

Trump Backers Use 'Devil Terms' to Rally Voters

Incendiary Rhetoric Fuels Polarization

By JENNIFER VALENTINO-DeVRIES and STEVE EDER

As Representative Mary Miller embarked on her first congressional campaign, she described herself in salt-of-the-earth, all-American terms: a mother, grandmother and farmer who embodied the "Midwestern values of faith, family and freedom."

"Hard work, using God-given talents, and loving each other well," a voice declared over video clips of Ms. Miller, a 63-year-old Illinois Republican, embracing her family, praying and walking on her farm in an ad in early 2020.

"In the world today," the ad continued, "we could use a lot more of this."

But there is another side to Ms. Miller's wholesome image. Since entering Congress, she has routinely vilified Democrats and liberals, calling them "evil" communists beholden to China who want to "destroy" America and its culture.

And President Biden's plan, she seethed on Twitter this spring, is to "flood our country with terrorists, fentanyl, child traffickers, and MS-13 gang members."

Ms. Miller's inflammatory words underscore the extent to which polarizing rhetoric is now entrenched among Republicans in the House of Representatives, especially among those like Ms. Miller who voted against certifying the Biden victory, according to an examination by The New York Times of partisan language over the past 10 years.

The analysis of tweets, Facebook ads, newsletters and congressional speeches — more than 3.7 million items in all — relied largely on natural language processing, a technique that uses software to extract information from large amounts of text. The Times tallied words that were linked in academic research to divisive political content, as well as those identified by linguists and computer scientists to be used in polarizing ways — "fascist" and "socialist," for example, "far right" and "far left."

Republican representatives

Mary Miller @Miller_Congress
We will never surrender our country to the Democrats, the Marxists, and the Hate-America leftists who want to destroy this country.
God is on our side and we will WIN!
8:01 p.m. • June 25, 2022

Kevin McCarthy @GOPLeader
Just look at the first week of the Biden Administration. It's been America last and China first.
8:11 p.m. • Jan. 26, 2021

Rep. Barry Moore @RepBarryMoore
Pelosi is no longer a benevolent dictator - she's a tyrant.
9:22 a.m. • July 30, 2021

Lauren Boebert @laurenboebert
Democrats hate Voter ID because it makes it harder for them to cheat.
Democrats hate free speech because it makes it harder for them to lie.
Democrats hate the Second Amendment because it makes it harder for them to steal your liberty.
1:00 p.m. • June 9, 2022

Mo Brooks @RepMoBrooks
Never have I feared so much for America's future. America-hating Socialists seek to upend the American way of life based on freedom and liberty and replace it with dictatorial government that controls every aspect of our lives.
7:36 p.m. • May 14, 2021

Louie Gohmert @replouiegohmert
The Jan. 6 commission has become an out-of-control political tool for Democrat vigilantes to target their opponents. We're going to need a select committee to investigate the civil rights abuses of this commission. #J6
5:51 p.m. • Dec. 9, 2021

Ronny Jackson @RonnyJacksonTX
Make no mistake about it, the most radical, anti-American leftists in Congress are in control!
If you have a Democrat representing you, you MUST demand they stand up to the America Last Marxists that are radically and systematically DESTROYING our country.
1:04 p.m. • April 15, 2021

Madison Cawthorn @CawthornforNC
@AOC's top congressional priorities:
1) Photoshoots ✓
2) Virtue Signaling ✓
3) Destroying America ✓
10:27 a.m. • April 5, 2021

Rep. Pat Fallon @RepPatFallon
Joe Biden needs to take a cognitive test. Now.
11:51 a.m. • June 21, 2021

The Times analyzed 3.7 million statements, such as tweets, with language processing software.

have ratcheted up such rhetoric since former President Donald J. Trump took office, the analysis found. In the year and a half after the Jan. 6 Capitol riot, Republicans on average used divisive words and phrases more than twice as often as Democrats in tweets, and six times as often in emails to constituents.

At the forefront of this polarization are Republicans who voted to reject the Electoral College results that cemented Mr. Trump's defeat last year. A recent Times investigation revealed how those lawmakers helped engrave the myth of a stolen election in party orthodoxy. Now, a Times analysis shows that the language of the 139

objecting members is markedly more hostile than that of other Republicans and Democrats. In their telling, those who oppose them not only are wrong about certain policies but also hate their country.

The Times found that in the current Congress, representatives

Taken by Russia, Children Become the Spoils of War

Putin Uses Adoptions to Resettle Thousands — Many Felt They 'Had No Choice'

By EMMA BUBOLA

As Russian forces laid siege to the Ukrainian city of Mariupol this spring, children fled bombed-out group homes and boarding schools. Separated from their families, they followed neighbors or strangers heading west, seeking the relative safety of central Ukraine.

Instead, at checkpoints around the city, pro-Russia forces intercepted them, according to interviews with the children, witnesses and family members. The authorities put them on buses headed deeper into Russian-held territory.

"I didn't want to go," said Anya, 14, who escaped a home for tuberculosis patients in Mariupol and is now with a foster family near Moscow. "But nobody asked me."

In the rush to flee, she said, she left behind a sketchbook containing her mother's phone number. All she could remember were the first three digits.

Since Russia's invasion of Ukraine began in February, Russian authorities have announced with patriotic fanfare the transfer

of thousands of Ukrainian children to Russia to be adopted and become citizens. On state-run television, officials offer teddy bears to new arrivals, who are portrayed as abandoned children being rescued from war.

In fact, this mass transfer of children is a potential war crime, regardless of whether they were orphans. And while many of the children did come from orphanages and group homes, the authorities also took children whose relatives or guardians want them back, according to interviews with children and families on both sides of the border.

As Russian troops pushed into Ukraine, children like Anya who were fleeing newly occupied territories were swept up. Some were taken after their parents had been killed or imprisoned by Russian troops, according to local Ukrainian

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BARRAGE Russian missiles struck Ukraine's power infrastructure and heating systems. PAGE 11

Fears Over Fate of Democracy Leave Voters Feeling Defeated

By JONATHAN WEISMAN

LA CROSSE, Wis. — Allyse Barba, a 34-year-old in the insurance industry, watched excitedly upstairs at Thrunie's Classic Cocktails as Mandela Barnes, the youthful Democrat running for the Senate, tore through his stump speech just 19 days before the election.

Then Ms. Barba reflected on the politics of her state: the divide between the blue dot of downtown La Crosse and the surrounding red reaches of western Wisconsin, where she said she could not have a civil conversation; the Republican favored to win the seat in her congressional district, who was at the Capitol riot on Jan. 6, 2021; and

a Legislature so gerrymandered that her Democratic Party does not stand a chance.

"It is disheartening to live in a state where nothing happens," she said glumly. "Voting isn't making a difference right now."

Seventy-one percent of all voters believe that democracy is at risk, according to a recent New York Times/Siena College poll, but only 7 percent identified that as the most important problem facing the country. Americans face more immediate concerns: the worst inflation in 40 years, the loss of federal abortion rights after 50 years and a perception that

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Xi's Omissions Speak Volumes And May Signal Trouble Ahead

By CHRIS BUCKLEY

As China's leader, Xi Jinping, laid out his priorities last week for a breakthrough third term in power, officials parsed his words for signs of where the country was headed. What he did not say was as revealing.

The omission of two phrases from his key report to a Communist Party congress exposed his anxieties about an increasingly volatile world where Washington is contesting China's ascent as an authoritarian superpower.

For two decades, successive Chinese leaders have declared at the congress that the country was in a "period of important strategic opportunity," implying that China faced no imminent risk of major conflict and could focus more on economic growth.

For even longer, leaders have said that "peace and development remain the themes of the era," suggesting that whatever may be going wrong in the world, the grand trends were on China's side.

But the two slogans, so unvarying that they rarely drew atten-



China's leader, Xi Jinping, left two slogans out of his speech.

tion, were not in Mr. Xi's report to the congress, which began last Sunday and ended Saturday. Not in his 104-minute speech summarizing the report. Nor in the 72-page Chinese full version given to officials and journalists.

Their exclusion, and Mr. Xi's somber warning of "dangerous storms" on the horizon, indicated that he believed international hazards have worsened, especially since the start of the war in

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Health Officials Warn of Rough Winter as Three Pathogens Swirl

By APOORVA MANDAVILLI

For more than two years, shuttered schools and offices, social distancing and masks granted Americans a reprieve from flu and most other respiratory infections. This winter is likely to be different.

With few to no restrictions in place and travel and socializing back in full swing, an expected winter rise in Covid cases appears poised to collide with a resurgent influenza season, causing a so-called twindemic — or even a triple-demic, with a third pathogen, respiratory syncytial virus, or R.S.V., in the mix.

Cases of flu have begun to tick up earlier than usual, and are expected to soar over the coming weeks. Children infected with R.S.V. (which has symptoms similar to those of flu and Covid), rhinoviruses and enteroviruses are already straining pediatric hospitals in several states.

"We're seeing everything come back with a vengeance," said Dr. Alpna Waghmare, an infectious-diseases expert at Fred Hutchinson Cancer Center and a physician at Seattle Children's Hospital.



A Covid test center at Esperanza Health Center in Chicago last month. Cases are low, but rising.

Most cases of Covid, flu and R.S.V. are likely to be mild, but together they may sicken millions of Americans and swamp hospitals, public health experts warned. "You've got this waning Covid

immunity, coinciding with the impact of the flu coming along here, and R.S.V.," said Andrew Read, an evolutionary microbiologist at Penn State University. "We're in uncharted territory here."

The vaccines for Covid and flu, while they may not prevent infection, still offer the best protection against severe illness and death, experts said. They urged every-

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Europe's Fiercest Train Critic

One man is on a mission to expose all the flaws of rail travel in the European Union as it tries to increase ridership, a key to achieving climate goals. PAGE 4

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On the Brink in the Bronx

The Astros, who are undefeated in the postseason, beat the Yankees to take a commanding 3-0 lead in the American League Championship Series. PAGE 31

METROPOLITAN

A Mystery, With Money

A Jane Doe in a hospital emergency room turned out to be Birgit Thyssen-Bornemisza, a baroness from one of Europe's wealthiest families. PAGE 1

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Life as Work

To get ahead, many millennial and Gen Z workers embraced the idea of the personal brand. This can feel freeing. It can also feel grueling. PAGE 10

SUNDAY OPINION

Megan K. Stack

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Regent
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