

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

NATIONAL EDITION
A storm moving into Missouri will spread rain and thunderstorms from Illinois to Georgia as heavy rain barrels into the Washington coast. Weather map is on Page 42.

VOL. CLXXII . . . No. 59,592 © 2022 The New York Times Company SUNDAY, OCTOBER 30, 2022 Prices in Canada may be higher \$6.00



JAMIE KELTER DAVIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Heart of American Cities, Still Beating
The New York Times visited downtowns in 10 cities, large and small, to learn how the pandemic changed them. A Special Section.

Twitter Pivot: ‘People’s Tool’ Is Titan’s Toy

By KEVIN ROOSE

A decade ago, when Twitter — then a scrappy, young microblogging service — burst into the mainstream, it felt like a tool for challenging authority.

Pro-democracy activists in Libya and Egypt used Twitter to help topple dictatorships. Americans used it to occupy Wall Street. And in 2013, after George Zimmerman was acquitted of killing an unarmed Black teenager named Trayvon Martin, #BlackLivesMatter took root on Twitter.

These campaigns fueled one of the defining ideas of the 2010s: that social media was an underdog’s dream, a tool for bottom-up organizing that would empower dissidents and marginalized groups, topple corrupt institutions and give ordinary people the ability to communicate on equal footing with tycoons and tyrants. Or, as the Chinese activist and artist Ai Weiwei put it in 2010, “Twitter is the people’s tool, the tool of the ordinary people, people who have no other resources.”

That narrative — shaky as it might have been all along — officially ended this past week, when Twitter became the property of the richest man in the world.

Elon Musk, the billionaire industrialist whose on-again, off-again bid for Twitter this year has been marked by chaos and confusion, has now added the company to a portfolio that includes Tesla, SpaceX and the

Continued on Page 16

Cheap Drones and Western Weapons Turn Tide

By ANDREW E. KRAMER

KHERSON REGION, Ukraine — On the screen of a thermal imaging camera, the Russian armored personnel carrier disappeared in a silent puff of smoke.

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The war in Ukraine has been fought primarily through the air, with artillery, rockets, missiles and drones. And for months, Russia had the upper hand, able to lob

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But in recent months, the tide has turned along the front lines in southern Ukraine. With powerful Western weapons and deadly homemade drones, Ukraine now has artillery superiority in the area, commanders and military analysts say.

Ukraine now has an edge in both range and precision-guided rockets and artillery shells, a class

of weapons largely lacking in Russia’s arsenal. Ukrainian soldiers are taking out armored vehicles worth millions of dollars with cheap homemade drones, as well as with more advanced drones and other weapons provided by the United States and allies.

The Russian military remains a formidable force, with cruise missiles, a sizable army and millions of rounds of artillery shells, albeit imprecise ones. It has just completed a mobilization effort that will add 300,000 troops to the battlefield, Russian commanders say, though many of those will be ill trained and ill equipped. And President Vladimir V. Putin has made clear his determination to win the war at almost any cost.

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Continued on Page 10



FINBARR O’REILLY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ukrainian soldiers armed a drone that would destroy a Russian vehicle in Kherson on Friday.

Army of Volunteer Sleuths Hunts Down Portland’s Stolen Cars

By MIKE BAKER

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and forests, racing against time in hopes of finding stolen vehicles before they end up shredded for parts.

There is no shortage of work to be done. Vehicle thefts in Portland are on track to reach well over 10,000 this year, more than triple the number the city recorded a decade ago, part of a nationwide trend that accelerated during the coronavirus pandemic. In Portland, the brazenness of the crimes, inattention from the police and desperation of residents who

suddenly find themselves missing one of their most valuable possessions have led many to take matters into their own hands.

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Continued on Page 16



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NATIONAL 12-26

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Continued on Page 18

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Continued on Page 22

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NEW YORK 36-41

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Today, mostly sunny and dry, high 62. **Tonight**, increasing clouds, low 54. **Tomorrow**, seasonable and cloudy, a shower late afternoon, high 66. Weather map is on Page 28.

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JUNG YEON-JE/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Tragic Halloween Weekend in Seoul
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**Citing Black Sea Attack
in Ending Export Deal**

By MARC SANTORA
KYIV, Ukraine — Hours after accusing Ukraine of attacking its ships with a swarm of drones, Russia withdrew on Saturday from an agreement aimed at bringing down global food prices by allowing the export of grain from Ukrainian ports.
The Russian decision, which United Nations and Ukrainian officials said could exacerbate hunger, brought to a screeching halt a rare case of wartime coordination that had allowed the movement of more than nine million tons of agricultural products, many bound for poor countries.
Stéphane Dujarric, a spokesman for the United Nations secretary general, António Guterres, called on the warring parties to ensure that the grain deal continued.
“It is vital that all parties refrain from any action that would imperil the Black Sea Grain Initiative, which is a critical humanitarian effort that is clearly having a positive impact on access to food for millions of people around the world,” Mr. Dujarric said.
President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine called Russia’s decision “predictable,” saying in his nightly address on Saturday that Russia had been “deliberately aggravating” the food crisis since September.
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Continued on Page 26

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Continued on Page 16

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Continued on Page 22

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149 Partygoers In Seoul Killed In Crowd Crush

Celebrating Halloween Before the Confusion

This article is by Choe Sang-Hun, John Yoo and Chang Che.

SEOUL — A raucous Halloween celebration in the swinging center of the South Korean capital morphed on Saturday night into a grim procession of bodies after at least 149 people were killed in the crush of a crowd stuck in a narrow roadway, officials said.

Another 150 people were injured, said Choi Seong-beom, the chief of Seoul's Yongsan fire department, many of them seriously.

As many as 100,000 people were celebrating Halloween in Itaewon, an area of central Seoul popular for its nightlife. The holiday had long been a neighborhood favorite before being interrupted by coronavirus restrictions imposed on the city two years ago, and young people flocked to parties on Saturday night.

By Sunday morning, costume-clad partygoers had fled a scene strewn with the bodies of young revelers as chaos and confusion reigned. At news conferences, officials said they had no clear idea of what caused the crush, or how the annual festival had devolved so quickly into the country's worst peacetime tragedy since 2014.

As images of lifeless bodies piled atop each other and queues of emergency workers pushing gurneys loaded with the dead circulated across social media, Koreans demanded answers and accountability.

Kim Geun-jin, a division commander for the Seoul police, said that little could be reported about the cause of the disaster as of 4 a.m. on Sunday because "identifying the victims is our top priority." He added: "Our forensic teams are focused on identifying victims and collecting evidence from the site."

In the early hours of Sunday morning, residents congregated at hospitals and makeshift mortuaries looking for their loved ones. Most of the killed were teenagers or in their 20s, Mr. Choi said. The dead included two foreigners, added Mr. Choi, who did not specify their nationalities.

Continued on Page 9

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Continued on Page 22

INTERNATIONAL 4-11

Saudis Embrace Halloween
A government-sponsored "horror week-end" in Riyadh drew enthusiastic crowds in costumes. Only a few years ago, such parties meant arrest. PAGE 4

Eyeing a Comeback in Israel
Benjamin Netanyahu, who was ousted from the prime minister's office last year, is well positioned in polls. PAGE 6

NEW YORK 36-41

The Flood Next Time
Ten years after Hurricane Sandy, a look at how five parts of the city are working to avert future calamity. PAGE 38



SUNDAY STYLES
The Crypt Gatekeeper
Ryan Murphy, a Netflix horror master, slyly mixes social justice messages with lusty and macabre spectacles. PAGE 10

12 Feet Tall, Yet Tough to Find
Fans of Halloween horror have spent years chasing down a giant skeleton Home Depot debuted in 2020. PAGE 1

NATIONAL 12-27

Testimony in Terror Case
About 100 Yemeni witnesses are unavailable for the U.S.S. Cole bombing trial. How much hearsay will the military judge allow? PAGE 26

SPORTS 32-35

Ohio State Passes a Big Test
The second-ranked Buckeyes surged in the fourth quarter to prevail, 44-31, at 13th-ranked Penn State. PAGE 35

Cubs' Castoff Is Back in Series
A Chicago dynasty-to-be ended with only one title, but Kyle Schwarber is back in the World Series. PAGE 34



ARTS & LEISURE
Empathy and Quirk
Henry Taylor's first major West Coast retrospective speaks to the larger struggle of Black artists trying to gain overdue proper recognition. PAGE 16

SUNDAY OPINION
Bret Stephens PAGE 4

SUNDAY BUSINESS

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'No Jobs Available'
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“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

LATE EDITION
Today, mostly sunny and dry, high 62. Tonight, increasing clouds, low 54. Tomorrow, seasonable and cloudy, a shower late afternoon, high 66. Weather map is on Page 28.

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South Korean authorities at the scene early Sunday in central Seoul’s Itaewon district as some of the victims’ bodies awaited transport.

RUSSIANS BLOCK UKRAINIAN GRAIN

Citing Black Sea Attack
in Ending Export Deal

By MARC SANTORA

KYIV, Ukraine — Hours after accusing Ukraine of attacking its ships with a swarm of drones, Russia withdrew on Saturday from an agreement aimed at bringing down global food prices by allowing the export of grain from Ukrainian ports.

The Russian decision, which United Nations and Ukrainian officials said could exacerbate hunger, brought to a screeching halt a rare case of wartime coordination that had allowed the movement of more than 9 million tons of agricultural products, many of them bound for poor countries.

Stéphane Dujarric, a spokesman for the United Nations secretary general, António Guterres, called on the warring parties to ensure that the grain deal continued.

“It is vital that all parties refrain from any action that would imperil the Black Sea Grain Initiative, which is a critical humanitarian effort that is clearly having a positive impact on access to food for millions of people around the world,” Mr. Dujarric said.

President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine called Russia’s decision “predictable,” saying in his nightly address on Saturday that Russia had been “deliberately aggravating” the food crisis since September.

“Russia is doing everything to ensure that millions of Africans, millions of residents of the Middle East and South Asia, find them-

Continued on Page 11

Cheap Drones and Western Weapons Turn Tide

By ANDREW E. KRAMER

KHERSON PROVINCE, Ukraine — On the screen of a thermal imaging camera, the Russian armored personnel carrier disappeared in a silent puff of smoke.

“What a beautiful explosion,” said First Lt. Serhiy, a Ukrainian drone pilot who watched as his weapon buzzed into a Russian-controlled village and picked off the armored vehicle, a blast that was audible seconds later at his position about four miles away.

“We used to cheer, we used to shout, ‘Hurray!’ but we’re used to it now,” he said.

The war in Ukraine has been fought primarily through the air, with artillery, rockets, missiles and drones. And for months, Russia had the upper hand, able to lob munitions at Ukrainian cities, towns and military targets from positions well beyond the reach of Ukrainian weapons.

But in recent months, the tide has turned along the front lines in southern Ukraine. With powerful Western weapons and deadly homemade drones, Ukraine now has artillery superiority in the area, commanders and military analysts say.

Ukraine now has an edge in both range and precision-guided rockets and artillery shells, a class of weapons largely lacking in Russia’s arsenal. Ukrainian soldiers are taking out armored vehicles worth millions of dollars with cheap homemade drones, as well as with more advanced drones and other weapons provided by the United States and allies.

The Russian military remains a formidable force, with cruise missiles, a sizable army and millions of rounds of artillery shells, albeit imprecise ones. It has just completed a mobilization effort that will add 300,000 troops to the battlefield, Russian commanders say, though many of those will be ill trained and ill equipped. And President Vladimir V. Putin has made clear his determination to win the war at almost any cost.

Still, there is no mistaking the



Where All the Lights Are Bright
A look at the pandemic’s effect on the downtowns of 10 cities, including Chicago. A Special Section.

Army of Volunteer Sleuths Hunts Down Portland’s Stolen Cars

By MIKE BAKER

PORTLAND, Ore. — At the end of a quiet residential street in north Portland, Titan Crawford took a calming drag off his cigarette, and then shuffled past the gutted shell of a stolen Nissan pickup truck and into the patch of woodlands beyond.

A little ways in, there was a Mazda sedan, flipped upside down. He passed a Cadillac Escalade, its rainbow bumper sticker

one of the few features that remained intact. In the bushes nearby, there was a boat filled with furniture, tires and shoes. Mr. Crawford checked vehicle identification numbers and captured videos of an array of metal hulks along the way, but came away disappointed.

“Nothing here is salvageable,” he said.

For much of the past year, Mr. Crawford, 38, has led a growing network of volunteer sleuths who scour Portland’s streets, alleys

and forests, racing against time in hopes of finding stolen vehicles before they end up shredded for parts.

There is no shortage of work to be done. Vehicle thefts in Portland are on track to reach well over 10,000 this year, more than triple the number the city recorded a decade ago, part of a nationwide trend that accelerated during the coronavirus pandemic. In Portland, the brazenness of the crimes, inattention from the police and desperation of residents who

suddenly find themselves missing one of their most valuable possessions have led many to take matters into their own hands.

“It would be cool if the city could do this and I didn’t have to,” Mr. Crawford said. Similar groups have popped up and grown around the country as vehicle thefts have soared.

For Mr. Crawford’s network, the effort is less about vigilante justice — his group rules say that

Continued on Page 20

151 Partygoers In Seoul Killed In Crowd Crush

Celebrating Halloween
Before the Confusion

This article is by Choe Sang-Hun, John Yoo and Chang Che.

SEOUL — A raucous Halloween celebration in the swinging center of the South Korean capital morphed on Saturday night into a grim procession of bodies after at least 151 people were killed in the crush of a crowd stuck in a narrow roadway, officials said.

Dozens more were injured, many of them seriously, according to a fire department spokesman.

As many as 100,000 people were celebrating Halloween in Itaewon, an area of central Seoul popular for its nightlife. The holiday had long been a neighborhood favorite before being interrupted by coronavirus restrictions imposed on the city two years ago, and young people flocked to parties on Saturday night.

By Sunday morning, costume-clad partygoers had fled a scene strewn with the bodies of young revelers as chaos and confusion reigned. At news conferences, officials said they had no clear idea of what caused the crush, or how the annual festival had devolved so quickly into the country’s worst peacetime tragedy since 2014.

As images of lifeless bodies piled atop each other and queues of emergency workers pushing gurneys loaded with the dead circulated across social media, Koreans demanded answers and accountability.

Kim Geun-jin, a division commander for the Seoul police, said that little could be reported about the cause of the disaster as of 4 a.m. on Sunday because “identifying the victims is our top priority.” He added: “Our forensic teams are focused on identifying victims and collecting evidence from the site.”

In the early hours of Sunday morning, residents congregated at hospitals and makeshift mortuaries looking for their loved ones. Most of the people who were killed were teenagers or in their 20s, Mr. Choi said. The dead included two foreigners, added Mr. Choi, who did not specify their nationalities.

At one ad hoc mortuary, at the

Continued on Page 9

MIDTERMS OFFER CLASH OF VISIONS OVER U.S. FUTURE

GIRDING FOR GRIDLOCK

Potential Battles on Race,
Student Debt and
Abortion Rights

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — For President Biden, the Dreaming-of-F.D.R. phase of his presidency may end in little more than a week. If Republicans capture one or both houses of Congress in midterm elections, as polling suggests, Mr. Biden’s domestic agenda will suddenly transform from a quest for a New Deal 2.0 to trench warfare defending the accomplishments of his first two years in office.

On a wide array of issues like abortion, taxes, race and judges, Mr. Biden’s opportunities would invariably shrink as he focuses less on advancing the expansive policy goals that have animated his administration and more on preserving the newly constructed economic and social welfare architecture that Republicans have vowed to dismantle.

While the president and Democratic leaders have not publicly given up on the possibility of hanging onto Congress in the balloting that concludes on Nov. 8, privately they are pessimistic and bracing for two years of grinding partisan conflict. In addition to efforts to block or reverse Mr. Biden’s domestic initiatives, Republican control of either house would result in a flurry of subpoenas and investigations of the administration that would define the relationship between the White House and Congress.

Mr. Biden’s aspirations to codify abortion rights, expand access to child care and college, address racial discrimination in policing, install more like-minded judges and guarantee voting rights would all

Continued on Page 16

THREATS The assault of Paul Pelosi highlights rising fears of political violence. PAGE 20

Suicide Attempts Amid Cruelty In Louisiana Juvenile Detention

**By MEGAN SHUTZER
and RACHEL LAUREN MUELLER**

COUSHATTA, La. — The last time Bridget Peterson saw her son Solan was through the window of a holding cell at Ware Youth Center, just two weeks after his 13th birthday. Even for such a small boy — a shade over five feet tall, barely 90 pounds — the cell looked cramped.

Four days later, he was dead by suicide. “I remember screaming, ‘My boy is gone,’” Mrs. Peterson said.

She soon learned that another child at Ware had killed himself two days before. Then she learned that her son had been isolated in that bare cell for at least four days, even though state rules said he shouldn’t have spent a single night there. The guards, who were supposed to check on him every 15 minutes, hadn’t done so for more than two hours, just as they had neglected to check on the other boy, state regulators’ records and surveillance footage show.

“It’s like, what on earth is going on?” she said.

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Continued on Page 22

INTERNATIONAL 4-11

Saudis Embrace Halloween
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METROPOLITAN

The Flood Next Time
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NATIONAL 12-27

Unexpected Governor Contests
Oklahoma is in play for Democrats. New York and Oregon are within reach for Republicans. And several swing states have tight races. PAGE 26

SPORTS 32-35

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SUNDAY OPINION
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