe that is what happens when you subordinate your flesh to the screen.

Similarly to KAWS, the subject of a current show at the Brooklyn Museum, Beeple often repurposes Pixar, Disney, "Star Wars" and Pokémon characters in the way earlier artists painted Christian saints or Greek deities. Unlike KAWS, who has at least tried to produce an artistic project of his own, Beeple uses these cartoon characters as social-media mnemonics; they're signposts in the endless churn of the image stream, to confirm you know what you are looking at, you already like it, you know the artist is on your team.

Even the gross-out images are not actually interested in the abjection of popular culture or American society, in the manner of Mike Kelley or Paul McCarthy. They're just



Above left, the "Everydays" file, and above, a detail from it. "I do view this as the next chapter of art history," Beeple says.

meant to signal a particular cultural and ideological disposition, where the get-rich-quick promise of cryptocurrency dovetails with a teenage aversion to authority (sniffy Times critics very much among the latter).

"I do view this as the next chapter of art history," said Beeple, real name Mike Winkelmann. He is probably right — though what those chapters say may be of interest here. In a gruesome coincidence, the digital artist shares his last name with the literal founder of art history: Johann Joachim Winckelmann, scholar of the German Enlightenment, who in the 18th century was the first to systematize the art of the past.

Winckelmann's most fundamental insight was that a sculpture, a painting or a building was not just a thing of beauty; a work of art is a product of its time, and expresses even without trying something about the place and the culture it comes from. It is as true as ever, and certainly true about Beeple's pictures of naked gigantes with the face of Pikachu. It is his culture now, benighted but triumphant, where puerile amusement can never be questioned and the Simpsons have displaced the gods.

Saturday

RELIC (2020) 8 p.m. on Showtime. Emily Mortimer, Bella Heathcote and Robyn Nevins play three generations of women haunted by one case of dementia — and perhaps more — in this horror debut from the director Natalie Erika James. The plot revolves around Edna (Nevin), an octogenarian who goes missing from her rural home. When Edna's daughter (Mortimer) and granddaughter (Heathcote) go looking for her, they discover a sinister presence within the home's dusty walls. In her review for The Times, Jeannette Catsoulis wrote that the film creates a "surprisingly creepy atmosphere and a patiently ratcheting unease." The story, she added, "deftly merges the familiar bumps and groans of the haunted-house movie with a potent allegory for the devastation of dementia."



Emily Mortimer in the horror story "Relic"

Sunday

GENIUS: ARETHA 9 p.m. on National Geographic. The first two seasons of this National Geographic anthology series focused on the lives of Pablo Picasso (Antonio Banderas) and Albert Einstein (Geoffrey Rush). The third season, debuting on Sunday, dramatizes the life of Aretha Franklin (Cynthia Erivo). It was originally scheduled to show last May but was pushed back when the pandemic caused production delays. The new timing offers an interesting opportunity for viewers — the playwright Suzan-Lori Parks, who was the showrunner for this season of "Genius," also wrote the just-released historical drama "The United States vs. Billie Holiday." Watch both back to back to see Parks revisit the lives of two giants in 20th-century music.

She Is Speaking Truth From Her Minivan

Kate Baer's writing is an answer to all doubters who say motherhood can't be literary or even poetic, for that matter.

By JESSICA BENNETT

Before the pandemic, when she could afford a babysitter, Kate Baer would write from a Panera Bread near her home in Hummelstown, Pa., where her favorite staff member, Annemarie, would save her the booth with the power outlet and didn't mind if she brought her own food.

"I'd order a tea and get out my peanut butter and jelly sandwich," she said.

Since the pandemic, the 35-year-old mother of four has been working from the Panera parking lot, sitting in her Honda minivan with her laptop propped against the steering wheel, attempting to catch a Wi-Fi signal Baer wore triple layers, parked in the sun and occasionally blasted the heat to keep her fingers from getting numb.

It was there that she wrote "What Kind of Woman," a poetry collection that topped the New York Times best-seller list for paperback trade fiction when Harper Perennial released it late last year. It was her first piece of paid writing.

It was also there that Baer wrote the first draft of her new book, a collection of "erasure poems" that repurpose the nasty messages she receives about her work, striking out words to create new poems.

A few days ago, on International Women's Day, she posted one of these poems on Instagram alongside its original message.

It was from a "freelance book reviewer" requesting an interview and noting that while her work was well written, it was not the subject matter he would like to read about. "Not unbearable, but also not universal," he wrote.

He offered a suggestion: Perhaps studying some of the classics — Edgar Allan Poe, Thomas Hardy or Henry David Thoreau would help her make her work more relatable.

Baer took a screenshot of the note and sat at her desk, all three of those men's books on the shelf behind her, and began to write out his words using a tool on her phone:

"it is/ unbearable/ the way/ we have allowed/ what is good/ to take/ the shape/ of men"

"I guess my message is that this narrative of what is 'good art' is tired and no longer up to you," Baer said in an interview.

It is rare, though not unheard of, for poets to make the best-seller list with debut work. Rupi Kaur, the wildly popular Instagram poet, did it; Amanda Gorman, whose first book comes out in September, may be well on her way.

But poetry has, perhaps not surprisingly, seen something of a resurgence in the pandemic, said Jennifer Benka, the president and executive director of the Academy of American Poets. "It helps us make sense and make meaning of what we're experiencing."

Baer has found her voice within that, but in subject matter that has not traditionally been considered "high art" — raw, conflicted feelings about her body ("Hard to describe/ I don't know how to say/ great personality/ really pretty face but," she writes in "Fat Girl"); the comfort, but sometimes agony, of long-term partnership ("You still here? I'm here, too," she writes in "Marriage as a Death"); the crippling loneliness that comes with motherhood, especially right now, even though you are never actually alone.

"She puts into words what a lot of women won't say out loud," said Soraya Chemaly, the author of "Rage Becomes Her: The Power of Women's Anger."

Those words have resonated with women, many of whom tell her they are coming to poetry for the first time. In a year in which all people, but perhaps especially mothers, are grasping for words to express their exhaustion and anger, in Baer they have found someone to say it for them — and in snippets short enough that they actually have time to read a piece in its entirety.

"I discovered her work in the pandemic," said Imani Payne, who works in human resources in San Francisco. "I still didn't have child care, I was at home with my husband and our 2-year-old, both of us trying to work full time. It was just like everything that you read about — the chaos of trying to manage all of that. And then I got her book, immediately sat down, and I found myself in tears, poem after poem."

Baer grew up on Amish romance novels and YM magazine, the daughter of an elementary schoolteacher and a meatpacking plant worker-turned-Christian radio host, about 40 minutes outside of Philadelphia. A high school teacher introduced her to the work of Margaret Atwood, still her favorite writer. "It was like a gateway drug," Baer said.

She went on to study English — "a pretty useless major," she joked — at Eastern Mennonite University in Harrisonburg, Va., and met her husband, also a graduate of the college, soon after. She spent most of her 20s working odd jobs: as an administrative assistant at a dentist's office and then a music school, as a nanny, in the I.T. lab of her alma mater. "Basically, my job was to say, 'You should restart your computer,'" she said.

During a particularly desperate period, Baer said, she cleaned the homes of hoarders who had died (she found the job on Craigslist) — which was bad, but not as bad as cleaning dorm rooms, which she also did for a time.

She was 27 and seven months pregnant with her first child when she was laid off from her job at a nonprofit. Her husband had just enrolled in medical school. "We were already living on loans," she said. "We had no money and child care was so expensive, so I just decided I was going to stay home."

Home with one child, then two, then three, and then a fourth — a pregnancy she learned of two weeks before her husband was scheduled to have a vasectomy.

Baer was happy but unfulfilled. She be-



ANDREW MANGUM FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

gan writing emails to friends, which became a blog about motherhood, with subjects like body image, her struggle with postpartum depression and her desire for something more mixed in.

She wrote chapter titles for imaginary books, such as "Spousal Chewing: A Survivor's Guide" and "Childbirth, Postpartum Poop And Sex After Vaginal Massacre: A Love Story." (To pay for the babysitter so she could write, she edited resumes for \$10 an hour, and an erotic novel about pioneer women.)

"Mommy blogging" was popular at that time, and Baer was seemingly thriving at it. But there was always an undertone: "Serious" writers didn't write about "mom stuff." And so she decided to step back. She began working on a novel, a thriller about a group of women who become entangled in each other's lives "in the vein of Gillian Flynn," she said.

Four years into that novel, Baer began "cheating with poetry," as she put it. It was 2019, and she mustered the courage to email her agent: "What if I wrote a book of poetry instead?"

There is a long history of poetry that peels back the layers of womanhood, said Maya C. Papa, the poetry reviews editor at Publisher's Weekly.

And yet for a long time, said the poet Robin Morgan, whose 1972 book, "Monster," was called an "anthem of the women's movement," women who wrote about their inner lives were considered "confessional," while men were simply "literary."

"If a woman would use the term 'dishcloth,' 'diaper,' anything like that, it was considered disgusting," Morgan said. (She noted that the first poem she ever published, in a literary journal, addressed her as "Mr. Robin Morgan" in her acceptance letter. She didn't correct them.)

That has changed, slowly but surely, thanks in part to the internet. Papa noted that the 2019 viral poem by Kim Addonizio, "To the Woman Crying Uncontrollably in the Next Stall," "spoke unflinchingly to an experience many women could relate to, as did as Maggie Smith's 'Good Bones,' about trying to gather the enthusiasm to sell your children on the world despite its horrors.

Those horrors have only metastasized in a pandemic. "I have talked to so many people, even in publishing, who have said right now, like, 'I just can't read a book,'" said Mary Gaule, Baer's editor at HarperCollins. "And I think poetry feels like a medicine, for whatever reason."

For many of Baer's readers, it is a balm as much as a scream they mustn't voice out loud (lest the children overhear it).

"Having to deal with zoom schedules and lunch and snacks and also move forward on your own goals, and dealing with your marriage, and the strain that having kids in the house all the time, the exhaustion of it all it's a lot," said Payne, the mother from San Francisco. "She has captured that frustration so beautifully."

The frustration, and the anger.

In the poem "Motherload," Baer writes:

She keeps an office in her sternum, the flat bone in the center of her chest with all its urgent papers, vast appointments, lists of minor things. In her vertebrae she holds more carnal tasks: milk jugs, rotten plants, heavy-bottomed toddlers in all their mortal rage.

In "Interview With Self," she asks:

Can I have it all?

No.

Can I have it all?

No.

Can I have it all?

No.

In "Transfiguration," she said she

dreamed herself into a mother, but when she became her, "I had to/ dream her back into a woman."

"There have been some really low points in this pandemic where I have thought, 'I can't take another day of feeling like this,'" Baer said. She was at home, locked in her bedroom, while her kids and the babysitter were downstairs.

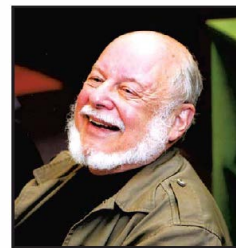
"But it helps that I know it's not just me."

"I guess my message is that this narrative of what is 'good art' is tired and no longer up to you," Kate Baer says.

"She puts into words what a lot of women won't say out loud."

SORAYA CHEMALY
AUTHOR OF "RAGE BECOMES HER: THE POWER OF WOMEN'S ANGER"

IN MEMORIAM Norton Juster 1929–2021



*Beloved author; brilliant storyteller;
cherished friend*



*"So many things are possible just as long as
you don't know they're impossible."*

—The Phantom Tollbooth



Art © 2021 by Jules Feiffer



NICK CAVE

How a Museum Show Tries to ‘Get It Right’

Honoring Breonna Taylor and her legacy challenges the curator Allison Glenn, who lost a brother to gun violence.

By SIDDHARTH MITTER

“Promise, Witness, Remembrance” — an exhibition opening on April 7 at the Speed Art Museum in Louisville, Ky., in honor of Breonna Taylor, the 26-year-old medical worker killed by police there nearly a year ago — came together fast, yet in a manner “tempered by conversations,” said its curator Allison Glenn.

These involved, centrally, Tanika Palmer, Taylor’s mother, whose input yielded the show title; and the painter Amy Sherard, whose portrait of Taylor will anchor the exhibition. Two advisory committees — one national, one in Louisville — have guided the show’s making, in part to avoid the shoals on which museums have floundered in their efforts to address trauma and inequity in their communities, and in their own practices.

But “Promise, Witness, Remembrance” — whose list of about two dozen artists mixes big names (for instance Kerry James Marshall and Lorna Simpson) with others who are lesser known (Bethany Collins, Neil Anderson, Janeserie Coff), several with Louisville ties, and local photographers who documented the protests last year — has both greater and simpler ambitions. The hope, Glenn said, is to show “museums can get it right” through consultation that improves, not diminishes, curatorial quality. It is also to help stitch community in a midsize city by listening to those excluded by art institutions in the past.

During a phone conversation, Glenn, who is from Detroit and is an associate curator at the Crystal Bridges Museum of American Art in Bentonville, Ark., shared insights gleaned in making the exhibition, which will run through June 6. The following excerpts have been edited and condensed.

This exhibition is the result of intense consultation, notably with Tanika Palmer, but many others as well. Whose advice, artist and nonartist, did you seek out?

First, I spoke with Breonna’s mother, and asked how we might think of her daughter’s legacy, and translated that into the three ideas: promise, witness, remembrance. Then I convened a national panel. I was very intentional in developing the panel because of my particular position: I lost my brother to gun violence, about a year and a half ago. It doesn’t need to ever shadow this story, but it’s important to mention, because it informs a lot. I wanted a cabinet of advisers who could relate on a personal level.

[Advisers to the show also include] Thane Gates, who has been successful in his work with the Tamar Rice Foundation. Jon-Sesrie Coff has a film in the exhibition; his father took over the Mother Emanuel AME congregation in Charleston after the murders there, and the Rev. Clementa Pinckney was a mentor to him. Hank Willis Thomas 20 years ago lost his cousin, and has made work about that. I enlisted a friend, La Keisha Leek, who was in grad school when her cousin Trayvon Martin was killed; I had helped her in some projects to work through that, including an exhibition she curated. Raymond Green, who lives here in Arkansas, is a cousin of Alton Sterling [who was fatally shot by

white police officers in Baton Rouge, La.]. That experience of loss from gun violence or police brutality — or both — brings a level of care.

As a guest curator, without prior experience in Louisville, how did you develop an exhibition that made sense for the city?

I wanted to create a conversation between the local community and the national community — whether in the art world or among private citizens. Toya Northington, the community engagement strategist at the Speed Art Museum, developed a Louisville advisory committee. They gave me great feedback and suggestions. It was a different kind of curatorial process: I wasn’t necessarily trying to drive a thesis based on research into an idea or an artist. It was really built on conversations about how a museum can get it right, how the art world can respond, what does it mean to collaborate in this space.



MARIANA SHEPARD

Allison Glenn, the show’s curator, said consultation improved curatorial quality. “It was really built on conversations about how a museum can get it right, how the art world can respond, what does it mean to collaborate in this space.”



AMY SHERARD AND HAUSER & WIRTH

The exhibition “Promise, Witness, Remembrance” will include, clockwise from far left: “Unnamed” (2018), by Nick Cave; a portrait of Breonna Taylor (2020) by Amy Sherard; and a photograph by Jon P. Cherry taken at a protest in Louisville, Ky., in September.



JON P. CHERRY AND GETTY IMAGES

What sense of the city did you form personally as you went about the work?

I spent time in Louisville. I read everything I could. I listened to podcasts. And there’s a relationship I can’t exactly put my finger on, but I grew up in Detroit, I’ve worked in New Orleans, and Louisville is another port city with a French connection. It’s the border of the North and the South. It’s where Lewis and Clark started their expedition, and I’m fascinated with the ideology of Western expansion. Some loops closed for me when I visited. For example, that horrible phrase: “Being sold down the river.” Down the river is New Orleans; the origin of the phrase is in Louisville.

How did community input alter the show’s shape?

To tell this story, I didn’t necessarily think that every artist had to be a Black artist.

But after listening, I understood the importance of visibility, to the Louisville community, of presenting a show of only Black artists in this space. Tyler Gerth, a local photographer shot and killed while documenting the protests on June 27, is the sole exception.) That was an “aha!” moment: This is the community’s desire, and I can be flexible. I can be nimble in this way, without having to compromise any curatorial framework. And then it became deeper. The site of the exhibition is galleries that usually hold the Dutch and Flemish collections. We’ve got 22-foot ceilings, terrazzo floors, marble doorways. It became clear that an effect would be a kind of decolonizing of that museum space.

A lot of people feel that museums aren’t accessible, aren’t reflective of who they are. This exhibition is about a woman who lived in Louisville, whose family lived in Louisville; it’s about what happened to her, and in response to these things. There will be people who may come to the museum for the first time.

Amy Sherard’s portrait of Breonna Taylor will be a big draw, appropriately. Does it risk posthumous heroizing of someone who did not ask for it? And how do you build a show around it that brings both care and insight in the wake of trauma?

That is the question. In layout and design, when you walk into the gallery, in your sightline will be the portrait. If that is all you are here for, you can go right there.

The first section, called “Promise,” is a bit more conceptual, a conversation about ideologies of the United States through symbols that uphold them. Bethany Collins’s work addresses “The Star Spangled Banner,” for example.

In the “Witness” section are protest photographs from 2020, as well as work that connects to a century of movements for Black lives. And there is Sam Gilliam, who grew up and studied in Louisville, protesting against the expectation that his work as a Black male painter was to carry the weight of representation, as part of a movement toward positive imagery. His resisting that becomes a protest in itself. And it sets the stage for someone like Rashid Johnson to work within conceptual art and abstraction, but more freely.

I made the decision that I wasn’t going to show any work that was traumatizing in the exhibition. But I also had to be clear that I couldn’t edit the archive when it came to the protest photographs.

Can the exhibition benefit the Louisville arts scene beyond the museum?

I think of Alisha Wernsley’s work “There Are Black People in the Future,” which will be installed like ticker-tape in the second gallery. As part of Alisha’s practice, she requires that the museum give honorariums to three local artists to respond to that idea. The Louisville steering committee will decide how to carry that out.

What is the opportunity this project offers?

The opportunity is to show what it means to listen. I don’t think museums are going to get everything right. Cultural workers aren’t going to get everything right. But when you listen, you provide opportunities for accessibility, for inroads, for connection. And I hope the end result provides a platform for people to feel heard, and perhaps to process the past year.

Sports Monday

The New York Times

HOPING
THE PIECES
ALL FALL
INTO PLACE



March Madness in a pandemic is a risk
that the N.C.A.A. can't afford to forgo.

By ALAN BLINDER

For the N.C.A.A., the easy part — setting a bracket and crowning Baylor, Gonzaga, Illinois and Michigan as the No. 1 seeds for the Division I men's basketball tournament that will begin this week — ended on Sunday night. Now the association faces a weeks-long test of its choiceto play its signature event during the coronavirus pandemic.

The decision to pull 68 teams from across the country into a tournament in Indiana will have enormous repercussions for college sports. A successful men's tournament, as well as a smooth

women's tournament in Texas, would lift the morale and finances of an industry that the pandemic has left in a precarious position. The N.C.A.A. lost nearly \$56 million in its most recent fiscal year, primarily because the 2020 men's tournament was not held.

If the competitions exacerbate the public health crisis or stumble significantly, college sports leaders, already under scrutiny on Capitol Hill and in the courts, will face scrutiny about whether they had prized money more than safety.

Continued on Page D3

ALEX EBEN MEYER

COLLEGE BASKETBALL N.C.A.A. TOURNAMENT

MEN'S BRACKET

WEST

- 1 Gonzaga (26-0) Saturday
- 16 Norfolk State/Appalachian State Saturday
- 8 Oklahoma (15-10) March 22
- 9 Missouri (16-9) Saturday
- 5 Creighton (20-8) Saturday
- 12 U.C. Santa Barbara (22-4) March 22
- 4 Virginia (18-6) Saturday
- 13 Ohio (16-7) Saturday
- 6 Southern California (22-7) Saturday
- 11 Wichita State/Duke March 22
- 3 Kansas (20-8) Saturday
- 14 Eastern Washington (16-7) Saturday
- 7 Oregon (20-6) Saturday
- 10 Virginia Commonwealth (18-7) March 22
- 2 Iowa (21-8) Saturday
- 15 Grand Canyon (17-6) Saturday

EAST

- 1 Michigan (20-4) Saturday
- 16 Mount St. Mary's/Texas Southern March 22
- 8 Louisiana State (18-9) Saturday
- 9 St. Bonaventure (16-4) Saturday
- 5 Colorado (22-8) Saturday
- 12 Georgetown (13-12) March 22
- 4 Florida State (16-6) Saturday
- 13 U.N.C. Greensboro (21-6) Saturday
- 6 Brigham Young (20-6) Saturday
- 11 Michigan State/U.C.L.A. March 22
- 3 Texas (19-7) Saturday
- 14 Abilene Christian (23-4) Saturday
- 7 Connecticut (15-7) Saturday
- 10 Maryland (16-3) March 22
- 2 Alabama (24-6) Saturday
- 15 Iowa (12-5) Saturday

SOUTH

- Baylor (22-2) 1 Friday
- Hartford (15-8) 16 Sunday
- North Carolina (18-10) 8 Friday
- Wisconsin (17-12) 9 Friday
- Villanova (16-6) 5 Sunday
- Winthrop (23-1) 12 Friday
- Purdue (18-9) 4 Friday
- North Texas (17-9) 13 Friday
- Texas Tech (17-10) 6 Friday
- Utah State (20-8) 11 Sunday
- Arkansas (22-6) 3 Friday
- Colgate (14-1) 14 Friday
- Florida (14-9) 7 Friday
- Virginia Tech (15-6) 10 Sunday
- Ohio State (21-9) 2 Friday
- Bral Roberts (16-10) 15 Friday

MIDWEST

- Illinois (23-6) 1 Friday
- Drexel (12-7) 16 Sunday
- Loyola-Chicago (24-4) 8 Friday
- Georgia Tech (17-8) 9 Friday
- Tennessee (18-8) 5 Friday
- Oregon State (17-12) 12 Sunday
- Oklahoma State (20-8) 4 Friday
- Liberty (23-5) 13 Friday
- San Diego State (23-4) 6 Sunday
- Syracuse (16-9) 11 Friday
- West Virginia (18-9) 3 Friday
- Morehead State (23-7) 14 Friday
- Clemson (16-7) 7 Sunday
- Rutgers (15-11) 10 Friday
- Houston (24-3) 2 Friday
- Cleveland State (18-7) 15 Friday

SEMIFINAL April 3 Indianapolis

FINAL April 5 9 p.m. Eastern Indianapolis

SEMIFINAL April 3 Indianapolis

Tournament Schedule

FIRST FOUR
Thursday, 4 p.m., truTV, TBS

ROUND OF 64
Friday, noon, CBS, TBS, TNT, truTV
Saturday, noon, CBS, TBS, TNT, truTV

ROUND OF 32
Sunday, March 21, noon, CBS, TBS, TNT, truTV
Monday, March 22, noon, CBS, TBS, TNT, truTV


ROUND OF 16
Saturday, March 27, 2 p.m., CBS, TBS
Sunday, March 28, 1 p.m., CBS, TBS

ROUND OF 8
Monday, March 29, 7 p.m., CBS
Tuesday, March 30, 6 p.m., TBS

FINAL FOUR
Saturday, April 3, 5 p.m., CBS

NATIONAL CHAMPIONSHIP
Monday, April 5, 9 p.m., CBS

All games in Indianapolis
Times are Eastern



Bill Walton, right, won two championships playing for John Wooden.

Most National Titles In Men's Basketball

U.C.L.A.	11
Kentucky	8
North Carolina	6
Duke	5
Indiana	5
Connecticut	4
Kansas	3
Villanova	3
Cincinnati	2
Florida	2
Louisville	2
Michigan State	2
North Carolina State	2
Oklahoma State	2
San Francisco	2

A Tournament That's Known for Volatility, but Not Nearly This Much

By BILLY WITZ

When the N.C.A.A. men's basketball tournament bracket was announced on Sunday night, it was in keeping with sports during the pandemic: stripped down, masked up and written hopefully in pencil.

There was no slow tease because, well, what was the point? Some of the usual excitement — is the alma mater being shipped to Portland or Pittsburgh followed by a rush to book flights and hotels — was removed from the equation this year because the entire 68-team tournament, which begins Thursday with four play-in games, is being staged in and around Indianapolis.

As expected, Gonzaga, unbeaten in 26 games, was awarded the top seed and placed in the West region. Baylor, Illinois and Michigan were given the other No. 1 seeds. Hartford and Grand Canyon are making their first appearances, and Georgetown and Oregon State — picked last in their conferences at the start of the season — are unexpected interlopers as Big East and Pac-12 champions.

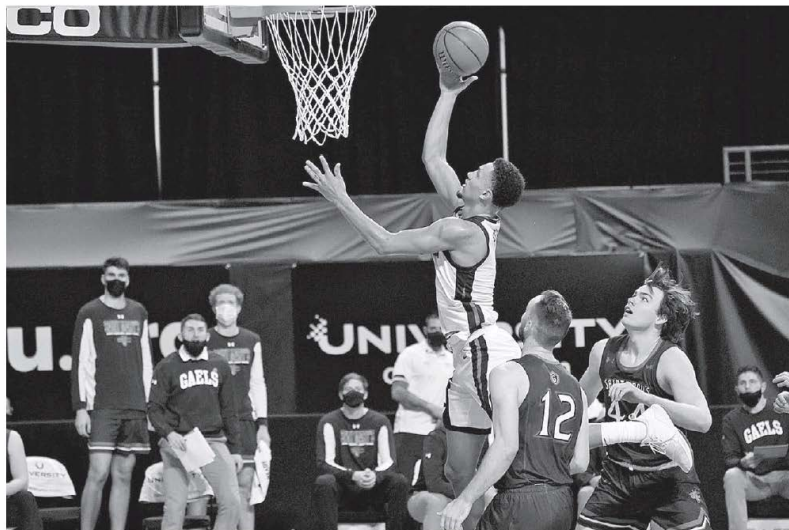
Duke and Kentucky, the sport's two biggest TV draws, are gone together from the tournament for the first time in 45 years, but at least the star of the 2018 tournament has returned: Sister Jean Dolores Schmidt, age 101 and fully vaccinated, is back as Loyola-Chicago's talisman.

Still, the event's characteristic volatility may extend well beyond the court given the effects of the pandemic.

This year, it is fair to say, March Madness is not hyperbole.

Consider the extraordinary lengths that the N.C.A.A., after canceling last year's tournament, which was expected to generate \$800 million, is taking to stage the event in a season in which 20 percent of regular-season games were canceled, numerous prominent coaches contracted the virus and powerhouse programs like Duke, Virginia and Kansas dropped out of their conference tournaments last week because of coronavirus infections.

The teams, which began arriving in Indianapolis on Saturday night by chartered plane, or by bus if they were within 350 miles, have been required to return seven days of negative tests before departing. They will be sequestered in single rooms on their own floor in hotels where they can eat, sleep, study, practice and in some



KIRBY LEE/USA TODAY SPORTS, VIA REUTERS



ALAN GOODMAN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

cases play without having to step foot outdoors.

The fear, of course, is that players might contract the virus while mingling with the hundreds of thousands of fans who are expected to descend on Indianapolis over the next few weeks as the five basketball venues — from quaint Hinkle Fieldhouse to voluminous Lucas Oil Stadium — will

be opened to 25 percent capacity.

If teams, which will be tested daily, do not have at least five players available, they will be replaced by a team on a waiting list — Louisville is at the top, followed by Colorado State, St. Louis and Mississippi — until 6 p.m. Eastern time on Tuesday. After that, teams that cannot play will exit and their opponents will be advanced to the

Jalen Suggs and Gonzaga, above, earned the top seed in the West. Loyola-Chicago, left, is back in the tournament, as is Sister Jean Dolores Schmidt, who is 101 and fully vaccinated.

next round. It is not clear whether an infected team will be required to have a coach.

"I can't imagine an athletic director or coach available in some capacity," said Dan Gavitt, the N.C.A.A.'s senior vice president for basketball. "But these are extreme times."

Formulating a field has also been complicated by the pandemic, leaving the selection committee, led by Kentucky's athletic director, Mitch Barnhart, to assess teams that have been in and out of virus pauses and have had missing players or coaches for certain games. The stunted schedules have thrown bugs into the ratings metrics used to seed teams.

For example, the N.C.A.A.'s NET ranking has Colgate as the ninth best team in the country. The Raiders (14-1) played only five games this season — all in the Patriot League, whose tournament

they won on Sunday. But they were given a computer turbo boost because Army and Navy, the only Patriot teams that played outside the league, had a close loss to Florida and a victory over Georgetown on their résumés. Colgate was given the 14th seed in the South region and matched up against Arkansas in the first round.

Meanwhile, Michigan State, at 15-12 and with three wins in the last three weeks over top 10 teams (Michigan, Illinois and Ohio State), is ranked 70th in the NET, a place normally far past the wrong side of the bubble. The Spartans were seeded 11th in the East region and will face U.C.L.A. in an intriguing play-in game.

The conference tournaments were no more orderly. Not only were there scant top seeds wrapping up automatic berths — just 11 of 31 managed a sweep of the regular season and tournament titles — but the committee struggled

Fill out your bracket in pencil: Some of the teams could change.

with where to place Kansas and Virginia when both teams might be missing key contributors, if they can play at all. (Kansas center David McCormack was ruled out of the Big 12 tournament because of the coronavirus three days before the Jayhawks dropped out because another player tested positive.)

As it turned out, they placed both in the West region, which left the possibility of a very clear path to the Final Four for Gonzaga, which is trying to become the first team since Indiana in 1976 to win a championship with a perfect season. The second seed in the West is Iowa, which Gonzaga — coming off a 17-day pause — cruised past in December.

The most stacked region appears to be the Midwest, where Illinois could have to go through Loyola-Chicago or Georgia Tech, and then dangerous Oklahoma State to reach the regional final, where they could see red-hot San Diego State, rugged West Virginia or dynamic Houston.

At least those teams are in, though. For Louisville, the last team left out, it was an especially cruel twist. Rick Pitino, who was fired by Louisville in 2017 amid a federal corruption investigation that could bring N.C.A.A. sanctions, has Iowa in the tournament, head No. 2 seed Alabama. And the head of the selection committee, Barnhart, is the athletic director at Louisville's rival, Kentucky.

The Cardinals' only hope for reaching the tournament is to benefit by someone else's misfortune with the virus.

For now, though, 68 teams are traveling to Indianapolis directly from the site of their conference tournament. If all goes as hoped for the Atlantic Coast Conference champion, Georgia Tech, which left Atlanta on March 4, it may be gone for more than a month.

"There's going to be a champion crowned in a few weeks," Oklahoma State Coach Mike Boynton said on Tuesday. "It may not be the best team in basketball history, but it might be the most resilient."

COLLEGE BASKETBALL N.C.A.A. TOURNAMENT



Diamond Miller, left, and Ashley Owusu have combined to average more than 35 points per game for Maryland this season.

Women's Field Has Depth to Sort Out

Unique Year Reshapes Bracket Process

By NATALIE WEINER

In a normal year, bracket selection for the N.C.A.A. women's basketball tournament is relatively uneventful. A few top contenders wind up poised to dominate the regionals they are nearest to geographically, leading to some familiar faces at familiar sites. Albany, N.Y., for example, has long served as essentially another home site for UConn, a perennial contender.

This, as we all know, is not a normal year. That extends to women's college basketball, where the field is more competitive and chaotic than ever. Expanding parity is one reason, and it is especially clear among the teams projected to be the Nos. 1 and 2 seeds — any of which has a legitimate shot at winning the championship. Another reason, grimly, is the coronavirus pandemic, which has shaped the season of each team in ways that make it challenging for the selection committee to compare and rank the teams in the field. Just among the top 25 teams in the Associated Press poll, résumés range from 18 games (Rutgers) to 27 games (Stanford and Baylor).

The logistics of the tournament make the bracket even more difficult to predict. For the first time, the tournament will be held in a single region, the San Antonio area, rendering irrelevant the geographic considerations that typically play a significant part in bracket construction. Instead, the

resulting bracket will be a true S-curve, setting the stage for matchups based only on the relative strength of each team. If the selection committee gets its rankings right, fans could see some of the best competition in tournament history.

Who will be the top seeds?

The top two seeds across regions will probably include Stanford, UConn, South Carolina, Texas A&M, North Carolina State, Baylor, Maryland and either Louisville or Georgia. Stanford, UConn and South Carolina are near locks as No. 1 seeds after coasting to conference tournament titles. Texas A&M will also probably be on the No. 1 line after clinching the tough Southeastern Conference regular-season title with a win against South Carolina.

Beyond that, the top rankings are harder to predict. North Carolina has played far fewer games than most of its peers in the top 10, but it won the Atlantic Coast Conference tournament for a second consecutive time. The 2019 N.C.A.A. champion, Baylor, has many of the same players from that title team, now with nearly two more seasons' experience. Maryland has the best offense in the country, averaging more than 91 points per game, led by the sophomores Ashley Owusu and Diamond Miller, who combined to average more than 35 points. Louisville and Georgia lost



Stanford, which won the Pac-12 tournament, is one of the probable No. 1 seeds, but there are several strong teams on the next level.

tight conference championship games and feature veteran talent.

Who else should get in?

Beyond the 31 automatic qualifiers, there are two extra spots for at-large bids after the Ivy League canceled its basketball season because of the pandemic and Ohio State — which probably would otherwise be a tournament team — is completing a self-imposed postseason ban. That means programs with losing conference records in tough leagues, like Mississippi State and Wake Forest, as well as some stronger programs in weak conferences, like Central Florida and DePaul, are projected to sneak into the bracket as No. 11 seeds.

The teams on the bubble are there by a hair, though. Notre

Dame, a powerhouse reinventing itself after Muffet McGraw, its longtime coach, retired at the end of the 2019-20 season, had no ranked wins and was upset by Clemson in the second round of the A.C.C. tournament. If Notre Dame does not make the bracket, it will be its first time out of the competition since 1995.

Ole Miss, which upset Arkansas in the SEC tournament, has a real chance for a spot in the bracket for the first time since 2007, owing in large part to the dominance of the Maryland transfer Shakira Austin — but might wind up 5 points away, the margin of its tournament loss to Tennessee.

In the middle of the pack, the seedings of the analytics darlings Stephen F. Austin (the third-best effective field-goal percentage)

and Florida Gulf Coast (seventh, according to Her Hoop Stats) will offer insight into how much selection committees have bought into their numbers-driven strategies. Similarly, Jackson State's talented defense should take it not only to the tournament for the first time since 2008, but to a No. 15 or even No. 14 seed and an outside chance at its first N.C.A.A. tournament win.

When will we need popcorn?

Regardless of the rankings, there will not be an easy matchup in the round of 8. If there is a Baylor-UConn face-off in this round, as projected, though, it might be the most heated. Baylor has won its last two games against UConn, most recently by 16 points on UConn's home turf in January

2020. Their game during the 2021 regular season was canceled after Baylor Coach Kim Mulkey tested positive for the coronavirus. Now, if Baylor wants to extend its win streak, it might have to do so via an upset in the tournament.

Without geography as a seeding factor, though, the overall order is harder than ever to guess. When the selection committee released its preliminary top 16 teams on Feb. 23, four of the teams on the list lost that day. It was not because the committee members are not good at what they do — it was because the field is as competitive as it has ever been. With any luck, the surprises on Monday will leave just as much room for a few bracket busters as they do for the dynasties on a collision course.



Lucas Oil Stadium, one of the sites in Indianapolis where N.C.A.A. men's tournament games will be held. Seats will be disinfected, and capacity at venues will be capped at 25 percent.



PHOTOGRAPH BY JUSTIN CASTELLER/GETTY IMAGES

March Madness in Pandemic Is Risk the N.C.A.A. Can't Afford to Forgo

From First Sports Page

"This is going to be complicated and difficult," Dan Gavitt, the N.C.A.A.'s senior vice president of basketball, said this winter. "There's no question about that."

The brackets could still change.

The men's bracket may be out, but it will not freeze until 6 p.m. Eastern time on Tuesday — an allowance for the possibility that the virus will derail a team's hopes while giving another a chance to play for a championship.

The rules vary depending on a stricken team's home conference.

If a team plays in a league that has just one team in the tournament, the conference may choose its substitute. The new team will assume the position in the bracket of the team it replaced.

If a team is from a league that earned multiple tournament bids, four teams — Louisville, Colorado State, St. Louis and Mississippi — will be waiting to replace it in the same bracket spot.

Once the deadline passes on Tuesday, no new teams will be added to the brackets for the men's or women's tournaments.

(The selections for the 64-team women's tournament will be announced on Monday night.) If a team does not have at least "five eligible, healthy players to start a game," as Gavitt put it last week, the game will be classified as a no-contest, moving the opponent to the next round.

The First Four games for the men's tournament are scheduled for Thursday, with the round of 64 planned to begin on Friday. The women's tournament is scheduled to start on Sunday.

These are not 'bubbles.'

The N.C.A.A.'s plan calls for choke points to limit the pandemic's risks to players and coaches, but the association's strategy does not include all of the restrictions that the N.B.A. used last year to finish its season and playoffs in its so-called bubble in Florida.

More than 2,300 people in the travel parties for the 68 teams in the tournament field — players, coaches, trainers and the like — are expected to descend on Indiana for the men's tournament. But there will also be referees, N.C.A.A. staff members, security guards, cleaning crews, journalists, relatives and fans to fill ven-

ues to up to 25 percent of their usual capacity.

Spectators will largely be barred from the first and second rounds of the women's tournament, which will be played in Texas. Beginning with that tournament's round of 16, the Alamodome in San Antonio is expected to host no more than about 11,000 spectators.

The most well-guarded participants in the tournaments, including players and coaches, will be required to stay within what the N.C.A.A. has described as a "controlled environment." Others, even those who may be near the courtside, will not face any such limits, though they will have to wear masks and attempt to remain six feet away from people.

To reduce travel, most men's tournament games will be played in Indianapolis, where the Bankers Life Fieldhouse, Hinkle Fieldhouse, Indiana Farmers Coliseum and Lucas Oil Stadium will host games. Teams will also play at Purdue Arena, on the campus of Purdue University in West Lafayette, Ind., and Assembly Hall, which is at Indiana University in Bloomington.

For the women's tournament,

teams will play at three sites in San Antonio: the Alamodome, the Bill Greehey Arena at St. Mary's University and the Convocation Center at the University of Texas at San Antonio. Texas State University will have first-round games at the University Events Center in San Marcos, as will the Frank Erwin Center at the University of Texas in Austin.

Many people — but far from everyone — will be tested daily for the virus.

Tournament organizers have sorted the people who will be in and around the games into four tiers, and testing requirements vary for each.

Referees and members of the teams' travel parties must test negative for seven straight days before traveling to Indiana and Texas, and they will face daily testing, paid for by the N.C.A.A., until they depart the tournaments. Practices cannot be held until at least two days of tests after a team's arrival, and people will be asked to remain in their hotel rooms until those initial tests return negative results.

People who may have "periodic interaction" with participants in

the top monitoring tier will have to test negative within two days of arrival and will undergo testing each day.

Another group of people working on the tournaments will be tested twice a week after an initial negative result. Spectators and journalists will not have to pass a testing protocol to attend games.

With few exceptions, masks will be mandatory.

Teams will not be able to roam Indianapolis or San Antonio.

Top-tier teams in any sport often refer to game travel as business trips. But while postseason trips ordinarily involve at least some pregame fun — think of the traditional prime rib feast for Rose Bowl teams — teams playing in this year's tournaments will hardly be wandering the Indianapolis City Market or strolling the River Walk in San Antonio.

For the men's tournament, teams will stay at hotels that are connected to the Indiana Convention Center, where practices will be held, by skywalks. Teams will have their own floors inside the hotels, and organizers said there would be meeting rooms and dining areas designed to maintain so-

cial distancing.

For the women's tournament in Texas, the N.C.A.A. said, entire hotels will be reserved for people who are tested every day for the virus, including players, coaches and game officials.

No one in that rung at either tournament, officials said, will be allowed out of the restricted zone. Although monitoring devices will be used during team activities to facilitate contact tracing, as warranted, they will not be required at other times, like when players are in their hotel rooms.

A lot of money is at stake.

The men's basketball tournament is the N.C.A.A.'s principal money-maker, and the association's decision to cancel the 2020 event cost it more than \$800 million.

Although insurers paid \$270 million because the association carried far-reaching event cancellation coverage — policies that are in effect for the 2021 competition

— the N.C.A.A.'s total revenues for its fiscal year declined by about \$600 million. The N.C.A.A. had planned to distribute \$600 million to its Division I leagues last year, but it ultimately paid out less than half of that.



Kyle Guy of Virginia, the 2019 champion.

TOM PENNINGTON/GETTY IMAGES

2019

The year the last N.C.A.A. tournament was held. In case 2020 made you forget, Virginia beat Texas Tech to win the championship.

Most Tournament Appearances

1. Kentucky 58
2. North Carolina 50
3. Kansas 49
4. U.C.L.A. 47
5. Duke 43
6. Indiana 39
7. Louisville 38
8. Syracuse 34
9. Villanova 38
10. Notre Dame 36

97

The number of wins Duke Coach Mike Krzyzewski has in the N.C.A.A. tournament — the most of any coach. The Blue Devils did not make the tournament for the first time in 24 years.

Points Per Game

1. Gonzaga 92.1
2. Colgate 86.4
3. Baylor 84.4
4. Southern Utah 84.2
5. Bryant 83.9
6. Iowa 83.8
7. Arkansas 82.4
8. Louisiana State 82.2
9. Wright State 82.0
10. Eastern Kentucky 81.8

Opponent Points Per Game

1. Loyola-Chicago 55.5
2. Houston 58.0
3. Liberty 59.6
4. St. Bonaventure 60.1
5. Alabama-Birmingham 60.3
6. Virginia 60.5
7. Abilene Christian 60.5
8. San Diego State 60.6
9. Grand Canyon 61.1
10. North Texas 61.2



CHARLIE NEUBERG/ASSOCIATED PRESS

23.7

The average points per game of the top scorer to make the tournament, Iowa center Luka Garza, above.

Conferences With Most Team Bids

1. Big East (2011) 11
2. A.C.C. (2018) 9
3. A.C.C. (2017) 9
4. Big East (2012) 9
5. Big Ten (2019) 8
6. SEC (2018) 8
7. Big East (2013) 8
8. Big East (2010) 8
9. Big East (2008) 8
10. Big East (2006) 8

All statistics through noon Sunday. Sources: ESPN.com, NCAA.com, Sports-Reference.com

WEST

Trying to be the first perfect champion in 45 years, Gonzaga must tighten its defense in big moments.



BARRY LEB/USA TODAY SPORTS, VIA REUTERS



GERRY BROOME/ASSOCIATED PRESS



CHARLIE NEUBERG/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Clockwise from left: Gonzaga won the W.C.C. tournament to improve to 26-0; Sam Hauser will help Virginia try to repeat as champion; Kansas Coach Bill Self has a short-handed team.

Undefeated, but Looking to Play Better

By ADAM ZAGORIA

Gonzaga is the first undefeated team to enter the N.C.A.A. men's tournament since Kentucky in 2014-15, and the Zags have a legitimate shot to become the first undefeated national champion since Indiana finished 32-0 in the 1975-76 season.

"Covid is the only thing that stops them. Or an injury," Syracuse Coach Jim Boeheim said this season.

The Zags are 26-0 after beating Brigham Young to win the West Coast Conference championship. During the 2016-17 season, Gonzaga was 29-0 before it took two losses: the first against B.Y.U. in the regular season, the second against North Carolina in the championship game.

Zags Coach Mark Few has an 834 career winning percentage and has won 30-plus games in six of the last eight seasons.

Now it would be something of a failure for Few and his players to end this season without the program's first national championship.

"These guys have shown all year how competitive they are, and as we moved toward the N.C.A.A. tournament — it was taken away from them last year — I think we'll get even an increased effort moving forward," Few told reporters before the West Coast Conference final.

Gonzaga went 31-2 last year during the shortened season. This season the team has three finalists for the John R. Wood-

en Award, given to the outstanding college player: the senior small forward Corey Kispert, the freshman point guard Jalen Suggs and the sophomore forward Drew Timme. Suggs and Kispert are projected as N.B.A. lottery picks.

The Zags have a free-flowing, fast-paced offense, yet they still pass up the good shot for the great shot.

There are concerns, however. Although the Zags have wins over Kansas, West Virginia, Iowa and Virginia, they have not faced an opponent outside the W.C.C. since the Virginia game Dec. 28.

Gonzaga allowed an average of 84 points in those four games and will have to play better defense in big spots in the N.C.A.A. tournament.

Other Teams to Watch

KANSAS The third-seeded Jayhawks, who have appeared in every N.C.A.A. tournament since 1998, are going to try to play, short-handed as they may be.

ALAN BLINDER

VIRGINIA The fourth-seeded Cavaliers are pressing ahead after they withdrew from the Atlantic Coast Conference tournament because of a positive test.

ALAN BLINDER

OREGON The No. 7 seed, which is 20-6 this season, claimed the inaugural N.C.A.A. championship in 1939 but has not won since.

GILLIAN R. BRASSIL

EAST

Even with Juwan Howard's slim résumé, Michigan believed that he was the right person for the job.



JARRELL LYNCH/USA TODAY SPORTS, VIA REUTERS



DONNY MEDLEY/USA TODAY SPORTS, VIA REUTERS



JOHN LOCHER/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Clockwise from left: Coach Juwan Howard has led Michigan to a top seed; Herb Jones of Alabama was the SEC player for the year; Colorado Coach Tad Boyle likes his team's resiliency.

Harking Back to When They Were Fab

By ADAM ZAGORIA

When Michigan hired Juwan Howard, one of the stars of its "Fab Five" team from the early '90s who went on to a long N.B.A. career, as its coach in May 2019, he didn't have head coaching experience on his résumé.

At the time, it was fair to wonder how Howard's background as an assistant with the Miami Heat from 2013 to 2019 would translate when he ran his own program in the Big Ten Conference — one of the most competitive in the nation.

In his second season, Howard has guided the Wolverines to their first No. 1 seed in the N.C.A.A. tournament since 1993, when he played with Jimmy King,

Jalen Rose, Chris Webber and Ray Jackson on a team that reached back-to-back N.C.A.A. championship games.

Michigan was 19-3 entering the Big Ten tournament despite going 23 days between games when the university athletic department shut down all sports for three weeks because of coronavirus concerns. The Wolverines won the regular-season title in the Big Ten, which earned nine spots in the N.C.A.A. tournament, more than any other league.

Michigan has everything needed to win the title. The sophomore guard Franz Wagner is a long, wiry player who can score in a variety of ways. Hunter Dickinson, a 7-foot-1 freshman, is the

team's leading scorer and Mike Smith, a graduate transfer from Columbia, is second in the Big Ten in assists.

Other Teams to Watch

ALABAMA The No. 2 seed showed that football schools can be pretty good at basketball, too. Look for the Crimson Tide, which has Herb Jones, the Southeastern Conference player of the year, to try a lot of 3-point shots. It has attempted more than 800 this season, second most in the country. ALAN BLINDER

COLORADO The No. 5 seed showed its knack for comebacks against U.S.C. in

the Pac-12 semifinals on Friday, as the Buffaloes' leading scorer, McKinley Wright IV, had 24 points in 32 minutes after returning from an elbow to the head. "This team just has a resiliency," Tad Boyle, Colorado's coach said. "A fight that's fun to be around."

GILLIAN R. BRASSIL

IONA The Gaels' No. 15 seed notwithstanding, history suggests that Iona which have a formidable defense, could cause some headaches. In the 21 seasons that Rick Pitino-coached teams have reached the N.C.A.A. tournament, they have advanced past the first round in all but four years.

ALAN BLINDER

COLLEGE BASKETBALL N.C.A.A. TOURNAMENT

SOUTH

Baylor hasn't been showing the form that gave it 18 straight wins, but beware its three-guard attack.



JAMIE SQUIRE/GETTY IMAGES



GERRY BROOME/ASSOCIATED PRESS



KESLA/GETTY IMAGES

Clockwise from left: Baylor needs Davion Mitchell for scoring and defense; Coach Roy Williams and North Carolina rebounded; Coach Jay Wright leads a depleted Villanova team.

A Two-Loss Team Needing to Re-energize

By GILLIAN R. BRASSIL

In spite of a loss to Oklahoma State on Friday night, Baylor could find itself in a fight for the title as it leans on three starting guards: Jared Butler, Macio Teague and Davion Mitchell.

Baylor had the best start in program history, with 18 consecutive victories, and won the Big 12 regular-season title for the first time. The Bears' proficiency — they led the league in 3-point shooting this season — could help reverse their struggles of late.

The team has lost just two of its 24 games this season, but it dealt with a long recovery from the three weeks it spent on pause in February because of

coronavirus protocols. In the Bears' first game back, they barely beat Iowa State, which ranked last in the Big 12, and they absorbed their first loss in the next game, against Kansas.

Similar issues surfaced during the Big 12 tournament. Baylor made a season-high 21 turnovers in a win against Kansas State on Thursday and then lost after a back-and-forth second half against Oklahoma State on Friday, 83-74.

Before the pause in February, Baylor's defense was one of the strongest in the nation. Since then, even Mitchell, the Big 12's defensive player of the year, could not prevent his team from allowing opponents good shots, which allowed Cade

Cunningham to nail back-to-back 3s and Oklahoma State to make a 13-2 run.

"We came here with the mind-set we were already champions of the Big 12," Baylor guard Mark Vital said after the game. "We have to change our mind-set to get back to being hungry."

Other Teams to Watch

VILLANOVA The No. 5 seed won the Big East regular-season title, but it then lost its star point guard, Collin Gillespie, to a knee injury before the conference tournament, and a top scorer, Justin Moore, sprained an ankle in the next game, a loss to Providence.

FLORIDA The No. 7 seed is making its fourth consecutive tournament appearance despite still being without the pre-season Southeastern Conference player of the year Keyontae Johnson, who collapsed during a game against Florida State in December. **ALAN BLINDER**

NORTH CAROLINA The No. 8 seed recovered from a 14-18 record last season, leading the Atlantic Coast Conference in rebounding. **ALAN BLINDER**

VIRGINIA TECH The No. 10 seed enters the tournament having played just three games since a win on Feb. 6 at Miami. After that win, conference officials canceled five Hokies games because of virus-related issues. **ALAN BLINDER**

MIDWEST

Illinois enters the tournament with a loaded roster and a chip on its shoulder about its Big Ten finish.



JOSH KASTALINSKI/USA TODAY SPORTS



JAY BIGGERSTAFF/USA TODAY SPORTS, VIA REUTERS



CARMEN MANDATO/GETTY IMAGES

Clockwise from left: Ayo Dosunmu, center, scored almost 21 a game for Illinois; Sean McNeil and West Virginia had close losses; Quentin Grimes of Houston, which relies on defense.

A Season of Their Success and Discontent

By ALAN BLINDER

It has been a long while, but Illinois has shown it can still field awfully good basketball teams. Now the Fighting Illini would just like some credit.

Picked as the preseason favorite in the Big Ten, the Illini will be playing in their first N.C.A.A. tournament since 2013. But their run in the conference tournament, which they won with overtime victory against Ohio State on Sunday, was the work of a team that felt spurred: Illinois has been irate over the winning-percentage model, approved months ago, that gave Michigan the Big Ten's regular-season championship.

Michigan had played 17 games, while

Illinois had gone through a full 20-game schedule.

"For the first time in my memory (and, truly, maybe for the first time ever), the team that has won the most games — in this case, two more games — is not recognized with even a share of the conference championship," Josh Whitman, Illinois's athletic director, wrote in an open letter last week.

"This defies logic. It stands counter to the very foundations of competition and sport. For a marquee conference that just concluded arguably the greatest, most competitive season in the history of college basketball, this is an unfortunate and disappointing outcome."

Unfortunately for other conferences,

Illinois may now be looking to take out some frustrations on their teams in the N.C.A.A. tournament.

The junior guard Ayo Dosunmu averaged almost 21 points during the regular season and became the second player in the history of the Big Ten to record multiple triple-doubles in conference play. (Perhaps you've heard of the other player: Magic Johnson.)

Kofi Cockburn, a sophomore center, has logged 15 double-doubles, among the best in the country. And the bench has players like Andre Curbelo, a freshman from Puerto Rico who averaged nearly 16 points a game late in the regular season.

Other Teams to Watch

HOUSTON The No. 2 seed, which romped through the American Athletic Conference tournament, has on average held opponents to less than 37.5 percent field goal shooting. **GILLIAN R. BRASSIL**

WEST VIRGINIA The No. 3 seed has lost three of its last four games, but not by much. Eight of its nine losses have been by 5 points or fewer. **GILLIAN R. BRASSIL**

OREGON STATE The No. 12 seed earned its bid on Saturday night by winning the Pac-12 tournament for the first time in program history, even though it had been picked to finish last in the conference. **GILLIAN R. BRASSIL**

25

The maximum percentage of capacity at tournament games. This limit on attendance will be in conjunction with social distancing to minimize the spread of the coronavirus. It was decided by the N.C.A.A., with local and state health departments in Indiana.

Strength of Record

S.O.R. is part of ESPN's College Basketball Power Index, ranking teams based on the "chance a typical 25th-ranked team would have team's record or better, given the schedule on a 0 to 100 scale, where 100 is best."

1. Gonzaga 26.0
2. Baylor 22.2
3. Illinois 22.6
4. Michigan 20.4
5. Alabama 23.6
6. Ohio State 21.8
7. Iowa 21.5
8. Oklahoma State 20.8
9. Texas 19.7
10. Arkansas 22.6

26-0

Gonzaga is the first team to enter the tournament undefeated since Kentucky in 2015.



Jaden Shackelford has helped lead Alabama to the top 10.

2007

This is the first time Alabama has made the tournament as an Associated Press top-10 team since the 2006-7 season.

Scoring Margin

1. Gonzaga 23
2. Houston 19
3. Colgate 18
4. Baylor 17
5. Abilene Christian 17
6. Loyola Chicago 15
7. Liberty 15
8. Southern Utah 14
9. Wright State 14
10. Grand Canyon 14

Did You Know?

The round of 64 will start on Friday, which means there will be early-round games on Mondays this year. The championship game is Monday, April 5.

5

After Iowa beat Fairleigh Dickinson, 60-51, in the MAAC championship Saturday, Rick Pitino became the third coach in N.C.A.A. history to take five different teams to the N.C.A.A. tournament. Pitino has previously led Kentucky, Louisville, Boston University and Providence to the tournament.

Most Tournament Wins

1. Kentucky 129
2. North Carolina 126
3. Duke 114
4. Kansas 108
5. U.C.L.A. 101
6. Michigan State 69
7. Indiana 66
8. Syracuse 64
9. Louisville 61
10. Villanova 61

9

No team seeded No. 9 or lower has played in the N.C.A.A. championship game. The closest was No. 9 Villanova in 1985, when it beat Georgetown, 66-64.

All statistics through noon Sunday. Sources: ESPN.com, NCAA.com, Sports Reference.com

SOCIOLOGY

SCOREBOARD

Sports Are Political. Forget the Myths.

The end of the terrible coronavirus pandemic seems, at long last, within reach. President Donald J. Trump is gone and America has just endured a

withering year of death and protest. In times like these, sports can be a cultural touchstone expected to comfort and heal.

But as we dream of a return to normalcy, what will we now expect from the games we love? A return to the mythical notion that sports should operate at arm's length from the important issues of the day?

Or an understanding that sports provide much more than a forum for entertainment and the exploration of human potential?

Searching for guidance, I called Harry Edwards last week. There's no one better to offer perspective. The sociologist has been on the front lines of athlete protest dating to the 1960s. He started off with a broad stroke: "Sports does not so much mirror society — it is integral to the functioning of society," Edwards said.

How true. Then he zeroed in. We both did. We agreed that sports have become society's prime cultural battleground for every hot-button social and political issue. No matter the subject — race, religion, sexuality, patriotism, the role of the police — the sports world is more powerful than ever as a venue for the often harsh hashing out of opposing views.

Consider the recent push by conservatives to open a new flank in our divisive war over social progress. Mississippi's Republican governor just signed a law that will bar transgender athletes who identify as female from participating on girls' or women's sports teams. A flurry of similar, Republican-backed bills is moving through at least 20 statehouses, all under the guise of ensuring the rights of athletes who were born biologically female.

Never mind that such legislation is unnecessary. If it fires up a base fearful of expanding L.G.B.T.Q. rights, well, purpose served. The drive for restrictive laws also shows how sports will continue to be used as a litmus test for conservatives and progressives alike.

In this new world, with its fraying social bonds and lack of historical memory, nothing packs the power of sports as a platform for battles over change. Not popular music. Not the clout that springs from our universities. Not Hollywood. "No matter how great the hero in a movie," Edwards said, "you are not going to see people fighting over movies."

Trump provided a powerful accent. He stoked the flames and his ardent supporters who view sports as a last bastion for the good old days and their gauzy myths. The pandemic forced us inside and limited our lives — and also helped give



STEPHEN GROVES/ASSOCIATED PRESS



CHRIS MACHAN/OMAHA WORLD-HERALD, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

activist athletes and their supporters more time to think and organize. (Hence the walkouts led by the N.B.A. and W.N.B.A. last summer.) All the while, the ubiquitous, hyperbolic power of the internet and social media continued to grow at breakneck speed.

Take the case of Greg McDermott, the Creighton men's basketball coach, who posted an apology on Twitter to get ahead of a story about the terrible language he used while addressing his players after a recent loss to Xavier. "I need everybody to stay on the plantation," he admitted telling his team. "I can't have anybody leave the plantation." Needless to say, words like that were a gut punch to his Black players, who produced and publicly shared a video to express their pain.

The incident quickly became headline news and the subject of widespread discussion about the power of words and white leaders' responsibility to understand the Black experience.

As all of this unfolded, a clip went viral of a Miami Heat reserve player, Meyers Leonard, spewing an anti-Semitic slur while playing a video game on a public livestream. Criticism came

hard and swift. The N.B.A. suspended Leonard and fined him \$50,000. Head coaches and players expressed dismay. "We can't tolerate that here," said Udonis Haslem, the team's veteran forward, sending a clear signal from a league full of activist players on standards for speech and rooting out hate. "Right is right, and wrong is wrong."

In years gone by, there's a good chance none of this would have received such a public airing. A decade ago, in a world with different expectations and less connectivity, McDermott's rant and Leonard's online slur probably would not have become public. And that would mean no apologies, no condemnation, no chance for a wide-open discussion on acceptable speech.

Smartphones and the internet have utterly changed the dynamic. Edwards recalled leading an anti-discrimination protest in 1967 by Black football players on the campus at his alma mater, San Jose State, and trying to spread the word across the country by making over 100 calls from a rotary phone.

"The principal difference between what we did in the 1960s and what we see today is technology," Edwards said. "The

Above, protesting South Dakota's plan to bar transgender female athletes from girls' and women's leagues. Creighton players shared a video expressing their pain, left, after their coach said, "I need everybody to stay on the plantation."

rapidity of communication, the way everyone now can hear the message, make their own message, and experience it all in real time."

We love sport not only for its drama but also for its precision and certainty. Games almost always end with clear winners and losers. We can measure the speed of a sprinter down to the millisecond. We know the exact batting average of the best hitter in baseball and, these days, the speed of the swing and the angle at which his foot toward the outfield.

But when mixed with the drive for change and the demand for new protections of rights, our sports get messy. Fights over power are always that way.

So what will the future hold?

"The struggle will continue," Edwards said. "And sports will be where it all plays out." He ticked off the names of today's most prominent athlete activists — LeBron James, Maya Moore and Colin Kaepernick — and said they and others of their ilk are more astute than the players of old at "dreaming with their eyes open, working for justice, cultivating the tools to make those dreams happen."

Then his wife professor stepped for a moment, before reminding me that the battles are not only fought by progressives.

"Remember," Edwards said, "for every action, there is a reaction. Expect the other side to operate in direct opposition to what these athletes are pushing for."

Conflict is inevitable. So is change.

BASKETBALL

N.B.A. STANDINGS

EASTERN CONFERENCE			
Team	W	L	Pct
Atlanta	26	12	.684
Boston	25	13	.658
Brooklyn	24	14	.632
Charlotte	23	15	.605
Chicago	22	16	.577
Cleveland	21	17	.552
Dallas	20	18	.526
Denver	19	19	.500
Detroit	18	20	.474
Indiana	17	21	.447
Los Angeles	16	22	.421
Memphis	15	23	.395
Minnesota	14	24	.368
Orlando	13	25	.342
Philadelphia	12	26	.316
Pittsburgh	11	27	.289
Sacramento	10	28	.263
San Antonio	9	29	.237
Seattle	8	30	.211
Utah	7	31	.184
Washington	6	32	.158
Wizards	5	33	.132
Wolves	4	34	.105

WESTERN CONFERENCE

Team	W	L	Pct
Golden State	26	12	.684
San Antonio	25	13	.658
Brooklyn	24	14	.632
Charlotte	23	15	.605
Chicago	22	16	.577
Cleveland	21	17	.552
Dallas	20	18	.526
Denver	19	19	.500
Detroit	18	20	.474
Indiana	17	21	.447
Los Angeles	16	22	.421
Memphis	15	23	.395
Minnesota	14	24	.368
Orlando	13	25	.342
Philadelphia	12	26	.316
Pittsburgh	11	27	.289
Sacramento	10	28	.263
San Antonio	9	29	.237
Seattle	8	30	.211
Utah	7	31	.184
Washington	6	32	.158
Wizards	5	33	.132
Wolves	4	34	.105

N.H.L. STANDINGS

EASTERN CONFERENCE			
Team	W	L	Pct
Montreal	26	12	.684
Ottawa	25	13	.658
Quebec	24	14	.632
St. Louis	23	15	.605
Calgary	22	16	.577
Edmonton	21	17	.552
Los Angeles	20	18	.526
San Jose	19	19	.500
San Jose	18	20	.474
San Jose	17	21	.447
San Jose	16	22	.421
San Jose	15	23	.395
San Jose	14	24	.368
San Jose	13	25	.342
San Jose	12	26	.316
San Jose	11	27	.289
San Jose	10	28	.263
San Jose	9	29	.237
San Jose	8	30	.211
San Jose	7	31	.184
San Jose	6	32	.158
San Jose	5	33	.132
San Jose	4	34	.105

WESTERN CONFERENCE

Team	W	L	Pct
Colorado	26	12	.684
San Jose	25	13	.658
San Jose	24	14	.632
San Jose	23	15	.605
San Jose	22	16	.577
San Jose	21	17	.552
San Jose	20	18	.526
San Jose	19	19	.500
San Jose	18	20	.474
San Jose	17	21	.447
San Jose	16	22	.421
San Jose	15	23	.395
San Jose	14	24	.368
San Jose	13	25	.342
San Jose	12	26	.316
San Jose	11	27	.289
San Jose	10	28	.263
San Jose	9	29	.237
San Jose	8	30	.211
San Jose	7	31	.184
San Jose	6	32	.158
San Jose	5	33	.132
San Jose	4	34	.105

M.L.B. EXHIBITION SCHEDULE

Team	W	L	Pct
Atlanta	26	12	.684
Boston	25	13	.658
Brooklyn	24	14	.632
Charlotte	23	15	.605
Chicago	22	16	.577
Cleveland	21	17	.552
Dallas	20	18	.526
Denver	19	19	.500
Detroit	18	20	.474
Indiana	17	21	.447
Los Angeles	16	22	.421
Memphis	15	23	.395
Minnesota	14	24	.368
Orlando	13	25	.342
Philadelphia	12	26	.316
Pittsburgh	11	27	.289
Sacramento	10	28	.263
San Antonio	9	29	.237
Seattle	8	30	.211
Utah	7	31	.184
Washington	6	32	.158
Wizards	5	33	.132
Wolves	4	34	.105

TENNIS

MARSEILLE OPEN

Team	W	L	Pct
Atlanta	26	12	.684
Boston	25	13	.658
Brooklyn	24	14	.632
Charlotte	23	15	.605
Chicago	22	16	.577
Cleveland	21	17	.552
Dallas	20	18	.526
Denver	19	19	.500
Detroit	18	20	.474
Indiana	17	21	.447
Los Angeles	16	22	.421
Memphis	15	23	.395
Minnesota	14	24	.368
Orlando	13	25	.342
Philadelphia	12	26	.316
Pittsburgh	11	27	.289
Sacramento	10	28	.263
San Antonio	9	29	.237
Seattle	8	30	.211
Utah	7	31	.184
Washington	6	32	.158
Wizards	5	33	.132
Wolves	4	34	.105

CHILE OPEN

Team	W	L	Pct
Atlanta	26	12	.684
Boston	25	13	.658
Brooklyn	24	14	.632
Charlotte	23	15	.605
Chicago	22	16	.577
Cleveland	21	17	.552
Dallas	20	18	.526
Denver	19	19	.500
Detroit	18	20	.474
Indiana	17	21	.447
Los Angeles	16	22	.421
Memphis	15	23	.395
Minnesota	14	24	.368
Orlando	13	25	.342
Philadelphia	12	26	.316
Pittsburgh	11	27	.289
Sacramento	10	28	.263
San Antonio	9	29	.237
Seattle	8	30	.211
Utah	7	31	.184
Washington	6	32	.158
Wizards	5	33	.132
Wolves	4	34	.105

AUTO RACING

INSTACART 500

Team	W	L	Pct
Atlanta	26	12	.684
Boston	25	13	.658
Brooklyn	24	14	.632
Charlotte	23	15	.605
Chicago	22	16	.577
Cleveland	21	17	.552
Dallas	20	18	.526
Denver	19	19	.500
Detroit	18	20	.474
Indiana	17	21	.447
Los Angeles	16	22	.421
Memphis	15	23	.395
Minnesota	14	24	.368
Orlando	13	25	.342
Philadelphia	12	26	.316
Pittsburgh	11	27	.289
Sacramento	10	28	.263
San Antonio	9	29	.237
Seattle	8	30	.211
Utah	7	31	.184
Washington	6	32	.158
Wizards	5	33	.132
Wolves	4	34	.105

M.L.B.

TRANSACTIONS

Team	W	L	Pct
Atlanta	26	12	.684
Boston	25	13	.658
Brooklyn	24	14	.632
Charlotte	23	15	.605
Chicago	22	16	.577
Cleveland	21	17	.552
Dallas	20	18	.526
Denver	19	19	.500
Detroit	18	20	.474
Indiana	17	21	.447
Los Angeles	16	22	.421
Memphis	15	23	.395
Minnesota	14	24	.368
Orlando	13	25	.342
Philadelphia	12	26	.316
Pittsburgh	11	27	.289
Sacramento	10	28	.263
San Antonio	9	29	.237
Seattle	8	30	.211
Utah	7	31	.184
Washington	6	32	.158
Wizards	5	33	.132
Wolves	4	34	.105

QATAR MASTERS

Team	W	L	Pct
Atlanta	26	12	.684
Boston	25	13	.658
Brooklyn	24	14	.632
Charlotte	23	15	.605
Chicago	22	16	.577
Cleveland	21	17	.552
Dallas	20	18	.526
Denver	19	19	.500
Detroit	18	20	.474
Indiana	17	21	.447
Los Angeles	16	22	.421
Memphis	15	23	.395
Minnesota	14	24	.368
Orlando	13	25	.342
Philadelphia	12	26	.316
Pittsburgh	11	27	.289
Sacramento	10	28	.263
San Antonio	9	29	.237
Seattle	8	30	.211
Utah	7	31	.184
Washington	6	32	.158
Wizards	5	33	.132
Wolves	4	34	.105

GOLF

Triumph for Thomas After 'Bad Couple of Months'

By BILL PENNINGTON
PONTE VEDRA BEACH, Fla. — It was evident early that the final round of the Players Championship might not unfold as expected when Bryson DeChambeau took one of his trademark mighty swipes and barely made contact with the top of his golf ball, which nose-dived and skittered into a pond roughly 100 yards away.

Next, on the same tee, was Lee Westwood, who was leading the tournament and predicted to duel DeChambeau, who was in second place after the first three rounds, throughout Sunday afternoon. Westwood hit a slice so crooked it would have warmed the heart of the everyday hacker. Westwood's ball plunged into a different pond from DeChambeau's, but the tone for the day was set.

Playing in the pairing ahead of DeChambeau and Westwood, Justin Thomas was not aware of the travails going on behind him. But he had a studied understanding.

"I've watched this tournament for years," Thomas said, "and I know lots of crazy things can happen."

Thomas began the last round three strokes behind Westwood but passed him, and DeChambeau, to take the tournament lead with an eagle on the 11th hole. From there, as his rivals wobbled, he was steadily escaping when

PRO FOOTBALL

Brees Retires, His Focus on the Details Until the End

Every great quarterback has a defining characteristic.

Tom Brady, even at 43, still excels in big games. Aaron Rodgers and Patrick Mahomes, with their prodigious arms, complete throws others wouldn't dare attempt. Peyton Manning, a pre-snap savant, could decode the most complex of defenses.

Many will never come close to knowing what such excellence feels like, in any field. But when it comes to Drew Brees, another member of that exalted group of quarterbacks, trying to understand what distinguished him as he retired Sunday, exactly 15 years after he signed with the Saints — that feels a bit more accessible: Just grab a toothbrush and some toothpaste.

"I've challenged people to do this before," said Zach Strief, a former offensive tackle who helped protect Brees for 12 seasons in New Orleans. "Brush your teeth with 275 strokes to-

Calling it a career 15 years to the day after joining the Saints.

morrow. Do it that many times, then try to repeat it for 20 years. That's how he lives his life. His attention to detail is his superpower."

Over those 20 years, as Brees overcame a career-threatening shoulder injury to become one of the most statistically productive quarterbacks in N.F.L. history, he trained his body and brain for optimal performance.

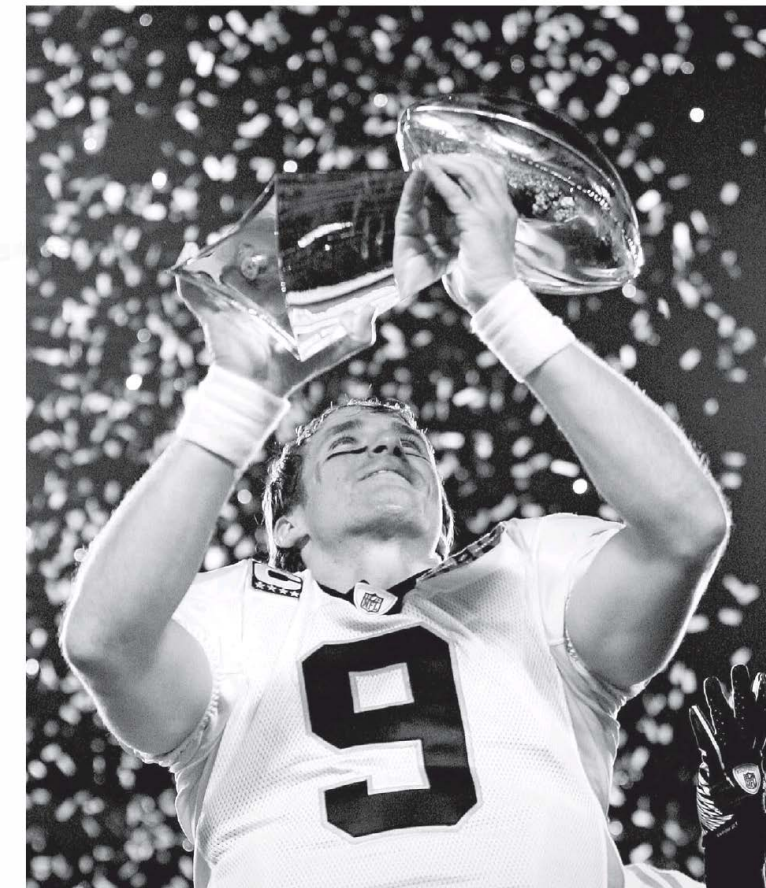
Because he couldn't dislodge his head from his shoulders to see over towering linemen, the 6-foot Brees often threw passes blind. "You just see a ball appear out of nowhere," said the former receiver Lance Moore, who played eight seasons with Brees.

Brees knew the coverage, the routes and where the ball was supposed to go, so it didn't seem peculiar. It's why every repetition in practice had to be perfect, and if it wasn't, Brees and his receivers would stay after communicating that need telepathically — until they aced it.

He reviewed the entire game plan after Saturday walk-throughs, drilling his cadence and progressions, drilling back without holding a ball, toiling alone in the Saints' practice bubble. He arrived at the team's training facility at 6 a.m. even if he played the night before. His wife, Brittany, would bring their children over at certain times, and Brees would change them around for a certain amount of time, and then they would leave at a certain time, so he could retreat to the darkness of the film room.

"It's unnerving at first to watch him as a young player, because you're like, 'Damn, how do I replicate this?'" said Marques Colston, a Saints receiver from 2006 to 2015. "It put you in a mode where you had to match his intensity."

Brees and Colston joined the Saints within weeks of each other in 2006. New Orleans drafted Colston that year, but Brees, after five seasons with the San Diego Chargers, chose the city. Identifying with his resilient spirit, he signed with the Saints to rebuild — his shoulder, his



Drew Brees carried the Saints to the N.F.C. title game in his first year with the team and to a Super Bowl title in his fourth.

Passes Completed

1. Drew Brees	2001-2020	7,342
2. Tom Brady	2000-2020	6,778
3. Brett Favre	1991-2010	6,300
4. Peyton Manning	1998-2015	6,125
5. Philip Rivers	2004-2020	5,277

Source: Pro Football Reference.com

Passing Yards

1. Drew Brees	2001-2020	80,356
2. Tom Brady	2000-2020	79,204
3. Peyton Manning	1998-2015	71,940
4. Brett Favre	1991-2010	71,838
5. Philip Rivers	2004-2020	63,440

Passing Touchdowns

1. Tom Brady	2000-2020	581
2. Drew Brees	2001-2020	571
3. Peyton Manning	1998-2015	639
4. Brett Favre	1991-2010	508
5. Philip Rivers	2004-2020	421

Passing Rating

1. Patrick Mahomes	2017-2020	108.7
2. Deshaun Watson	2017-2020	104.5
3. Aaron Rodgers	2005-2020	103.9
4. Russell Wilson	2012-2020	101.7
5. Drew Brees	2001-2020	98.7

career, the organization, a region reeling from Hurricane Katrina.

With those projects long complete, Brees, 42, leaves the game after 20 years of unbridling his superpower to maximum effect.

"Over and above his outstanding performance, Drew came to represent the resolve, passion, and drive that resonates not only with Saints fans and football fans but our entire community," Gayle Benson, the team's principal owner, said in a statement.

When Brees arrived, the Saints were a woebegone franchise coming off a 3-13 season in 2005, with one playoff victory in 39 years. Brees reached the N.F.C. championship game in his first year, delivered a Super Bowl in his fourth — beating the Hall of Fame quarterbacks Kurt Warner, Brett Favre and Manning along the way — and won seven division titles, including in each of the last four seasons. He transformed the national percep-

tion of the Saints and recalibrated locals' expectations of offensive proficiency.

When Brees arrived, New Orleans was recovering from the devastation wrought by Katrina, so much so that after Coach Sean Payton got lost while showing Brees around the area on his free-agent visit, driving past ravaged communities, he figured Brees would sign with Miami. Instead, Brees settled in Uptown New Orleans, restored a century-old home, and committed to raising millions of dollars to refurbish parks, schools and athletic fields.

When Brees arrived, his surgically repaired right shoulder was still ailing, and all throughout training camp and into the preseason his passes wobbled. Some teammates wondered whether he would ever recover. Payton did not.

As Strief remembers it, Brees went to throw a 20-yard out

route early in the Saints' third preseason game, and his pass skipped 5 yards short of the receiver. Payton asked the quarterbacks coach, Pete Carmichael, who coached Brees in San Diego, "Is this as good as he gets?"

"I remember standing there thinking, like, oh wow," Strief, who was hired last month as the Saints' assistant offensive line coach, said. "Like, asking myself: 'He's an N.F.L. quarterback. How is that possible?'"

As Strief discovered, Brees progressed at his own pace.

Mesling with Payton, he threw for 4,318 yards that season, the first of seven times he led the N.F.L. in that category. No one has completed more passes or thrown for more yards, and only Brady has thrown more touchdowns.

Some of Brees's totals are boosted by the era, facilitated by rules changes, schematic innovations and a short-passing ethos.

But in many years, the Saints needed Brees to throw just to offset their horrific defenses: Each of the five times New Orleans finished in the bottom seven in scoring defense, Brees led the league in passing. Over the last four seasons, as the Saints leaned more on their running game and a strong defense, Brees reinvented himself, throwing (even) shorter passes and fewer interceptions, never reaching double digits in that statistic after throwing 15 in 2016.

"You just knew the ball was going to be perfect coming from Drew Brees," the former All-Pro cornerback Aqib Talib said in a telephone interview. "He'll just find ways to kill you."

Consistent as Brees was, sometimes that focus blinded him from change swirling around him. Long a vocal supporter of the military, he equated kneeling during the national anthem to protest police brutality with



TYLER KALFMAN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Career at a Glance

RECORD	172-114-6
COMPLETION PERCENTAGE	67.7
GAMES STARTED	286
SEASONS	20
TEAMS	CHARGERS; SAINTS

denigrating the flag.

As civil unrest rolled the country last summer, and as the league and its players grew more proactive about addressing systemic racism and social injustice, Brees reiterated that he considered it disrespectful to kneel. His comments angered teammates past and present, many of whom were mystified that someone generally so aware could be so insensitive. Brees later apologized, saying his comments "missed the mark."

"It hurt — like, dang, Drew, really? No way," Moore said. "But sometimes it takes a situation like that for somebody to grow. I'm not going to allow something like that to erase the history we had together. I had to help teach him a lesson, and I think it was a moment of reflection for him."

Brees had ample time to ponder his future after the last three seasons, which all ended with a playoff defeat at the Superdome. Eliminated by the Rams in the playoffs after the 2018 season after officials missed a pass-interference call against Los Angeles, and by Minnesota in overtime after the 2019 season, when he missed five games with a thumb injury, the Saints lost to Tampa Bay at home in the divisional round in January in part because the Buccaneers converted two of Brees's three interceptions into touchdowns.

That day Brees, already managing the aftermath of the 11 fractured ribs and punctured lung he sustained in Week 10, was also playing with — as revealed in an Instagram post Brittany Brees would make two days later — a torn fascia in his foot and a torn rotator cuff. Struggling to move the offense downfield against Tampa Bay, Brees passed for 134 yards, his fewest in 18 postseason games by far, and if it all seemed like a discordant conclusion to a career steeped in splendor, that's because it was — but yet it still sort of misses the point.

So much of the Brees mythology focuses on what he lacks, things out of his control — the prototypical height of a quarterback, an Elway-esque arm, a second championship to enhance his legacy — instead of what he is, what he has, what he could do. And over the last two decades, as the N.F.L. transitioned into a passing league, no one summed his superpower better to fulfill the position's elemental responsibility — throwing a football accurately and consistently — finer than he did.

BASEBALL

After 22 Pitches, Mets Infielder Walks

By TYLER KEPNER

It was only an exhibition, so nothing from the Mets' 7-5 victory over the St. Louis Cardinals on Sunday will count as more than an amusing oddity. But the Mets' Luis Guillorme did something that just might be unprecedented: He saw 22 pitches in a single turn at the plate.

The odd event came in the fifth inning in Port St. Lucie, Fla., against the hard-throwing Cardinals reliever Jordan Hicks. Guillorme fell behind on a called strike and a swinging strike. Then, over the course of 20 pitches, he swatted 16 fouls and took four pitches out of the strike zone, earning a satisfying trot to first as teammates roared with laughter.

"I'm just happy I ended up with the walk, because if I would have gotten out, that would've been not fun for me — all that work for nothing," Guillorme said. "It's pretty cool."

Since pitch-count data became official in 1988, there's been plenty of

a single plate appearance is 21, by Brandon Bell of the San Francisco Giants against Jaime Barria of the Los Angeles Angels in 2018. That resulted in a flyout.

The twist on Sunday was that Hicks was making his first appearance in a game since June 2019, just before undergoing Tommy John surgery. It was also the first day that umpires would be enforcing the three-batter minimum rule for pitchers in spring training. The Cardinals had planned to use Hicks for only 20 pitches or so.

"I thought, prior to the inning, 'What happens if he has high pitch counts?'" Cardinals Manager Mike Shildt said. "That got answered pretty immediately."

Hicks was not injured, but Shildt and a trainer appealed successfully to the umpires to let his workday end after one exhausting duel. Hicks, who threw as hard as 105 miles an hour as a rookie in 2018, said he planned to throw his slider Sunday when he got ahead in the count. He pumped plenty of

strikes but said he could have been sharper.

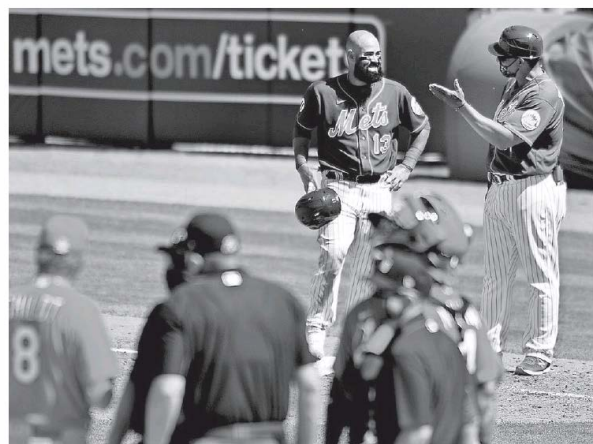
"It is there enough to get a bunch of foul balls," Hicks said, "but it's not there as my putout pitch yet."

Guillorme, a reserve infielder who batted .333 last season, made sure of that. As improbable spring training feats go, he said, Sunday's still ranks behind his one-handed snag of an errant bat as he watched from the dugout in 2017. All he wanted to do, Guillorme said, was hit a ground ball up the middle.

"I was just trying to get the barrel out there and put the ball in play," he said. "I wasn't trying to do too much."

What he did was perhaps enough to set a record — unofficially, anyway. When he came to bat again on Sunday, Guillorme did not come close to repeating it.

"It's fascinating, though," Shildt said. "The guy's next at-bat, he lines out on the first pitch. But that's baseball."



JIN KASHIMURA/TORREY SPEDITS VIA GETTY IMAGES

Luis Guillorme after his lengthy plate appearance, which included 16 foul balls, on Sunday.



CHRISTA STOEHR



SERGEY PONOMAREV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Saying goodbye to a difficult year.
 Navigating the same challenges.
 Watching a transition.
 Keeping track of the rollout.
 Staying connected.
 Passing the time.
 Supporting others.
 Understanding the timeline.
 Daring to be hopeful.



BRENDAN GEORGE KO



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