

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, breezy, cloudy, less humid, a possible shower; high 68. **Tonight**, cloudy, a touch of rain late, low 58. **Tomorrow**, rain, cloudy, breezy, high 62. Weather map is on Page D8.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00

NEWS ANALYSIS

Amid Losses,
Trump Turns
On the Media

Lashing at Old Target
to Provide Distraction

By ZOLAN KANNO-YOUNGS

WASHINGTON — President Trump's grabs for power kept falling short, and he appeared ready to turn to a familiar target. He had relentlessly pressured the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts to affix his name to its facade, only to be blocked by the courts. He had gone to extraordinary lengths to bully the Federal Reserve into lowering interest rates, only to have his handpicked Fed chairman join his colleagues in voting unanimously to raise borrowing costs.

Despite his attempts to talk his way out of it, the war against Iran continues to be immensely unpopular with Americans concerned with Mr. Trump's handling of the economy and high gasoline prices. The Supreme Court, including justices he appointed, blocked Mr. Trump's attempts to restrict mail-in voting.

And with the midterm elections looming, the president's political authority appears to be ebbing after years in which he dominated not just his party but also the national discourse.

So after these losses, an increasingly frustrated Mr. Trump, seeking to change the subject, has turned to a new assault on his preferred foe: the news media.

The White House on Saturday moved ahead with Mr. Trump's surprise announcement banning journalists from CNN, MS NOW and Politico from the White House, an escalation in Mr. Trump's long battle with the press.

But it also fits a pattern for Mr. Trump when he faces a political quagmire, according to former government officials and civil rights organizations: He seeks to change the narrative by mobilizing the government to crack down on those willing to question his power.

“He thinks that he can bully anyone or any entity into doing whatever he wants and he’s seen it work out for himself with the entire Republican Party bending the knee to him,” said Sarah Matthews, a deputy press secretary in Mr. Trump's first term. “He is facing pushback from the courts, the Fed, people in his own party, and he's lashing out.”

Mr. Trump has long insulted and derided the news media and sought to use the courts to crush critical coverage. But surrounded by like-minded loyalists in his return to the White House, he has gone beyond harsh statements or lawsuits.

The administration has stripped funding from public television and radio. The Pentagon

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PETE KIEHART FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



SALWAN GEORGES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



SALWAN GEORGES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

After a court order, President Trump's name was taken off the Kennedy Center, where an annex features gold-leaf portraits that include Mr. Trump. Fencing now surrounds the center after a closure.

He’s Resisting Junta That’s Ensnconced Upstairs

By VERENA HÖLZL

Half a block from Central Park, on East 77th Street, the fault lines of a faraway conflict run through a sandstone townhouse.

The top two floors of this five-story structure are occupied by officials who answer to Myanmar's military-backed government. The lower three floors are the purview of a career diplomat who rejects that government as illegitimate.

The diplomat, U Kyaw Moe Tun, arrived in New York in 2020 dur-

Myanmar Envoy Won’t Cede Job or Office

ing the depths of the pandemic as Myanmar's envoy to the United Nations. A few months later, the elected government that he represented was overthrown by the military. But he has steadfastly refused to work for the generals. His defiance of the military — and his refusal to give up his post at the

U.N. and the townhouse, Myanmar's permanent mission to the U.N. — provides a window into the long, grinding struggle for democracy in Myanmar.

Neither the military-backed officials, who were once Mr. Kyaw Moe Tun's subordinates, nor his allies ever leave the mission unattended, scared to give the opposing side an opening to change the lock.

“We control the key,” Mr. Kyaw Moe Tun told me during a recent

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Did Jefferson Have Children With Hemings? Tests Say Yes.

By JENNIFER SCHUESSLER

For more than 200 years, the question has nagged at the edges of American history: Did Thomas Jefferson father children by Sally Hemings, a woman he enslaved? The claim that he did has prompted denials, polemics, scandalous best-sellers and sober historical scholarship, before settling in recent years into a widely, if not universally, accepted truth.

Now, the Smithsonian Institution is offering what it says is the most definitive evidence yet, based on an extraordinary piece of data: Thomas Jefferson's ge-

nome, sequenced from samples culled from a few strands of his hair.

In a new book, Richard Kurin, the Smithsonian scholar who led the effort, describes how a team of researchers used cutting-edge techniques to extract and sequence Jefferson's DNA. They compared it with DNA samples obtained from 13 living Hemings and Jefferson family descendants.

It's a 15-year detective story that involves archaeologists, genealogists, molecular geneticists

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IAN ATKINS/THOMAS JEFFERSON FOUNDATION AT MONTICELLO

A lock of Thomas Jefferson's hair, clipped the day of his death in 1826. Smithsonian researchers used it to sequence his genome.

Kennedy Center, an Oasis Of Art, Wilts Under Trump

Documents Show Political Capture Included Plans to Unload Much of Collection

By ELIZABETH WILLIAMSON and JULIA JACOBS

A storm brought down a five-foot piece of ceiling plaster at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts this month, and its leadership sprang into action. One thing they did not do was repair the damage.

Instead staff members left the mess on the carpet for nearly two weeks, posting photos on social media with commentary like “the place is falling apart and @realDonaldTrump wants to fix it.” They measured plaster shards and mapped the “debris field” like investigators after a plane crash, for a 55-page briefing for the center's board about the building's decay. No one was injured, but President Trump claimed online that a security guard had narrowly avoided “certain death.” Less than two hours later, his allies on the board voted to close the center, citing safety concerns.

Mr. Trump's threats this past week suggest that saving face, not lives, better explains why he shuttered the Kennedy Center on Tuesday for what officials said would be a temporary closure.

The president, who is the center's chairman, first announced in February that it would close for two years of renovations. Democratic lawmakers on the board said it was an excuse to avoid the humiliation of plummeting ticket sales and fleeing artists. Since then Mr. Trump has fought to add his name to the memorial to a

slain president, drawing multiple court injunctions. When a judge denied him again last week, the president made his priority clear. He decreed that the closing would take place immediately but that the renovation would not begin until courts — potentially the Supreme Court — allow his name on the building front.

Then, as heavy construction fencing went up around the building, he went further. “The Trump administration should certainly have recognition,” he said, arguing that his name on the center would help lift it out of physical and financial turmoil. “Because frankly if we don’t do that it’s going to close, it’ll end up being ripped down.”

On Friday night, a large crowd of demonstrators locked arms to form a human chain around the building in protest of Mr. Trump's efforts to close the center amid fears that he might ultimately bulldoze it.

The closure is the apotheosis of the wreckage and chaos created in the less than two years since Mr. Trump's takeover of the center, once a bipartisan global model of public access to the arts. Internal emails and documents obtained by The New York Times demonstrate the political capture of the institution by the whims of Mr. Trump, who at the start of his second term installed a board that

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A Faraway War Brings Guyana An Oil Windfall

By SIMON ROMERO and REBECCA F. ELLIOTT

GEORGETOWN, Guyana — Ferraris and Lamborghinis creep through traffic-choked streets. New steakhouses serve imported cuts of Wagyu beef. Music festivals fly D.J.s in from Miami and Jamaica. Opulent weddings are the talk of the town.

Such luxury trappings are popping up in Georgetown, Guyana's capital. The city is far removed from the widening war in the Middle East, which has severely restricted energy flows, casting a pall over economies around the world.

But Guyana, a small South American country bordering Venezuela that began producing oil just a few years ago, is reaping a windfall from the turmoil.

The English-speaking nation with just a million people is positioned to take in an estimated \$6.5 billion in oil revenue this year, more than double the amount forecast at the start of the year, as the Iran war drives oil prices higher and countries race to secure supplies far from drone-infested choke points.

This torrent of oil money underscores Guyana's new standing as a linchpin in a sweeping realignment of global energy markets.

Blunting the loss of Middle Eastern oil, production is surging up and down the Americas, strikingly in Guyana but also in Canada, Brazil, Argentina and, perhaps soon in Venezuela. The Americas now produce 37 percent of the world's oil, up from 27 percent a decade ago, according to S&P Global Energy, a research firm.

“Guyana is suddenly punching well above its weight,” said Richard Rambarran, an economist in Georgetown. “But this is only the beginning.” Oil output now stands at about 900,000 barrels a day. Guyana's production capacity is

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RYAN DAVID BROWN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Troy Jackson, a Democrat, is running against Susan Collins.

Up for a Fight, He Aims to Flip A Seat in Maine

By BETH REINHARD

Troy Jackson campaigns for the U.S. Senate in cargo shorts and a baseball cap, driving around Maine in his 2016 Dodge Grand Caravan and telling his life story at every stop.

At 19, he followed his father into Maine's North Woods to become a logger. At 30, he helped lead a logging blockade at the border to protest powerful landowners hiring cheaper Canadian labor. Four years later, he was elected to the Maine Legislature, where he pushed a populist agenda over nearly two decades in office, including six years as Senate president.

Mr. Jackson, a Democrat, has been leaning heavily into this up-from-the-bootstraps narrative since he replaced Graham Platner on the ticket in July. Before Mr. Platner's campaign imploded amid a rape allegation he denied, Democrats had been playing up his blue-collar credentials in the hope that he could attract a key constituency that has flocked to the G.O.P. in recent elections. Mr. Jackson, whose working-class roots run much deeper, is now testing that premise as he challenges a five-term Republican in-

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Economic Vise Grips Cubans

The U.S. says sanctions aren't meant to withhold essential goods. Stranded food suggests otherwise. PAGE A4

War Scars a Lebanese City

Tyre has endured a seemingly endless cycle of deadly strikes and tenuous cease-fires. The effects linger. PAGE A12



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New York's Epic Summer

It was nonstop: the Knicks and the World Cup, cyclospora and alpha-gal, the mayor in a pool and Taylor Swift in a wedding dress. PAGE A14

Arch for Drones and Snipers

President Trump said the giant arch in Washington was a project necessary for national security. PAGE A19

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More Than a Punching Bag

George Chuvalo lost to boxing greats like Ali and Frazier, but he was praised for his resilience. He was 89. PAGE B7

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In his final column for The Times, Kevin Roose outlines some reasons to feel both hopeful and scared for our collective future. PAGE B1

China's Unfulfilled Pledge

A Beijing promise after a leaders' summit in May to sharply increase the country's buying of U.S. agricultural goods has yet to be met. PAGE B1

India Squeezed on Oil

The country's reliance on Russian oil, and its need to preserve relations with the U.S., is a balancing act hamstrung by turmoil in energy markets. PAGE B1

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Sheeran Offers an Apology

Back onstage, the music star acknowledged “mistakes” over a rapper's exit, and discussed the war in Gaza. PAGE C1

An Uprooted ‘Cherry Orchard’

Simon Stone reimagines Chekhov's classic work with a Korean-language production set in modern Seoul. PAGE C1



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Giants Seek a Savior

Quarterback Jaxson Dart must master new skills to help the team end its Super Bowl drought. PAGE D1

Manager Merry-Go-Round

So much in baseball right now is uncertain, including the next cycle of managerial hirings and firings. PAGE D7

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Frank Bruni

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