

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

No. 57,524

INTRODUCING A2-3

A New, Fresh Look

The New York Times today is presenting a new design for pages A2 and A3, including features that are making their first appearance in the newspaper. The pages will offer readers an engaging look at the world of The Times. Behind-the-scenes stories about our journalism, a selection of noteworthy facts from each day's newspaper, tips for daily life and more. Also today, the editorial pages are introducing new designs aimed at providing more elegant presentations.

NEW YORK A24-25

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Saving Nina Simone's Birthplace as an Act of Art and Politics

By RANDY KENNEDY

TRYON, N.C. — If you wanted to make a pilgrimage to the childhood home of W.E.B. Du Bois in Massachusetts or Malcolm X in Nebraska, you'd have to settle for a historical marker: The houses of those civil rights activists were lost before preservationists could save them, as many important African-American historical sites have been.

It's a fate that easily could have met a humble three-room clapboard perched on a rise in this tiny, pretty town in the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains, unknown even to many residents until a few years ago. For those who knew that 30 East Livingston Street was the birthplace of Tryon's most famous resident — the singer, soul legend and civil rights icon Nina Simone — the house's appearance on the market late last year crystallized fears

that its existence, as stubborn as that of Simone herself, might be coming to an end.

And that, unexpectedly, is where the New York art world entered the picture.

Over the last month, four prominent African-American artists — the conceptualist Adam Pendleton, the sculptor and painter Rashid Johnson, the collagist and filmmaker Ellen Gallagher and the abstract painter Julie Mehretu — quietly got together, pooled

their money and bested competing bids to snatch the house up for \$95,000. They describe the purchase as an act of art but also of politics, a gratifying chance to respond to what they see as a deepening racial divide in America, when Simone's fiery example of culture warrior seems more potent than ever.

"It wasn't long after the election that this all began to happen, and I was desperate like a lot of people

Continued on Page A20

bilateral cooperation. PAGE A4

BUSINESS DAY B1-7

How Uber Could Help Women

Repairing the broken culture at the tarnished Silicon Valley heavyweight might start to solve tech's diversity problem. State of the Art. PAGE B1

Just back on
A so big story

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Glo

On This Day in History

A MEMORABLE HEADLINE FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES
MARCH 2, 1974

FEDERAL GRAND JURY INDICTS 7 NIXON AIDES
ON CHARGES OF CONSPIRACY ON WATERGATE;
HALDEMAN, EHRLICHMAN, MITCHELL ON LIST

The Times devoted a five-page section — as well as four front-page articles — to coverage of the Watergate scandal indictment. In total, seven former aides to President Nixon were charged with conspiring to cover up a burglary at the Democratic National Committee headquarters. Five months later, on Aug. 9, 1974, Richard Nixon resigned, the only American president to do so.

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Connecting
consciously to
today's climate

"Feminism" in style + Arts

Fatalist feminist + Liberal feminism

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

National Edition

Southern California: Sunshine. Partly sunny in northeast Nevada. Highs in upper 30s in northeast Nevada to lower 80s in the southern valleys. Weather map, Page A21.

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MERTO/WILLEY

A New Look for These Pages

I'm not a huge fan, I'll admit, of mastheads, the newspaper nameplates that by custom have long bejeweled opinion pages, including, until today, this one. They tend to fill up space with information that seldom changes. In the case of these two precious pages, the peculiar configuration of the masthead — split between modules at the top and bottom of the page you're now reading — created roadblocks that contributed, over many years, to a certain rigidity and even predictability of design in a space that should be as turbulent, powerful, even sometimes as shocking as the ideas and arguments themselves.

And so today we begin to play again with this space. Please don't be alarmed: Today's configuration is just one of the variations to come. You'll often see three editorials and a full column of letters, just as you're accustomed to. But some days, when we have a particularly significant event that merits your focus, we publish just one editorial, and an essay by one of the experts on our editorial board. Other days, we might bring a traditionally appeared page onto this page

instead, and provide more scope on the opposing page for other ideas.

We've made some other minor changes to produce what we think is a less cluttered, more elegant presentation. And we've added a header — "Opinion" — to signal what separates the work here from the news pages of The Times. On these two pages we're aiming to supply you with the best mix of the arguments we're now publishing digitally day in and day out. You can find all that work on the web at nytimes.com/opinion, and in the Times apps under "Opinion."

Along with the Times writers you've learned to trust, you'll be encountering new voices, and more arguments you might be inclined to disagree with, in the months ahead. When Adolph Ochs articulated the mission for The Times, in 1896, he famously said that it would report the news "without fear or favor." Less famously, but in the next breath, he said that The Times would also provide "a forum for the consideration of all questions of public importance" and "to that end to invite intelligent discussion from all shades of opinion." In that spirit, when The Times launched

the Op-Ed page, in 1970, it was intended to be not just physically opposite the editorials — the institutional voice of The Times — but often ideologically at odds with them as well. As one of my predecessors put it, the two pages together would create an arena for "the whole broad range of opinion, the conflict of ideas."

In this era of ideological intensity and fragility, with old parties and institutions — whole industries — trembling and even cracking apart around the world, my colleagues and I feel a particular obligation to provide a more vivid understanding of the arguments that are driving political, social and cultural change. It's all too easy these days to swaddle oneself in the comforting views of people who see the world as you do. We think you expect more than that from The Times.

This is and will remain a work in progress, and we'd like to hear what you think. Please send us a letter or weigh in at opinion.feedback@nytimes.com. (The masthead, by the way, can now be found on Page A2.)

JAMES BENNET
EDITORIAL PAGE EDITOR



COTTON'S SCOURGE Boll weevils enter the United States from Tamaulipas State, above, in Mexico's northeast, where a field technician chec

Cross-Border Allies Hold the Line In a Beetle Battle

By KIRK SEMPLE

RÍO BRAVO, Mexico — It has bedeviled the United States for more than a century, becoming a bane of the American South, causing widespread job losses and setting off countless debates about stopping migration from Latin America.

This is a wave that even the biggest, most expensive wall might never hold back.

We're talking about the boll weevil.

It is just one of the many issues that rely on bilateral cooperation between the United States and Mexico, and it embodies, in microcosm, many of the essential qualities of the broader relationship between the two countries: an alliance bordering on codependence despite economic, political and cultural differences.

contrast, Texas had harvested more than five million, according to the latest estimates by the United States Department of Agriculture.

Ray Frisbie, the retired head of the department of entomology at Texas A&M University, described the outsize influence of Tamaulipas as "this little tail that's wagging this great big dog."

The stakes, he said, are high: "If we don't finish it off, the boll weevil could reinvade the United States, and we could be back to the bad old days of spraying a lot of insecticide."

Tamaulipas knows all too well the heartache the boll weevil can wreak. Cotton was once king here, too; about half a million acres were in cultivation in the mid-20th century.



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THURSDAY, MARCH 2, 2017



ZOHRA BENSEMRA/

Fleeing Western Mosul's ISIS Battle

Iraqis sought safety as fighting battered Mosul. The chronicle of one family's escape with a pregnant woman and a dog. Page 1

Vision Shrinks As Mayor Aims For Re-election

By J. DAVID GOODMAN
and WILLIAM NEUMAN

For much of his first three years in office, Mayor Bill de Blasio presented his policies as "transcendent," the gains of his administration as "historic" and the seemingly entrenched problems of urban life as fixable — if only those around him in New York would share his vision and level of commitment.

But as Mr. de Blasio begins his campaign for re-election this year, his tone has become markedly more modest, and his trumpet more of a pennywhistle.

The ambitions of Mr. de Blasio's progressive government, once richly grandiose in his promises to unite a city starkly divided along economic lines, have become grounded — both by the stark realities of governance, and politics.

Nowhere has the shift been in greater evidence than in Mr. de Blasio's promise, on Tuesday, to reduce the city's ballooning homeless shelter population, which now stands around 60,000, by a mere 2,500 people over five years — less than 1 percent a year, on average.

He said that he could not even contemplate an end to homelessness, only a world in which the situation was managed in a better

Continued on Page A25

Obama Officials Raced to Preserve Russian T

This article is by Matthew Rosenberg, Adam Goldman and Michael S. Schmidt.

WASHINGTON — In the Obama administration's last days, some White House officials scrambled to spread information about Russian efforts to undermine the presidential election — and about possible contacts between associates of President-

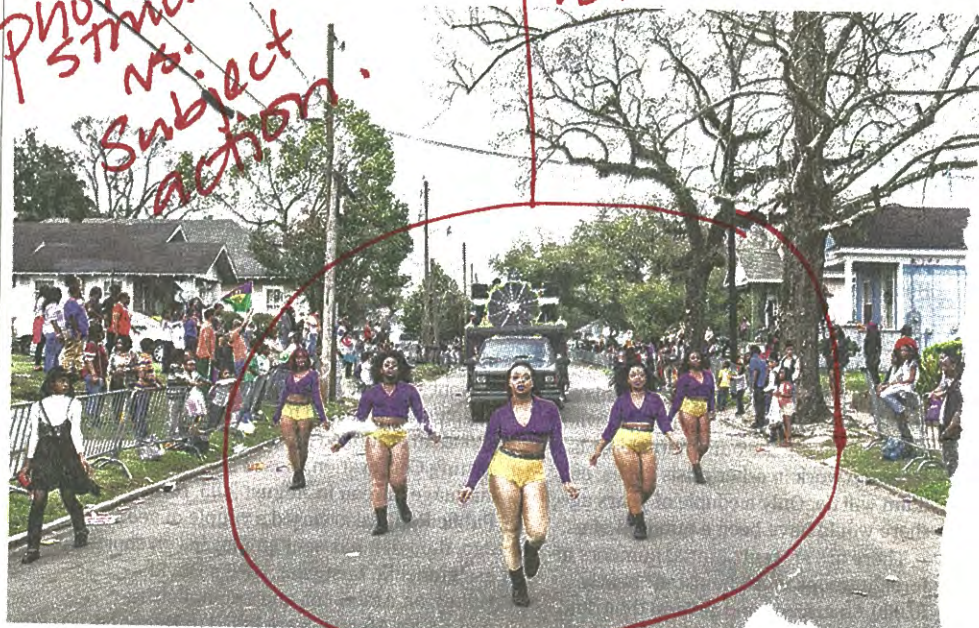
elect Donald J. Trump and Russians — across the government. Former American officials say they had two aims: to ensure that such meddling isn't duplicated in future American or European elections, and to leave a clear trail of intelligence for government investigators.

American allies, including the British and the Dutch, had provided information describing

meetings in European cities between Russian officials — others close to Russia's president, Vladimir V. Putin — and associates of President Trump, according to three American officials who requested anonymity in discussing the intelligence.

Separately, American intelligence agencies had interce

Continued on Page A18

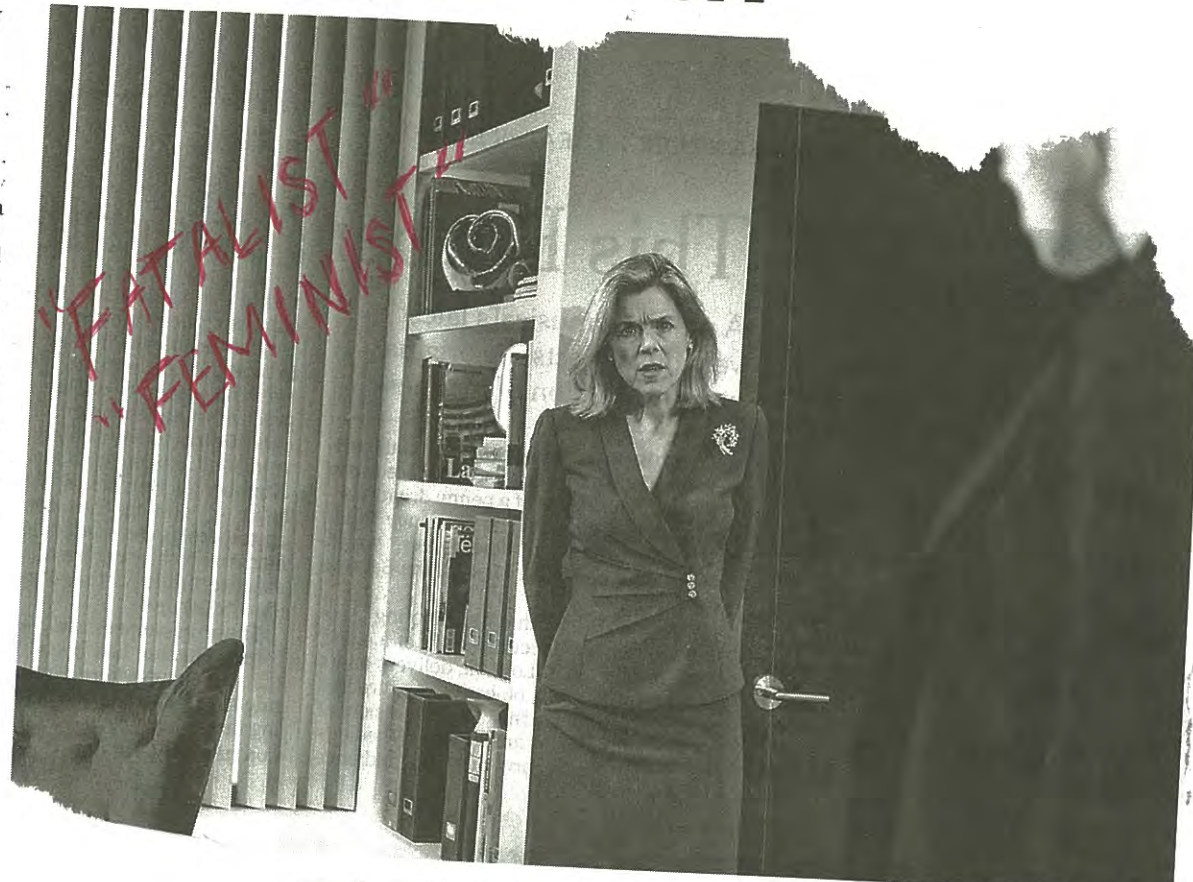


VINTER/THE NEW

Alabama Flair to Mardi Gras

Years before there even was a New Orleans, Mobile, Ala.

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GEORGE ETHEREDGE THE NEW YORK TIMES

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A British import depicts many perils of modern womanhood.

THE AFFLICTIONS of contemporary womanhood rain down like battering hailstones on the unhappy London of Penelope Skinner's "Linda," which opened on Tuesday night at the Manhattan Theater Club. It is a storm that never lets up.

The societal pathologies that thwart and maim the female characters in this hard-driving British import could easily fill the shelves of a feminist studies wall in a Barnes & Noble megastore. The plot-propelling topics touched upon, none too lightly, include sexual harassment in the workplace, eating disorders and Ophelia complexes.

Wait, I'm just beginning. Also prominent on the dramatic dais are self-mutilation, unrealistic body image, low self-esteem, sabotaging professional rivalry, revenge porn, ageism and the paucity of strong theater parts for women.

Ms. Skinner has admirably been doing her best to correct that imbalance, in plays that include the far superior "The Village Bike" (seen here in 2014) and "The Ruins of Civilization" (2016). "Linda," directed with faltering intensity by Lynne Meadow, certainly doesn't lack for grisly parts for actresses to chew and choke on.

They are not, however, figures that could be construed as positive role models. Never mind that the title character, a beauty executive played by the accomplished British actress Janie Dee, presents herself as an inspirational paradigm. By the show's end, she will be punished most severely for having it all, for leaning in, for dreaming big in a man's universe.

As a dramatist, Ms. Skinner might be described as a fatalist feminist. In "The Village Bike," a pregnant stay-at-home wife in the sticks (memorably embodied by Greta Gerwig) is undone by freely pursuing her enhanced sexual appetites. "The Ruins of Civilization," set in a London that is sinking into the ocean, suggests that the marriage of the future won't be much different from the conjugal captivity of Ibsen's "A Doll's House."

Audiences familiar with Ms. Skinner's work may at first feel relief at the sight of Ms. Dee's supremely self-assured Linda, who opens the play alone on — and obviously in command of — the stage. This married, 55-year-old mother of two (who can

Problematic assumptions about chick flicks + better without label

Women Get 'Chick Flicks.' What About Men?

Gloria Steinem

I WAS on a flight from New York to Seattle recently when a long delay on the tarmac prompted the airline to offer us a free movie. As the flight attendant read the choices aloud, a young man across the aisle said, "I don't watch chick flicks!"

I knew what he meant, and so did the woman sitting next to me. A "chick flick" is one that has more dialogue than car chases, more relationships than special effects, and whose suspense comes more from how people live than from how they get killed.

I wasn't challenging his preference, but I did question the logic of his term. After all, much of what we read as great literature in school may well have been called "chick lit," especially if it had been written by women.

Think about it: If "Anna Karenina" had been by Leah Tolstoy, or "The Scarlet Letter" by Nancy Hawthorne or "A Doll's House" by Henrietta Ibsen — if "The Invisible Man" had been "The Invisible Woman" — would they have been hailed as classics? Suppose Shakespeare had really been the Dark Lady who some people still think he/she was. I bet most of her plays and all of her sonnets would have been dismissed as ye olde Elizabethan chick lit and buried until they were resurrected by stubborn feminist scholars of today.

Indeed, as long as men are taken seriously when they write about the female half of the world — and women are not taken seriously when writing about ourselves, much less about men and public affairs — the list of Great Authors will be more about power than talent, more about opinion than experience.

Still, this was not the problem of the guy on the plane. He was just trying to find a movie he wanted to watch. His "chick flick" label might help him avoid certain movies, but shouldn't he have a label to guide him toward movies he actually liked?

I realized the problem began with the fact that adjectives are mostly required of the less powerful. Thus, there are "novelists" and "female novelists," "African-American doctors" but not "European-American doctors," "gay soldiers" but not "heterosexual soldiers," "transgender activists" but not "cisgender activists."

As has been true forever, the person with the power takes the noun — and the norm — while the less powerful requires an adjective. Thus, my fellow passenger was left with only half a guide.

Bias is, as always, unfair to everyone. Inspired by the blood-and-guts, monosyllabic war movie that had taken us off the tarmac and into the air, I realized the answer by the time of arrival. The opposite of a "chick flick" is a "prick flick."

Not only would this term serve movie marketers well, it would add to the lexicon of literary critics. For example, it could characterize a lot of contemporary fiction — works from Philip Roth and Bret Easton Ellis, for example — as well as the plays of David Mamet. It could also guide readers to preferred nonfiction, from the classics of Freud to the collected radio ravings of Rush Limbaugh and the tweets of Donald Trump.

Most of all, this new and simple label could guide confused viewers through the thicket of downloadable movies to these types of attractions:

All the movies that glorify World War II. From classics starring John Wayne and Ronald Reagan, both masterful actors who portrayed heroism without ever leaving the studio back lot, to Steven Spielberg's "Saving Private Ryan," in which the character would rather risk death than be rescued, Hollywood may have spent more money on making movies about World War II than was spent on fighting it. No wonder, because that was the last war in which this country was clearly right.

All the movies that portray violence against women, preferably beautiful, sexy, half-naked women. These tend to feature chain saws and house parties in films for teenage boys, and sadistic rapists and serial killers for adult males, plus humiliations and deaths of uppity women for the well-educated misogynist.

All the movies that portray female human beings as the only animals on earth that seek out and enjoy their own subordination and pain. From such whitewashed versions of prostitution as "Pretty Woman" (literally whitewashed, since women of color are disproportionately prostituted) to such complex plots as "Boxing Helena," a man's dream about amputating the arms and legs of a rebellious woman who, when she is living in a box, falls in love with him — all provide media justification and how-to manuals for sadists.

As you can see, this one simple label could guide men like the guy on the plane through the diversity of features, as well as the TV series we binge-watch. It could also help women, and empathetic men, to know what to avoid.

However, I am just optimistic enough to believe that, if that young man were to experience a derivative adjective himself, he, too, might feel limited and gradually explore beyond it. Then, a woman-directed war movie like "The Hurt Locker" could show him that close-up combat was not as simple as it was made to seem on the back lot, and the latest in the "Star Wars" franchise could make him cheer a female heroine.

He would also be rewarded by such irresistible movies as "Hidden Figures," about three African-American women whose brainpower fueled the American space program, or two such universal stories as the lost boys and found men in "Lion" and "Moonlight." These movies meet the "chick flick" entry-level test of being more about people than special effects, more about relationships than chases. And in the Academy Awards season that just closed, all three went a long way toward ending the division of human beings into the powerful but made-up categories of race and gender. As Tarell Alvin McCraney, the playwright whose life is loosely represented by "Moonlight," has said: "We think of ourselves as more educated when we talk about homophobia. But at the end of the day, if we look at all real homophobia, it's anti-feminism. It's really misogyny dressed up, or pointed at men."

So, yes, we may be beginning to get beyond dividing the world of movies into "chick flicks" and that other term, too. (Editorial sensibilities are not yet quite equal, thus that particular "c" word is unrestricted, yet the "p" word rhymes with can be used only once here.) With the resignation of Obama and yes, it's scary to leave a familiar half-self behind. This past presidential election was partly a backlash against the challenge to and loss of out-

Asia or the Middle East, and so to justify whatever this country might try to do there. Movie violence also diverts attention from the fact that, since Sept. 11, more American women have been murdered by their husbands or boyfriends than Americans have been killed in those attacks, the Iraq war, and the long war in Afghanistan — combined.

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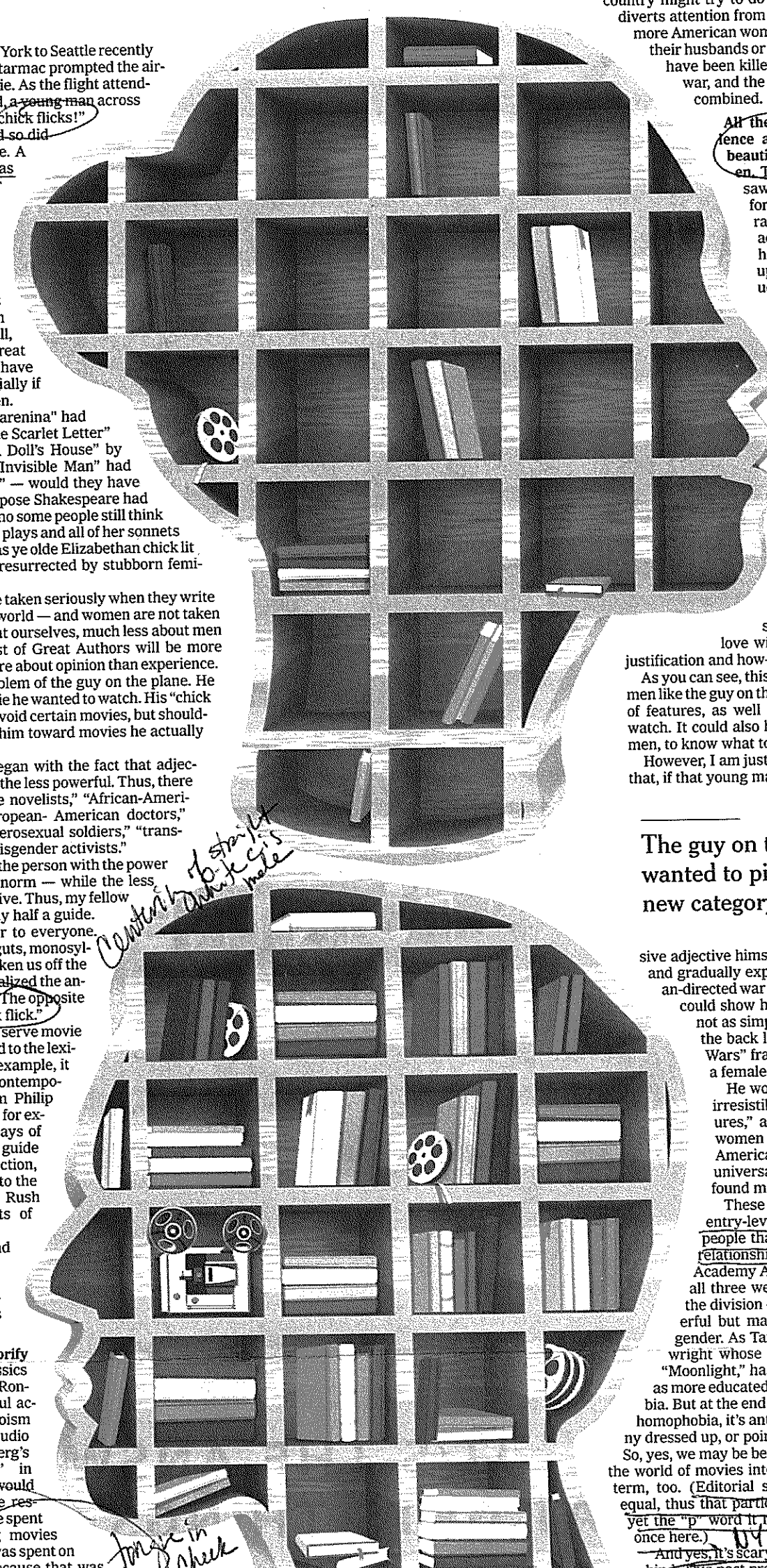
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The guy on the plane just wanted to pick a movie. A new category would help.

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MAIL COLLINS
The Three
Donald
Trumps Speak

Dear Advice Lady: Everybody is saying how reasonable President Trump sounded in his big speech to Congress, but made me crazy! I was yelling at the TV the whole time. If he bothers me this much when he's trying to be statesmanlike, how am I going to make it through four years? Sincerely, Can't Stand Trump

Dear Can't Stand Trump: Prioritize. If everything he says makes you start howling, your loved ones are going to stop paying attention to you. Or lock you in the attic. - Advice Lady

.S.T.: The stock market is booming after that speech! Just because they didn't have to haul him off in a straitjacket! Here's such a thing as setting the bar too low.

.L.: The key to understanding our president is to realize there are three versions. Inscribed Trump is the one who obsesses about crowd size and expresses complete astonishment that constructing a national health care plan is hard. That's the one we worry will start a nuclear war.

.S.T.: So the Dow went up 300 points because Unscripted didn't show up to address Congress?

.L.: Yep. The second version is Reasonable Chatting Trump. R.C.T. is the one who had pre-speech gatherings with journalists in which he mused about passing immigration law reform and making the Dreamers legal. Everyone was very excited until it became clear this had no relation to anything he was actually planning to say in public.

If you ever have an opportunity to sit down with the president for a private conversation, let me warn you: He's going to be totally open to all your suggestions, nod frequently and leave you with the impression that you've scored a huge breakthrough. But he will not remember a thing that you discussed. In fact, he'll have forgotten everything the minute you said it.

C.S.T.: Then he walked in front of Congress and became Version 3?

A.L.: Yes, the guy with the teleprompter. We will call him Somewhat Normal Republican Trump, or SNORT.

C.S.T.: When he started off with a call for unity against anti-Semitism, I threw my sock at the screen. Just a couple of weeks ago, someone asked him about attacks on Jewish institutions and he just quoted his Electoral College numbers.

A.L.: True, we don't normally expect to have to educate our new presidents in how to express disapproval of anti-Semitism. But just be glad he seems to have absorbed the lesson.

C.S.T.: Only when he has a teleprompter.

A.L.: If you want to find something to throw your footwear at, take a closer look at those brief remarks condemning "hate and evil in all of its very ugly forms." Trump began with a nod to Black History Month, then decried threats against Jewish community centers and vandalism against Jewish cemeteries "as well as last week's shooting in Kansas City."

You'd think there'd be a little more attention to the "shooting," which was in fact the murder of a tech worker from India that is being investigated as a hate crime.

C.S.T.: It wasn't even in Kansas City! It was in Olathe, Kan.!

A.L.: O.K., that's a tad over-obsessive.

The shooting involved two young men who had come to the United States as

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The shooting involved two young men who had come to the United States as college students, liked it here and stayed legally. The gunman apparently thought they were Iranian and demanded to know what they were doing in this country. One was left dead and the other injured. A bystander who tried to intervene was wounded. The president never personally commented on it before the speech, where it got nine words.

If you suspect Donald Trump doesn't want to call attention to the violent emotions he may be stirring up with his rants against immigrants and people from certain Muslim-majority nations, feel free.

C.S.T.: And what about his rants about the inner cities? I hate it when he acts as if every place with black people is a death zone. But you can't just say, "Stop picking on Chicago's murder rate."

A.L.: Try yelling: "Yes! Crack down on gun sales to gangs!" He finds it upsetting when anybody suggests the problem with gun violence is guns.

C.S.T.: I think I could definitely do that.

A.L.: You could also try giving Trump a thumbs-up whenever he says something you agree with. It'll make you feel fair-minded, and if he ever found out, it would confuse the heck out of him.

C.S.T.: There is nothing I agree with.

A.L.: What about lots of infrastructure spending?

C.S.T.: He'll spend it on the wrong things.

A.L.: You really are tough.

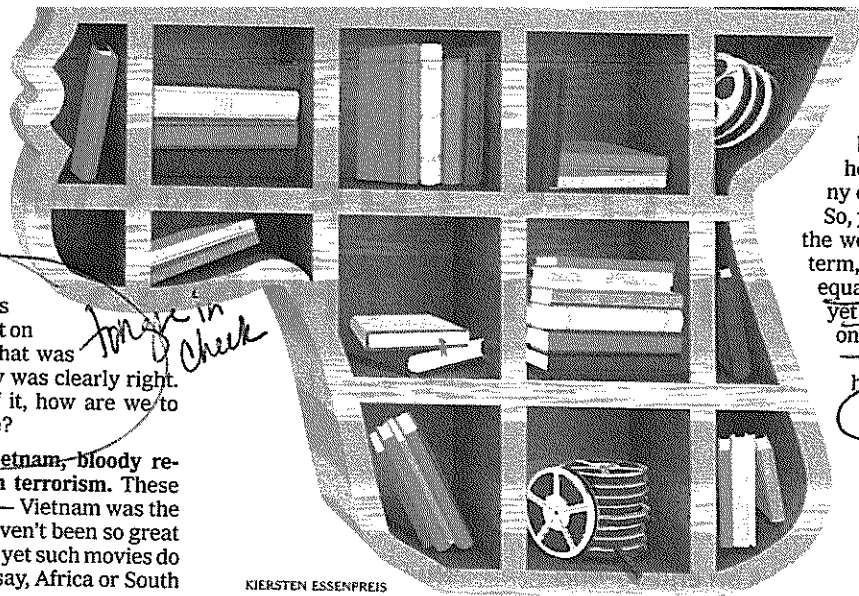
C.S.T.: In an hourlong speech, the only thing he said about the environment was that he wanted to "invest in women's health and to promote clean air and clean water."

A.L.: Well, that was SNORT reading. Reasonable Chatting Trump is crazy about the environment. He's even worried about climate change. Just ask him, before he forgets. And Donald the Unscripted thinks environmentalism is an evil plot by the same people who bussed millions of unregistered noncitizens to the polls to dilute his election triumph.

Take your pick. They'll all be around for the next four years. □

All the movies that glorify World War II. From classics starring John Wayne and Ronald Reagan, both masterful actors who portrayed heroism without ever leaving the studio back lot, to Steven Spielberg's "Saving Private Ryan," in which the character would rather risk death than be rescued, Hollywood may have spent more money on making movies about World War II than was spent on fighting it. No wonder, because that was the last war in which this country was clearly right. Without continuing reminders of it, how are we to keep on believing that we still are?

All the movies that glorify Vietnam, bloody regional wars and now, the war on terrorism. These may not be as much fun to watch — Vietnam was the first major war we lost, and we haven't been so great about stopping terrorism either — yet such movies do allow us to see mass mayhem in, say, Africa or South



erful but made-up categories of race ; gender. As Tarell Alvin McCraney, the playwright whose life is loosely represented "Moonlight," has said: "We think of ourselves as more educated when we talk about homophobia. But at the end of the day, if we look at all r homophobia, it's anti-feminism. It's really misogynist, or pointed at men."

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And yes, it's scary to leave a familiar half-self behind. This past presidential election was partly a backlash against the challenge to and loss of outdated gender roles.

Still, I am learning, and I bet the young man on the plane is learning, that seeing whole people on screen is helping us to become whole people, too.

GLORIA STEINEM is a founder of Ms. magazine and of the Women's Media Center.

What Donald Trump Gets Right on Trade

Alan Tonelson
WASHINGTON

WHATEVER confusion people might have about President Trump's agenda, his position on trade and manufacturing is crystal clear. "I believe strongly in free trade, but it also has to be fair trade," he said in his address to Congress Tuesday night. He called for corporate tax reform and export incentives, and he lashed out at Nafta and China for draining America's manufacturing base.

Mr. Trump's stance on trade is one of his most popular positions, but many economists and policy makers are skeptical: They say that rapid automation will negate any gains made in bringing manufacturing jobs back, while the tariffs and other policies he has suggested using will ignite disastrous trade wars.

The doubters are wrong on both points. American manufacturing's most advanced sectors remain big employers, and much of their payroll shrinkage stems from predatory competition from high- and low-wage countries, as well as offshoring by American multinationals. And the trade-war alarmists overlook the matchless, yet overwhelmingly neglected, leverage America holds over the global economy.

Although cheap, labor-intensive goods often come to mind when Americans think of job-displacing imports, the more capital- and technology-intensive segments of manufacturing have hardly been immune.

Sectors like motor vehicles and parts, pharmaceuticals, telecommunications equipment, nonelectrical machinery (like machine tools, farm machinery and power-generating turbines) and industrial chemicals add up to nearly half of manufacturing's enormous, chronic annual trade deficits nowadays.

Such sectors still employ millions of Americans. For example, more than 947,900 jobs are currently found in automotive production (including 145,700 in the highest-value segments, like engines and powertrains and their parts), nearly

And what his critics don't understand about manufacturing.

360,000 in semiconductor and related manufacturing, more than one million in machinery and more than 200,000 in pharmaceuticals. And a recent Commerce Department report indicates that in 2014 their trade shortfalls alone — leaving aside any impact from labor-saving technologies — cost more than 200,000 jobs, both in the industries themselves and throughout their American supply and logistics chains.

Since then, moreover, trade deficits in advanced manufacturing have worsened, and the stagnation of productivity growth suggests that the robots have been replacing fewer workers. So trade-related job

loss in these sectors surely has grown — and smart, pro-domestic manufacturing policies can bring them back.

As for trade-war alarmists, they apparently assume that the same countries that rely so heavily on exports to the United States for their growth, economic development and employment will unleash attacks on their biggest and best customer.

The United States is not only the world's biggest single national economy, but for all its recent sluggishness, it has also generally been the fastest-growing major economy, and it is the most open to imports. That's why it's the single largest export market for a fifth of the world's countries. That's why it has remained the world's largest consumer of foreign goods, despite slashing its previously huge purchases of foreign oil. That's largely why each percentage point of new American growth lifts global growth by much more than similar expansion in China, and nearly as much as growth in the euro area — which unlike the United States is relatively poor in natural resources and needs to buy many more commodities from overseas. That's also why nearly all leading countries and groupings — including the eurozone — have long-run trade surpluses with the United States.

The United States plays an even more central role in countries that have come into Mr. Trump's trade crosshairs. Slow-growing Mexico, for example, would be performing much more sluggishly if it were not able to export the equivalent of 28 percent of its annual economic output to the United States. Its auto shipments to

America alone are its biggest generator of foreign exchange reserves.

True, China's economy is stronger and gradually becoming less export-dependent than Mexico's, but its growth slowdown has been crucially contained by the \$600 billion (by its own dubious count) global trade surplus it amassed last year — nearly half of which is run with the United States. Indeed, China's sales to America constituted 4.4 percent of its annual economic output in 2015.

Further, the numbers don't tell the whole story. After all, governments in institutionally weak countries like Mexico or undemocratic countries like China tend to stay in power by lifting national living standards. Losing unfettered access to the American market could undermine the leaderships in both countries.

It's unclear which trade measures Mr. Trump will use to draw factories and the workers stateside. Nor has he announced domestic policies to aid these efforts. But the official manufacturing job and trade statistics make entirely obvious that the rewards to the American economy will be substantial. And as Mr. Trump's speech on Tuesday made clear, America has a president who understands its ample power to reap them.

ALAN TONELSON, the founder of RealityCheck, a blog on economic and national security policy, and the author of "The Race to the Bottom," advised both the Trump and Sanders campaigns on trade policy.

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GAIL COLLINS

The Three Donald Trumps Speak

Dear Advice Lady: Everybody is saying how reasonable President Trump sounded in his big speech to Congress, but it made me crazy! I was yelling at the TV the whole time. If he bothers me this much when he's trying to be statesmanlike, how am I going to make it through four years? — Sincerely, Can't Stand Trump

Dear Can't Stand Trump: Prioritize. If everything he says makes you start howling, your loved ones are going to stop paying attention to you. Or lock you in the attic. — Advice Lady

C.S.T.: The stock market is booming after that speech! Just because they didn't have to haul him off in a straitjacket! There's such a thing as setting the bar too low.

A.L.: The key to understanding our president is to realize there are three versions. Unscripted Trump is the one who obsesses about crowd size and expresses complete astonishment that constructing a national health care plan is hard. That's the one we worry will start a nuclear war.

C.S.T.: So the Dow went up 300 points because Unscripted didn't show up to address Congress?

A.L.: Yep. The second version is Reasonable Chatting Trump. R.C.T. is the one who had pre-speech gatherings with journalists in which he mused about passing immigration law reform and making the Dreamers legal. Everyone was very excited until it became clear this had no relation to anything he was actually planning to say in public.

If you ever have an opportunity to sit down with the president for a private conversation, let me warn you: He's going to be totally open to all your suggestions, nod frequently and leave you with the impression that you've scored a huge breakthrough. But he will not remember a thing that you discussed. In fact, he'll have forgotten everything the minute you said it.

C.S.T.: Then he walked in front of Congress and became Version 3?

A.L.: Yes, the guy with the teleprompter. We will call him Somewhat Normal Republican Trump, or SNORT.

C.S.T.: When he started off with a call for unity against anti-Semitism, I threw my sock at the screen. Just a couple of weeks ago, someone asked him about attacks on Jewish institutions and he just quoted his Electoral College numbers.

A.L.: True, we don't normally expect to have to educate our new presidents in how to express disapproval of anti-Semitism. But just be glad he seems to have absorbed the lesson.

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You'd think there'd be a little more attention to the "shooting," which was in fact the murder of a tech worker from India that is being investigated as a hate crime.

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If you suspect Donald Trump doesn't

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I knew what he meant, and so did the woman sitting next to me. A "chick flick" is one that has more dialogue than car chases, more relationships than special effects, and whose suspense comes more from how people live than from how they get killed.

I wasn't challenging his preference, but I did question the logic of his term. After all, much of what we read as great literature in school may well have been called "chick lit," especially if it had been written by women.

Think about it: If "Anna Karenina" had been by Leah Tolstoy, or "The Scarlet Letter" by Nancy Hawthorne or "A Doll's House" by Henrietta Ibsen — if "The Invisible Man" had been "The Invisible Woman" — would they have been hailed as classics? Suppose Shakespeare had really been the Dark Lady who some people still think he/she was. I bet most of her plays and all of her sonnets would have been dismissed as ye olde Elizabethan chick lit and buried until they were resurrected by stubborn feminist scholars of today.

Indeed, as long as men are taken seriously when they write about the female half of the world — and women are not taken seriously when writing about ourselves, much less about men and public affairs — the list of Great Authors will be more about power than talent, more about opinion than experience.

Still, this was not the problem of the guy on the plane. He was just trying to find a movie he wanted to watch. His "chick flick" label might help him avoid certain movies, but shouldn't he have a label to guide him toward movies he actually liked?

I realized the problem began with the fact that adjectives are mostly required of the less powerful. Thus, there are "novelists" and "female novelists," "African-American doctors" but not "European-American doctors," "gay soldiers" but not "heterosexual soldiers," "transgender activists" but not "cisgender activists."

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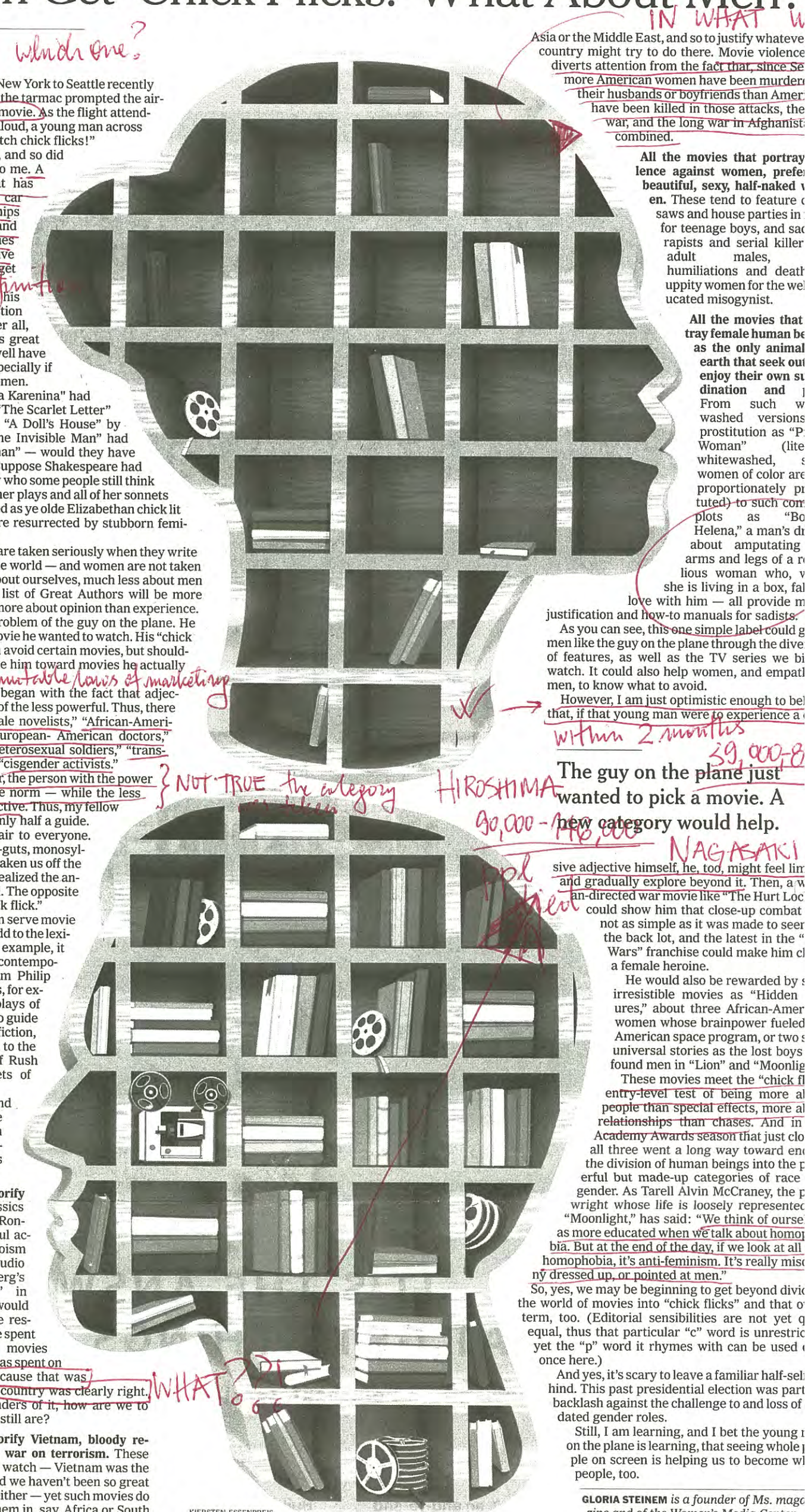
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Not only would this term serve movie marketers well, it would add to the lexicon of literary critics. For example, it could characterize a lot of contemporary fiction — works from Philip Roth and Bret Easton Ellis, for example — as well as the plays of David Mamet. It could also guide readers to preferred nonfiction, from the classics of Freud to the collected radio ravings of Rush Limbaugh and the tweets of Donald Trump.

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Asia or the Middle East, and so to justify whatever country might try to do there. Movie violence diverts attention from the fact that, since September 11, more American women have been murdered than have been killed in those attacks, the war, and the long war in Afghanistan combined.

All the movies that portray violence against women, preference for beautiful, sexy, half-naked women. These tend to feature car chases and house parties in the suburbs for teenage boys, and serial killer rapists and serial killer adult males, humiliations and death of uppity women for the well-educated misogynist.

All the movies that portray female human beings as the only animal on earth that seek out and enjoy their own self-destruction and annihilation. From such washed versions of prostitution as "Pretty Woman" (labeled "whitewashed") to women of color are proportionately portrayed to such complex plots as "Boys n' Girls," "Helena," a man's dream about amputating the arms and legs of a ridiculous woman who, while she is living in a box, falls in love with him — all provide no justification and how-to manuals for sadists.

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Still, I am learning, and I bet the young man on the plane is learning, that seeing whole people on screen is helping us to become whole people, too.

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KIERSTEN ESSENPREIS

J.S.T.: When he started off with a call for unity against anti-Semitism, I threw my sock at the screen. Just a couple of weeks ago, someone asked him about attacks on Jewish institutions and he just quoted his Electoral College numbers.

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If you suspect Donald Trump doesn't want to call attention to the violent emotions he may be stirring up with his rants against immigrants and people from certain Muslim-majority nations, feel free.

C.S.T.: And what about his rants about the inner cities? I hate it when he acts as if every place with black people is a death zone. But you can't just say, "Stop picking on Chicago's murder rate."

A.L.: Try yelling: "Yes! Crack down on gun sales to gangs!" He finds it upsetting when anybody suggests the problem with gun violence is guns.

C.S.T.: I think I could definitely do that.

A.L.: You could also try giving Trump a thumbs-up whenever he says something you agree with. It'll make you feel fair-minded, and if he ever found out, it would confuse the heck out of him.

C.S.T.: There is nothing I agree with.

A.L.: What about lots of infrastructure spending?

C.S.T.: He'll spend it on the wrong things.

A.L.: You really are tough.

C.S.T.: In an hourlong speech, the only thing he said about the environment was that he wanted to "invest in women's health and to promote clean air and clean water."

A.L.: Well, that was SNORT reading. Reasonable Chatting Trump is crazy about the environment. He's even worried about climate change. Just ask him, before he forgets. And Donald the Unscripted thinks environmentalism is an evil plot by the same people who bussed millions of unregistered noncitizens to the polls to dilute his election triumph.

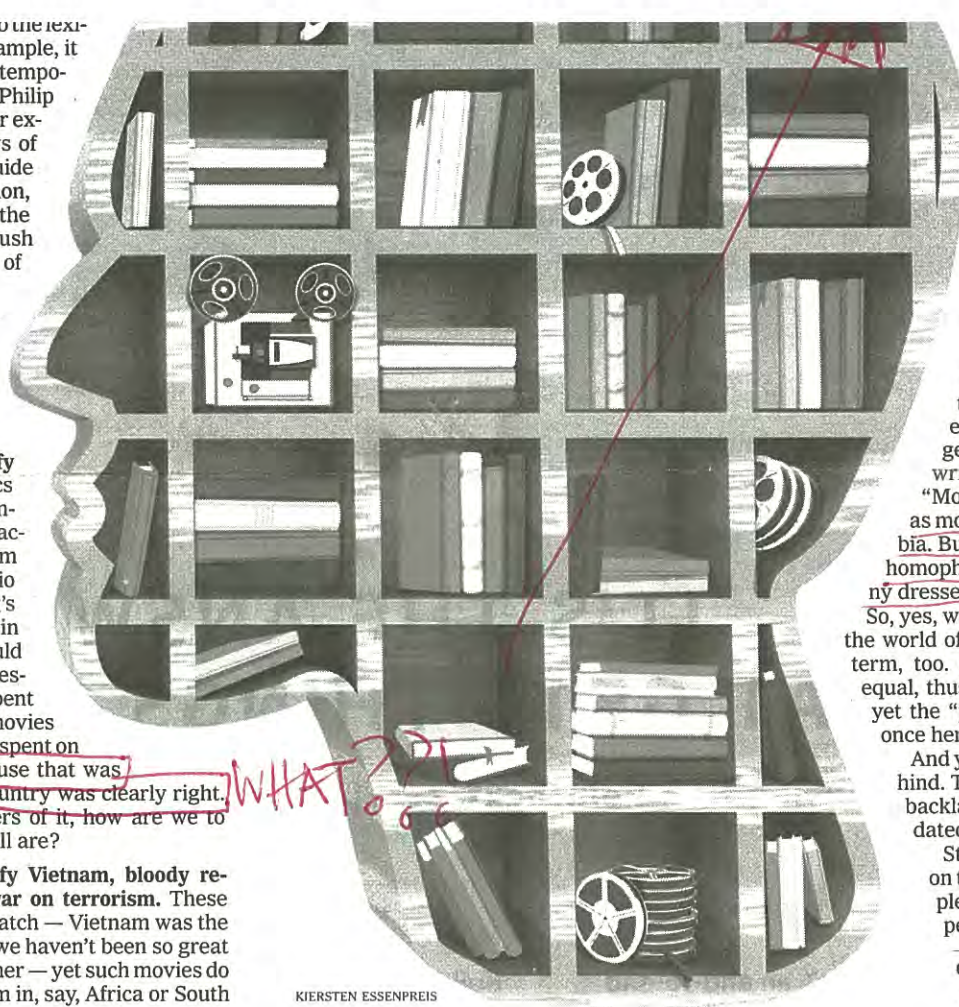
Take your pick. They'll all be around for the next four years. □

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What Donald Trump Gets Right on Trade

Alan Tonelson
WASHINGTON

WHATEVER confusion people might have about President Trump's agenda, his position on trade and manufacturing is crystal clear. "I believe strongly in free trade, but it also has to be fair trade," he said in his address to Congress Tuesday night. He called for corporate tax reform and export incentives, and he lashed out at Nafta and China for draining America's manufacturing base.

Mr. Trump's stance on trade is one of his most popular positions, but many economists and policy makers are skeptical: They say that rapid automation will negate any gains made in bringing manufacturing jobs back, while the tariffs and other policies he has suggested using will ignite disastrous trade wars.

The doubters are wrong on both points. American manufacturing's most advanced sectors remain big employers, and much of their payroll shrinkage stems from predatory competition from high- and low-wage countries, as well as offshoring by American multinationals. And the trade-war alarmists overlook the matchless, yet overwhelmingly neglected, leverage America holds over the global economy.

Although cheap, labor-intensive goods often come to mind when Americans think of job-displacing imports, the more capital- and technology-intensive segments of manufacturing have hardly been immune.

Sectors like motor vehicles and parts, pharmaceuticals, telecommunications equipment, nonelectrical machinery (like machine tools, farm machinery and power-generating turbines) and industrial chemicals add up to nearly half of manufacturing's enormous, chronic annual trade deficits nowadays.

Such sectors still employ millions of Americans. For example, more than 947,900 jobs are currently found in automotive production (including 145,700 in the highest-value segments, like engines and powertrains and their parts), nearly

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loss in these sectors surely has grown — and smart, pro-domestic manufacturing policies can bring them back.

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NOT necessarily from-com's they note hidden figures moonlight

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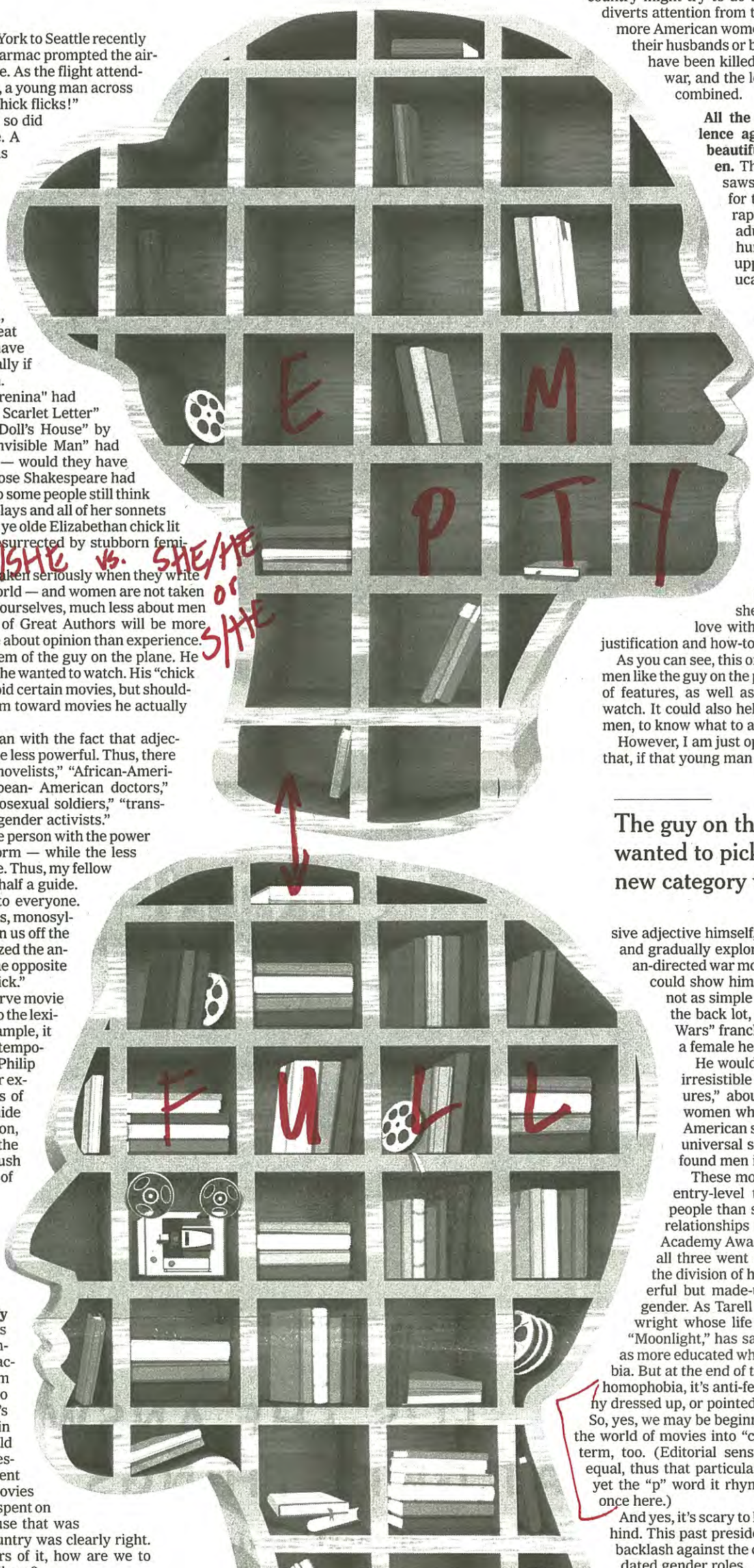
sive adjective himself, he, too, might feel limited and gradually explore beyond it. Then, a woman-directed war movie like "The Hurt Locker" could show him that close-up combat was not as simple as it was made to seem on the back lot, and the latest in the "Star Wars" franchise could make him cheer a female heroine.

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C.S.T.: So the Dow went up 300 points because Unscripted didn't show up to address Congress?

A.L.: Yep. The second version is Reasonable Chatting Trump. R.C.T. is the one who had pre-speech gatherings with journalists in which he mused about passing immigration law reform and making the Dreamers legal. Everyone was very excited until it became clear this had no relation to anything he was actually planning to say in public.

If you ever have an opportunity to sit down with the president for a private conversation, let me warn you: He's going to be totally open to all your suggestions, nod frequently and leave you with the impression that you've scored a huge breakthrough. But he will not remember a thing that you discussed. In fact, he'll have forgotten everything the minute you said it.

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A.L.: Yes, the guy with the teleprompter. We will call him Somewhat Normal Republican Trump, or SNORT.

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The shooting involved two young men who had come to the United States as college students, liked it here and stayed legally. The gunman apparently thought

that, if that young man were to experience a deri-

The guy on the plane just wanted to pick a movie. A new category would help.

sive adjective himself, he, too, might feel limited and gradually explore beyond it. Then, a woman-directed war movie like "The Hurt Locker" could show him that close-up combat was not as simple as it was made to seem on the back lot, and the latest in the "Star Wars" franchise could make him cheer a female heroine.

He would also be rewarded by such irresistible movies as "Hidden Figures," about three African-American women whose brainpower fueled the American space program, or two such universal stories as the lost boys and found men in "Lion" and "Moonlight."

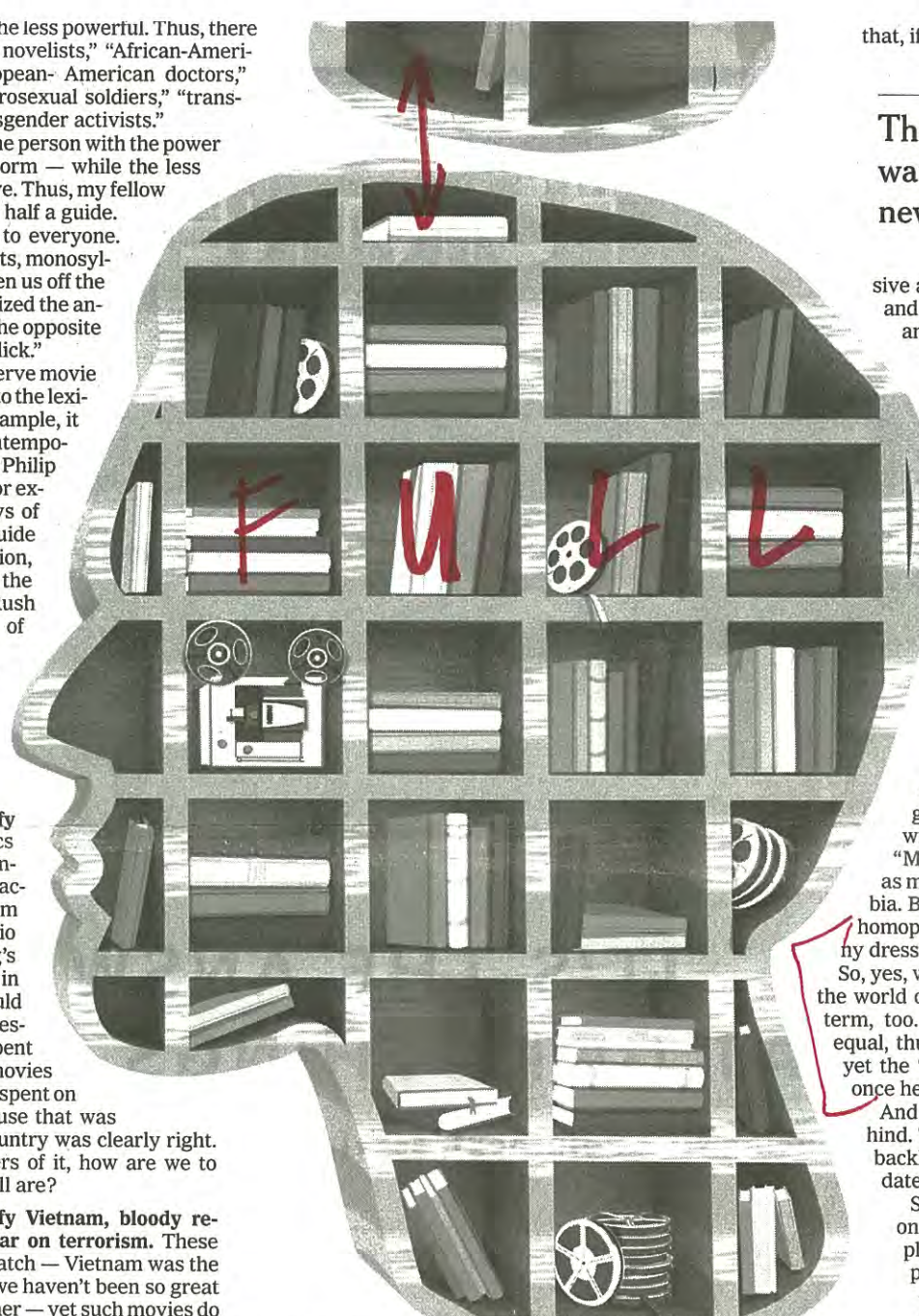
These movies meet the "chick flick" entry-level test of being more about people than special effects, more about relationships than chases. And in the Academy Awards season that just closed, all three went a long way toward ending the division of human beings into the powerful but made-up categories of race and gender. As Tarell Alvin McCraney, the playwright whose life is loosely represented by "Moonlight," has said: "We think of ourselves as more educated when we talk about homophobia. But at the end of the day, if we look at all real homophobia, it's anti-feminism. It's really misogyny dressed up, or pointed at men."

So, yes, we may be beginning to get beyond dividing the world of movies into "chick flicks" and that other term, too. (Editorial sensibilities are not yet quite equal, thus that particular "c" word is unrestricted, yet the "p" word it rhymes with can be used only once here.)

And yes, it's scary to leave a familiar half-self behind. This past presidential election was partly a backlash against the challenge to and loss of outdated gender roles.

Still, I am learning, and I bet the young man on the plane is learning, that seeing whole people on screen is helping us to become whole people, too. □

GLORIA STEINEM is a founder of Ms. magazine and of the Women's Media Center.



PRICK VS. CHICK

What Donald Trump Gets Right on Trade

Alan Tonelson
WASHINGTON

WHATEVER confusion people might have about President Trump's agenda, his position on trade and manufacturing is crystal clear. "I believe strongly in free trade, but it also has to be fair trade," he said in his address to Congress Tuesday night. He called for corporate tax reform and export incentives, and he lashed out at Nafta and China for draining America's manufacturing base.

Mr. Trump's stance on trade is one of his most popular positions, but many economists and policy makers are skeptical: They say that rapid automation will negate any gains made in bringing manufacturing jobs back, while the tariffs and other policies he has suggested using will ignite disastrous trade wars.

The doubters are wrong on both points. American manufacturing's most advanced sectors remain big employers, and much of their payroll shrinkage stems from predatory competition from high- and low-wage countries, as well as offshoring by American multinationals. And the trade-war alarmists overlook the matchless, yet overwhelmingly neglected, leverage America holds over the global economy.

Although cheap, labor-intensive goods often come to mind when Americans think of job-displacing imports, the more capital- and technology-intensive segments of manufacturing have hardly been immune.

Sectors like motor vehicles and parts, pharmaceuticals, telecommunications equipment, nonelectrical machinery (like machine tools, farm machinery and power-generating turbines) and industrial chemicals add up to nearly half of manufacturing's enormous, chronic annual trade deficits nowadays.

Such sectors still employ millions of Americans. For example, more than 947,900 jobs are currently found in automotive production (including 145,700 in the highest-value segments, like engines and powertrains and their parts), nearly

And what his critics don't understand about manufacturing.

360,000 in semiconductor and related manufacturing, more than one million in machinery and more than 200,000 in pharmaceuticals. And a recent Commerce Department report indicates that in 2014 their trade shortfalls alone — leaving aside any impact from labor-saving technologies — cost more than 200,000 jobs, both in the industries themselves and throughout their American supply and logistics chains.

Since then, moreover, trade deficits in advanced manufacturing have worsened, and the stagnation of productivity growth suggests that the robots have been replacing fewer workers. So trade-related job

loss in these sectors surely has grown — and smart, pro-domestic manufacturing policies can bring them back.

As for trade-war alarmists, they apparently assume that the same countries that rely so heavily on exports to the United States for their growth, economic development and employment will unleash attacks on their biggest and best customer.

The United States is not only the world's biggest single national economy, but for all its recent sluggishness, it has also generally been the fastest-growing major economy, and it is the most open to imports. That's why it's the single largest export market for a fifth of the world's countries. That's why it has remained the world's largest consumer of foreign goods, despite slashing its previously huge purchases of foreign oil. That's largely why each percentage point of new American growth lifts global growth by much more than similar expansion in China, and nearly as much as growth in the euro area — which unlike the United States is relatively poor in natural resources and needs to buy many more commodities from overseas. That's also why nearly all leading countries and groupings — including the eurozone — have long-run trade surpluses with the United States.

The United States plays an even more central role in countries that have come into Mr. Trump's trade crosshairs. Slow-growing Mexico, for example, would be performing much more sluggishly if it were not able to export the equivalent of 28 percent of its annual economic output to the United States. Its auto shipments to

America alone are its biggest generator of foreign exchange reserves.

True, China's economy is stronger and gradually becoming less export-dependent than Mexico's, but its growth slowdown has been crucially contained by the \$600 billion (by its own dubious count) global trade surplus it amassed last year — nearly half of which is run with the United States. Indeed, China's sales to America constituted 4.4 percent of its annual economic output in 2015.

Further, the numbers don't tell the whole story. After all, governments in institutionally weak countries like Mexico, or undemocratic countries like China, tend to stay in power by lifting national living standards. Losing unfettered access to the American market could undermine the leaderships in both countries.

It's unclear which trade measures Mr. Trump will use to draw factories and their workers stateside. Nor has he announced domestic policies to aid these efforts. But the official manufacturing job and trade statistics make entirely obvious that the rewards to the American economy will be substantial. And as Mr. Trump's speech on Tuesday made clear, America has a president who understands its ample power to reap them. □

ALAN TONELSON, the founder of *RealityChek*, a blog on economic and national security policy, and the author of "The Race to the Bottom," advised both the Trump and Sanders campaigns on trade policy.

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The shooting involved two young men who had come to the United States as college students, liked it here and stayed legally. The gunman apparently thought they were Iranian and demanded to know what they were doing in this country. One was left dead and the other injured. A bystander who tried to intervene was wounded. The president never personally commented on it before the speech, where it got nine words.

If you suspect Donald Trump doesn't want to call attention to the violent emotions he may be stirring up with his rants against immigrants and people from certain Muslim-majority nations, feel free.

C.S.T.: And what about his rants about the inner cities? I hate it when he acts as if every place with black people is a death zone. But you can't just say, "Stop picking on Chicago's murder rate."

A.L.: Try yelling: "Yes! Crack down on gun sales to gangs!" He finds it upsetting when anybody suggests the problem with gun violence is guns.

C.S.T.: I think I could definitely do that.

A.L.: You could also try giving Trump a thumbs-up whenever he says something you agree with. It'll make you feel fair-minded, and if he ever found out, it would confuse the heck out of him.

C.S.T.: There is nothing I agree with.

A.L.: What about lots of infrastructure spending?

C.S.T.: He'll spend it on the wrong things.

A.L.: You really are tough.

C.S.T.: In an hourlong speech, the only thing he said about the environment was that he wanted to "invest in women's health and to promote clean air and clean water."

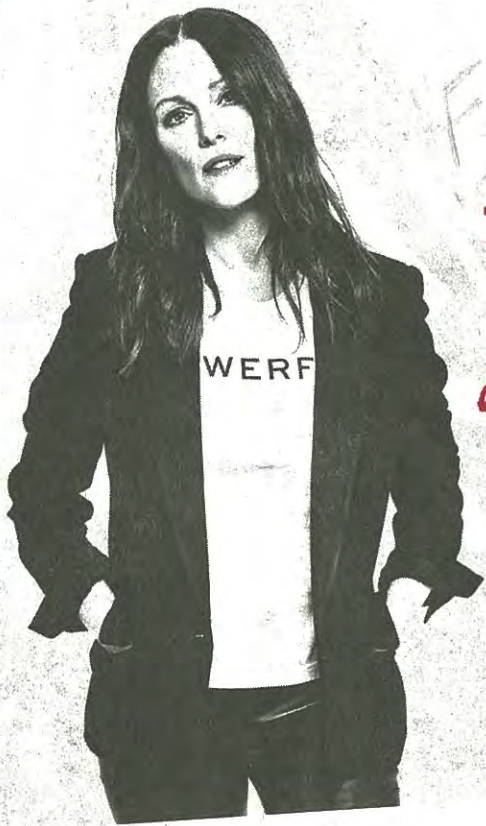
A.L.: Well, that was SNORT reading. Reasonable Chatting Trump is crazy about the environment. He's even worried about climate change. Just ask him, before he forgets. And Donald the Unscripted thinks environmentalism is an evil plot by the same people who bussed millions of unregistered noncitizens to the polls to dilute his election triumph.

Take your pick. They'll all be around for the next four years. □

Why are all the articles except 1 about Trump? (11)

Embrace Ambition

In a new ad campaign, Tory Burch and a series of prominent women seek to reclaim a word they say is often used to vilify them.



FAT LIST
FEMINIST

*BLAZERS
-masculine?
or re-owning
the clothing
bridge to
divide

PANT SUITS
"make you look
powerful, serious or
Hilary"

Setting a New Standard for 'Ambition'

By JACOB BERNSTEIN

There is nothing particularly fiery about Tory Burch. Shortly after the 2004 debut of the fashion company that bears her name, Ms. Burch was profiled in The New York Times, with the reporter noting that if reserve could be bottled, Ms. Burch would probably "have a block of fragrance."

publican friends," and "they want their daughters to have the same rights as men." But the issue of ambition, and the way it is used to defame women, is nevertheless personal to her. Ms. Burch grew up in Valley Forge, Pa. Her parents, Buddy and Reva Robinson, were a fashionably iconoclastic pair who vacationed in Morocco; celebrated Christmas, although Reva was Jewish; and rang a bell, like something out of a Willa

Julianne Moore, left, and Jamie Lee Curtis in the "Embrace Ambition" campaign.

she said. Ms. Burch said she decided to do the public service announcement long before Donald J. Trump was elected president, though the videos were shot in the last few weeks. And the campaign, which is coming out at a time when women's rights activists seem emboldened by the country's rightward turn, is intent on reclaiming the very descriptors that are frequently used derisively against them. In October, Mr. Trump called Mrs. Clinton a "nasty woman" during the third presidential debate, prompting Clinton surrogates like Katy Perry to begin wearing that phrase on T-shirts, inside a heart, during fundraisers. In February, Senator Mitch McConnell, and the majority

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'Ambition' campaigning for 'Ambition' Tory Burch enlists a star-studded cast to reclaim a word used to criticize women in the work force. By Jacob Bernstein, Page 6.

SPRY/HOLLAND

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PHOTOGRAPHS BY SOPHY HOLLAND

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There is nothing particularly fiery about Tory Burch. Shortly after the 2004 debut of the fashion company that bears her name, Ms. Burch was profiled in The New York Times, with the reporter noting that if reserve could be bottled, Ms. Burch would probably "have a blockbuster fragrance."

So it may come as something of a surprise that the ad campaign she was promoting on Tuesday morning by phone from her office in the Flatiron district does not have a couple of starlet models photographed by the ubiquitous Mario Testino, but is instead a stark, black-and-white video that takes on a thorny issue that dominated the last presidential campaign and has divided people on the right and left.

Making its debut next Wednesday, on International Women's Day, the campaign, called "Embrace Ambition," features Julianne Moore, Melinda Gates, Gwyneth Paltrow, Jamie Lee Curtis, Anna Wintour, Reese Witherspoon and other famous people (both male and female) talking in front of a scrim about reclaiming a word that has often been used to vilify women.

"We embrace ambition," Ms. Paltrow says.

"I can think of a lot of dirty words," Ms. Witherspoon says. "Ambition is not one of them."

All the proceeds from the sale of accompanying bracelets and T-shirts will go toward a foundation Ms. Burch started in 2009 to help female entrepreneurs.

Nevertheless, she seemed to choose her words carefully as she spoke about the campaign.

Although she designed a T-shirt for Hillary Clinton's unsuccessful presidential campaign and has given hundreds of thousands of dollars to Democratic politicians over the last few years, she wanted to get away from the idea that this project was politically motivated or anti-Trump.

She said repeatedly, almost apologetically, that she would like to do something that unites rather than divides the country. Also, she added, "I have lots of Re-

publican friends," and "they want their daughters to have the same rights as men."

But the issue of ambition, and the way it is used to defame women, is nevertheless personal to her.

Ms. Burch grew up in Valley Forge, Pa. Her parents, Buddy and Reva Robinson, were a fashionably iconoclastic pair who vacationed in Morocco; celebrated Christmas, although Reva was Jewish; and rang a bell for dinner, like something out of a Willa Cather novel.

"They taught us that with hard work we could achieve anything," she said of herself and her three brothers. "It was never about gender."

Then, Ms. Burch attended the University of Pennsylvania and majored in art history. She moved to New York and became a fashion publicist who was often photographed on the charity circuit, attending benefits for Memorial Sloan Kettering Cancer Center and the American Ballet Theater. After she married a venture capitalist, J. Christopher Burch, who helped bankroll her company, the sniping started. (The couple divorced in 2006.)

This was confusing to Ms. Burch, who never saw herself as being a particularly threatening person.

On one hand, she is constantly telling her female employees not to say "maybe" and "I kind of think." On the other hand, she often uses those kinds of qualifiers herself.

"I do it, too," she said. "I'm guilty of all of it."

In 2009, Ms. Burch started the Tory Burch Foundation and, through a partnership with Bank of America, saw it grow to an organization that ultimately gave more than \$25 million to female entrepreneurs around the world.

Many of the recipients of these grants had experienced the same kind of sexism she faced. They were called too hungry, too intent on power, too ambitious — code words used in place of the more vulgar expressions that men (and sometimes women, too) used when they were out of earshot.

"There was a harmful double standard,"

Julianne Moore, left, and Jamie Lee Curtis in the "Embrace Ambition" campaign.

she said.

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In February, Senator Mitch McConnell, Republican of Kentucky and the majority leader, got into a dust-up with Senator Elizabeth Warren, Democrat of Massachusetts, when she tried to give a speech against Senator Jeff Sessions's nomination for attorney general. He shot her down, saying: "She was warned. She was given an explanation. Nevertheless, she persisted."

Soon, "she persisted" became a hashtag with thousands of reposts on Twitter and Instagram by fans of Ms. Warren, who recast it as a show of strength and resolve. (Fittingly, Ms. Moore, the actress, appears in Ms. Burch's campaign, imploring young women to "be persistent.")

And the word "feminist" began to shed its Bella Abzug and Betty Friedan connotations, as women like Madonna went from saying they are "not feminists" but "humanists" to wearing T-shirts at anti-Trump events that had the word "feminist" emblazoned across the center.

Ms. Burch understands where the initial hesitation with that word comes from, too. She once thought she was a little too traditionally feminine to identify that way.

Not anymore.

Told by a reporter that a member of her team had recently used the "humanist not a feminist" argument to describe her inclinations, Ms. Burch sounded almost horrified. "Who said that?" she said. "I am a feminist."

wasn't she the one who said...

Bad campaign approach?

but didn't that message inherently femininist?

"Feminist"

ambition is not one of them