

“All the News  
That’s Fit to Print”

# The New York Times

Late Edition

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## As Party Meets, Xi Embodies Imperial Rule

### Resolute Despite Covid and Fiscal Malaise

**By CHRIS BUCKLEY**

In his first years as China’s leader, Xi Jinping paid for his own steamed dumplings in a cheap diner, casually rolled up his trouser legs to avoid splashes in the rain, and was serenaded with sugary pop tunes. His image-makers cast him as “Xi Dada,” the people’s firm but genial “Uncle Xi.”

How vastly different now. A decade on, Mr. Xi looms over the country like a stern Communist monarch, reflecting on China’s fallen ancient dynasties and determined to win its lasting ascendancy in a turbulent world.

Chinese officials praise his speeches like hallowed texts, professing loyalty with a fervor that sometimes echoes Mao Zedong’s era. Privately mocking Mr. Xi can lead to prison. His public encounters are regimented displays of acclaim.

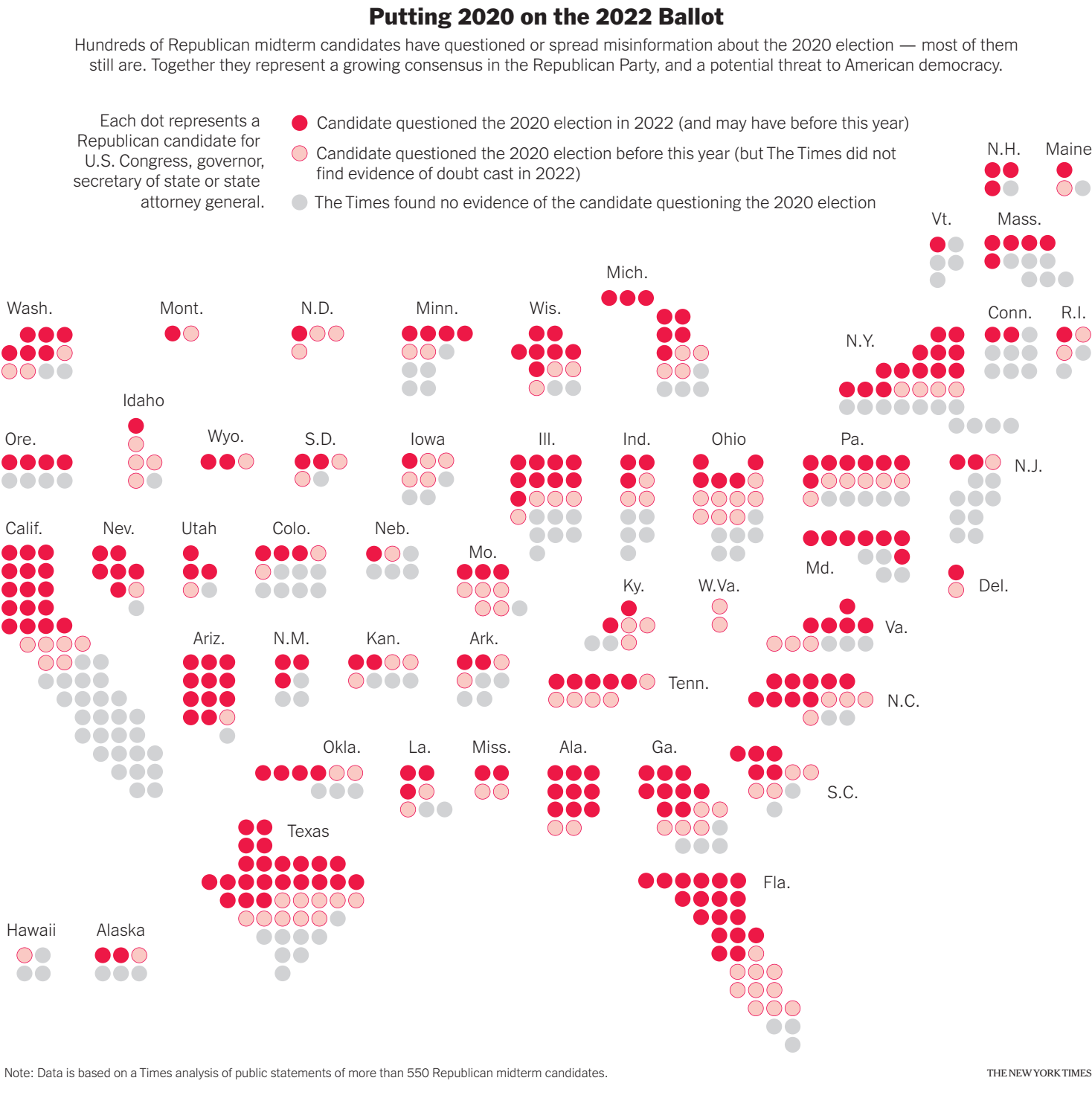
A Communist Party congress opening Sunday is shaping up to be Mr. Xi’s imperial moment, strengthening and extending his rule, while also intensifying the long-term hazards from his singular dominance. At the meeting in Beijing, he seems sure of winning a third term as the party’s general secretary, breaking with recent expectations that Chinese leaders would reign for around a decade.

“The certainty will really only be in the arrangements at the top-most level, that his power is beyond challenge, but beneath that we’ll face a great many uncertainties,” Wu Qiang, a political analyst in Beijing, said in an interview.

The evolution of Mr. Xi’s public face has paralleled his transformation of China into a proudly authoritarian state, scornful of criticism from Washington, increasingly sure that Western democracy has lost its allure, and impatient for a bigger say in shaping the 21st-century global order.

The party congress will be Mr. Xi’s stage to demonstrate that he remains undaunted, despite the recent economic malaise, Covid outbreaks and increasing animosity with the United States, which has labeled China a national security threat. He is likely to tell the

*Continued on Page A12*



## 2020 Election Skeptics Crowd the Republican Ticket Nationwide

*This article is by Karen Yourish, Danielle Ivory, Weiwei Cai, Nick Corasaniti and Jonathan Weisman.*

They include candidates for the U.S. House and Senate, and the state offices of governor, secretary of state and attorney general — many with clear shots to victory, and some without a chance. They are united by at least one issue: They have all expressed doubt about the legitimacy of the 2020 election. And they are the new normal of the Republican

Party.

More than 370 people — a vast majority of Republicans running for these offices in November — have questioned and, at times, outright denied the results of the 2020 election despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary, according to a monthslong New York Times investigation. These candidates represent a sentiment that is spreading in the Republican Party, rupturing a bedrock principle of democracy: that voters decide elections and candi-

### Over 370 Candidates Have Voiced Doubts About the Results

dates accept results.

This skepticism has stretched into political races in every state and is still frequently being raised as a campaign issue, The Times has found, nearly two years after Donald J. Trump was defeated.

Hundreds of these candidates are favored to win their races.

Far from fading over time, as many Americans had hoped, election lies and misinformation have proved strikingly resilient, even amid a political campaign season in which far more is being said by candidates and their party officials about issues like inflation and abortion. The Times has for the first time identified more than 240 candidates who are still casting doubt on the presidential election.

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## Protest and Prayers Became a ‘Massacre’ in Iran

*This article is by Cora Engelbrecht, Nilo Tabrizi and Ishaan Jhaveri.*

Some of the wounded tried to crawl away to escape the gunfire. Others bled to death on prayer mats as people tried to drag them to safety.

But the snipers and officers kept pulling their triggers, firing bullet after bullet into men and young boys at a worship area where Friday Prayer had been underway.

The horrific scene unfolded on Sept. 30 in Zahedan, a city in southeastern Iran that is home to the ethnic Baluch minority, after a small group of worshippers emerged from the Great Mosalla prayer complex to confront security forces posted at a police station across the street.

The protesters chanted anti-government slogans and threw rocks at the officers, prompting the security forces to fire indiscriminately into the crowd, according to witnesses. As the demonstrators scattered, the gunshots stalked their retreat back toward the complex, where thousands were still praying.

“It was a massacre I had only seen in movies,” said Jamshid, 28, a worshiper, who was reached by phone and identified himself only by his first name to avoid reprisals. “They started shooting as



Nearly 100 people were killed in Zahedan, Iran, on Sept. 30.

people still had their heads bowed in prayer.” Young men threw themselves in front of children and older people to shield them from the bullets, Jamshid said. “People had nowhere to go.”

The massacre, called “Bloody Friday” by residents, represents the most lethal government action

since a crackdown began against nationwide demonstrations a month ago. Sixty-six to 96 people were killed over the course of the next several hours, according to local and international human rights groups, including Amnesty International.

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## Furor Unmasks A Caste System Among Latinos

**By MIRIAM JORDAN**

LOS ANGELES — Ivan Vasquez arrived in Los Angeles in 1996, a teenager who had crossed the border to find work and improve the lot of his family in Mexico. As a newbie washing dishes in restaurants, the young man from the majority Indigenous state of Oaxaca was often called “Oaxaquita,” or Little Oaxacan, by other Mexicans because of his deep tan skin and diminutive stature.

Still, he eventually rose to become a regional manager at Baja Fresh and opened his own restaurant in 2013, a celebration of his native state’s unique cuisine. Powered by mole and mezcal, the restaurant, Madre, has won rave reviews from food critics and grown to three locations in a city that embraces multiculturalism.

So Mr. Vasquez, now 41, was shocked this week to hear disparaging remarks about Oaxacans from Nury Martinez, a powerful Latina politician who was president of the City Council.

A recording of a closed-door meeting in 2021, in which Ms. Martinez was heard referring to

## Discovery by Chaucer Scholars Scrubs Stain From His Legacy

**By JENNIFER SCHUESSLER**

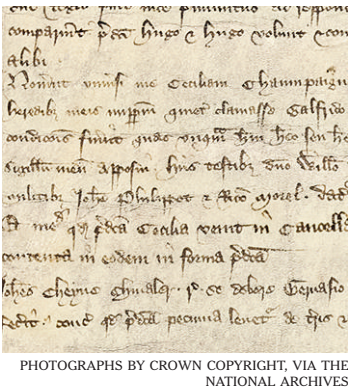
For nearly 150 years, a cloud has hung over the reputation of Geoffrey Chaucer, the author of “The Canterbury Tales,” long seen as the founder of the English literary canon.

A court document discovered in 1873 suggested that around 1380, Chaucer had been charged with raping Cecily Chaumpaigne, the daughter of a London baker. In the document, Chaumpaigne released Chaucer from “all manner of actions related to my raptus”—a word commonly translated as rape or abduction.

In recent decades, the suggestion that Chaucer had been accused of rape helped inspire a rich vein of feminist criticism looking at sex, power and consent in stories like “The Wife of Bath’s Tale” and “The Miller’s Tale,” which contain depictions of sexual assault (or what to modern readers appears like it).

But this week, two scholars stunned the world of Chaucer studies with previously unknown documents that they say show that the “raptus” document was not in fact related to an accusation of rape against Chaucer at all.

The new documents, the two scholars say, establish that the one that surfaced in the 1870s had



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A 1380 legal document about a “raptus” was not about a rape case at all, scholars now say.

been misinterpreted. Instead of stemming from a rape case, they argue, the document had been filed as part of a labor case, in which another man charged Chaumpaigne with leaving his household to work in Chaucer’s before her term of labor was over.

It’s an explosive claim in the world of Chaucer studies. And in a telephone interview, Sebastian Sobecki, a professor of English at the University of Toronto, who did the research with Euan Roger of the British National Archives, summed it up carefully, while emphasizing that the discovery

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INTERNATIONAL A4-12

### Two Different Wars

As Russia continues to bombard Kyiv from the air, Ukrainian ground troops are reclaiming territory. PAGE A5

### Chinese Doctor’s Final Days

A Times investigation details the death of Dr. Li Wenliang, who sounded an early alarm on Covid-19. PAGE A10

NATIONAL A13-21

### Rampage Unnerves Raleigh

A 15-year-old boy was in custody as investigators searched for a motive in a shooting that killed an off-duty police officer along with four others. PAGE A20

### Appeal to Stop Special Master

The government asked a court to end a special master review of the files hoarded by the ex-president. PAGE A17

### Helping At-Risk Families

The Biden administration is proposing spending \$20 billion over a decade to help some of the most vulnerable families in the country. PAGE A13

BUSINESS B1-6

### Seeking a \$24.6 Billion Merger

Kroger and Albertsons, two of the biggest U.S. grocery chains, announced a deal, which is likely to face tough federal scrutiny. PAGE B1

### Waging a Battle Over Wages

More places are challenging a system that counts tips toward the minimum wage for service workers. PAGE B1

SPORTS B7-9

### Yankees Wilt in Extra Innings

Pitcher Jameson Taillon was undone by defensive miscues, and the Guardians evened the playoff series at 1-1. PAGE B7



ARTS C1-12

### Her Facets Can Now Shine

Unity Phelan’s fall season with New York City Ballet has shown her beauty and range in a string of debuts. PAGE C1

### A Dickens Tale Reimagined

Barbara Kingsolver reinvents “David Copperfield” as a story of the opioid crisis in Southern Appalachia. PAGE C1

TO OUR READERS

### The Return of ‘36 Hours’

With today’s newspaper, The New York Times is bringing back the popular Travel feature, which had been paused because of the pandemic. It will be just part of expanded Travel coverage in a weekly presentation in the Arts section, which also will include a “What to Cook” feature. SECTION C

OPINION A22-23

### Jesse Wegman

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# 2020 Vote Skeptics Crowd the G.O.P. Ticket Nationwide, and Many Are Favored to Win

## Promoting '2000 Mules'

Some examples of at least 50 candidates citing the documentary directed by the conservative commentator Dinesh D'Souza or the theories behind it.

**Ronny Jackson**  
@RonnyJacksonTX  
US House candidate, TX-13

If you don't think there was MASSIVE voter fraud in the 2020 election after seeing 2000 Mules, then NOTHING can convince you. The amount of criminal fraud all caught ON CAMERA will SHOCK you! 2020 was NOT "free & fair" at ALL. GO SEE 2000 MULES!!

May 19, 2022

**Lauren Boebert**  
@laurenboebert  
US House candidate, CO-03

It was an honor to attend @DineshDSouza's movie premiere of 2,000 Mules!

The film exposes 5% of the illegal votes cast in 2020.

And that is exactly why the Left will do everything possible to stop you from ever seeing it!

May 6, 2022

**George Santos**  
@Santos4Congress  
US House candidate, NY-03

2000 Mules by @DineshDSouza is not only eye opening it's a 80 min shock of reality that a lot of Americans needed.

#ElectionIntegrity

May 8, 2022

**Courtney Gaels For Congress**  
@CourtneyGaels  
US House candidate, NC-04

Just finished watching #2000Mules. I don't like cheaters.

May 8, 2022

## Hunter Biden's Laptop

Some examples of dozens of candidates promoting an unproven theory that the news media, Facebook and the F.B.I. colluded to interfere in the 2020 Election.

**Rep. Dan Bishop**  
@RepDanBishop  
US House candidate, NC-09

The FBI and Big Tech censored accurate information in order to swing the election. Let that sink in...

Aug. 25, 2022

**Chuck Grassley**  
@ChuckGrassley  
US Senate candidate, Iowa

We now know Facebook censored spread of Hunter Biden laptop story after FBI approached them. FBI & Facebook/Big Tech interfered in 2020 election. Facebook acted as an arm of govt Both Facebook & FBI should be ashamed of interfering in our electoral process

Aug. 26, 2022

**Claudia Tenney**  
@Santos4Congress  
US House candidate, NY-24

BigTech and retired US Spies coordinated to coverup the corrupt evidence revealed in Hunter's laptop from Hell to swing the election in Biden's favor. This is felonious and bright line election interference.

March 24, 2022

**Darius Mayfield**  
@DariusMayfieldUSA  
US House candidate, NJ-12

Once elected to Congress I will help lead the charge in investigating Joe Biden and his son for the crimes the media covered up, while trying to sway an election!

March 27, 2022

**Elise Stefanik**  
@EliseStefanik  
US House candidate, NY-21

Hunter's laptop was real, and the mainstream media illegally interfered in our election.

March 31, 2022

From Page A1

this year — many of them within the last couple of months.

The Times analysis is a detailed accounting of the spread of election denial in the Republican Party. The analysis incorporates not only what candidates have said, but also when. Many candidates' views have changed over time — as new conspiracies were born, as Mr. Trump demanded fealty, and as primary voters weighed in. The Times found. Some candidates became less vocal after the Capitol riot, and some have consistently pushed falsehoods about the election.

No evidence of widespread irregularities was found by top Trump administration officials in the Justice Department and the Department of Homeland Security, which investigated the election, or by judges throughout the country and even auditors commissioned by political operatives intent on proving fraud.

The Times scoured the public records of more than 550 Republican candidates in all 50 states, examining their social media accounts, political emails, newsletters, speeches, interviews and campaign materials. The analysis distinguished between the many dozens of candidates who said unequivocally (and inaccurately) that the 2020 election was stolen, and those who stopped short of that falsehood but criticized the election, often persistently, in ways that were seemingly more reasonable but perhaps more influential.

The Times did not automatically categorize candidates who objected to the 2020 Electoral College results or who supported lawsuits challenging the results as denying the election outright. As a recent Times investigation reported, those candidates often cited more nuanced arguments for their votes or said they did not want to overturn the outcome.

## THE PRICE OF ENTRY TO THE REPUBLICAN TICKET

The Times investigation found that about 70 percent of Republicans running for Congress had questioned the election of President Biden, who won seven million more votes and 74 more electoral states than Mr. Trump. Of those, nearly two-thirds are favored to win their races, according to the Cook Political Report, which handicaps races for Congress and governor.

Among Republican candidates running for state offices that can play a significant role in elections and recounts — governors, attorneys general and secretaries of state — more than half expressed misgivings about the 2020 election. The share was higher, about 65 percent, among candidates running for governor. About half of those candidates for

Sarah Cahalan, Keith Collins, Jennifer Medina and Julie Shaver contributed reporting. Additional work by Aaron Byrd, Meg Felling and Ramsey Taylor.

## Some Say the Election Was Stolen ...



### 'Trump won and everyone knows it.'

▲ BRIAN FLOWERS, U.S. House candidate, Second District, Mississippi  
2022 campaign ad

## 'Donald Trump won this state, period.'

MIKE COLLINS, U.S. House candidate, 10th District, Georgia  
2022 video

### 'I think the election was stolen from Trump.'

J.D. VANCE, Senate candidate, Ohio  
2022 debate

## 'It was taken from us.'

MORGAN LUTTRELL, U.S. House candidate, Eighth District, Texas  
2022 debate



## 'Big Tech and blue-state liberals stole the election from President Trump.'

▲ KAY IVEY, candidate for Alabama governor  
2022 campaign ad



## 'Yes, I believe that President Trump won that election.'

▲ ANNA PAULINA LUNA, U.S. House candidate, 13th District, Florida  
2022 interview

### 'We know it, and they know it. Donald Trump won.'

MARK FINCHEM, candidate for Arizona secretary of state  
2022 campaign ad

### 'That election was stolen from us.'

JIM BOGNET, U.S. House candidate, Eighth District, Pennsylvania  
2022 campaign ad

## Democracy Challenged

Democratic norms are facing a historic test: Many Americans doubt the results of the 2020 election, and extremism, global authoritarianism and disinformation are on the rise. The Times is examining this landscape of challenges through a range of coverage.

governor are favored to win.

For Republican candidates who would rather talk about something other than the last presidential election, some have learned that the party's base, and its unofficial leader, Mr. Trump, won't let them drop the issue. It has become, in many cases, the price of entry to the Republican ticket.

Wisconsin Republicans learned this lesson the hard way.

In early June, Mr. Trump upended the Republican primary for governor in Wisconsin by endorsing Tim Michels, a wealthy construction magnate, over Rebecca Kleefisch, a former lieutenant governor of the state and a favorite of local Republicans.

The endorsement apparently came with strings.

During a July debate, Mr. Michels said he would not prioritize decertifying the 2020 election in Wisconsin, a legally implausible process that nonetheless remained a fixation of Mr. Trump.

"I have to focus on beating Tony Evers this fall," he said, referring to Wisconsin's incumbent Democratic governor.

A roar came from Mar-a-Lago, communicated through aides to Mr. Michels, demanding that he embrace the decertification movement, according to people familiar with the conversations.

Mr. Michels reversed course, saying that he was "very, very fired up about this election integrity issue" and pledging to consider signing a decertification bill if legislators passed one.

By the final days of the primary, Mr. Michels was promoting the election conspiracy theory amplified in the film "2000 Mules" and was promising to consider signing legislation clawing back Wisconsin's 10 electoral votes from the 2020 election.

The former president has backed nearly 70 percent of the candidates that The Times identified as questioning the 2020 election and who are favored to win their races.

Of the more than 370 candidates who expressed skepticism about the 2020 election, about half are incumbents, nearly all of whom are favored to keep their seats.

About a fifth of the candidates are current members of Congress who, on Jan. 6, 2021, objected to the Electoral College results — a distinction that, according to a recent Times report, has become politically (and financially) profitable.

In the months following the Capitol riot, nearly 80 percent of the objectors who are running for re-election took

some kind of official action that, in effect, continued to promote questions about the 2020 election. These included signing congressional letters alleging widespread fraud or inappropriate interference in the 2020 race; co-sponsoring legislation to fix what they deemed to be problems that emerged during that election; and joining a new Election Integrity Caucus, which has spearheaded a lot of these initiatives.

The candidates identified by The Times include people who have questioned the 2020 election in ways both explicit and subtle.

Fewer than one-third have staked out the most extreme position — stating, without any evidence, that the election was stolen or rigged.

An even smaller number of the candidates who explicitly said the election was stolen, about three dozen of them, are favored to win. They include incumbents like Governor Kay Ivey of Alabama, Representative Lance Gooden of Texas and Representative Matt Gaetz of Florida — all of whom have tweeted falsely, sometimes repeatedly, that the election was stolen — as well as candidates running for the House, like Mike Collins in Georgia, Joe Kent in Washington State and Anna Paulina Luna in Florida.

In a recent video, Mr. Collins walks toward the camera with a gun, saying: "You count the legal votes that were cast in the state of Georgia? Donald Trump won this state, period." At the end of the video, he shoots what appears to be a voting machine, and it explodes. Mr. Biden won the election in Georgia by more than 11,000 votes.

Some of the most ardent election deniers have made their claims, even though Mr. Biden received more than 51 percent of the popular vote, winning in

battleground states like Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, Minnesota, Nevada, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin.

Most election skeptics, however, have not denied the 2020 results entirely. Instead, The Times found, they have sown doubt by suggesting, sometimes repeatedly, that there are unresolved questions or that further investigation is needed.

Some have said they do not know who legitimately won the election, or they have conceded that Mr. Biden is the president, but not necessarily because he was elected fairly. Some have said that there were irregularities or interference in the election but that perhaps those did not change the results.

Others have changed their positions, like Don Bolduc, a Senate candidate in New Hampshire. At an August debate, Mr. Bolduc said, "I signed a letter with 120 other generals and admirals saying that Trump won the election, and, damn it, I stand by my letter."

"I'm not switching horses, baby," he said.

On Sept. 15, he did.

"I've done a lot of research on this," he said on Fox News. "I want to be definitive on this — the election was not stolen."

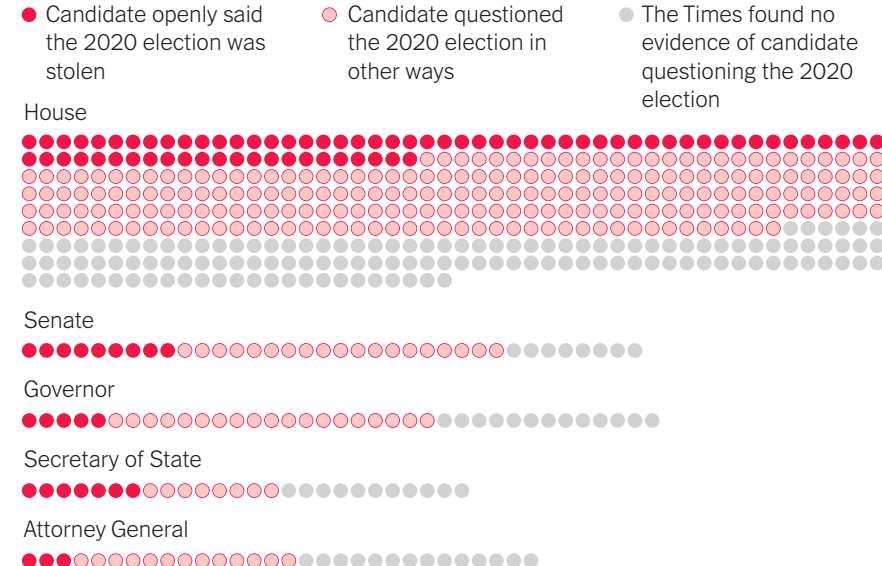
On Oct. 3, he staked out what has become something of a middle ground. "I can't say that it was stolen or not," he said. "I don't have enough information."

## LOPSIDED COMPARISONS TO ELECTIONS OF THE PAST

Some candidates have bolstered their arguments by comparing themselves to Democrats who objected to Electoral College results in 1968, 2000, 2004 and 2016. In those cases, however, only small numbers objected, having no practical effect, and after the losing Democratic

## Questioning the 2020 Election, by Office

Each dot represents a Republican midterm candidate.



Note: Data is based on a Times analysis of public statements of more than 550 Republican midterm candidates.

LALENA FISHER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

## ... Some Cast Doubt on the Results

### 'There are enough irregularities that we need to do an audit.'

JIM MARCHANT, candidate for Nevada secretary of state  
2022 interview



### 'When you look at the results of the 2020 election, there are anomalies in there, to put it very lightly, that are simply mathematically impossible.'

▲ JOHN GIBBS, U.S. House candidate, Third District, Michigan  
2022 interview

## 'They had the dirty rotten media tell lies.'

MARJORIE TAYLOR GREENE, U.S. House candidate, 14th District, Georgia  
2021 speech

### 'We have thousands of affidavits signed by American citizens regarding very suspicious election irregularities on the days and weeks leading up to the 2020 election.'

CLAY HIGGINS, U.S. House candidate, Third District, Louisiana  
2022 hearing



## 'The numbers do not make sense.'

▲ MONICA DE LA CRUZ, U.S. House candidate, 15th District, Texas  
2020 Facebook video

### 'Do we have a lot of voting issues, including with the voting machines here in New Hampshire? 100 percent.'

ROBERT BURNS, U.S. House candidate, Second District, New Hampshire  
2022 interview

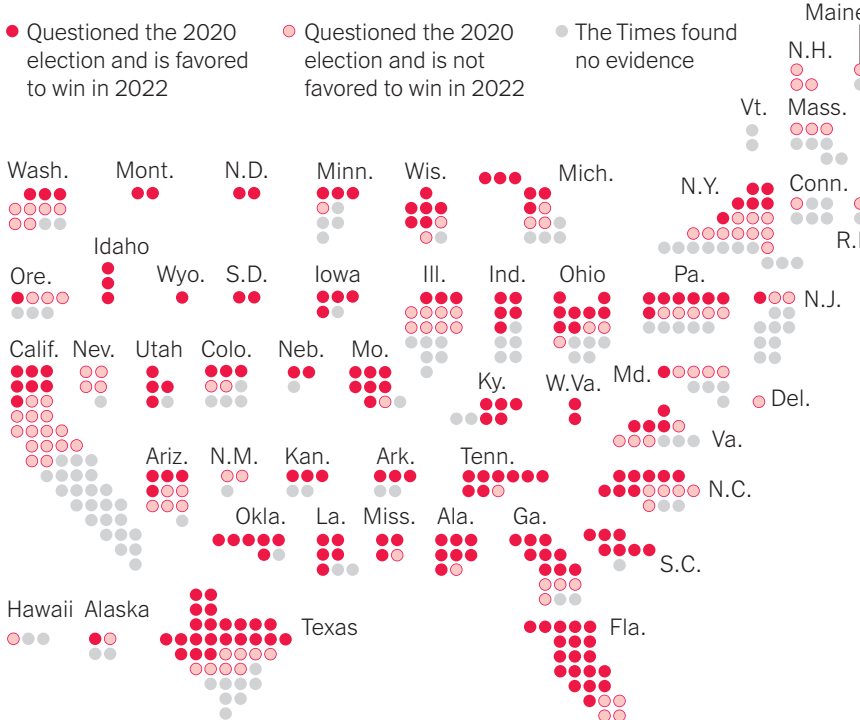


### 'Four states in our nation went around the Constitution to establish their own rules for voting in 2020, based on what I believe is a man-made virus.'

▲ MARK ALFORD, U.S. House candidate, Fourth District, Missouri  
2022 interview

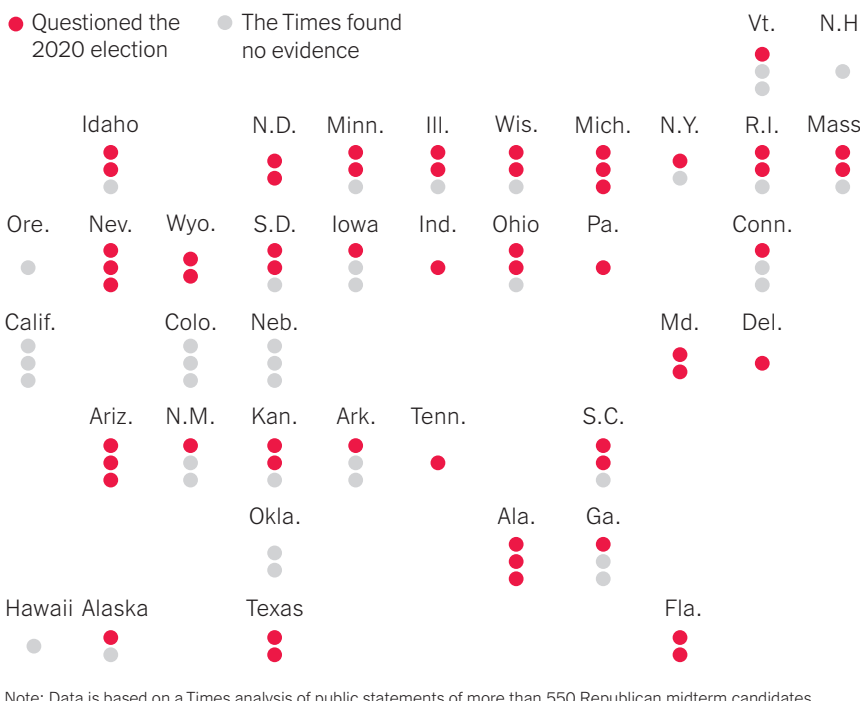
## Questioning the 2020 Election, by State

Running for the U.S. House of Representatives or U.S. Senate  
Each dot represents a Republican midterm candidate.



## Running for Governor, Secretary of State and State Attorney General

Each dot represents a Republican midterm candidate.



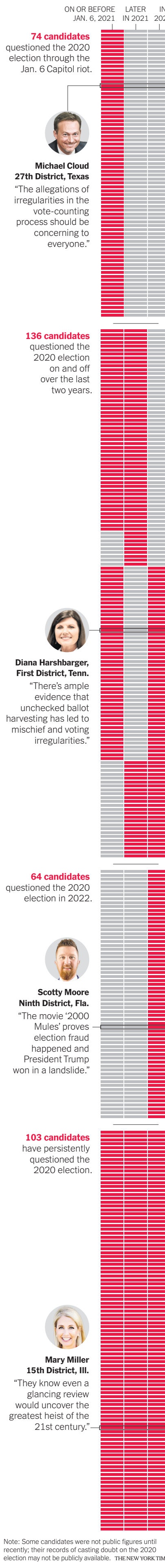
Note: Data is based on a Times analysis of public statements of more than 550 Republican midterm candidates.

LALENA FISHER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

**About the Data** The underlying data for this project was collected by Karen Yourish and Danielle Ivory, who analyzed the public statements of more than 550 Republican candidates in the midterm elections. The Times investigation most likely undercounted candidates who have expressed skepticism about the last presidential election. It is possible that some have questioned it in ways that did not surface in the materials reviewed. Race ratings data is from the Cook Political Report, as of Oct. 12, 2022.

## When Candidates Questioned The 2020 Election

Each row represents one Republican candidate over time.



Note: Some candidates were not public figures until recently; their records of casting doubt on the 2020 election may not be publicly available. THE NEW YORK TIMES