

## **EXHIBIT 1**

Cuba

FBI

EDITORIAL

America's Lethal Politics

CHARLES M. BLOW

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'The Indigenous American Berserk' Strikes Again

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The Opinion Pages | EDITORIAL

# America's Lethal Politics

By THE EDITORIAL BOARD JUNE 14, 2017

260

America's elected representatives enjoying America's pastime on a ball field just across the Potomac from the Capitol: A particularly American form of terror changed that idyll early Wednesday morning into what Senator Rand Paul, who was there, called "basically a killing field."

A gunman with a rifle fired dozens of rounds at members of Congress and current and former aides, who dove for cover. "He was hunting us," said Representative Mike Bishop, Republican of Michigan, who was at home plate when the gunman appeared. In all, four victims were hit, including Representative Steve Scalise of Louisiana, the House majority whip, who was in critical condition Wednesday night after surgery on a bullet wound to his hip.

An American would once have been horrified and shocked by such savagery. An American today would be right to be horrified — and not very surprised. This was one of two mass shootings in the United States on Wednesday. At a San Francisco UPS facility, a gunman killed three people and himself.

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**eliot** 1 minute ago

The sentimentality behind the arms movement is precisely what the shooter exhibited: rebellion against the government. (What you will have...

**Peter P. Bernard** 1 minute ago

I find myself captured by Rand Paul's observation; it would be poetic if the scene had not been so terrifying to those, like Rand, were...

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F.B.I. agents collecting evidence after the shooting at Eugene Simpson Stadium Park in Alexandria, Va. Al Drago/The New York Times

Not all the details are known yet about what happened in Virginia, but a sickeningly familiar pattern is emerging in the assault: The sniper, James Hodgkinson, who was killed by Capitol Police officers, was surely deranged, and his derangement had found its fuel in politics. Mr. Hodgkinson was a Bernie Sanders supporter and campaign volunteer virulently opposed to President Trump. He posted many anti-Trump messages on social media, including one in March that said "Time to Destroy Trump & Co."

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Was this attack evidence of how vicious American politics has become? Probably. In 2011, when Jared Lee Loughner opened fire in a supermarket parking lot, grievously wounding Representative Gabby Giffords and killing six people, including a 9-year-old girl, the link to political incitement was clear. Before the shooting, Sarah Palin's political action committee [circulated](#) a map of targeted electoral districts that put Ms. Giffords and 19 other Democrats under stylized cross hairs.

Conservatives and right-wing media were quick on Wednesday to demand forceful condemnation of hate speech and crimes by anti-Trump liberals. They're right. Though there's no sign of incitement as direct as in the Giffords attack, liberals should of course hold themselves to the same standard of decency that they ask of the right.

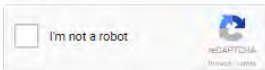
Was this attack evidence of how readily available guns and ammunition are in the United States? Indisputably. Mr. Hodgkinson, by definition, should not have had a gun, but he was licensed in his home state, Illinois. And in any event it would have been easy for him to acquire a weapon in Virginia, which requires no background checks in private sales, requires no registration for most weapons and has few restrictions on open carry.

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The reaction of some was that the only solution is yet more guns. Representative Mo Brooks of Alabama, who was among those who came under fire on Wednesday, said, "It's not easy to take when you see people around you being shot and you don't have a weapon yourself."

That's an entirely reasonable reflex. All people in that situation, unarmed and under fire, would long to be able to protect themselves and their friends. Yet consider the society Americans would have to live in

— the choices they would all have to make — to enable that kind of defense. Every member of Congress, and every other American of whatever age, would have to go to baseball practice, or to school, or to work, or to the post office, or to the health clinic — or to any of the other places mass shootings now take place — with a gun on their hip. And then, when an attack came and they returned fire, they would probably kill or wound not the assailant but another innocent bystander, as studies have repeatedly shown.

That is the society the gun lobby is working toward. Is it the one Americans want?

President Trump said just the right thing after the attack on

260  
COMMENTS



9  
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Yet he will not help create that nation if he continues to advocate easy access to lethal weapons.

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A version of this editorial appears in print on June 15, 2017, on Page A24 of the New York edition with the headline: America's Lethal Politics. Today's Paper | [Subscribe](#)

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# Opinion

The New York Times

## EDITORIALS

### America's Lethal Politics

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A gunman with a rifle fired dozens of rounds at members of Congress and current and former aides, who dove for cover. "He was hunting us," said Representative Mike Bishop, Republican of Michigan, who was at home plate when the gunman appeared. In all, five victims were hit, including Representative Steve Scalise of Louisiana, the House majority whip, who was in critical condition Wednesday night after surgery on a bullet wound to his hip.

**A sickening pattern emerges in the assault on members of Congress at a ball field.**

An American would once have been horrified and shocked by such savagery. An American today would be right to be horrified — and not very surprised. This was one of two mass shootings in the United States on Wednesday. At a San Francisco UPS facility, a gunman killed three people and himself.

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That's an entirely reasonable reflex. All people in that situation, unarmed and under fire, would long to be able to protect themselves and their friends. Yet consider the society Americans would have to live in — the choices they would all have to make — to enable that kind of defense. Every member of Congress, and every other American of whatever age, would have to go to baseball practice, or to school, or to work, or to the post office, or to the health clinic — or to any of the other places mass shootings now take place — with a gun on their hip. And then, when an attack came and they returned fire, they would probably kill or wound not the assailant but another innocent bystander, as studies have repeatedly shown.

That is the society the gun lobby is working toward. Is it the one Americans want?

President Trump said just the right thing after the attack on Wednesday: "We may have our differences, but we do well in times like these to remember that everyone who serves in our nation's capital is here because, above all, they love our country. We can all agree that we are blessed to be Americans, that our children deserve to grow up in a nation of safety and peace."

Yet he will not help create that nation if he continues to advocate easy access to lethal weapons.

## LETTERS

### The Attack on G.O.P. Lawmakers

TO THE EDITOR:

On Wednesday morning there was a shooting at a baseball field filled with Republican members of Congress practicing for a charity game. Only the diligence of their police protectors prevented a mass killing. The gunman has been identified as a political extremist who was ardently anti-Trump and opposed to Republican tax policies.

Has it really come to this? Has the extreme animus and disrespect between Republicans and Democrats finally morphed into potentially life-taking violent outbursts? Does this event portend a sad and dangerous devolving of societal norms where some fringe, marginalized people feel they have a license, even a duty, to kill those whose views they strongly disagree with?

These are legitimate questions. In this very new presidency, if there has ever been an opportunity and a need for real presidential leadership and wisdom, it is now. President Trump, please refrain from the temptation to politicize this event and help us to heal the abyss that divides us as a nation.

KEN DEROW, SWARTHMORE, PA.

TO THE EDITOR:

Ever since Representative Gabrielle Giffords was shot during an exercise in outdoor democracy in Tucson in 2011, I've wondered how Democrats can safely campaign on contentious issues in red-state America. Evidently neither party is immune from the harms that come from rampant gun proliferation.

I wish Representative Steve Scalise and the others who were shot a full recovery. And I hope Mr. Scalise takes back to his fellow G.O.P. members, and to President Trump, just how much it hurts to get shot.

If this isn't enough of a crime to

persuade Congress to tighten up on gun laws, what kind of a crime would be? We've already seen the horrors of Aurora, Newtown, Columbine and Virginia Tech. President Trump went from advocating a ban on assault rifles to being a National Rifle Association parrot, and now talks as if he really believes that the trouble with America is too few guns, not too many.

RON CHARACH, TORONTO

TO THE EDITOR:

I am as disturbed as anyone by the rash and often reckless leadership of President Trump, and what he means to our delicate democracy. But maybe now, in the wake of this apparently politically motivated shooting, the ceaseless drumbeat by Trump critics over the supposed coming fascism in America, along with celebrations of tyrannicide (fake severed heads held up by comedians; theater companies acting out bloody executions), can be toned down a bit.

And this applies especially to the American media, which were rightly appalled when Mr. Trump called them the "enemy of the people," but have, for months now, presented him in exactly that same way. Is it any wonder folks are bursting at the seams out there?

Now is the perfect moment for a reboot. My hope is that Mr. Trump will finally lay off his Twitter feed and start acting presidential. But even if he does not, we must all bear in mind that the best way to oppose politicians and policies with which we may vehemently disagree is through the constitutional and electoral freedoms that remain very much alive and well, even in Mr. Trump's America.

STUART GOTTLIEB, NEW YORK

*The writer, a former senior adviser in the Senate, teaches public policy at Columbia.*

### Daughters Will Suffer From Medicaid Cuts

Nearly one in five adult children at some point provide

that is more than double the total cost of formal care at \$911

The Questions Jeff Sessions Didn't Answer

## **EXHIBIT 3**



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Fact Check: Partisans falsely blamed Loretta Lynch, Tim Kaine, Bernie Sanders for Wednesday's Virginia shooting.  
[nyti.ms/2subsd9](https://nyti.ms/2subsd9)



11:00 PM · Jun 15, 2017

19 Retweets 20 Likes



**GAB American** @GuardAmerican · 4h

Replying to @nytpolitics

Ahem:

Was this attack evidence of how vicious American politics has become? Probably. In 2011, when Jared Lee Loughner opened fire in a supermarket parking lot, grievously wounding Representative Gabby Giffords and killing six people, including a 9-year-old girl, the link to political incitement was clear. Before the shooting, Sarah Palin's political action committee circulated a map of targeted electoral districts that put Ms. Giffords and 19 other Democrats under stylized cross hairs.

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3

15



**matt\_s\_pip** @matt\_s\_pip · 4h

Replying to @nytpolitics

Blamed?...or pointed out inflammatory rhetoric and fundraising off a false narrative about Tucson shooting?

1

2

4



**The Barbarian** @BarbarianinSF · 1h

In Lynch's case, we have her call for blood and death on the streets on VIDEO.

1

1

3



1 more reply



**Jack** @JG\_Conervative · 18h

Replying to @nytpolitics

Your paper blamed 2011 Giffords shooting on Sarah Palin. Talk about glass houses & stones!

1

4

29



\*...and...

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4
29

1 more reply



**VK** @vjeannek · 3h  
 Replying to @nytpolitics

▼



**David Burge** @iowahawkblog · 43m  
 The hardest part of working at the NYTimes and WaPo is having to hit yourself in the head with a hammer every morning to induce amnesia

▼

28
143
354



**Patrick Moore** @paddlmor

▼

1
7



**TRUMPLICAN!!!** @HighRawMama · 17h  
 Replying to @nytpolitics

▼

Don't blame them as much as Madona, Griffin, Play in the park and media. Many liberals have said things they shouldn't as well

8



**Dissident Biker** @DissidentBiker · 17h  
 Replying to @nytpolitics

▼

NYTimes fact checks are meaningless.

4




**Alamo Nation** @Alamo\_Nation · 1h  
 Replying to @nytpolitics

▼

I'm blaming NYT, WaPo, CNN, MSNBC for the daily attempts at delegitimizing an administration just because their candidate loss. It's on you.

3



**Todd** @TCribby · 4h  
 Replying to @nytpolitics

▼

They a called for violence. Not a stretch at all.

4



**Scurrilous Dog** @Scottymcmahon22 · 4h  
 Replying to @nytpolitics

▼

Flip to your editorial page corrections

3



**Ender Wiggin** @Sam\_A\_vito · 14h  
 Replying to @nytpolitics

▼

Fact Check: @nytimes simply makes shit up now. Sad from something that used to be a respected news source, now filled with Dem hacks.

4



**Burrton** @SeahawkBurrton · 17h  
 Replying to @nytpolitics

▼

Who wants to link them to their Palin article?

4



**Roy Platz** @roybiker123 · 18h  
 Replying to @nytpolitics


▼

Liberal like to think of themselves as a tolerant group...they certainly are not.



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Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)  
 Liberal like to think of themselves as a tolerant group...they certainly are not.

1 4


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**Mama Kylee** [@MamaKylee](#) · 18h  
 Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)  
 Call me stupid but...I'd say it was the shooter's fault...

1 2


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**Deborah Gayou** [@1deserthottie](#) · 17h  
 OK, ... Stupid!

1


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**SLGTexas** [@SLGTexas](#) · 18h  
 Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)  
 Well I blame ttump

1


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**Deborah Gayou** [@1deserthottie](#) · 17h  
 REALLY?! 70 is fairly young for senility you display. POTUS has NOT ONCE called for DEATH of any1! NOT called for BEHEADING, STABBING any1.

3


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**BuckInTennessee** [@BuckInTennessee](#) · 2h  
 Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)  
 NY times thinks all of Twitter has short term memory loss. Just Yesterday! NYTimes blamed Giffords shooting on Sarah Palin. Whoops?

1 2


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**Chris** [@chrisndavid](#) · 4h  
 Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)  
 You need a fact check your facts checkers there's evidence all-over the Internet of them inciting violence against the right. FAKE NEWS

2


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**Craig** [@KC11A18A](#) · 18h  
 Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)  
 don't forget Obama's "they bring a knife we bring a gun"

2

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**TANSTAAFL** [@TANSTAAFL24](#) · 1h  
 Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)  
 The Virginia shooting was caused by climate of hate whipped up by reactionary left-fascist Democrats and the MSM.

Including YOU, [@nytimes](#)

1


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**DotG** [@MoWin16](#) · 1h  
 Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)  
 Fact Check: NYT is only useful in the bottom of a cat litter pan. TRUE

1


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**SwampCrazyElaine** [@Erunner110](#) · 4h  
 Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)  
 How did you blame? The GOP and Palin. Stuff it You hypocrites and liars

1

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**CB** [@TexasCB](#) · 4h  
 Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)

- 

**CB @TEXASCB** · 4m

Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)






Do you read your own editorial page? Because "false blaming" is what it does best!



 1

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**Al Copersino @acopersi** · 4h

Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)






Seriously. I know from reading the Times that it was Sarah Palin's fault.



 1

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**Craig @KC11A18A** · 4h

Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)

you don't read your own paper?








 1

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**Archimedes Watts @archimedeswatts** · 17h

Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)

Fact check: partisans falsely claim cheeseburgers taste better than pizza






(It's an opinion, clowns)





- 

**Antonio @Antonio9847** · 18h

Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)






You forgot Palin too you dishonest hacks.





- 

**Black Voices Muted @dog884** · 1h

Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)

Is America's under funding of public schools, and privatizing college for decades, contributing to extremism?






 1



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**TANSTAAFL @TANSTAAFL24** · 1h

Ummmmmmmm.....

Well, that made no sense at all.






But keep trying, ok?



 1

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**Tall Man Short Hair @TallManShort** · 8m

Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)






Shorter [@NYTimes](#): "We don't report the truth, we create it."





- 

**fossilady @Donna83529215** · 15m

Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)






it's time the NYT became a cooking newsletter. All they do well is stir the pot.





- 

**RightWingHockeyCoach @DroppinTheMitts** · 29m

Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)





Name one non-employee (or mom) that has ever accused even one of your employees of having honor, honesty and integrity. You can't.





- 

**bob rod @a1bobbyr** · 30m

Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)


the NYT fact checking anything is a joke



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the NYT fact checking anything is a joke

🗨️ ↻️ ❤️ 📧

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**Ree Fungorio** @ReeFungorio · 37m

Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)

For anyone wondering how this could be real: Yes, the [@nytimes](#) IS that goddamned ignorant.

🗨️ ↻️ ❤️ 📧

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**Fred Nicolaysen** @phred47 · 46m


Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)

[@cliffLevy](#) [@deanbaquet](#) What a shame you dropped Liz Spayd your public editor. Otherwise you wouldn't publish this shit and I would subscribe

🗨️ ↻️ ❤️ 📧

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**BBUTOPIA - MAGA**  @FormerFanatic · 56m

Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)

This writer forgets we all have eyes and ears to witness this hateful rhetoric!

🗨️ ↻️ ❤️ 📧

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**Class 10/06** @caroleakwilson · 1h

Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)

[#yep](#) sounds about right they railed against guns and promoted hate

🗨️ ↻️ ❤️ 📧

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**Suresh Karanam** @sureshkaran · 1h

Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)

I don't blame democrats for the shooting of GOP Reps. I blame the media 100%. Dems are pretty helpless at this point. Media driving Dems.

🗨️ ↻️ ❤️ 📧

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**Rich Algeni, Jr.** @richalgeni · 1h

Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)

Asswipes at nyslimes have the gall to talk about blame?

🗨️ ↻️ ❤️ 📧

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**Jim** @WontComply · 1h

Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)

<- media with blood on its hands and lies in print. The toilet paper of record speaks.

🗨️ ↻️ ❤️ 📧

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**Aaron Henager** @AaronHenager1 · 1h

Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)

If you think this is bad, you should read the complete BS your editorial board wrote about the [#alexandriashooting](#)

🗨️ ↻️ ❤️ 📧

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**Ben Crystal** @Bennettruth · 1h

Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)

You guys are just sad now.

🗨️ ↻️ ❤️ 📧

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**Big Ed** @Falconeddie1 · 1h

Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)

For real? This coming from NYT? You people have ZERO self awareness.

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**Amaldeep Mahajan** @Amaldeep76 · 4h

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**American Nobody** @jaydakota76 · 1h

Replying to @nytpolitics  
 @cnn called you #fakenews  
 You're in deeper than you realize.

**IpsoPhakto** @Mcschweety · 1h

Replying to @nytpolitics  
 Fact: The NYT should be renamed to the Potemkin Village Voice.  
 You're a sewer-pit of lefty feces.

**Black Voices Muted** @dog884 · 1h

Replying to @nytpolitics  
 Have Americans been 'primed' for another civil war since Reagan's  
 take back America, and Trump's make America great again  
 messaging?

**IpsoPhakto** @Mcschweety · 1h

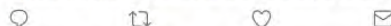
Replying to @nytpolitics  
 Fact: Many Democrats condone and enable violence to capture and  
 retain power. Democrats are fascists.

**Dino** @dinok1975 · 1h

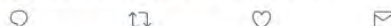
Replying to @nytpolitics  
 this proves tht the NY Times has no shame.

**Dino** @dinok1975 · 1h

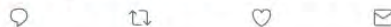
Replying to @nytpolitics  
 after trying to link Palin to Giffords this just proves how pathhetic and  
 hypocritical the NY Times is. U all should b ahamed

**Kirk Massey** @KirkMasseyTCU · 2h

Replying to @nytpolitics  
 Hilarious, you guys trot out some psycho with zero credibility to find  
 the equivalent of the NYT editorial staff.

**gasmd** @doclounz · 4h

Replying to @nytpolitics  
 Well that's not too biased...."falsely," how do know either way??

**Me.** @RickRollin\_ · 4h

Replying to @nytpolitics  
 Fact Check from NYT, is this parody?

**Donald Jett** @Jett\_Donald51 · 6h

Replying to @nytpolitics  
 Funny you can report and use falsely blamed when all you report is  
 fake news. Nice job. But not sure it was falsely blamed.

**Michael Oliver** @Michael98068797 · 15h

Replying to @nytpolitics  
 Damn conservatives, starting to act like left wingers.



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Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)

Damn conservatives, starting to act like left wingers.

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**OfficialApplebees** [@TreySummerlin](#) · 16h

Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)

Were any of those idiots blaming Sanders you?

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**Thoughtsandprayers** [@thoughtsnprayer](#) · 17h

Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)

I blame the attached list of Cuntos  
[americanthinker.com/blog/2017/06/a...](http://americanthinker.com/blog/2017/06/a...)

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**NO TRUMP** [@samgebre](#) · 17h

Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)

[@nytimes](#) tweeted same yesterday

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**Peter Principle** [@PeterPrinciple2](#) · 17h

Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)

Gee, you think they'd be happy to see their "Second Amendment solutions" doctrine being put into action!

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**Gunpowder & Vanilla** [@TrustAlrishGirl](#) · 17h

Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)

If the shoe fits!!...

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**Craig** [@KC11A18A](#) · 18h

Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)

and the times blamed Sarah Palin for Giffords

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**Paix** [@HiPaix](#) · 18h

Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)

Amazing!

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**Liam Alden Smith** [@Liam\\_A\\_Smith](#) · 18h

Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)

Fucking Loretta Lynch? What?

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**Beth Midan La** [@BethMidanLa](#) · 18h

Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)

Yeah, who knows what bernie meant.

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✉️

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**Jacquie Turner** [@turner\\_jacquie](#) · 18h

Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)

Surprised...

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**Olga** [@ARealPrincesa](#) · 18h

Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)

[#TheyOwnIt](#)

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**Ed M...** [@EdM...](#) · 18h

Replying to [@nytpolitics](#)


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



**NO TRUMP** @samgebre · 17h  
 Replying to @nytpolitics  
 @nytimes tweeted same yesterday





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**Peter Principle** @PeterPrinciple2 · 17h  
 Replying to @nytpolitics  
 Gee, you think they'd be happy to see their "Second Amendment solutions" doctrine being put into action!





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**Gunpowder & Vanilla** @TrustAlrishGirl · 17h  
 Replying to @nytpolitics  
 If the shoe fits!....





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**Craig** @KC11A18A · 18h  
 Replying to @nytpolitics  
 and the times blamed Sarah Palin for Giffords





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**Paix** @HiPaix · 18h  
 Replying to @nytpolitics  
 Amazing!





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**Liam Alden Smith** @Liam\_A\_Smith · 18h  
 Replying to @nytpolitics  
 Fucking Loretta Lynch? What?





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**Beth Midan La** @BethMidanLa · 18h  
 Replying to @nytpolitics  
 Yeah, who knows what bernie meant.





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


**Jacquie Turner** @turner\_jacquie · 18h  
 Replying to @nytpolitics  
 Surprised...





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


**Olga** @ARealPrincesa · 18h  
 Replying to @nytpolitics  
 #TheyOwnIt





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**Sede Vacantist** @dibassetto · 1h  
 Replying to @nytpolitics  
 Partisans on your editorial board falsely blamed Palin yesterday.





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**G B** @harleychop · 1h  
 Replying to @nytpolitics  
 Fact Check: Partisan NYT falsely blamed Sarah Palin for the Gabby Giffords shooting yet again.






- 
- 

**G B** @harleychop · 1h  
 Replying to @nytpolitics  
 Tell that to Sarah Palin. SMH


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# She Who Must Not Be Named



**Charles M. Blow**   DEC. 3, 2010



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This is it. This is the last time I'm going to write the name Sarah Palin until she does something truly newsworthy, like declare herself a candidate for the presidency. Until then, I will no longer take part in the left's obsessive-compulsive fascination with her, which is both unhealthy and counterproductive.

She's the Zsa Zsa Gabor of American politics. She once did something noteworthy, but she's now just famous for being famous.

She was a vice presidential nominee. But she lost. She was the governor of Alaska. But she quit. Now she's just a political personality — part cheerleader, part bomb-thrower — being kept afloat in part by the hackles of her enemies and the people who admire her resilience in the face of them. The left's outsize and unrelenting assault on her has made her a folk hero. The logic goes that if she's making people on the left this upset, she must be doing something right.

Yet the left continues to elevate her every utterance so that they can mock and deride her. The problem is that this strategy continues to backfire. The more the left tries to paint her as one of the "Mean Girls," the more the right sees her as "Erin Brockovich." The never-ending attempts to tear her down only build her up. She's like the ominous blob in the horror films: the more you shoot at it, the bigger and stronger it becomes.



Charles M. Blow  
Damon Winter/The New York Times

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Finally, it looks like we've had enough of her. But she is so funny, and believe me there is so little to laugh at right now, it will be...

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might have thought about before subjecting us to another nonsensical article about Sarah Palin.

sandellen

December 4, 2010

Brilliant. Enough said.

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Charles M. Blow  
Damian Winter/The New York Times

Yes, she's about as sharp as a wet balloon, but we already know that. How much more time and energy must be devoted to dissecting that? How is this constructive, or even instructive at this point? What purpose does it serve other than inflaming passions to drive viewership and Web clicks?

As Politico's editor in chief, John F. Harris, and its executive editor, Jim VandeHei, very candidly expressed in August: "More traffic comes from an item on Sarah Palin's 'refudiation' faux pas than from our hundreds of stories on the complexities of health care reform or Wall Street regulation."

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So left-leaning blogs like The Huffington Post plaster pictures of her and her family all over their sites with entries about her latest gaffe or sideswipe. But she's barely mentioned on popular conservative blogs.

The same leftward skew is also true on television. An analysis of CNN, MSNBC and Fox News from Nov. 3 to Dec. 2, using data from ShadowTV, a monitoring service, found that CNN mentioned the name "Sarah Palin" nearly 800 times. (O.K., I had to write her name there. Sorry.) Left-leaning MSNBC mentioned it nearly 1,000 times. But Fox News, which employs her, mentioned it fewer than 600 times. (Secondary mentions like "Sarah" or "Palin" are not included in the count. Neither is "Mama Grizzly.")

People on the left seem to need her, to bash her, because she is, in three words, the way the left likes to see the right: hollow, dim and mean. But since she's feeding on the negativity, I suggest three other words: get over it.

I invite you to join me on [Facebook](#) and follow me on [Twitter](#), or e-mail me at [chblow@nytimes.com](mailto:chblow@nytimes.com).

A version of this op-ed appears in print on December 4, 2010, on Page A23 of the New York edition with the headline She Who Must Not Be Named. Today's Paper | [Subscribe](#)

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The Opinion Pages | EDITORIAL

## America's Lethal Politics

By THE EDITORIAL BOARD JUNE 14, 2017

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America's elected representatives enjoying America's pastime on a ball field just across the Potomac from the Capitol: A particularly American form of terror changed that idyll early Wednesday morning into what Senator Rand Paul, who was there, called "basically a killing field."

A gunman with a rifle fired dozens of rounds at members of Congress and current and former aides, who dove for cover. "He was hunting us," said Representative Mike Bishop, Republican of Michigan, who was at home plate when the gunman appeared. In all, four victims were hit, including Representative Steve Scalise of Louisiana, the House majority whip, who was in critical condition Wednesday night after surgery on a bullet wound to his hip.

An American would once have been horrified and shocked by such savagery. An American today would be right to be horrified — and not very surprised. This was one of two mass shootings in the United States on Wednesday. At a San Francisco UPS facility, a gunman killed three people and himself.



F.B.I. agents collecting evidence after the shooting at Eugene Simpson Stadium Park in Alexandria, Va.  
Al Drago/The New York Times

Not all the details are known yet about what happened in Virginia, but a sickeningly familiar pattern is emerging in the assault: The sniper, James Hodgkinson, who was killed by Capitol Police officers, was surely deranged, and his derangement had found its fuel in politics. Mr. Hodgkinson was a Bernie Sanders supporter and campaign volunteer virulently opposed to President Trump. He posted many anti-Trump messages on social media, including one in March that said "Time to Destroy Trump & Co."

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The sentimentality behind the arms movement is precisely what the shooter exhibited: rebellion against the government. (What you will have...

**Peter P. Bernard**

1 minute ago

I find myself captured by Rand Paul's observation; it would be poetic if the scene had not been so terrifying to those, like Rand, were...

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Was this attack evidence of how vicious American politics has become? Probably. In 2011, when Jared Lee Loughner opened fire in a supermarket parking lot, grievously wounding Representative Gabby Giffords and killing six people, including a 9-year-old girl, the link to political incitement was clear. Before the shooting, Sarah Palin's political action committee [circulated](#) a map of targeted electoral districts that put Ms. Giffords and 19 other Democrats under stylized cross hairs.

Conservatives and right-wing media were quick on Wednesday to demand forceful condemnation of hate speech and crimes by anti-Trump liberals. They're right. Though there's no sign of incitement as direct as in the Giffords attack, liberals should of course hold themselves to the same standard of decency that they ask of the right.

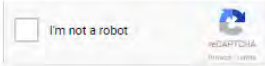
Was this attack evidence of how readily available guns and ammunition are in the United States? Indisputably. Mr. Hodgkinson, by definition, should not have had a gun, but he was licensed in his home state, Illinois. And in any event it would have been easy for him to acquire a weapon in Virginia, which requires no background checks in private sales, requires no registration for most weapons and has few restrictions on open carry.

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The reaction of some was that the only solution is yet more guns. Representative Mo Brooks of Alabama, who was among those who came under fire on Wednesday, said, "It's not easy to take when you see people around you being shot and you don't have a weapon yourself."

That's an entirely reasonable reflex. All people in that situation, unarmed and under fire, would long to be able to protect themselves and their friends. Yet consider the society Americans would have to live in

— the choices they would all have to make — to enable that kind of defense. Every member of Congress, and every other American of whatever age, would have to go to baseball practice, or to school, or to work, or to the post office, or to the health clinic — or to any of the other places mass shootings now take place — with a gun on their hip. And then, when an attack came and they returned fire, they would probably kill or wound not the assailant but another innocent bystander, as studies have repeatedly shown.

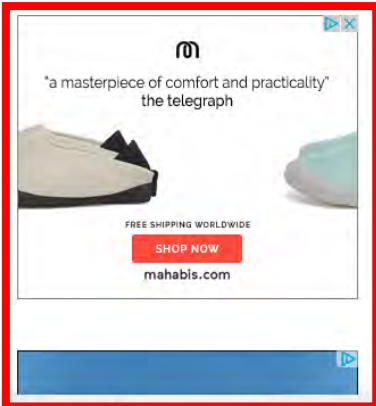
That is the society the gun lobby is working toward. Is it the one Americans want?

President Trump said just the right thing after the attack on

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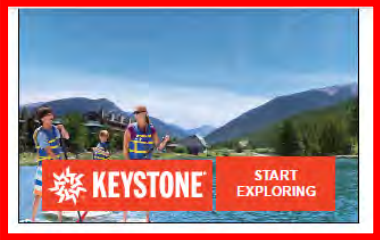


these to remember that everyone who serves in our nation's capital is here because, above all, they love our country. We can all agree that we are blessed to be Americans, that our children deserve to grow up in a nation of safety and peace."

Yet he will not help create that nation if he continues to advocate easy access to lethal weapons.

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A version of this editorial appears in print on June 15, 2017, on Page A24 of the New York edition with the headline: America's Lethal Politics. Today's Paper | [Subscribe](#)



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## **EXHIBIT 6**

U.S.

# Shooting Is Latest Eruption in a Grim Ritual of Rage and Blame

By ALEXANDER BURNS JUNE 14, 2017



The scene around Eugene Simpson Stadium Park in Alexandria, Va., on Wednesday after a gunman shot four people, including Representative Steve Scalise, Al Drago/The New York Times

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The violence has come regularly for years, in one politically charged spasm after another. A member of Congress shot through the head in Tucson. Assaults on the Holocaust Museum, a [Planned Parenthood office](#) and the Family Research Council, a socially conservative group. Gunmen targeting black churchgoers in South Carolina, [Indian immigrants in Kansas](#) and police officers in New York and Texas.

The [attempted slaughter](#) of Republican lawmakers on a baseball diamond outside Washington was less an aberration than the latest example of a grim trend, widely remarked upon by leaders in both parties, but never slowed or stopped.

And with lawmakers, legislative aides and Capitol police officers hospitalized on Wednesday, a process of mourning and recrimination unfolded as a kind of familiar ritual, with a somber statement from the president and bipartisan denunciations of violence quickly giving way to finger-pointing and blame on social media.

Even high-level gestures of conciliation, including from President Trump and Senator Bernie Sanders, did little to blunt the sense that America's civic culture is consumed with anger and breaking down — though mental illness sometimes makes it impossible to say exactly what leads to violence.

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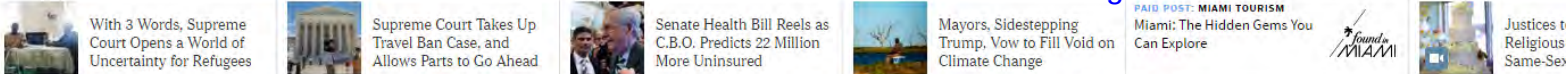
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To survivors of past attacks, the shooting in Virginia — perpetrated by a [66-year-old former Sanders supporter](#) who expressed rage over Mr. Trump’s presidency — came as a sign that the worst might still be ahead.

Former Senator John C. Danforth, Republican of Missouri, said the violence reflected a contagion in America’s political culture, in which adversaries were treated as “people to be destroyed.” He said Mr. Trump and Democratic leaders, as well as the news media, all deserved blame.

“We are inundated by rage,” Mr. Danforth, who is an ordained minister, said in an interview. “It’s not just practicing politicians. It’s the demand from the base of the two parties, and it is in large part encouraged by the media.”

Mr. Danforth, 80, issued a searing rebuke to his own party in 2015, after the suicide of a state officeholder, [Thomas Schweich](#), who had been the target of brutal personal attacks. In a eulogy Mr. Danforth warned, “Words can kill.” But he acknowledged ruefully on Wednesday that practitioners of that brand of politics seldom paid a price for it.

“It apparently works,” he said. “It wins elections, wins ratings.”

Ron Barber, a former aide to Representative Gabrielle Giffords who was wounded in the 2011 shooting that nearly killed her, and then briefly [replaced her in Congress](#), said Wednesday’s attack brought back “terrible memories” for him. After his own election in 2012, Mr. Barber recalled, people left messages at his office threatening to punch or kill him.

“Fast-forward to 2017, and I’m sorry to say, it gets worse,” said Mr. Barber, a Democrat. “What happened in 2016 was a presidential campaign that I think really ramped up the anger and vulgarities that we see directed at members of Congress.”

That toxicity does not emanate only from politicians, Mr. Barber said. “I am on Facebook and I see things there that I couldn’t imagine anyone saying about another person,” he said. “We’ve seen an increase in racism, anti-Semitism, homophobia. It’s time for all our leaders, from the president on down, to say, ‘Stop.’”

Voters on the left and the right described themselves as shaken and fearful of what might happen next. Among conservatives, the shooting appeared to confirm a belief that liberal opposition to Mr. Trump had taken a sinister turn, veering into outright violence. For liberals, the attack stirred concern about the potential for extremism on the left, and deepened a sense — dating from Barack Obama’s presidency — that ordinary partisan conflicts had taken on more menacing overtones.

In Fairhope, Ala., B. J. Middleton, a retired police officer, said the explosive political atmosphere recalled the time of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.’s assassination in 1968. Mr. Middleton, 78, who supports Mr. Trump, said he increasingly feared “violence coming from the left.”

“I was there for the riots and what happened to Dr. King, and I’ll tell you, it feels like we’re building toward something again,” Mr. Middleton said.

Kayla Winner-Connor, a graduate student in Los Angeles, said she was yed but not surprised by Wednesday’s violence.

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"I hate to say that — everything we're hearing seems really extreme and it has been polarized for a while, but now it is dangerous," said Ms. Winner-Connor, who said she was not a supporter of Mr. Trump. She added, "His agenda feels so wrong and I feel an emotionally charged response, but this is spawning some extreme reactions."

Hope that the political system would self-correct seemed to compete with cynicism about the idea that things might even be salvageable. Kari Duma, 45, of Tucson, said she was skeptical that the country would hear Wednesday's gunshots as a "wake-up call."

"How many wake-up calls do we need?" she asked. "The thing is, people are not afraid to attack other people because of politics and beliefs."

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There is a long history of political bloodshed and assassination in the United States, sometimes carried out by ideological actors and at other times by people who are mentally unstable. Gunmen have killed four presidents and shot at several others, and killed Dr. King, Robert F. Kennedy and the pioneering gay politician Harvey Milk.

Mentally ill people have targeted members of Congress before, too, including Ms.

Giffords and Allard K. Lowenstein, a former antiwar activist who was murdered in his office. In 2003, a member of the New York City Council, James Davis, [was shot to death on the chamber's floor](#) by a political opponent.

The apparent violent turn in national politics, and the disappearance of traditional rules of civility, also come as mass shootings — usually targeting nonpolitical civilian targets, in schools and public places — are on the rise.

Some question the correlation between violence and political rhetoric, stressing that gunmen who attack political targets are often unstable or angry for unrelated reasons.

George Brauchler, a Colorado district attorney who prosecuted James Holmes, who killed 12 people in an Aurora movie theater in 2012, said he was inclined to view the gunman outside Washington on Wednesday chiefly as "evil."

"I don't know that politics facilitates that or if it's just an excuse for it," said Mr. Brauchler, a Republican who is running for governor. "It's not like, in the absence of a political issue, this guy would have lived a law-abiding life."

Among politicians and voters on Wednesday, there was at least a visceral link between the latest violence and a long-running disintegration of civic norms, which has left candidates and commentators freer than ever to stoke hateful impulses with little fear of consequences.

In 2011, the shooting of Ms. Giffords by a mentally ill assailant came during a convulsive political period, when a bitter debate over health care yielded a wave of threats against lawmakers. Sarah Palin, the former vice-presidential

date, drew sharp criticism for having posted a graphic online that showed cross hairs over the districts of several members of Congress, including Ms. Giffords, though no connection to the crime was

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showed cross hairs over the districts of several members of Congress, including Ms. Giffords — though no connection to the crime was established.

Mr. Trump has been an unabashed dabbler in provocative rhetoric, goading attendees at his rallies to rough up protesters, and [suggesting last summer](#) that “Second Amendment people” could take action if Hillary Clinton were elected. He was unapologetic during the campaign for comments that critics said verged on incitement.

But Mr. Trump has not had a monopoly on caustic language. Activists on the left have accused the president of “treason,” a crime that can carry a death sentence, and compared him to Hitler. The comedian Kathy Griffin recently apologized after posting a video in which she [brandished a prop version](#) of Mr. Trump’s bloody and severed head.

Frank Keating, who was the governor of Oklahoma when antigovernment militants bombed a federal building there in 1995, killing 168 people, said figures of public authority needed to be more sensitive to the impact of their words on “unstable people.”

“There are people that are right on the edge, partisans in both parties, that could — would — do terrible things if that trip wire is tripped,” said Mr. Keating, a Republican. “The rhetoric needs to come down about 17 notches.”

Voters on both sides of the political divide shared that sentiment. In New York City, Bill Ryan, 60, a Democrat who supported Mr. Trump, said the rhetoric of anger was getting “louder and louder.”

“It lights a fuse with these freaking fanatics who go out and start shooting people on a baseball field,” Mr. Ryan said.

Christine Quinn, the former speaker of the New York City Council, who witnessed the shooting there in 2003, said the guardrails around political behavior had vanished.

“You see presidential candidates, now the president of the United States, joking about violence,” said Ms. Quinn, a Democrat. “Clearly, we see evidence here that it’s reverberating on all sides, and the reality is that we have a tone now where there is no cap on it.”

Reporting was contributed by Luis Ferré-Sadurní, Jennifer Medina, Fernanda Santos and Matthew Teague.

A version of this article appears in print on June 15, 2017, on Page A1 of the New York edition with the headline: Words, but Little Action to Halt Grim Cycle of Rage and Blame. Order Reprints | Today's Paper | Subscribe

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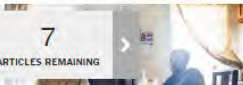
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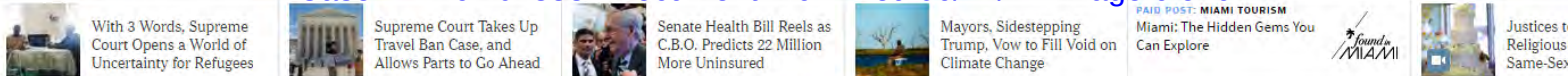
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## 'The Indigenous American Berserk' Strikes Again



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JUNE 15, 2017



Bret Stephens

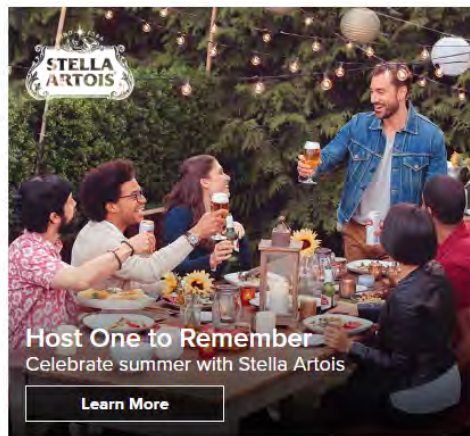
It didn't take long — hours, in fact — after Rep. Gabrielle Giffords was shot, and six others murdered, in Tucson, Ariz., in January 2011, for liberals to begin pinning political blame for the atrocity.

"Giffords' blood is on Sarah Palin's hands," wrote Daily News columnist Michael Daly, noting that the former Alaska governor had put Giffords' district [in a metaphorical cross hairs](#) as a vulnerable Democratic seat.

In Slate, Jacob Weisberg issued a [broader indictment](#), never mind that Jared Loughner was a paranoid schizophrenic of no fixed ideological orientation.

"The Tea Party movement," he wrote, made it "appreciably more likely that a disturbed person like Loughner would react, would be able to react, and would not be prevented from reacting, in the crazy way he did."

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It will be interesting to read what these and other Tea Party-blamers will have to say after Representative Steve Scalise, the G.O.P. whip in Congress, and three others were shot Wednesday morning (another was hit by shrapnel) by a man whose political leanings were considerably more clear than Loughner's.



President Trump after making a statement Wednesday about the shooting in Alexandria, Va.  
DOUG MILLS / THE NEW YORK TIMES

"Trump is a Traitor. Trump Has Destroyed Our Democracy. It's Time to Destroy Trump & Co." So wrote alleged shooter James T. Hodgkinson in one social media post in March. He posted a portrait of Bernie Sanders for his Facebook cover photo and was a fan of Rachel Maddow. He belonged to a [Facebook group](#) called

"Trump is a Traitor. Trump Has Destroyed Our Democracy. It's Time to Destroy Trump & Co." So wrote alleged shooter James T. Hodgkinson in one social media post in March. He posted a portrait of Bernie Sanders for his Facebook cover photo and was a fan of Rachel Maddow. He belonged to a [Facebook group](#) called "Terminate the Republican Party."

Hodgkinson had [an arrest record](#) for mostly minor infractions, but showed no sign of mental illness. He was married and sociable. A friend described him as "a nice guy" who was simply "fed up" with the political situation. Who isn't?

Since turnabout is fair play, it's tempting to subject the left to the same tendentious excoriation to which it subjected the right six years ago. Kathy Griffin and a bloodied, decapitated Trump. Trump as Shakespeare's murdered Caesar in Central Park. Kirsten Gillebrand's f-bombs. "The Resistance" — all markers of the same culture of self-righteous loathing that supposedly incubates political violence.

"So much of left-wing thought is a kind of playing with fire by people who don't even know that fire is hot," wrote George Orwell, in a line Weisberg puts to use against the right. Thus then. Thus now.

Or not.

It was foul of the left to accuse the Tea Party of inciting Loughner's rampage — [Bernie Sanders](#) among them — all the more so since evidence for the claim was so strained. That's a lesson that ought to be learned for good now, when there can be no gainsaying Hodgkinson's politics. If Bernie isn't to blame for the shooting now, Palin wasn't to blame then. Belated apologies — or, at least, private regrets — might yet be in order.

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As for the right, they might want to avoid their own politicized analysis of Wednesday's violence, not least because it will come back to haunt them the next time an anti-abortion fanatic shoots his way into a Planned Parenthood clinic or an anti-Muslim bigot stabs people on a train. There are causes that explicitly advocate violence — Islamist extremism, Marxist revolution, white supremacy — and inspire their followers to kill. The Tea Party wasn't one of them during the Obama years. The Resistance isn't one of them today. An outlier here or there doesn't disprove the point.

The reality of much of what passes for political violence in America today is the product of what Philip Roth once called "the indigenous American berserk." Hodgkinson seems a representative type: a relatively normal man, with a seemingly normal life, a bit of a loser, a few axes to grind. Then: Boom. Another awful postal moment, stirred by frustration or loneliness or impulse, loosely yoked to a political cause.

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Surely we could do more to set a different tone in the country: [Paul Ryan](#) made a good start with a unifying speech, as did Nancy Pelosi, Bernie Sanders and Donald Trump. Maybe we also could do more to leaven our politics with intellectual modesty, and a less apocalyptic vision of what might happen if we don't get our way right now. The Trumpian right had this disease in the run-up to the election. His opponents — I don't exclude myself here — have it now. If Wednesday's



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But the fact that events are frightening, bloody and tragic doesn't necessarily make them especially meaningful. Americans are outraged; our politics are angry. It was ever thus. In a nation of 320 million someone fired a gun, shot people and got shot. It shouldn't be like that. It is. As for gun control, we'll learn more about Hodgkinson in the days ahead. But it would take something close to repeal of the Second Amendment to keep someone with his general profile from owning a rifle.

In 2011 the left wanted to blame millions of Americans for the acts of one crazed man. The indictment served nobody. In 2017 the right may seek to do the same. Bad idea. Instead of blaming Sanders and the left, follow the lead of Gabby Giffords: "My heart is with my former colleagues, their families & staff, and the US Capitol Police — public servants and heroes today and every day."

What else, really, is there to say?

**Correction:** June 15, 2017

An earlier version of this column misspelled the name of a United States senator: She is Kirsten Gillibrand, not Kristen.

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CHARLES M. BLOW

### Rhetoric and Bullets

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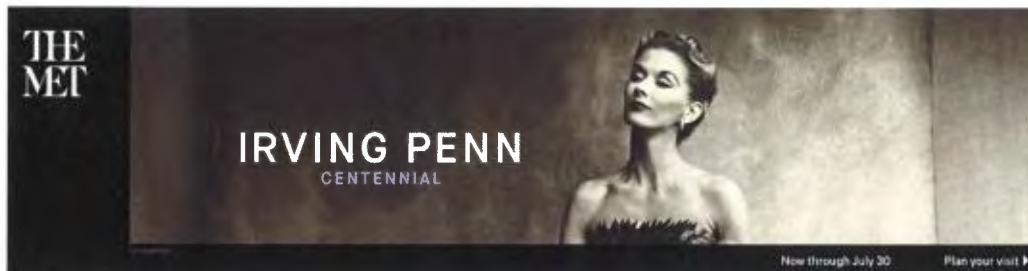


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## Rhetoric and Bullets



Charles M. Blow

JUNE 15, 2017

f t e s 787



A police officer guarding the Capitol after a shooting in nearby Alexandria, Va., on Wednesday.  
AARON P. BECKWITH/REUTERS

In 2011, after Representative Gabby Giffords of Arizona was gravely injured and six others were killed by a shooter in Tucson, I was moved to commit [an entire column](#) to condemning the left for linking the shooting so closely to political rhetoric.

Yes, Republican personalities and officials in the wake of Barack Obama's election had spoken openly about "Second Amendment remedies" and being "armed and dangerous" and "revolution," but it was not possible to connect the dots between that irresponsible talk and the Tucson shooter.

Now, here I am again, only this time extending the same condemnation to the right for [doing the same](#) after four people, including House Majority Whip Steve Scalise, [were shot](#) at an Alexandria, Va., baseball field where Republican members of Congress were practicing in advance of a charity game.

The shooter, identified as [James T. Hodgkinson](#), appears to have had strong liberal, anti-Trump, anti-Republican views — among other things, he was a



Charles M. Blow

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The very real possibility that the shooting was politically motivated was clearly on the minds of many, including [Representative Rodney Davis](#), Republican of Illinois, who was at the baseball field during the shooting: "This could be the first political rhetorical terrorist attack, and that has to stop."

Let me be clear: I don't have a problem with viewing these incidents through a political lens. Not to do so is naïve and ridiculously self-blinding in a way that avoids reality.

As [Katy Waldman wrote for Slate](#) last June:

"Things that happen for political reasons, and have political consequences, demand that we scrutinize them through a political lens. Crying 'politicization' is itself politicization — a way to advance whatever slate of politics favors the status quo. Often people invoke policy goals in order to *get things done*; what's at stake is whether these tragedies should be regarded as irreducible lightning strikes or problems with potential solutions."

What I abhor is ideological exploitation that reduces these acts to a political sport and uses them as weapons to silence political opponents and their "rhetoric," rather than viewing them as American tragedies that we can work together to prevent through honest appraisal and courageous action. Every shooting in this country is a tragedy, and they happen with disturbing frequency here.

As [The Washington Post](#) reported, Wednesday's shooting was the 154th mass shooting so far this year in America. That's 154 mass shootings in just 165 days. Violence, particularly gun violence, is the American fact, the

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This country has a violent culture, is full of guns, and our federal lawmakers — mostly Republicans, it must be said, because there isn't any real equivalency — are loath to even moderately regulate gun access.

Pretending that America's gun violence is a function of collective political rhetoric rather than the nexus of personal mental defect and easy access to weapons is a way of dodging, well, the bullet.

So, here I must take a stand in defense of rhetoric. While

rhetoric should never promote violence, it needn't be timid.

I was impressed by the official responses from Washington. Even Trump's response was sober and direct, not marred by his typical lack of tact, not like the way he tried to [exploit the Pulse Nightclub shooting](#) last year. House Speaker Paul Ryan delivered a stately speech from the House floor, and Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi echoed his sentiments in [a noble act of bipartisanship](#).

At the top, the responses were pitch perfect, but the political debate isn't confined to the top. It trickles down into the cesspool of social media, which has grown exponentially since Giffords was shot. At that time, Facebook had only about a third of its current number of users, Twitter had about a fifth of its current users, Instagram was just three months old, and Snapchat didn't exist.

On social media, where anonymity provides cover for vitriol, violent threats are a regular feature.

When Gabby Giffords [wrote on Twitter](#), "My heart is with my former colleagues, their families & staff, and the US Capitol Police — public servants and heroes today and every day," she was met with a sickening number of hateful responses, including one that said, "To bad it was not her." (Yes, it should have been "too," but grammar isn't a major concern in a statement that grotesque.)

It is true that political rhetoric can set a tone that greases the skids for a small number of people who are prone to violence to act on those impulses. We have just gone through a political cycle where that was on full display.

But some rhetoric is necessary and real. I believe Donald Trump and the Republican-led Congress are attempting to do very serious harm to the country and its most vulnerable citizens, and I will never stop saying so in the strongest terms I can summon. For many people, this isn't an abstract policy debate between partisans. For them, these debates — about repealing the Affordable Care Act, for example — are about life and death. But that has nothing to do with the promotion of physical violence; it has everything to do with protecting this country from administrative and legislative violence.

We have to object stridently to proposals that will hurt people, and not be chilled by a deranged man with a gun. Violence is abhorrent and self-defeating, but vigorous resistance to national damage has nothing to do

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You can, as I do, have sympathy for the victims of yesterday's shooting and condemn the shooter, while at the same time raging, nonviolently of course, against an agenda that places other Americans in very real danger.

I invite you to join me on [Facebook](#) and follow me on [Twitter \(@CharlesMBlow\)](#), or email me at [chblow@nytimes.com](mailto:chblow@nytimes.com).

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# The Tucson Witch Hunt



**Charles M. Blow** JAN. 14, 2011



350

*Tragedy in Tucson. Six Dead. Democratic congresswoman shot in the head at rally.*

Immediately after the news broke, the air became thick with conjecture, speculation and innuendo. There was a giddy, almost punch-drunk excitement on the left. The prophecy had been fulfilled: “words have consequences.” And now, the right’s rhetorical chickens had finally come home to roost.

The dots were too close and the temptation to connect them too strong. The target was a Democratic congresswoman. There was the map of her district in the cross hairs. There were her own prescient worries about overheated rhetoric.

Within hours of the shooting, there was a full-fledged witch hunt to link the shooter to the right.

“I saw Goody Proctor with the devil! Oh, I mean Jared Lee Loughner! Yes him. With the devil!”


The only problem is that there was no evidence then, and even now, that overheated rhetoric from the right had anything to do with the shooting. (In fact, a couple of people who said they knew him have described him as either [apolitical](#) or “[quite liberal](#).”) The picture emerging is of a sad and lonely soul slowly, and publicly, slipping into insanity.



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Loughner shot Gabrielle Giffords because, it appears, she represented “government”. She was not a “random target”. Hatred of government...
- David R**

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While your our rational arguments are eloquently made, I feel you (as well as most of the rest of the country) actually miss the point. When...
- oh2253**

January 15, 2011

This was a brave column. Let's hope that the columnist's employer and fellow columnists don't take offense. Readers who watch Fox cable news...

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Charles M. Blow  
Damon Winter/The New York Times

I have written about violent rhetoric before, and I'm convinced that it's poisonous to our politics, that the preponderance of it comes from the right, and that it has the potential to manifest in massacres like the one in Tucson.

But I also know that potential, possibility and even plausibility are not proof.

The American people know it, too. According to a [USA Today/Gallup poll released Wednesday](#), 42 percent of those asked said that political rhetoric was not a factor at all in the shooting, 22 percent said that it was a minor factor and 20 percent said that it was a major factor. Furthermore, most agreed that focusing on conservative rhetoric as a link in the shooting was "not a legitimate point but mostly an attempt to use the tragedy to make conservatives look bad." And nearly an equal number of people said that Republicans, the Tea Party and Democrats had all "gone too far in using inflammatory language" to criticize their opponents.

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Great. So the left overreacts and overreaches and it only accomplishes two things: fostering sympathy for its opponents and nurturing a false equivalence within the body politic. Well done, Democrats.

Now we've settled into the by-any-means-necessary argument: anything that gets us to focus on the rhetoric and tamp it down is a good thing. But a wrong in the service of righteousness is no less wrong, no less corrosive, no less a

menace to the very righteousness it's meant to support.

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You can't claim the higher ground in a pit of quicksand.

Concocting connections to advance an argument actually weakens it. The argument for tonal moderation has been done a tremendous disservice by those who sought to score political points in the absence of proof.

I invite you to join me on [Facebook](#) and follow me on [Twitter](#), or e-mail me at [chblow@nytimes.com](mailto:chblow@nytimes.com).

A version of this op-ed appears in print on January 15, 2011, on Page A23 of the New York edition with the headline: The Tucson Witch Hunt. Today's Paper | [Subscribe](#)

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## Looking Behind the Mug-Shot Grin

By THE NEW YORK TIMES JAN. 15, 2011



Jared L. Loughner was described as a curious teenager and talented saxophonist with a prestigious high school jazz band. When he was arrested after the shooting, a deputy detected no remorse.

From left, Marana Unified School District, via Associated Press; Robert Blanco, Pima County Sheriff's Office via the Associated Press; via Associated Press

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Political Times - After the Tucson Shooting, Is the Anger Gone? JAN. 15, 2011

*This article was reported by Jo Becker, Serge F. Kovalski, Michael Luo and Dan Barry and written by Mr. Barry.*

TUCSON — Moments after the swirl of panic, blood, death and shock, the suspect was face down on the pavement and squirming under the hold of two civilians, his shaved head obscured by a beanie and the hood of his dark sweatshirt.

Deputy Sheriff Thomas Audetat, a chiseled former Marine with three tours in Iraq to his credit, dug his knee into the gangly young man's back and cuffed him. With the aid of another deputy, he relieved the heroic civilians of their charge and began searching for weapons other than the Glock semiautomatic pistol, secured nearby under a civilian's foot, that had just fired 31 rounds.

In the left front pocket, two 15-round magazines. In the right front pocket, a black, four-inch folding knife. "Are there any other weapons on you?" Deputy Audetat recalled demanding.

"Back right pocket."

But the back right pocket contained no weapons. Instead, in a Ziploc bag, the deputy found about \$20 in cash, some change, a credit card and,

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Deputy Audetat lifted the passive, even relaxed suspect to his feet and led him to the patrol car, where the man twisted himself awkwardly across the back seat, face planted on the floor board. Then he invoked an oddly timed constitutional right. "I plead the Fifth," Mr. Loughner said, though the deputy had no intention of questioning him. "I plead the Fifth."

At a Pima County Sheriff's Department substation, Deputy Audetat guided Mr. Loughner to a tiny interview room with a two-way mirror, directed him to a plastic blue chair and offered him a glass of water. The deputy detected no remorse; nothing.

Now to another building for the mug shot. Look into the camera, the suspect was told. He smiled.

Click.

Mr. Loughner's spellbinding mug shot — that bald head, that bright-eyed gaze, that smile — yields no answer to why, why, why, why, the aching question cried out in a subdued Tucson synagogue last week. Does the absence of hair suggest a girding for battle? Does the grin convey a sense of accomplishment, or complete disengagement from the consequence of his actions?

And is his slightly blackened left eye all but winking at the wholesale violence that preceded the camera's click? The attack on a meet-and-greet event with a congresswoman outside a supermarket; the killing of six people, including the chief federal judge in Arizona and a 9-year-old girl; the wounding of 13, including Representative Gabrielle Giffords, shot in the head.

Since last Saturday's [shooting](#) frenzy in Tucson, investigators and the news media have spent the week frantically trying to assemble the Jared Loughner jigsaw puzzle in hopes that the pieces will fit, a clear picture will emerge and the answer to why will be found, providing the faint reassurance of a dark mystery solved.

Instead, the pattern of facts so far presents only a lack of one, a curlicue of contradictory moments open to broad interpretation. Here he is, a talented saxophonist with a prestigious high school jazz band, and there he is, a high school dropout. Here he is, a clean-cut employee for an Eddie Bauer store, and there he is, so unsettling a presence that tellers at a local bank would feel for the alarm button when he walked in.

Those who see premeditation in the acts Mr. Loughner is accused of committing can cite, for example, his pleading of the Fifth Amendment or the envelope the authorities found in his safe that bore the handwritten words "Giffords," "My assassination" and "I planned ahead" — or how he bided his time in the supermarket, even using the men's room. Those who suspect he is insane, and therefore a step removed from being responsible for his actions, can point to any of his online postings, including:

"If 987,123,478,961,876,341,234,671,234, 098,601,978,618 is the year in B.C.E then the previous year of 987,123,478,961,876, 341,234,671,234,098,601,978,618 B.C.E is 987,123,478,961,876,341,234,671,234,098, 601,978,619 B.C.E."

What the cacophony of facts do suggest is that Mr. Loughner is struggling with a profound mental illness (most likely paranoid schizophrenia, many psychiatrists say); that his recent years have been marked by stinging rejection — from his country's military, his community college, his

experience Miami

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society, including its government, its currency, its language, even its math. Mr. Loughner once declared to his professor that the number 6 could be called 18.

As he alienated himself from his small clutch of friends, grew contemptuous of women in positions of power and became increasingly oblivious to basic social mores, Mr. Loughner seemed to develop a dreamy alternate world, where the sky was sometimes orange, the grass sometimes blue and the Internet's informational chaos provided refuge.

He became an echo chamber for stray ideas, amplifying, for example, certain grandiose tenets of a number of extremist right-wing groups — including the need for a new money system and the government's mind-manipulation of the masses through language.

In the last three months, Mr. Loughner had a 9-millimeter bullet tattooed on his right shoulder blade and turned increasingly to the Internet to post indecipherable tutorials about the new currency, bemoan the prevalence of illiteracy and settle scores with the Army and Pima Community College, both of which had shunned him. He also may have felt rejected by the American government in general, and by Ms. Giffords in particular, with whom he had a brief — and, to him, unsatisfactory — encounter in 2007.

Nearly four years later, investigators say, Mr. Loughner methodically planned another encounter with her. Eight days ago, on a sunny Saturday morning, he took a \$14 taxi ride to a meet-your-representative gathering outside a Safeway, they say, and he was armed for slaughter.

Clarence Dupnik, the outspoken sheriff of Pima County, was driving back from Palm Springs when he received word of the shooting. Ms. Giffords and the slain judge, John M. Roll, were friends of his. "It was like someone kicked me in the stomach," he recalled. "Shock turned to anger. The closer to Tucson, the angrier I got."

Although his law enforcement colleagues are diligently working to shore up their criminal case to counter a possible plea of insanity that could mitigate punishment, Sheriff Dupnik seems torn about Mr. Loughner's mental state.

"There's no doubt in my mind that the whole trial will be about did he know right from wrong," the sheriff said. "We'll have 15 psychiatrists saying yes. We'll have 15 psychiatrists saying no. What do I say? I think he's mentally disturbed."

Disturbed enough to be found guilty but insane?

"I majored in psychology at the university," Sheriff Dupnik answered. "Based on what I've seen, he is psychotic, he has serious problems with reality, and I think he's delusional. Does he meet the legal test of guilty but insane? I don't know."

### Early Signs of Alienation

One spring morning in 2006, a student showed up at Mountain View High School so intoxicated that he had to be taken to Northwest Hospital, five miles away. A sheriff's deputy went to the hospital's emergency room to question the inebriated 17-year-old student, whose eyes were red from crying.

According to a police report, the teenager explained that he had taken a bottle of vodka from his father's liquor cabinet around 1:30 that morning and, for the next several hours, drank much of its contents. Why? Because I was upset that my father had yelled at me, said the student, Jared

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in the search for clues to explain the awfulness to come. This moment

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In the search for clues to explain the awfulness to come, this moment stands out as the first public breach in the facade of domestic calm in the modest Loughner home on Soledad Avenue in the modest subdivision of Orangewood Estates, its front door shrouded by the wide canopy of an old mesquite tree, its perimeter walled off as if for fortification.

The mother, Amy Loughner, worked as the manager of one of the area's parks. Pleasant though reserved, she impressed the parents of her son's friends as a doting mother who shepherded her only child to his saxophone lessons and concerts, and encouraged his dream of one day attending the Juilliard School, the prestigious arts conservatory in New York.

Once, when he was in the ninth grade, Mr. Loughner's parents had to leave town for a week, and he stayed with the family of his friend, Alex Montanaro. Before leaving, Mrs. Loughner presented Alex's mother, Michelle Montanaro, with a document that temporarily granted her power of attorney for Jared — in case something happened.

"This is how I knew his mom doted on Jared," Ms. Montanaro said. "She thought of everything for her son."

But the father, Randy Loughner, was so rarely mentioned by his son that some of Jared's friends assumed that his parents were divorced. Mr. Loughner installed carpets and pool decks, and spent much of his free time restoring old cars. Jared drove a Chevy Nova; his mother, an El Camino.

Some neighbors saw Randy Loughner as private; others as standoffish, even a bit scary. As a member of one neighboring family suggested: if your child's ball came to rest in the Loughners' yard, you left it there.

And, occasionally, word would trickle back to the homes of Jared's friends of a family unhappy in its own way. That Jared and his father did not get along. That a palpable sense of estrangement hovered in the Loughner home.

"He would tell me that he didn't want to go home because he didn't like being home," recalled Ashley Figueroa, 21, who dated him for several months in high school.

Teased for a while as a [Harry Potter](#) look-alike, then adopting a more disheveled look, Jared seemed to find escape for a while in music, developing a taste for the singular sounds of John Coltrane and Charlie Parker. A talented saxophonist, he could show off his own musical chops by sweetly performing such jazz classics as "Summertime."

He belonged to the Arizona Jazz Academy, where the director, Doug Tidaback, found him to be withdrawn, though clearly dedicated. He played for two different ensembles, an 18-piece band and a smaller combo, which meant four hours of rehearsal on weekends and many discussions between the director and the mother about her son's musical prospects.

But Mr. Tidaback did not recall ever seeing Jared's father at any of the rehearsals or performances. And one other thing: the music director suspected that the teenager might be using [marijuana](#).

"Being around people who smoke pot, they tend to be a little paranoid," Mr. Tidaback said. "I got that sense from him. That might have been part of his being withdrawn."

Mr. Tidaback, it seems, was onto something. Several of Jared's friends said he used marijuana, mushrooms and, especially, the hallucinogenic herb

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None of this necessarily distinguished him from his high school buddies. Several of them dabbled in drugs, played computer games like World of Warcraft and Diablo and went through Goth and alternative phases. Jared and a friend, Zane Gutierrez, would also shoot guns for practice in the desert; Jared, Mr. Gutierrez recalled, became quite proficient at picking off can targets with a gun.

But Jared, a curious teenager who at times could be intellectually intimidating, stood out because of his passionate opinions about government — and his obsession with dreams.

He became intrigued by antigovernment conspiracy theories, including that the Sept. 11 attacks were perpetrated by the government and that the country's central banking system was enslaving its citizens. His anger would well up at the sight of President George W. Bush, or in discussing what he considered to be the nefarious designs of government.

"I think he feels the people should be able to govern themselves," said Ms. Figueroa, his former girlfriend. "We didn't need a higher authority."

Breanna Castle, 21, another friend from junior and senior high school, agreed. "He was all about less government and less America," she said, adding, "He thought it was full of conspiracies and that the government censored the Internet and banned certain books from being read by us."

Among the books that he would later cite as his favorites: "Animal Farm," "Fahrenheit 451," "Mein Kampf" and "The Communist Manifesto." Also: "Peter Pan."

And there was that fascination with dreams. Ms. Castle acknowledged that in high school, she too developed an interest in analyzing her dreams. But Jared's interest was much deeper.

"It started off with dream interpretation, but then he delved into the idea of accessing different parts of your mind and trying to control your entire brain at all times," she said. "He was troubled that we only use part of our brain, and he thought that he could unlock his entire brain through lucid dreaming."

With "lucid dreaming," the dreamer supposedly becomes aware that he or she is dreaming and then is able to control those dreams. George Osler IV, the father of one of Jared's former friends, said his son explained the notion to him this way: "You can fly. You can experience all kinds of things that you can't experience in reality."

But the Mr. Osler worried about the healthiness of this boyhood obsession, particularly the notion that "This is all not real."

Gradually, friends and acquaintances say, there came a detachment from the waking world — a strangeness that made others uncomfortable.

Mr. Loughner unnerved one parent, Mr. Osler, by smiling when there wasn't anything to smile about. He puzzled another parent, Ms. Montanaro, by reading aloud a short story he had written, about angels and the end of the world, that she found strange and incomprehensible. And he rattled Breanna Castle, his friend, by making a video that featured a gas station, traffic and his incoherent mumbles.

"The more people became shocked and worried about him, the more withdrawn he got," Ms. Castle said.



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with drug paraphernalia in a white van.

Something was happening to Jared Loughner. It was clear to his friends, clear to anyone who encountered him.

"He would get so upset about bigger issues, like why do positive and negative magnets have to attract each other," recalled Mr. Gutierrez, the friend who joined him in target practice in the desert. "He had the most incredible thoughts, but he could not handle them."



"There's no doubt in my mind that the whole trial will be about did he know right from wrong." **CLARENCE DUPNIK** Pima County sheriff

John Moore/Getty Images

### Facing Rejection

Two Pima Community College police officers drove into Orangewood Estates and up to a flat-roofed house on Soledad Avenue, the one with that crooked mesquite tree in the front and the old cars always parked in the driveway. Their mission that night in late September was dicey enough to require two other officers to linger in the neighborhood as backup.

The owner of the house, Randy Loughner, locked away the dogs and directed the officers to the garage, where his son, Jared, a student at the community college, was waiting. One of the officers explained that the purpose of their visit was to serve Jared with a "Notice of Immediate Suspension" from the college.

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The officer, Dana Mattocks, read the letter aloud, detailing a litany of troubled and disruptive behavior, including the recent posting of an unsettling video titled "Pima Community College School — Genocide/Scam — Free Education — Broken United States Constitution."

As Officer Mattocks spoke, he later recalled, Jared Loughner

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"constant trance." The notice was handed to the young man,

who then read the letter back to the officers.

"Even though we spent approximately one hours relaying the information and narration of Jared's actions that brought him to his current predicament," Officer Mattocks wrote in a subsequent report, "Jared left his silence and spoke out saying, 'I realize now that this is all a scam.'"

The officers declared the meeting over, chatted briefly with Jared's father in the backyard and left the Loughner family to deal with this "current predicament."

What had happened?

After dropping out of high school, Jared Loughner had tried to straighten up, friends say. He shed his unkempt image, cut drugs from his life and indulged only in the occasional 24-ounce can of Miller High Life. He began wearing crisp clothes and got a job at Eddie Bauer.

"He was damned strait-laced and, I believe, had given up weed," Mr. Gutierrez recalled. "At Eddie Bauer, he tucked his shirt in, wore a belt and dressed himself nicely, real clean cut. He could have been in any office building and would have looked fine."

And when the two friends got together, Mr. Loughner would limit himself to that one big can of beer — he was notoriously frugal — and talk of bettering himself. "He started saying that he wanted to stay out of trouble and was thinking about doing good stuff with his life," Mr. Gutierrez said.

Still, things never quite clicked.

Mr. Loughner seemed to meet rejection at every turn. He tried to enlist in the Army in 2008 but failed its drug test. He held a series of jobs, often briefly: Peter Piper Pizza, but not long enough to make it past the three-month probationary period, an executive said; the Mandarin Grill, where the owner recalled that after less than a month of employment, the teenager simply stopped showing up.

After leaving his job at Eddie Bauer, he became a volunteer at an animal-care center in Tucson. On his application, he came across as a normal and ambitious teenager, expressing interest in "community service, fun, reference and experience." But within two months he was told not to come back until he could follow rules.

At least there was the Northwest Campus of Pima Community College, where tuition was affordable, the quail often skittered across the grounds and Mr. Loughner found intellectual sanctuary. Beginning in the summer of 2005, when he was just 16, he began taking classes: music fundamentals, philosophy, sign language, algebra, biology, computers, logic — even Pilates.

But beginning in 2010, Mr. Loughner's mostly private struggle with basic societal norms tipped into the public settings of the classroom, the library, the campus.

Pima Community College has six campuses, four educational centers and nearly 70,000 students. But one student in particular, it seems, came to occupy the attention of its administrators and security officers.

#### Disruptions and Monitoring



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another student's poem, taking a huge leap from its context to abortion, wars and killing people. The school official described him as "creepy." They would keep an eye on him.

In April, the director of the library summoned the police because Mr. Loughner was making loud noises while listening to music through his earphones. According to a police report, he was advised "that this behavior was not an acceptable practice for a public setting, especially in a library." The student said it would not happen again.

In May, an instructor reported to the campus police that when she informed Mr. Loughner that he had gotten a B in her Pilates class, he threw his work down and declared the grade unacceptable. Things got so tense that the instructor felt intimidated, and feared that the moment might become physical.

In June, a school counselor investigated an incident in which Mr. Loughner had disrupted a math class. When she inquired, Mr. Loughner first said that he was offended by the inquiry, then explained, "My instructor said he called a number 6, and I said I call it 18." He said he also asked the instructor to explain, "How can you deny math instead of accept it?" He went on to strike the increasingly familiar theme of persecution: that he was being "scammed."

"This student was warned," the counselor, Delisa Siddall, wrote in a report. "He has extreme views and frequently meanders from the point. He seems to have difficulty understanding how his actions impact others, yet very attuned to his unique ideology that is not always homogeneous. ... Since he reported that an incident such as this occurred in another class, administrators will have to help this student clearly understand what is appropriate classroom dialog."

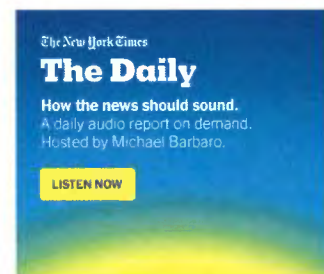
Mr. Loughner said that he would not ask any more questions for fear of being expelled. All the while, though, he was expressing himself in sometimes odd conversations with other players in an online strategy game. Writing under the moniker "Dare," he denounced his "scam" education, expressed frustration over his continued unemployment ("How many applications ... is a lot?") and revealed that he had been fired from five jobs — including one, at a hamburger restaurant, that he lost because he left while in the throes of what he called a "mental breakdown."

He also wrote of his "strong interest in logic." But, it seems, it was a logic whose inductive and deductive reasoning made sense only to him.

Around this time, Mr. Loughner bumped into his old girlfriend, Ms. Figueroa, in a store. Years earlier, she had fallen for a shy boy in her computer class; they would hold hands during football games and hang out after marching band practice. Now here he was, his long locks shorn and an off-kilter air. A completely different person, it seemed.

"It was kind of like he wasn't there," Ms. Figueroa recalled. "I can't put my finger on it. It just wasn't a good feeling. I kind of got a chill."

In September, Mr. Loughner filled out paperwork to have his record expunged on the 2007 drug paraphernalia charge. Although he did not need to bother — he completed a diversion program, so the charge was never actually on his record — Judge Jose Luis Castillo, who handled the case in Pima County Consolidated Justice Court, said after the shooting that, in retrospect, it definitely "crossed my mind" that Mr. Loughner was worried that the charge would prevent him from buying a weapon.



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College, another class disruption caused by Mr. Loughner, another summoning of the campus police. A teacher had informed him that he would receive only a half-credit for handing in an assignment late, and he was declaring this a violation of his right to freedom of speech.

One of the responding police officers began to engage him with simple questions, only to enter the Loughner world of logic, in which freedom of speech morphed into freedom of thought and his teacher was required to accept the thoughts he wrote down as a passing grade. The other officer took note of the student's tilted head and jittery, darting eyes.

A few days later, during a meeting with a school administrator, Mr. Loughner said that he had paid for his courses illegally because, "I did not pay with gold and silver" — a standard position among right-wing extremist groups. With Mr. Loughner's consent, that same administrator then arranged to meet with the student and his mother to discuss the creation of a "behavioral contract" for him, after which the official noted: "Throughout the meeting, Jared held himself very rigidly and smiled overtly at inappropriate times."

At the same time, other college administrators and officers were just learning of the "Pima Community College School-Genocide" video, in which the narrator says, "We are examining the torture of students," and "I haven't forgotten the teacher that gave me a B for freedom of speech," and "This is Pima Community College, one of the biggest scams in America" — and "Thank you ... This is Jared ... from Pima College."

Mr. Loughner was informed in his father's garage that he was suspended. Not long after, the college sent him a letter saying that he would not be welcomed back until he presented certification from a mental health professional that he was not a threat. That never happened.

By now the strange presence that was Jared Loughner was known in places beyond the Northwest Campus of Pima Community College.

### Leaving an Impression

At a small local branch of a major bank, for example, the tellers would have their fingers on the alarm button whenever they saw him approaching.

It was not just his appearance — the pale shaved head and eyebrows — that unnerved them. It was also the aggressive, often sexist things that he said, including asserting that women should not be allowed to hold positions of power or authority.

One individual with knowledge of the situation said Mr. Loughner once got into a dispute with a female branch employee after she told him that a request of his would violate bank policy. He brusquely challenged the woman, telling her that she should not have any power.

"He was considered to be short-tempered and made people at the bank very uncomfortable," said the individual, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because the person was not authorized to discuss the matter.

The bank's employees could not forget how, after bulletproof glass was installed at the bank, Mr. Loughner would try to stick his finger through a small space atop the glass and laugh to himself, the person said.

And employees at the Sacred Art Tattoo shop would not forget that day in November — the same month in which Mr. Loughner bought a Glock — when he walked in wearing jean shorts and a muscle shirt and holding up a 9-millimeter bullet that he said he wanted replicated on his right shoulder.

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Loughner insisted on shaking the artist's hand.

Then, a week later, he returned to get a second bullet tattoo.

"I started talking to him about what he liked to do, hobbies, pastimes," recalled Carl Grace, 30, who drew the second tattoo. "He said he dreamed 14 to 15 hours a day. He said he knew how to control his sleeping and control his dreams." But when the artist asked about the meaning behind the tattoo, the customer just smiled.

"When he left, I said: 'That's a weird dude. That's a Columbine candidate.'"

### A Busy Morning

At 9:41 last Saturday morning, a 60-year-old cabdriver named John Marino pulled his Ford Crown Victoria into the parking lot of a Circle K convenience store on West Cortaro Farms Road to collect his first fare of the day. The cashier inside raised her finger to signal one minute.

Then out came his customer, just another customer, a normal-looking young man. Climbing into the back seat, the man said he needed to go to the Safeway supermarket on Oracle Road, on the Northwest side. Their five-mile ride began.

Mr. Marino has been driving a taxi for a dozen years; he likes to say that he has hauled everyone from street walkers to mayors. He does not pry for information from his passengers, mostly because he doesn't care. But if a customer wants to talk, he will talk. He glanced at his rear-view mirror and saw his passenger looking out the window. The passenger was quiet, until he wasn't.

"Do you always remember everybody you pick up?" Mr. Marino recalled the man asking.

"Yeah, vaguely," Mr. Marino says he answered. "I've been doing this a long time. It's hard to remember everybody."

At another point, the passenger blurted out, "I drink too much." To which the cabdriver answered, "Oh, that's too bad."

Then it was back to silence.

By this point, the passenger, Mr. Loughner, had already had a full day.

Late the night before, he had dropped off a roll of 35-millimeter film to be developed at a Walgreens on West Ina Road. Law-enforcement officials would later say the roll included many photographs of Mr. Loughner wearing a bright red G-string and posing with a Glock. In some photos, presumably mirrored reflections, he holds the gun by his crotch; in others, next to his naked buttocks.

At 12:30 in the morning, he checked into Room 411 at a Motel 6 less than two miles from his house — an occasional habit, his parents later told investigators. The motel, a mottled brown building, sits near a railroad track; one of its rooms is still boarded up, marking where a guest shot himself recently.

Less than two hours later, he hopped back in his Chevy Nova to run a couple of errands, including a return to the Walgreens to collect those photographs of him posing nearly naked with a Glock. Soon after that, he posted a message on his Myspace page: "Goodbye friends."

Shortly after 6, he headed back out for more predawn errands, including a

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diaper bag.

At 7:30, minutes after sunrise, [he was stopped by an Arizona Game and Fish Department officer](#) for running a red light, but was cordial and cooperative in providing his license, registration and insurance card.

He returned home, where his father confronted him about the contents of the black diaper bag he was lifting out the Chevy's trunk. He mumbled something before dashing into the surrounding desert, his father giving futile chase in a vehicle. (Days later, a man walking in the desert came across a black diaper bag jammed with ammunition.)

Mr. Loughner then made his way to the Circle K, about a mile away. He called for a cab.

Now that cab was delivering its passenger in a hooded sweatshirt to his destination, the Safeway supermarket plaza, where a congresswoman was about to greet constituents. Mr. Loughner pulled out the Ziploc bag where he kept his cash and handed Mr. Marino a \$20 bill for the \$14.25 fare. The driver could not break the bill, so the two men went into the supermarket to get change.

Mr. Marino got in line at the customer-service desk, behind someone cashing in a winning lottery ticket. He received a few bills for the \$20 and handed Mr. Loughner a \$5 bill — meaning his tip was 75 cents. The cabdriver would later wonder why, considering what was about to happen, his passenger didn't just let him keep the \$20.

Before going their separate ways, Mr. Marino recalled, Mr. Loughner asked, "Can I shake your hand?"

Sure.

"And I noticed his hands were really sweaty," recalled the cabdriver who had seen all types. "You know?"

Reporting was contributed by A.G. Sulzberger, Richard Oppel and Anissa Tanweer from Tucson; Sarah Wheaton from New York; and Janie Lorber from Washington. Jack Begg, Toby Lyles, Jack Styczynski and Kitty Bennett contributed research.

A version of this article appears in print on January 16, 2011, on Page A1 of the New York edition; the headline, 'Looking Behind the Mug-Shot Grin: Order Recalls'; Today's Paper; Subscribe.

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By Michelle Ye Hee Lee June 15 at 12:38 PM



Rep. Gabrielle Giffords (D-Ariz.) announced in a video message that she is stepping down from Congress this week. (Jan. 22) (The Washington Post)

*"Was this attack evidence of how vicious American politics has become? Probably. In 2011, Jared Lee Loughner opened fire in a supermarket parking lot, grievously wounding Representative Gabby Giffords and killing six people, including a 9-year-old girl. At the time, we and others were sharply critical of the heated political rhetoric on the right. Before the shooting, Sarah Palin's political action committee circulated a map of targeted electoral districts that put Ms. Giffords and 19 other Democrats under stylized cross hairs. But in that case no connection to the shooting was ever established."*

— **New York Times editorial board, June 14**

This quote is from a corrected version of a New York Times editorial that had falsely claimed that the gunman in the 2011 Giffords shooting was politically incited by Palin's political action committee. Many readers asked about the uncorrected version, which initially claimed "the link to political incitement was clear" between the gunman's actions and the map portraying crosshairs, including one over Giffords's congressional district in Southern Arizona.

On Jan. 11, 2011 — three days after the shooting — The Fact Checker [called this charge "bogus."](#) Alas, this debunked talking point still exists.

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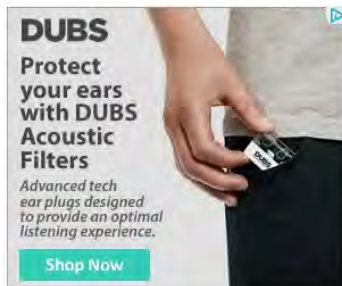
## The Facts

Gun control is back in the national debate, after the [shooting](#) Wednesday at a baseball practice game among congressional Republicans. House Majority Whip Steve Scalise (R-La.) was critically injured, and four others were wounded. The shooting quickly became political. The gunman, who died after a shootout with police, had volunteered for the 2016 Democratic presidential campaign of Sen. Bernie Sanders (Vt.) and posted angry and vulgar comments on social media aimed at President Trump.

The Times argued that our politics has become lethal, and argued for stricter gun control measures. The Fact Checker obviously has no opinion on this matter.

Here's what happened in 2011.

Jared Lee Loughner shot Giffords in the head during a Jan. 8, 2011, constituent event, then opened fire on the people lined up to meet her there — injuring 14 and killing six. Contemporaneous news reports noted that Giffords was one of 20 Democrats targeted [in a map circulated by Sarah Palin's political action committee](#) in March 2010. The map portrayed stylized crosshairs to mark each of their districts, in a “Take Back the 20” campaign to reclaim seats in the 2010 midterm elections.



After the map was published, Giffords said in an interview: “We're on Sarah Palin's targeted list, but the thing is that the way that she has it depicted has the crosshairs of a gun sight over our district, and when people do that, they've gotta realize there are consequences to that action.”






As the corrected version of the Times's editorial notes, no connection was established between this map and the 2011 shooting.

After Loughner's shooting, some of Palin's [surrogates claimed](#) the map was never intended to portray crosshairs, and instead said they were “surveyor's symbols.” But that was debunked by Palin herself, when she acknowledged that the symbols were intended to be crosshairs.

It's unclear if Loughner even knew of Palin's map, but it likely would not have changed the outcome. His focus on Giffords [began as early as 2007](#), long before the map was published. He became fixated on her since he [met her at a constituent](#)



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But that was debunked by [Rami Nelsen](#), when she acknowledged that the symbols were intended to be crosshairs.

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Three days after the shooting, authorities [filed criminal charges against Loughner](#) after finding items in his home that showed he had plotted her assassination. They found in his safe a 2007 letter from Giffords thanking him for attending the constituent event, and an envelope stating "I planned ahead," and the words "assassination" and "Giffords," along with his signature.

Loughner had no clear political views. Instead, he was a troubled man who abused alcohol and drugs, and whose mental illness was apparent to his classmates and family even before he was diagnosed as schizophrenic during his court trial.

His behavior became so erratic and disruptive that he was suspended from college in 2010 and told he couldn't return without a doctor's note confirming he was not a danger. He withdrew from school, then his behavior got worse. In the days leading up to the shooting, his behavior became so disturbing that his father [disabled Loughner's car at night](#) so he couldn't leave the house.

Loughner was deemed competent to stand trial and pleaded guilty. He [was sentenced](#) to seven life sentences plus 140 more years in prison.



## The Bottom Line

We're glad to see this fixed in the editorial, but it's not a good sign that the debunked talking point was included as fact in the editorial of a major media outlet. Any future references to this talking point by politicians or political groups will receive Four Pinocchios.

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Share The Facts



**New York Times editorial board**  
New York Times editorial board

**False**

"In 2011, when Jared Lee Loughner opened fire in a supermarket parking lot, grievously wounding Representative Gabby Giffords and killing six people, including a 9-year-old girl, the link to political incitement was clear."

*The Washington Post*

in an earlier, uncorrected version of editorial – Wednesday, June 14, 2017

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Michelle Ye Hee Lee reports for The Fact Checker. Send her statements to dig into via e-mail, Twitter or Facebook. [Follow @myhlee](#)

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Most alarmingly to the White House, that includes key demographics.

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### Opinion

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**JoeODonnell**

5:15 PM GMT+0000

I admire Kessler's fact checking, but this misses most of the elephant, which is the raging culture of gun use, mostly promoted from the right wing by the likes of Palin with her cross-hairs and by Trump with his suggesting "second amendment" response when unhappy with election outcomes.

You can't keep stirring the pot and then complain about what a mess has been made.

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**Midwesterner20**

5:15 PM GMT+0000

Fact-checking your competitors is not cool.

That said, nice fact-check. However, it does demonstrate how cravenly hypocritical these clowns are out there attempting to tie this deranged action to any sort of candidate or movement. The left is not even n the same league as the right when it comes to political violence.

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A7DN1Q00



## **EXHIBIT 12**



1. Trump Acknowledges He Is Under Investigation in Russia Inquiry
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5. Minn Acqu Phila



PUBLIC EDITOR

# A Rare Libel Suit Against The Times



Liz Spayd  
THE PUBLIC EDITOR MAY 10, 2017



Murray Energy Corporation, one of the largest coal mining companies in the country, has just taken a step that most companies never dare try: It sued The New York Times for libel.

In a [legal claim announced last Friday](#), Murray Energy asserts that a [recent Times editorial](#) falsely accused the company's founder, Robert Murray, of lying about the cause of a deadly mine collapse and wrongly asserted that his company violated federal regulations in excess of industry norms.

To the untrained eye, this might look like routine legal jousting. But hardly anyone jousts with The Times when it comes to formally asserting libel. When they do, they almost never win. I'm told by the legal department here that the last time the newspaper lost a libel suit in the United States was at least the early 1960s. (It has lost two in Russia, one in 2015.)

In the case of Murray Energy, The Times said in a statement: "We haven't been served with the complaint, but we're confident that our editorial was accurate and we intend to defend the case vigorously."

It's perhaps not surprising that it is Robert Murray trying to buck the odds against The Times. He has emerged as one of the more outspoken coal company executives amid tensions over environmental regulations. In one [2007 Times article](#), he was referred to as having a "bombastic" style and a man who pushes against well established wisdom, including the concept of climate change.



3  
ARTICLES REMAINING



The Public Editor  
Liz Spayd, the sixth public editor, is at the intersection of Times readers and Times journalists.

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- Friday Mailbag: Manchester, Stereotypes and Social Security Math MAY 26
- The Bombing, the Crime Scene Photos and the Outcry MAY 25
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Well, if you thought Murray's effort to relitigate the facts of his Crandall Canyon mine disaster in a publicity stunt and the court of...
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Robert Murray, the founder of Murray Energy Corporation. Kevin Moloney for The New York Times

I asked Murray Energy officials why they had chosen to sue, since it's more typical that the aggrieved party would pursue other means of rectifying any perceived misstatements — like seeking a correction. (Opinion editors say they're unaware of such a request.)

In an email, the company referred me to a statement, of which the most illuminating part was this: "The New York Times, of course, supported Hillary Clinton, who famously declared her agenda to 'put a lot of coal miners and coal companies out of business.' Murray Energy instituted this suit, in part, in attempt to ensure that such an agenda is not furthered by The New York Times's false and defamatory statements."

58 COMMENTS

It's hard to tell whether Robert Murray has the stamina, or even the desire, to engage a sustained battle with The Times. My bet is that by grabbing a few headlines, he's gotten most of what he came for. But it's curious how few companies or individuals actually do sue the paper for allegedly libelous claims. That's a good thing if this is a measure of how rarely people feel defamed by The Times. It's a bit more disconcerting if it suggests that those with a legitimate claim feel too intimidated to even try.

Follow the public editor on Twitter [@spaydl](#) and reach her by email at [public@nytimes.com](#).

## The Public Editor

Liz Spayd, the sixth public editor, is at the intersection of Times readers and Times journalists.

### The Public Editor Signs Off

The New York Times may no longer have a public editor, but if that role's extinguished, who will watch the watchdog?



### Friday Mailbag: Manchester, Stereotypes and Social Security Math

Readers wondered about the continued naming of the arena's performer. Other concerns: a photo of food stamp recipients and a take on the U.S. debt.



### The Bombing, the Crime Scene Photos and the Outcry

The smoke had barely cleared from the Manchester attack before The New York Times ran forensic-evidence images. British officials were angry. So were readers.



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## **EXHIBIT 13**

**The New York Times**

# Ethical Journalism

A Handbook of Values and Practices for  
the News and Editorial Departments

**September 2004**



# **Ethical Journalism**

A Handbook of Values and  
Practices for the News  
and Editorial Departments

**The New York Times**



*“Reporters, editors, photographers and all members of the news staff of The New York Times share a common and essential interest in protecting the integrity of the newspaper. As the news, editorial and business leadership of the newspaper declared jointly in 1998: ‘Our greatest strength is the authority and reputation of The Times. We must do nothing that would undermine or dilute it and everything possible to enhance it.’ ”*

Guidelines on Our Integrity, May 1999

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1. The goal of The New York Times is to cover the news as impartially as possible — “without fear or favor,” in the words of Adolph Ochs, our patriarch — and to treat readers, news sources, advertisers and others fairly and openly, and to be seen to be doing so. The reputation of The Times rests upon such perceptions, and so do the professional reputations of its staff members. Thus The Times and members of its news department and editorial page staff share an interest in avoiding conflicts of interest or an appearance of a conflict.
2. For more than a century, men and women of The Times have jealously guarded the paper’s integrity. Whatever else we contribute, our first duty is to make sure the integrity of The Times is not blemished during our stewardship.
3. Conflicts of interest, real or apparent, may come up in many areas. They may involve the relationships of staff members with readers, news sources, advocacy groups, advertisers, or competitors; with one another, or with the newspaper or its parent company. And at a time when two-career families are the norm, the civic and professional activities of spouses, family and companions can create conflicts or the appearance of conflicts.
4. In keeping with its solemn responsibilities under the First Amendment, The Times strives to maintain the highest standards of journalistic ethics. It is confident that its staff members share that goal. The Times also recognizes that staff members should be free to do creative, civic and personal work and to earn extra income in ways separate from their work at The Times. Before engaging in such outside activities, though, staff members should exercise mature professional judgment and consider the stake we all have in The Times’s irreplaceable good name.

### **The Scope of These Guidelines**

---

5. These guidelines generally apply to all members of the news and editorial departments whose work directly affects the content of the paper, including those on leaves of absence.

They include reporters, editors, editorial writers, photographers, picture editors, art directors, artists, designers, graphics editors and researchers. This group of professional journalists is what this text means by “staff” or “staff members.”

6. News clerks, administrative assistants, secretaries and other support staff are generally not bound by these strictures, with two important exceptions: First, no newsroom or editorial page employee may exploit for personal gain any nonpublic information acquired at work, or use his or her association with The Times to gain favor or advantage. And second, no one may do anything that damages The Times’s reputation for strict neutrality in reporting on politics and government; in particular, no one may wear campaign buttons or display any other form of political partisanship while on the job.
7. Our contracts with freelance contributors require them to avoid conflicts of interest, real or apparent. In keeping with that, they must honor these guidelines in their Times assignments, as set forth in Section 14.
8. The Times believes beyond question that its staff shares the values these guidelines are intended to protect. In the past The Times has resolved differences of view over applying these values amiably through discussion, almost without exception. The paper has every reason to believe that pattern will continue. Nevertheless, The Times views any deliberate violation of these guidelines as a serious offense that may lead to disciplinary action, potentially including dismissal, subject to the terms of any applicable collective bargaining agreement.
9. Our fundamental purpose is to protect the impartiality and neutrality of The Times and the integrity of its report. In many instances, merely applying that purpose with common sense will point to the ethical course. Sometimes the answer is self-evident. Simply asking oneself whether a course of action might damage the paper’s reputation is often enough to gauge whether the action is appropriate.

- 10.** Every staff member is expected to read this document carefully and to think about how it might apply to his or her duties. A lack of familiarity with its provisions cannot excuse a violation; to the contrary, it makes the violation worse. The provisions presented here can offer only broad principles and some examples. Our world changes constantly, sometimes dramatically. No written document could anticipate every possibility. Thus we expect staff members to consult their supervisors and the standards editor or the deputy editorial page editor if they have any doubts about any particular situation or opportunity covered by this document. In most cases an exchange of e-mails should suffice.
- 11.** Thus this handbook is not an exhaustive compilation of all situations that may give rise to an actual or perceived conflict of interest. It does not exclude situations or issues giving rise to such conflicts simply because they are not explicitly covered within this document, nor does the document or any of its particular provisions create an implied or express contract of employment with any individual to whom the guidelines apply. The Times reserves the right to modify and expand the guidelines from time to time, as appropriate. (See the letter of understanding with the Newspaper Guild of New York, included as Appendix C below.)
- 12.** The authority to interpret and apply these guidelines is vested in department heads and ranking editors, most notably in the standards editor and the deputy editorial page editor. They may delegate that duty to their ranking assistants, but they remain responsible for decisions made in their name.

**Other Standards of Behavior**

---

- 13.** In addition to this handbook, we observe the Newsroom Integrity Statement, promulgated in 1999, which deals with such rudimentary professional practices as the importance of checking facts, the exactness of quotations, the integrity of photographs and our distaste for anonymous sourcing; and



the Policy on Confidential Sources, issued in 2004. These documents are available from the office of the associate managing editor for news administration or on the Newsroom home page under Policies.

14. As employees of the Times Company, we observe the Rules of the Road, which are the axiomatic standards of behavior governing our dealing with colleagues and going about our work. The Rules are available from the office of the associate managing editor for news administration. Together with a statement of supporting principles, the Rules are on the Internet at [http://insite.nytc.com/OUR\\_COMPANY/our\\_company.html](http://insite.nytc.com/OUR_COMPANY/our_company.html). We also observe the company's policies against harassment and on computers and electronic communications, which appear on the Internet at [http://insite.nytc.com/OUR\\_COMPANY/POLICIES/policies.html](http://insite.nytc.com/OUR_COMPANY/POLICIES/policies.html).

15. The Times treats its readers as fairly and openly as possible. In print and online, we tell our readers the complete, unvarnished truth as best we can learn it. It is our policy to correct our errors, large and small, as soon as we become aware of them.
16. We treat our readers no less fairly in private than in public. Anyone who deals with readers is expected to honor that principle, knowing that ultimately the readers are our employers. Civility applies whether an exchange takes place in person, by telephone, by letter or online. Simple courtesy suggests that we not alienate our readers by ignoring their letters and e-mails that warrant reply.
17. The Times gathers information for the benefit of its readers. Staff members may not use their Times position to make inquiries for any other purpose. As noted in paragraph 6, they may not seek any advantage for themselves or others by acting on or disclosing information acquired in their work but not yet available to readers.
18. Staff members who plagiarize or who knowingly or recklessly provide false information for publication betray our fundamental pact with our readers. We will not tolerate such behavior.

19. The Times treats news sources just as fairly and openly as it treats readers. We do not inquire pointlessly into someone's personal life. Staff members may not threaten to damage uncooperative sources. They may not promise favorable coverage in return for cooperation. They may not pay for interviews or unpublished documents.
20. Staff members should disclose their identity to people they cover (whether face to face or otherwise), though they need not always announce their status as journalists when seeking information normally available to the public. Staff members may not pose as police officers, lawyers, business people or anyone else when they are working as journalists. (As happens on rare occasions, when seeking to enter countries that bar journalists, correspondents may take cover from vagueness and identify themselves as traveling on business or as tourists.)
21. Theater, music and art critics and other writers who review goods or services offered to the public may conceal their Times connection but may not normally assert a false identity or affiliation. As an exception, restaurant critics may make reservations in false names to protect their identity. Restaurant critics and travel writers must conceal their Times affiliation to eliminate the possibility of special treatment.

### Personal Relations with Sources

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22. Relationships with sources require the utmost in sound judgment and self discipline to prevent the fact or appearance of partiality. Cultivating sources is an essential skill, often practiced most effectively in informal settings outside of normal business hours. Yet staff members, especially those assigned to beats, must be sensitive that personal relationships with news sources can erode into favoritism, in fact or appearance. And conversely staff members must be aware that sources are eager to win our good will for reasons of their own.



23. Even though this topic defies hard and fast rules, it is essential that we preserve a professional detachment, free of any whiff of bias. Staff members may see sources informally over a meal or drinks, but they must keep in mind the difference between legitimate business and personal friendship. A City Hall reporter who enjoys a weekly round of golf with a City Council member, for example, risks creating an appearance of coziness, even if they sometimes discuss business on the course. So does a reporter who joins a regular card game or is a familiar face in a corporation's box seats or who spends weekends in the company of people he or she covers. Scrupulous practice requires that periodically we step back and take a hard look at whether we have drifted too close to sources we deal with regularly. The acid test of freedom from favoritism is the ability to maintain good working relationships with all parties to a dispute.
24. Clearly, romantic involvement with a news source would foster an appearance of partiality. Therefore staff members who develop close relationships with people who might figure in coverage they provide, edit, package or supervise must disclose those relationships to the standards editor, the associate managing editor for news administration or the deputy editorial page editor. In some cases, no further action may be needed. But in other instances staff members may have to recuse themselves from certain coverage. And in still other cases, assignments may have to be modified or beats changed. In a few instances, a staff member may have to move to a different department — from business and financial news, say, to the culture desk—to avoid the appearance of conflict.

### Obeying the Law in Pursuit of the News

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25. Staff members must obey the law in the pursuit of news. They may not break into buildings, homes, apartments or offices. They may not purloin data, documents or other property, including such electronic property as databases and e-mail or voice mail messages. They may not tap telephones, invade computer files or otherwise eavesdrop electronically on news sources. In short, they may not commit illegal acts of any sort.

26. Staff members may not use the identification cards or special license plates issued by police or other official agencies except in doing their jobs. Staff members who have applied for or hold “NYP” or other special plates should disclose that fact to the associate managing editor for news administration or the deputy editorial page editor. Staff members whose duties do not require special plates must return them.
27. Staff members may not record conversations without the prior consent of all parties to the conversations. Even where the law allows recording with only one party aware of it, the practice is a deception. Masthead editors may make rare exceptions to this prohibition in places where recordings made secretly are legal.

### Accepting Hospitality from Sources

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28. The Times pays the expenses when its representatives entertain news sources (including government officials) or travel to cover them. In some business situations and in some cultures, it may be unavoidable to accept a meal or a drink paid for by a news source. For example, a Times reporter need not decline every invitation to interview an executive over lunch in the corporation’s private dining room, where it is all but impossible to pick up the check. Whenever practical, however, the reporter should suggest dining where The Times can pay. A simple buffet of muffins and coffee at a news conference, for example, is harmless, but a staff member should not attend a breakfast or lunch held periodically for the press by a “newsmaker” unless The Times pays for the staff member’s meals.
29. Staff members may not accept free or discounted transportation and lodging except where special circumstances give us little or no choice. Among them are certain military or scientific expeditions and other trips for which alternative arrangements would be impractical — for example, a flight aboard a corporate jet during which an executive is interviewed. Staff members should consult their supervisors and the

standards editor or the deputy editorial page editor when special circumstances arise.

30. Staff members who review artistic performances or cover athletic or other events where admission is charged (for example, the New York Auto Show) may accept the press passes or tickets customarily made available. No other staff members, not even editors in the culture and sports departments, may accept free tickets. Even when paying the box office price, no staff member may use his or her Times position to request choice or hard-to-get seats unless the performance has a clear bearing on his or her job.

### Dealing with the Competition

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31. Staff members compete zealously but deal with competitors openly and honestly. We do not invent obstacles to hamstringing their efforts. When we use facts reported by another publication, we attribute them.
32. Staff members may not join teams covering news events for other organizations, and they may not accept payment from competitors for news tips. They may not be listed on the masthead of any non-Times publication, except for publications serving organizations of the sort described in paragraph 70. Common examples include a church or synagogue newsletter, an alumni magazine or a club bulletin.



33. Staff members may not accept gifts, tickets, discounts, reimbursements or other inducements from any individuals or organizations covered by The Times or likely to be covered by The Times. (Exceptions may be made for trinkets of nominal value, say, \$25 or less, such as a mug or a cap with a company logo.) Gifts should be returned with a polite explanation. A sample letter for use in such situations appears below as Appendix A.
34. Staff members may not accept employment or compensation of any sort from individuals or organizations who figure or are likely to figure in coverage they provide, edit, package or supervise.
35. Staff members may not accept anything that could be construed as a payment for favorable coverage or as an inducement to alter or forgo unfavorable coverage. They may share in reprint fees that other journalistic media pay The Times, according to the terms of our contract with the Newspaper Guild. They may also share in fees paid by non-journalistic parties for permission to reprint Times material in advertisements or promotions, though their share of those fees may not exceed \$200 an article.
36. Staff members may accept any gifts or discounts available to the general public. Normally they are also free to take advantage of conventional corporate discounts that the Times Company has offered to share with all employees (for example, corporate car rental rates). And staff members may accept free admission at museums or other benefits extended to all Times employees by virtue of the Times Company Foundation's support of various cultural institutions.
37. Staff members must be mindful, however, that large discounts — even those negotiated by the Times Company — may create the appearance of partiality, especially by those who have a hand in the coverage of the company or industry offering the discount. If General Motors, for instance, offers substantial trade discounts to all Times Company employees, the Detroit

correspondent should not accept without discussing the possible appearance of favoritism with the responsible editors. If any such discounts do raise doubts, staff members should bring them to the attention of their department heads and the standards editor or the deputy editorial page editor before accepting.

38. Unless the special terms are offered by The New York Times Company or a Times subsidiary or affiliate, staff members may not buy stock in initial public offerings through “friends and family shares” where any plausible possibility exists of a real or apparent conflict of interest. Staff members may not accept allocations from brokerage firms.

### Providing Financial or Other Advice

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39. It is an inherent conflict for a Times staff member to perform public relations work, paid or unpaid. Staff members may not advise individuals or organizations how to deal successfully with the news media (though they may of course explain the paper’s normal workings and steer outsiders to the appropriate Times person). They may not, for example, advise candidates for public office, write or edit annual reports or contribute to the programs of sports teams. They should not take part in public relations workshops that charge admission or imply privileged access to Times people, or participate in surveys asking their opinion of an organization’s press relations or public image. They are free, however, to offer reasonable help to institutions such as their child’s school, a small museum, a community charity or their house of worship. (See paragraph 70 for a fuller discussion of permissible participation.)
40. Staff members may not serve as ghost writers or co-authors for individuals who figure or are likely to figure in coverage they provide, edit, package or supervise. They may not undertake such assignments for organizations that espouse a cause.

- 41.** Staff members may not engage in financial counseling (except in the articles they write). They may not manage money for others, proffer investment advice, or operate or help operate an investment company of any sort, with or without pay. They may not do anything that would require registration as an investment adviser. They may, however, help family members with ordinary financial planning and serve as executors or administrators of estates of relatives and friends and as court-appointed conservators and guardians.

### Speaking Engagements

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- 42.** The Times freely acknowledges that outside appearances can enhance the reputation of its bylines and serve the paper's interests. Nevertheless, no staff member may appear before an outside group if the appearance could reasonably create an actual or apparent conflict of interest or undermine public trust in the paper's impartiality. No staff member who takes part in a broadcast, Webcast, public forum or panel discussion may write or edit news articles about that event.
- 43.** Staff members should be especially sensitive to the appearance of partiality when they address groups that might figure in coverage they provide, edit, package or supervise, especially if the setting might suggest a close relationship to the sponsoring group. Before accepting such an invitation, a staff member must consult with the standards editor or the deputy editorial page editor. Generally, a reporter recently returned from the Middle East might comfortably address a suburban synagogue or mosque but should not appear before a group that lobbies for Israel or the Arab states. A reporter who writes about the environment could appropriately speak to a garden club but not to conservation groups known for their efforts to influence public policy.
- 44.** Staff members may not accept invitations to speak before a single company (for example, the Citigroup executive retreat)



or an industry assembly (for example, organized baseball's winter meeting) unless The Times decides the appearance is useful and will not damage the newspaper's reputation for impartiality. In that case, The Times will pay expenses; no speaker's fee should be accepted. Staff members invited to make such appearances should consult their supervisors and the standards editor or the deputy editorial page editor.

45. Staff members should not accept invitations to speak where their function is to attract customers to an event primarily intended as profit-making.
46. Staff members may accept speaking fees, honorariums, expense reimbursement and free transportation only from educational or other nonprofit groups for which lobbying and political activity are not a major focus. If a speaking fee exceeds \$5,000, the staff member must consult the standards editor, the associate managing editor for news administration or the deputy editorial page editor before accepting.
47. Staff members who accept fees, honorariums or expenses for speaking engagements must file with the associate managing editor for news administration or the deputy editorial page editor by January 31 of each year an accounting of the previous year's appearances. If their fees total less than \$5,000, no annual accounting is required. Fees earned under Times auspices for promotional or other approved purposes need not be included.
48. Staff members who write books and want to promote them must give their supervisor a schedule of proposed appearances. They may accept routine expenses and fees in promotional appearances, but they must make every effort to ensure that their appearances conform to the spirit of these guidelines and do not interfere with their responsibilities to the paper. If they have doubts about an appearance, they must consult their supervisor and the standards editor or the deputy editorial page editor.

- 49.** Speeches and other outside endeavors by staff members, paid or unpaid, should not imply that they carry the endorsement of The Times (unless they do). To the contrary, the staff member should gracefully remind the audience that the views expressed are his or her own. Outside commitments should not interfere with the speaker's responsibilities at The Times. Thus no staff member should agree to an extensive speaking schedule without approval from a supervisor.

### Competitions and Contests

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- 50.** Staff members may not enter competitions sponsored by individuals or groups who have a direct interest in the tenor of Times coverage. They may not act as judges for these competitions or accept their awards. Common examples are contests sponsored by commercial, political or professional associations to judge coverage of their affairs. The standards editor or the deputy editorial page editor may make exceptions for competitions underwritten by corporate sponsors if broad in scope and independently judged, such as the University of Missouri awards for consumer journalism, long sponsored by J.C. Penney.
- 51.** Staff members may compete in competitions sponsored by groups whose members are all journalists or whose members demonstrably have no direct interest in the tenor of coverage of the field being judged. Times staff members may act as judges for such competitions and accept their awards. For example, a staff member may enter a university-sponsored competition for coverage of economic or foreign affairs but not accept an advocacy group's prize for outstanding environmental coverage.
- 52.** This prohibition on taking part in sponsored competitions applies to film festivals or awards in which critics are asked to vote and to such competitions as the Tony Awards, the Heisman Trophy, most valuable player and rookie of the year honors

and admission to sports halls of fame. Cooperation of this sort puts the paper's independence into question.

53. A current list of some competitions that The Times has approved is posted on the Newsroom home page under Policies. Staff members who would like to enter others should consult their supervisors and the standards editor or the deputy editorial page editor. A critical factor in approving a competition, whatever its sponsorship, is a record of arm's-length decisions, including a willingness to honor critical reporting.
54. Staff members who win unsought awards from groups that do not meet the criteria established here should decline politely. A sample reply appears below as Appendix B.
55. Normally staff members are free to accept honorary degrees, medals and other awards from colleges, universities and other educational institutions. Those who cover higher education or supervise that coverage should be sensitive to any appearance of coziness or favoritism. Those in doubt should consult the standards editor or the deputy editorial page editor.

### The Use of Borrowed Equipment

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56. Staff members who borrow equipment, vehicles or other goods for evaluation or review must return the borrowed items as soon as possible. Similarly, items borrowed to be photographed, such as fashion apparel or home furnishings, should be returned promptly.
57. Staff members may keep for their own collections — but may not sell or copy — books, recordings, tapes, compact discs and computer programs sent to them for review. Such submissions are considered press releases. Recorded or digital media, such as tapes or disks, must be destroyed or returned to the provider if not retained by the journalist; they may not be copied, given away or left where they could be carried off for illicit copying or reuse.



**Collaboration and Testimonials**

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- 58.** Staff members may not collaborate in ventures involving individuals or organizations that figure or are likely to figure in coverage they provide, edit, package or supervise. Among other things, this prohibition applies to collaborating in writing books, pamphlets, reports, scripts, scores or any other material and in making photographs or creating artwork of any sort.
- 59.** Except in reviews or columns published in *The Times* or on its Web site or appropriately voiced in authorized public appearances, staff members may not offer endorsements, testimonials or promotional blurbs for books, films, television programs or any other programs, products or ventures. Masthead editors may authorize rare exceptions (for instance, when a staff member has become expert in a field unrelated to his or her *Times* duties). This restriction does not apply when permission is given to reprint *Times* material.

- 60.** Staff members of The Times are family members and responsible citizens as well as journalists. The Times respects their educating their children, exercising their religion, voting in elections and taking active part in community affairs. Nothing in this policy is meant to infringe upon those rights. But even in the best of causes, Times staff members have a duty to avoid the appearance of a conflict. They should never invoke The Times's name in private activities.
- 61.** As noted in paragraph 6, certain of these requirements apply to all newsroom and editorial page employees, journalists and support staff alike. No newsroom or editorial employee may do anything that damages The Times's reputation for strict neutrality in reporting on politics and government. In particular, no one may wear campaign buttons or display any other sign of political partisanship while on the job. Otherwise, "staff members" in this section refers only to the professional journalists defined in paragraph 5.

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### **Voting, Campaigns and Public Issues**

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- 62.** Journalists have no place on the playing fields of politics. Staff members are entitled to vote, but they must do nothing that might raise questions about their professional neutrality or that of The Times. In particular, they may not campaign for, demonstrate for, or endorse candidates, ballot causes or efforts to enact legislation. They may not wear campaign buttons or themselves display any other insignia of partisan politics. They should recognize that a bumper sticker on the family car or a campaign sign on the lawn may be misread as theirs, no matter who in their household actually placed the sticker or the sign.
- 63.** Staff members may not themselves give money to, or raise money for, any political candidate or election cause. Given the ease of Internet access to public records of campaign contributors, any political giving by a Times staff member would carry a great risk of feeding a false impression that the paper is taking sides.

64. No staff member may seek public office anywhere. Seeking or serving in public office plainly violates the professional detachment expected of a journalist. It poses a risk of having the staff member's political views imputed to The Times, and it can sow a suspicion of favoritism in The Times's political coverage when one of its staff is an active participant.
65. Staff members may not march or rally in support of public causes or movements, sign ads taking a position on public issues, or lend their name to campaigns, benefit dinners or similar events if doing so might reasonably raise doubts about their ability or The Times's ability to function as neutral observers in covering the news. Staff members must keep in mind that neighbors and other observers commonly see them as representatives of The Times.
66. Staff members may appear from time to time on radio and television programs devoted to public affairs, but they should avoid expressing views that go beyond what they would be allowed to say in the paper. Op-Ed columnists and editorial writers enjoy more leeway than others in speaking publicly because their business is expressing opinions. The Times nevertheless expects them to consider carefully the forums in which they appear and to protect the standards and impartiality of the newspaper as a whole.
67. Staff members must be sensitive that perfectly proper political activity by their spouses, family or companions may nevertheless create conflicts of interest or the appearance of conflict. When such a possibility arises, the staff member should advise his or her department head and the standards editor or the deputy editorial page editor. Depending on circumstances, the staff member may have to recuse himself or herself from certain coverage or even move to a job unrelated to the activities in question.



68. A staff member with any doubts about a proposed political activity should consult the standards editor or the deputy editorial page editor. These restrictions protect the heart of our mission as journalists. Though The Times will consider matters case by case, it will be exceedingly cautious before permitting an exception.

### Community Service

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69. Staff members may not serve on government boards or commissions, paid or unpaid. They may not join boards of trustees, advisory committees or similar groups except those serving journalistic organizations or otherwise promoting journalism education. Those in doubt about such activities should consult their supervisors and the standards editor or the deputy editorial page editor. Depending on circumstances, exceptions may be made to permit staff members to serve their alma mater (or their children's alma mater) as a trustee or visitor at schools that seldom if ever generate news of interest to The Times.
70. The Times has no wish to impede good community citizenship. Normally the restriction on joining trustee boards or advisory committees will not apply to organizations that are highly unlikely to generate news of interest to The Times and that do not generally seek to shape public policy. These typically include houses of worship, community charities, local libraries, fine arts groups, hobby groups, youth athletic leagues, country clubs and alumni groups. Within reason staff members may help such groups with relatively modest fundraising. They should not play a leading role or ever lead a donor to expect a favor in return. They should never solicit anyone with whom they or The Times has professional dealings. Those in any doubt about what is permissible should consult the standards editor or the deputy editorial page editor.

71. Staff members may not solicit funds for political, social, religious, educational, philanthropic or other causes that reach beyond the sorts of groups described in paragraph 70. Doing so could create an expectation of a favor in return. Staff members should think carefully about their own contributions to various causes, bearing in mind the need for neutrality on divisive issues. Those in doubt about contributions should consult their supervisors and the standards editor or the deputy editorial page editor.

72. The Times treats advertisers as fairly and openly as it treats readers and news sources. The relationship between The Times and advertisers rests on the understanding, long observed in all departments, that news and advertising are strictly separate — that those who deal with either one have distinct obligations and interests and neither group will try to influence the other.
73. Members of the news department should maintain their disinterest and objectivity by avoiding discussions of advertising needs, goals and problems except where those needs or problems are directly related to the business of the news department. In many instances, for example, the news and advertising departments may properly confer on the layout and configuration of the paper or the timing of special sections.
74. When authorized by the executive editor, members of the news staff may take part in interdepartmental committees on problems that affect several departments, including news. As far as possible they should leave advertising issues to colleagues from the business side.
75. From time to time, when authorized by the executive editor or the editorial page editor, staff members may take part in events organized by The Times for marketing or promotion. But they should stick to their expertise and refrain from saying anything that sounds like a sales pitch.
76. No one in the news department below the masthead level (except when authorized by the executive editor) may exchange information with the advertising department or with advertisers about the timing or content of advertising, the timing or content of articles or the assignment of staff or freelance writers, editors, artists, designers or photographers.



77. The Times's good name does not belong to any of us. No one has a right to expropriate it for private purposes.
78. Staff members may not use Times identification cards for purposes not connected with Times employment. Cards may not be used to obtain special treatment or advantage from governmental, commercial or other organizations (except when the card is required for a benefit available to all Times Company employees by virtue of its foundation's charitable relationships, such as free admission to the Metropolitan Museum).
79. Staff members may not use Times stationery, business cards, forms or other materials for any purpose except the business of the newspaper.

## Speaking for The Times

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80. Staff members must not disclose confidential information about the operations, policies or plans of The Times or its corporate affiliates.
81. Department heads and masthead executives may authorize other staff members to comment publicly on policies or plans within the staff members' areas of responsibility and expertise. If staff members are approached by other media or other outsiders to discuss Times content or policy, they should refer the questioners to a masthead executive or the corporate communications department.
82. Staff members are free to discuss their own activities in public, provided their comments do not create an impression that they lack journalistic impartiality or speak for The Times.
83. None of these restrictions should be interpreted as barring a staff member from responding openly and honestly to any reasonable inquiry from a reader about that staff member's work. If a reader asks for a correction, that request should be passed promptly to a supervisor. If the request threatens legal action or appears to be from a lawyer, the complaint should be promptly referred to the legal department through a department head.

- 84.** Any staff member intending to write or assemble a nonfiction book based on material that derives from his or her assignment or beat must notify The Times in advance, so The Times can decide whether to make a competitive bid to publish the work. In this regard, staff members cannot accept or entertain any sort of preemptory bid from an outside publisher before allowing The Times to consider the project. Staff members are required to inform The Times of any such project or proposal, in writing, by sending a letter or e-mail to their department head, as well as to the standards editor or the deputy editorial page editor. The notification should include any information about the anticipated time frame of the project, including (if applicable) the time frame that an outside publisher has set for bidding on the project.
- 85.** Within a reasonable period, taking into account the time frame for the project, The Times will inform the staff member in writing whether it wants to compete for the project. If it does, The Times will provide the staff member with a competitive bid. In the end, the staff member and his or her agent have no obligation to accept The Times's offer. This process is intended to assure The Times a seat at the table in any negotiations, including auctions, involving books based on materials derived from a Times assignment or beat.
- 86.** These guidelines do not apply to book proposals or projects that involve the reproduction of articles, columns, photographs, artwork or other material created by staff members and published in The Times or on nytimes.com. The Times owns such material outright, and no such material may be reproduced elsewhere without the prior written permission of The Times, nor may it be rewritten, updated or otherwise altered and then republished without The Times's prior written permission. Staff members are often approached by agents, producers, studios or others seeking rights to Times material. Such inquiries must be forwarded immediately to the standards editor or to the deputy editorial page editor and to the legal department. If a staff member represented by the

Newspaper Guild has questions about rights to payment for reprints of articles that the staff member has written, he or she should refer to The Times's collective bargaining agreement with the Guild. In general, this agreement calls for a 50/50 split of the fees involved.

- 87.** In contemplating book projects — or other outside endeavors — staff members must never give an impression they might benefit financially from the outcome of news events. Staff members may not negotiate with any outside person or entity for any rights to an article or story idea before the article has run in The Times. Staff members involved in covering a running story may not negotiate over books, articles, films, programs or media projects of any sort based on that coverage until that news has played out, unless they have written permission in advance from the standards editor or the deputy editorial page editor.
- 88.** No staff member may serve as a ghost writer or co-author for individuals who figure or are likely to figure in coverage they provide, edit, package or supervise.
- 89.** No staff member will be given a leave of absence, paid or unpaid, to write a book without the explicit permission of the executive editor or the editorial page editor. Ideally, a staff member who feels he or she will need to leave to complete a book project should inform The Times of the intention to seek a leave at the same time he or she first makes the book project available for consideration by The Times. A decision to grant or deny a request for a book leave — like requests for most other leaves of absence — will be based on many factors, including previous book leaves or accommodations the newspaper has granted to the staff member; the impact the leave will have on departmental staffing needs, and the degree to which The Times believes the book project will accrue to the newspaper's interests. If a staff member represented by the Newspaper Guild has a question about a leave of absence, he or she should refer to The Times's collective bargaining agreement with the Guild.



- 90.** At no time may a staff member turn over notes, interviews, documents or other working materials to any third party, including agents, producers, studios or outside production agencies, or share those materials with them unless legally compelled to do so. Staff members are advised that in such circumstances, The Times's legal department will provide assistance. (Those represented by the Guild should refer to their collective bargaining agreement for the parameters of that assistance.) As a matter of policy, The Times will not give commercial producers or publishers access to working materials any more than it would turn them over to government prosecutors for use in court.
- 91.** This paragraph applies only to television and film: Staff members offered "consulting" agreements by agents, producers, studios or others must consult the standards editor or the deputy editorial page editor before accepting. No staff member may serve as a consultant to a film or program that he or she knows in advance is tendentious or clearly distorts the underlying facts. In no case should a consulting role be described in a way that invokes The Times or implies its endorsement or participation.

92. Staff members are generally entitled to accept freelance assignments that do not directly compete with The Times's own offerings. Normally, work for competitors will not be permitted. When allowed in rare instances, permission will be limited to cases in which The Times is not interested in assigning the staff member a similar piece or project.
93. The Times competes in a far larger arena today than in the past. The printed paper remains our flagship, as does The International Herald Tribune internationally, but we reach an audience of millions through The New York Times on the Web. We are learning to translate our journalism into outstanding television. We publish numerous books, both original and drawn from past articles; we offer archival photos of museum quality. We deliver The New York Times in its complete form via the Web. Our bedrock mission is to serve a high-quality audience that values Times journalism, relying on any appropriate medium.
94. Competitors include any newspaper, magazine or other media of publication, regardless of form, with an editorial focus on either New York City or general-interest news and information. If the competitive status of a publication, Web site or TV production is unclear, a staff member should consult with the standards editor or the deputy editorial page editor.
95. Staff members are encouraged (but not required) to offer their freelance work to The Times or, in the case of a Web site, to The New York Times on the Web before trying to sell it elsewhere. The Times offers a number of outlets for work for which a staff member is paid extra, including the Times Magazine, the Week in Review, the Book Review and special sections. (As paragraph 84 requires of book proposals, any freelance material that derives from a Times assignment or beat must first be offered to The Times before a staff member offers it elsewhere.)

96. Staff members must ensure that their freelance work does not interfere with their responsibilities to The Times and that it is consistent with these policies and guidelines. If any doubt exists, they must consult their supervisors and the standards editor or the deputy editorial page editor before accepting outside assignments.
97. Before accepting a freelance assignment, a staff member should make sure that the tone and content of the publication, Web site or program are in keeping with the standards of The Times. In general, a staff member should write nothing elsewhere that could not fit comfortably under his or her byline in The Times or that implies The Times's sponsorship or endorsement. An outside publication, program or Web site may identify staff members by their Times positions but only in a routine way.
98. Because their primary identification is with The Times, staff members who accept freelance assignments should adhere to these guidelines in carrying out those assignments. For example, a staff member on freelance assignment may not accept compensation, expenses, discounts, gifts or other inducements from a news source. Similarly, staff members who establish their own sites on the World Wide Web must insure that their online conduct conforms to these guidelines.
99. Frequency matters. Freelance work might create a conflict of interest if it is pursued with such regularity that it interferes with Times assignments or compromises the integrity or independence of The Times. Freelancing might also create a conflict if it identifies a staff member as closely with another publication or Web site as with The Times. A business reporter who wrote a column in every issue of a trade magazine might soon become more identified with that magazine than with The Times. A critic writing regularly for an arts magazine might foster the impression that The Times was not his or her prime responsibility. The use of a pseudonym does not alter the obligation to comply with this provision.



100. A regular contribution to an outside enterprise is permissible if it does not interfere with or flow from Times responsibilities or involve intellectual matter owed to The Times and its readers. Examples of acceptable affiliations might be a foreign desk copy editor who writes a monthly column on stamp-collecting or a mapmaker working as a freelance illustrator. Staff members considering such continuing ventures should confer with their supervisors and with the standards editor or the deputy editorial page editor.

- 101.** Staff members may participate in radio, television or Internet interviews or discussions, paid or unpaid, that deal with articles they have written or subjects that figure in the coverage they provide, edit, package or supervise. Such occasional appearances must not imply that they carry the sponsorship or endorsement of The Times (unless they do). Staff members should be careful about the use of their names and that of the newspaper in materials promoting the appearances. As a courtesy, they should let their department head know about their plans to appear.
- 102.** In deciding whether to make a radio, television or Internet appearance, a staff member should consider its probable tone and content to make sure they are consistent with Times standards. Staff members should avoid strident, theatrical forums that emphasize punditry and reckless opinion-mongering. Instead, we should offer thoughtful and retrospective analysis. Generally a staff member should not say anything on radio, television or the Internet that could not appear under his or her byline in The Times.
- 103.** New York Times Television draws on the paper's staff in producing programs for broadcast on its partly owned channel, DiscoveryTimes, and on networks and channels owned by outside parties, such as Public Television and the Discovery Channel. Staff members may not appear on broadcasts that compete directly with The Times's own offerings on television or the Internet. They may not accept assignments from the Times's TV clients or potential clients without its approval. As the paper moves further into these new fields, its direct competitors and clients or potential clients will undoubtedly grow in number. A staff member who has any doubt about the status of a particular program should consult the standards editor or the deputy editorial page editor.
- 104.** Appearances might create a conflict of interest if they come so regularly that they interfere with Times assignments or compromise the integrity or independence of The Times.

They might also create a conflict if they identify a staff member as closely with a radio or television program or a Web site as with The Times. A Washington reporter who appeared weekly on a television program might soon become more known for that program than for work done for The Times. Occasional appearances on the same program would not run that risk.

- 105.** Staff members who want to promote their books through broadcast appearances must conform to the requirements set out in paragraph 48.



- 106.** In a day when most families balance two careers, the legitimate activities of companions, spouses and other relatives can sometimes create journalistic conflicts of interest or the appearance of conflicts. They can crop up in civic or political life, professional pursuits and financial activity. A spouse or companion who runs for public office would obviously create the appearance of conflict for a political reporter or an editor involved in election coverage. A brother or a daughter in a high-profile job on Wall Street might produce the appearance of conflict for a business reporter or editor.
- 107.** To avoid such conflicts, staff members may not write about people to whom they are related by blood or marriage or with whom they have close personal relationships, or edit material about such people or make news judgments about them. For similar reasons, staff members should not recruit or directly supervise family members or close friends. Some exceptions are permissible — in a foreign bureau, for instance, where a married couple form a team, or in the case of an article by a food writer profiling her brother the Yankee star, where the kinship is of genuine news interest.

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#### Disclosure of Possible Conflicts

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- 108.** Staff members must be sensitive to these possibilities. Any staff member who sees a potential for conflict or a threat to the paper's reputation in the activities of spouse, friends or relatives must discuss the situation with his or her supervising editor and the standards editor or the deputy editorial page editor.
- 109.** In some cases, disclosure is enough. But if The Times considers the problem serious, the staff member may have to withdraw from certain coverage. Sometimes an assignment may have to be modified or a beat changed. In a few instances, a staff member may have to move to a different department — from business and financial news, say, to the culture desk — to avoid the appearance of conflict.

- 110.** Although this policy necessarily imposes restraints, The Times has no wish to intrude upon the private lives of its staff members and their families. Nothing in this document seeks to prohibit a companion, spouse or other relative of a Times staff member from taking part in any political, financial, commercial, religious or civic activity. The Times understands that friends and relatives of its staff have every right to pursue full and active lives, personally and professionally. If restrictions are necessary, they fall on the Times employee. But any attempt to disguise a staff member's participation in prohibited activity by using a relative's name or any other alias (or by acting anonymously) violates this guideline.
- 111.** In all cases The Times depends on staff members to disclose potential problems in a timely fashion so that we can work together to prevent embarrassment for staff members and The Times.

- 112.** Every member of the Times staff must be constantly vigilant against any appearance that he or she is abusing nonpublic information for financial gain. That imperative applies to all departments.
- 113.** Though staff members must necessarily accept certain limits on their freedom to invest, this policy leaves a broad range of investments open to them. Any staff member, regardless of assignment, is free to own diversified mutual funds, money market funds and other diversified investments that the reporter or editor cannot control. Any member also may own treasury bills, investment-grade municipal bonds, debt securities other than speculative bonds, and securities issued by the New York Times Company. And staff members are of course free to own stocks entirely unrelated to their Times assignment.
- 114.** No staff member may own stock or have any other financial interest in a company, enterprise or industry that figures or is likely to figure in coverage that he or she provides, edits, packages or supervises regularly. A book editor, for example, may not invest in a publishing house, a health writer in a pharmaceutical company or a Pentagon reporter in a mutual fund specializing in defense stocks. For this purpose an industry is defined broadly; for example, a reporter responsible for any segment of media coverage may not own any media stock. “Stock” should be read to include futures, options, rights, and speculative debt, as well as “sector” mutual funds (those focused on one industry).
- 115.** Staff members may not buy or sell securities or make other investments in anticipation of forthcoming articles that originate with The Times. In general, staff members must refrain from acting on such information before noon Eastern time the day of print publication. This restriction does not apply to spot news that first appears on wire services or that originates elsewhere. That information is public.

**Affirming Good-Faith Compliance**

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- 116.** Staff members in any department will be asked when hired to affirm that they have no investments that would violate paragraph 114 with respect to the assignment they are being given. If a new staff member is unable to make this affirmation, the staff member may choose to sell the conflicting holding. (See paragraph 128.) If not, he or she must be given a different assignment where no such conflict exists.
  
- 117.** Staff members should be acutely sensitive that the investments and business interests of their spouse, family and companions may create real or apparent conflicts of interest by raising questions of favoritism. Staff members will be asked when hired to affirm that to the best of their knowledge no spouse, family member or companion has financial holdings that might reasonably raise doubts about the impartiality of the staff member's reporting or editing in his or her proposed assignment. Depending on circumstances, the new staff member may have to recuse himself or herself from certain coverage or accept an alternative assignment unrelated to the holdings in question.
  
- 118.** The associate managing editor for news administration or the deputy editorial page editor may from time to time ask staff members in any department to affirm that they have no investments in violation of paragraph 114. Such a request might be expected, for example, when a staff member is about to begin a new assignment or work on a particularly sensitive article.
  
- 119.** Similarly, staff members may be asked on occasion to affirm that to the best of their knowledge no spouse, family member or companion has financial holdings that might reasonably raise doubts about the impartiality of the staff member's reporting or editing. If and when such conditions come up, the staff member must alert his or her department head and the standards editor. Depending on circumstances,



the staff member may have to recuse himself or herself from certain coverage or even to move to a job unrelated to the holdings.

- 120.** If a reporter who owns stock in a company outside his or her regular beat is assigned to write an article about that company or its industry, the reporter must discuss the investment with the assigning editor before beginning the work. Similarly, editors assigned to major articles or a series about companies or industries in which they have investments must advise their supervisors of potential conflicts before beginning the editing. In many instances it will be perfectly permissible for the work to proceed, but the reporter or editor who works on such an article or series may not buy or sell stock in the company or industry until two weeks after publication.

### **Business-Financial, Technology and Media News**

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- 121.** Staff members in business-financial news regularly work with sensitive information that affects financial prices. Because of that sensitivity, they are subject to additional and stricter requirements. Staff members in technology news and media news are subject to the same rules as those in business-financial news, for the same reason.
- 122.** Members of these three departments may not play the market. That is, they may not conduct in-and-out trading (buying and selling the same security within three months). They may not buy or sell options or futures or sell securities short. Any of these actions could create the appearance that a staff member was speculating by exploiting information not available to the public.
- 123.** In special circumstances — a family financial crisis, for example — the associate managing editor for news administration may waive the three-month holding period.

124. Supervising editors in business-financial, technology or media news should be especially cautious in investing because they may reasonably expect to become involved in the coverage of virtually any company at any time. Their counterparts in other departments should be equally sensitive to possible conflicts in supervising coverage of companies in their domain.
125. Because of the sensitivity of their assignments, some business-financial staff members may not own stock in any company (other than the New York Times Company). These include the Market Place writer, other market columnists, the regular writer of the daily stock market column, reporters regularly assigned to mergers and acquisitions, the daily markets editor, the Sunday investing editor, the Sunday Business editor, the business and financial editor and his or her deputies.
126. Masthead editors and other editors who play a principal part in deciding the display of business and financial news, including its display on Page 1, may not own stock in any company (other than the New York Times Company).
127. The editorial page editor, the deputy editorial page editor and the Op-Ed editor may not own stock in any company (other than the New York Times Company). Nor may editorial writers and Op-Ed columnists regularly assigned to write about business, finance or economics.

### Transitional Arrangements

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128. A staff member who owns stock and moves into an assignment where such holdings are not permitted must sell the stock. Those who are newly barred from owning stock of any sort (for example, on being promoted to deputy business and financial editor) may dispose of their shares in phases, following a reasonable plan worked out with the associate managing editor for news administration. But the phase-out does not apply to reporters or editors who own shares in specific industries they are newly assigned to cover. For instance, it is manifestly

untenable for a new Automobiles editor to own stock in an auto company, so divestiture must be prompt.

- 129.** Whenever this document requires the sale of stock holdings, a staff member can satisfy the requirement by putting the shares into a blind trust (or into an equivalent financial arrangement that meets the same goal: preventing an individual from knowing at any given time the specific holdings in the account and blocking the individual from controlling the timing of transactions in such holdings). If The Times assigns a staff member to a new job where mandatory divestiture would impose an undue hardship, The Times will reimburse the staff member for the reasonable costs of setting up a blind trust.

#### **Annual Filing by Ranking Editors**

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- 130.** To avoid an appearance of conflict, certain editors must annually affirm to the chief financial officer of The Times Company that they have no financial holdings in violation of paragraphs 125-127 or any other provision of these guidelines. They include the executive editor, the managing editor, deputy and assistant managing editors, associate managing editors, the business and financial editor, his or her deputies and the Sunday Business editor. They also include the editorial page editor, the deputy editorial page editor and the Op-Ed editor.

### Sports

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- 131.** To avoid an appearance of bias, no member of the sports department may gamble on any sports event, except for occasional recreational wagering on horse racing (or dog racing or jai alai). This exception does not apply to staff members who cover such racing or regularly edit that coverage.
- 132.** Except as provided in paragraph 30, members of the sports department may not accept tickets, travel expenses, meals, gifts or any other benefit from teams or promoters.
- 133.** Sports reporters assigned to cover games may not serve as scorers. Members of the sports department may not take part in voting for the Heisman Trophy, most valuable player and rookie of the year awards, entry into the Baseball Hall of Fame or similar honors.

### Culture, Styles, Dining

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- 134.** The Times has exceptional influence in such fields as theater, music, art, dance, publishing, fashion and the restaurant industry. We are constantly scrutinized for the slightest whiff of favoritism. Therefore staff members working in those areas have a special duty to guard against conflicts of interest or the appearance of conflict.
- 135.** Reporters, reviewers, critics and their editors in the Book Review, the Times Magazine and the cultural news, media news and styles departments, beyond abiding by the other provisions of this document, may not help others develop, market or promote artistic, literary or other creative endeavors.
- 136.** They may not suggest agents, publishers, producers or galleries to aspiring authors, playwrights, composers or artists. They may not suggest chefs to restaurant owners or designers to clothing manufacturers. They may not recommend authors, playwrights, composers or other artists to agents, publishers, producers or galleries.



- 137.** They may not offer suggestions or ideas to people who figure or are likely to figure in coverage they provide, edit, package or supervise. They may not invest in productions that figure or are likely to figure in their coverage. (Food writers and editors may not invest in restaurants.) They may not comment, even informally, on works in progress before those works are reviewed.
- 138.** They may not serve on advisory boards, awards juries, study committees or other panels organized by the people they cover or whose coverage they supervise. They may not accept awards from such people. And they may not request extra copies of books, tapes or other materials that are routinely submitted for review.
- 139.** An arts writer or editor who owns art of exhibition quality (and thus has a financial stake in the reputation of the artist) may inspire questions about the impartiality of his or her critical judgments or editing decisions. Thus members of the culture staff who collect valuable objects in the visual arts (paintings, photographs, sculpture, crafts and the like) must annually submit a list of their acquisitions and sales to the associate managing editor for news administration.
- 140.** The Times recognizes that members of its talented staff write books, operas and plays; create sculpture, and give recitals. It further recognizes that such projects require commercial arrangements to come to fruition. A writer requires a publisher, a playwright a production company.
- 141.** Nevertheless those commercial ties can be a breeding ground for favoritism, actual or perceived. Staff members who enter into such arrangements must disclose them to their supervisors, who may require them to withdraw from coverage of the parties involved. Staff members who have a publisher or a movie contract, for example, must be exceedingly sensitive to any appearance of bias in covering other publishers or studios. Those with any doubts about a proposed arrangement should consult the standards editor or the deputy editorial page editor.

- 142.** Certain positions, such as those of the Book Review editor and the culture editor, have such potential for conflicts that those editors may not enter into any commercial arrangements with publishers, studios, or other arts producers without the executive editor's written approval.

### **Art, Pictures, Technology**

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- 143.** Beyond honoring all the other provisions of this document, Times photographers, picture editors, art directors, lab personnel and technology editors and reporters may not accept gifts of equipment, programs or materials from manufacturers or vendors. They may not endorse equipment, programs or materials, or offer advice on product design. This guideline is not meant to restrict The Times from working with vendors to improve its systems or equipment.
- 144.** With the approval of the picture editor, the design director, the technology editor or the Circuits editor, staff members may test equipment or materials on loan from manufacturers or vendors, provided such tests are properly monitored. The equipment or materials should be returned promptly after testing unless purchased by The Times.

### **Automobiles**

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- 145.** It is our policy that no one may test drive or review a vehicle for The Times unless the paper is paying the vehicle's owner the normal market rental or its equivalent. Rare exceptions may occur when an equivalent rent is largely hypothetical, as with military vehicles, vintage autos or race cars.
- 146.** Reviewers should carry out their testing expeditiously and return the vehicle promptly. A reasonable amount of personal use is permissible provided that the use contributes to the review.

**Travel****13****Rules for Specialized Departments**

- 147.** No writer or editor for the Travel section, whether on assignment or not, may accept free or discounted services of any sort from any element of the travel industry. This includes hotels, resorts, restaurants, tour operators, airlines, railways, cruise lines, rental car companies and tourist attractions. (See also paragraph 33, which applies to all staff members.) This prohibition applies to the free trips commonly awarded in raffles at travel industry events. It does not apply, however, to routinely accumulated frequent-flyer points.
- 148.** Travel editors who deal with non-staff contributors have a special obligation to guard against conflicts of interest or the appearance of conflict. They must bear in mind that it is our policy not to give Travel assignments to freelance writers who have previously accepted free services. Depending on circumstances, the Travel editor may make rare exceptions, for example, for a writer who ceased the practice years ago or who has reimbursed his or her host for services previously accepted. It is also our policy not to give Travel assignments to anyone who represents travel suppliers or who works for a government tourist office or as a publicist of any sort. The Travel editor may make rare exceptions, for example, for a writer widely recognized as an expert in a particular culture.
- 149.** Writers on assignment for Travel must conceal their Times affiliation. The validity of their work depends on their experiencing the same conditions as an ordinary tourist or consumer. If the Times affiliation becomes known, the writer must discuss with an editor whether the reporting to that point can be salvaged. On rare occasions, the affiliation may be disclosed, for example, when a special permit is required to enter a closed area.
- 150.** No Travel writer may write about any travel service or product offered by a family member or close friend. (See paragraph 107.)
- 151.** These rules also apply to writers and editors for Weekend, Escapes, Sophisticated Traveler and the like.

# 14

## Dealing with Outside Contributors

- 152.** Times readers apply exacting standards to the entire paper. They do not distinguish between staff written articles and those written by outsiders. Thus as far as possible, freelance contributors to The Times, while not its employees, will be held to the same standards as staff members when they are on Times assignments, including those for the Times Magazine. If they violate these guidelines, they will be denied further assignments.
- 153.** Before being given an assignment, freelance contributors must sign a contract with The Times. These contracts oblige them to take care to avoid conflicts of interests or the appearance of conflict. Specifically, in connection with work for The Times, freelancers will not accept free transportation, free lodging, gifts, junkets, commissions or assignments from current or potential news sources. In addition, they will publish no similar article in a competing publication (see paragraph 94) within 14 days unless The Times approves.
- 154.** The contracts' concise provisions cannot cover every circumstance that might arise. Assigning editors should ensure that contributors are aware of this document and to the greatest extent possible, in fact honor its provisions while on assignment for The Times. Any disagreement over whether a specific provision applies to outside contributors should be resolved before the assignment proceeds.
- 155.** Assigning editors in business and financial news who deal with non-staff contributors have a special duty to guard against conflicts of interest or the appearance of conflict. To the extent possible, assigning editors should ensure that outside contributors meet the strict standards outlined in Section 12 above for the business and financial news staff.



### Sample letter declining a gift

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Dear XXXXXXXXXX,

Your recent gift came as a pleasant surprise. I appreciate your thinking of me.

But the gift puts me in an awkward position. The New York Times bars its reporters and editors from accepting anything of value from the people or groups they cover. The paper does not want to risk the perception that it will cover a subject more thoroughly or skew its coverage of controversial subjects because interested parties have expressed appreciation for its efforts.

So I must return your gift with thanks. I hope you understand our position, and I thank you for your thoughtfulness.

Sincerely,

## Appendix B

### Sample letter declining an unsolicited award

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Dear XXXXXXXXXX,

Your recent letter informing me that I'd been selected to receive an award from XXXXXXXXX came as a pleasant surprise. I appreciate the sentiment behind the award.

But your decision puts me in an awkward position. The New York Times bars its reporters and editors from accepting awards conferred by groups that have an interest in the subjects covered by the award recipients. The paper does not want to risk the perception that it will cover a subject more thoroughly or skew its coverage of controversial subjects because interested parties have applauded its efforts.

So I must decline your award with thanks. I hope you and your colleagues understand our position.

Thank you again for your kind words.

Sincerely,

Letter of understanding with the Newspaper Guild of New York

**The New York Times**  
229 WEST 43RD STREET  
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10036

JAY I. SABIN, ESQ.  
Vice President  
Labor Relations

Tel: 212 556-7893  
Fax: 212 556-6601  
E-mail: jsa@nytimes.com

July 28, 2004

Mr. Barry F. Lipton  
President  
Newspaper Guild of New York  
1501 Broadway, Suite 708  
New York, New York 10036

Re: Ethical Journalism

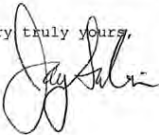
Dear Barry:

This will confirm our understanding reached during recent negotiations concerning the newsroom conflict of interest policy entitled "Ethical Journalism."

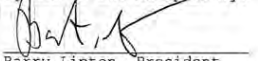
We have agreed that Guild-related activities and Guild-sponsored member benefits and discounts shall be excluded from the limitations on employee conduct contained in Paragraphs 33 (Guild benefits/discounts); 34 (Guild employment/compensation); 39 (Guild public relations); 42 (appearances at Guild meetings); 62 (Guild campaign buttons); 69 (Guild trustees); and wherever else they may be referenced in the policy. In addition, with respect to the monetary caps referenced in Paragraphs 35, 46 and 47, The Times agrees to discuss with the Guild, from time to time, whether such figures should be revised.

We have also agreed to discuss with the Guild any growth in the number of New York Times' competitors, clients or potential clients insofar as such growth relates to the application of Paragraph 103. In addition, we have agreed to discuss appropriate fee schedules for Guild covered employees who appear on television, radio or other media at the request of The Times.

Very truly yours,



Agreed To and Accepted By:



Barry Lipton, President  
Newspaper Guild of New York

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## **EXHIBIT 14**

## Standards and Ethics

core purpose professional guideline documents Guild-represented Employees

### LEADERSHIP

EXECUTIVES  
BOARD OF DIRECTORS

### CULTURE

OUR HISTORY  
**STANDARDS AND ETHICS**  
DIVERSITY  
PULITZER PRIZES

### SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

ENVIRONMENTAL STEWARDSHIP  
EDUCATIONAL INITIATIVES  
SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM  
THE NEEDIEST CASES FUND

### EARLY STAGE INVESTMENTS

The core purpose of The New York Times is to enhance society by creating, collecting and distributing high-quality news and information. Producing content of the highest quality and integrity is the basis for our reputation and the means by which we fulfill the public trust and our customers' expectations.

#### Fairness

The goal of The New York Times is to cover the news as impartially as possible — "without fear or favor," in the words of Adolph Ochs, our patriarch — and to treat readers, news sources, advertisers and others fairly and openly, and to be seen to be doing so. The reputation of The Times rests upon such perceptions, and so do the professional reputations of its staff members. Thus The Times and members of its news department and editorial page staff share an interest in avoiding conflicts of interest or an appearance of a conflict.

#### Integrity

For more than a century, men and women of The Times have jealously guarded the paper's integrity. Whatever else we contribute, our first duty is to make sure the integrity of The Times is not blemished during our stewardship. At a time of growing and even justified public suspicion about the impartiality, accuracy and integrity of some journalists and some journalism, it is imperative that The Times and its staff maintain the highest possible standards to insure that we do nothing that might erode readers' faith and confidence in our news columns. This means that the journalism we practice daily must be beyond reproach.

Because our voice is loud and far-reaching, The Times recognizes an ethical responsibility to correct all its factual errors, large and small. The paper regrets every error, but it applauds the integrity of a writer who volunteers a correction of his or her own published story. We observe the Newsroom Integrity Statement, promulgated in 1999, which deals with such rudimentary professional practices as the importance of checking facts, the exactness of quotations, the integrity of photographs and our distaste for anonymous sourcing.

#### Truth

As journalists we treat our readers, viewers, listeners and online users as fairly and openly as possible. Whatever the medium, we tell our audiences the complete, unvarnished truth as best we can learn it. We correct our errors explicitly as soon as we become aware of them. We do not wait for someone to request a correction. We publish corrections in a prominent and consistent location or broadcast time slot. Staff members who plagiarize or who knowingly or recklessly provide false information for publication betray our fundamental pact with our readers. We do not tolerate such behavior.

## Professional Guideline Documents

[Guidelines on Integrity](#) In a climate of increased scrutiny throughout the news business, these further guidelines are offered to resolve questions that sometimes arise about specific practice.

[Ethical Journalism Guidebook](#) A Handbook of Values and Practices for the News and Editorial Departments

[Editorial Standards for NYTLive](#)

[Standards of Advertising Acceptability](#) The success of advertising depends upon its credibility. No matter how technically brilliant or compelling an advertisement may be, unless readers believe it, it fails in its purpose.

[Assuring our Credibility](#) [Siegal Committee Report](#) [Preserving Our Readers' Trust](#) Bill Keller responds to the Credibility Committee's report with a variety of measures (2005)

## Guild-represented employees

The Journalism Ethics Policy posted on this site applies to all journalists at The New York Times Company and to certain other employees, as defined in December 2015, and to non-staff contributors.



**LEADERSHIP**EXECUTIVES  
BOARD OF DIRECTORS**CULTURE**OUR HISTORY  
**STANDARDS AND ETHICS**  
DIVERSITY  
PULITZER PRIZES**SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY**ENVIRONMENTAL STEWARDSHIP  
EDUCATIONAL INITIATIVES  
SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM  
THE NEEDIEST CASES FUND**EARLY STAGE INVESTMENTS****WHO WE ARE** **WHAT WE DO** **PRESS** **CAREERS** **INVESTORS** **CONNECT**

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
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**Assuring our Credibility**  **Siegel Committee Report**  **Preserving Our Readers' Trust**  Bill Keller responds to the Credibility Committee's report with a variety of measures (2005)

**Guild-represented employees**

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For Guild-represented employees, enforcement of this policy is subject to applicable collective bargaining agreements and local law.

At The New York Times newspaper, the Ethical Journalism handbook dated January 2004, which was the model for the company-wide policy, governs journalists' conduct. The two documents are highly similar, except for the more detailed company-wide provisions that concern blogging and online behavior.



## **EXHIBIT 15**

4.1: Writing the Lead	INTRO
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4.8: Writing Opinion Pieces	7
4.9: Journalism Ethics	8
4.10: Balancing Freedom and Responsibility	LINKS
4.11: The Society of Professional Journalists' Code of Ethics	

CAMPUS WEBLINES

4.11: The Society of Professional Journalists' Code of Ethics

Preamble

Members of the Society of Professional Journalists believe that public enlightenment is the forerunner of justice and the foundation of democracy. The duty of the journalist is to further those ends by seeking truth and providing a fair and comprehensive account of events and issues. Conscientious journalists from all media and specialties strive to serve the public with thoroughness and honesty. Professional integrity is the cornerstone of a journalist's credibility. Members of the Society share a dedication to ethical behavior and adopt this code to declare the Society's principles and standards of practice.

Seek Truth and Report It

Journalists should be honest, fair and courageous in gathering, reporting and interpreting information.

Journalists should:

- Test the accuracy of information from all sources and exercise care to avoid inadvertent error. Deliberate distortion is never permissible.
- Diligently seek out subjects of news articles to give them the opportunity to respond to allegations of wrongdoing.
- Identify sources whenever feasible. The public is entitled to as much information as possible on sources' reliability.
- Always question sources' motives before promising anonymity. Clarify conditions attached to any promise made in exchange for information. Keep promises.
- Make certain that headlines, news teases and promotional material, photos, video, audio, graphics, sound bites and quotations do not misrepresent. They should not oversimplify or highlight incidents out of context.
- Never distort the content of news photos or video. Image enhancement for technical clarity is always permissible. Label montages and photo illustrations.
- Avoid misleading re-enactments or staged news events. If re-enactment is necessary to tell a article, label it.
- Avoid undercover or other surreptitious methods of gathering information except when traditional open methods will not yield information vital to the public. Use of such methods should be explained as part of the article.
- Never plagiarize.
- Tell the article of the diversity and magnitude of the human experience boldly, even when it is unpopular to do so.
- Examine their own cultural values and avoid imposing those values on others.
- Avoid stereotyping by race, gender, age, religion, ethnicity, geography, sexual orientation, disability, physical appearance or social status.
- Support the open exchange of views, even views they find repugnant.
- Give voice to the voiceless; official and unofficial sources of information can be equally valid.
- Distinguish between advocacy and news reporting. Analysis and commentary should be labeled and not misrepresent fact or context.
- Distinguish news from advertising and shun hybrids that blur the lines between the two.
- Recognize a special obligation to ensure that the public's business is conducted in the open and that government records are open to inspection.

Minimize Harm

Ethical journalists treat sources, subjects and colleagues as human beings deserving of respect.

Journalists should:

- Show compassion for those who may be affected adversely by news coverage. Use special sensitivity when dealing with children

information can be equally valid.

- Distinguish between advocacy and news reporting. Analysis and commentary should be labeled and not misrepresent fact or context.

- Distinguish news from advertising and shun hybrids that blur the lines between the two.

- Recognize a special obligation to ensure that the public's business is conducted in the open and that government records are open to inspection.

#### **Minimize Harm**

Ethical journalists treat sources, subjects and colleagues as human beings deserving of respect.

Journalists should:

- Show compassion for those who may be affected adversely by news coverage. Use special sensitivity when dealing with children and inexperienced sources or subjects.

- Be sensitive when seeking or using interviews or photographs of those affected by tragedy or grief.

- Recognize that gathering and reporting information may cause harm or discomfort. Pursuit of the news is not a license for arrogance.

- Recognize that private people have a greater right to control information about themselves than do public officials and others who seek power, influence or attention. Only an overriding public need can justify intrusion into anyone's privacy.

- Show good taste. Avoid pandering to lurid curiosity.

- Be cautious about identifying juvenile suspects or victims of sex crimes.

- Be judicious about naming criminal suspects before the formal filing of charges.

- Balance a criminal suspect's fair trial rights with the public's right to be informed.

#### **Act Independently**

Journalists should be free of obligation to any interest other than the public's right to know.

Journalists should:

- Avoid conflicts of interest, real or perceived.

- Remain free of associations and activities that may compromise integrity or damage credibility.

- Refuse gifts, favors, fees, free travel and special treatment, and shun secondary employment, political involvement, public office and service in community organizations if they compromise journalistic integrity.

- Disclose unavoidable conflicts.

- Be vigilant and courageous about holding those with power accountable.

- Deny favored treatment to advertisers and special interests and resist their pressure to influence news coverage.

- Be wary of sources offering information for favors or money; avoid bidding for news.

#### **Be Accountable**

Journalists are accountable to their readers, listeners, viewers and each other.

Journalists should:

- Clarify and explain news coverage and invite dialogue with the public over journalistic conduct.

- Encourage the public to voice grievances against the news media.

- Admit mistakes and correct them promptly.

- Expose unethical practices of journalists and the news media.

- Abide by the same high standards to which they hold others.

[NEXT PAGE](#)



## **EXHIBIT 16**



**The New York Times**  @nytimes · Jun 14

Opinion: America's lethal politics



### **Opinion | America's Lethal Politics**

A sickeningly familiar pattern is emerging in the assault on members of Congress at a ball field.

[nytimes.com](https://www.nytimes.com)



200



122



230





## The New York Times

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Lists  
4

Moments  
19

Follow

### Tweets

### Tweets & replies

### Media



The New York Times · @nytimes · 2m

The story of an internet darling with a problematic past is classic Milkshake Duck

Pixelated Boat  
@pixelatedboat

The whole internet loves Milkshake Duck, a lovely duck that drinks milkshakes! \*5 seconds later\* We regret to inform you the duck is racist

Retweets  
10,146

Likes  
24,084

1:07 AM - 12 Jun 2016

81 10K 24K

#### How a Joke Becomes a Meme: The Birth of 'Milkshake Duck'

Oxford Dictionaries is keeping a close eye on a term that describes someone who rapidly gains and inevitably loses the internet's intense love. nytimes.com

2 3 13



The New York Times · @nytimes · 5m

Replying to @nytimes

Like the WannaCry attacks in May, this cyberattack takes over computers and demands digital ransom to regain control



#### New Global Cyberattack Spread From Russia to B...

The hack bore similarities to a recent one that crippled tens of thousands of machines. nytimes.com

3 42 27



The New York Times · @nytimes · 10m

A cyberattack is spreading across Europe. Experts say it's similar to the hacking that caused disruptions in May.



#### New Global Cyberattack Spread From Russia to B...

The hack bore similarities to a recent one that crippled tens of thousands of machines. nytimes.com

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@WSJ



BBC Breaking News  
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### Worldwide Trends

#NationalSunglassesDay

#FelizMartes  
2,028 Tweets

#DiaDelPeriodista  
1,400 Tweets

#LaLunaSangreTungkulin  
103K Tweets

#AdiosALasAmas  
2,234 Tweets

HOJE TEM PLL  
3,451 Tweets

Pavón  
4,552 Tweets

François de Rugy  
5,300 Tweets

Serena Williams  
18.6K Tweets

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**NYT Opinion**  
@nytopinion

Tweets  
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Following  
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Followers  
**594K**

Likes  
**3,534**

Lists  
**4**



Aaron Ross/Reuters

4 107 86



**NYT Opinion** · @nytopinion · Jun 14

Was this attack evidence of how vicious American politics has become?  
Probably. [nyti.ms/2riZ8Jl](https://nyti.ms/2riZ8Jl)



Al Drago/The New York Times

16 9 23



**NYT Opinion** · @nytopinion · Jun 14

I cannot understand why so many officials, like ducks in a row, are sacrificing  
themselves for Trump #NYTLetters [nyti.ms/2rsy6De](https://nyti.ms/2rsy6De)



Al Drago/The New York Times

27 32 99



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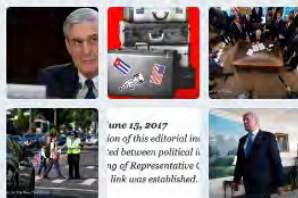
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