

'It appealed to me because it made me feel a sense of belonging. I was brainwashed.'

CALEB CAIN, 26, who said he slipped down a 'rabbit hole' of alt-right ideology on YouTube.



Commentators from across the political spectrum have filled YouTube with a complex stew of emotional content.

The Making of a YouTube Radical

How the Site's Algorithms Played Into the Hands of the Far Right

By KEVIN ROOSE

MARTINSBURG, W.Va. — Caleb Cain pulled a Glock pistol from his waistband, took out the magazine and casually tossed both onto the kitchen counter.

"I bought it the day after I got death threats," he said.

The threats, Mr. Cain explained, came from right-wing trolls in response to a video he had posted on YouTube a few days earlier. In the video, he told the story of how, as a liberal college dropout struggling to find his place in the world, he had gotten sucked into a vortex of far-right politics on YouTube.

"I fell down the alt-right rabbit hole," he said in the video.

Mr. Cain, 26, recently swore off the alt-right nearly five years after discovering it, and has become a vocal critic of it. He is scarred by his experience of being radicalized by what he calls a "decentralized cult" of far-right YouTube personalities, who convinced him that Western civilization was under threat



JUSTIN T. GELLERSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Caleb Cain likens the far right on YouTube to a "decentralized cult."

from Muslim immigrants and cultural Marxists, that innate I.Q. differences explained racial disparities and that feminism was a dangerous ideology.

"I just kept falling deeper and deeper into this, and it appealed to me because it made me feel a sense of belonging," he

said. "I was brainwashed."

Over years of reporting on internet culture, I've heard countless versions of Mr. Cain's story: An aimless young man — usually white, frequently interested in video games — visits YouTube looking for direction or distraction and is seduced by a community of far-right creators.

Some young men discover far-right videos by accident, while others seek them out. Some travel all the way to neo-Nazism, while others stop at milder forms of bigotry.

The common thread in many of these stories is YouTube and its recommendation algorithm, the software that determines which videos appear on users' home pages and in the "Up Next" sidebar next to a video that is playing. The algorithm is responsible for more than 70 percent of all time spent on the site.

The radicalization of young men is driven by a complex stew of emotional, economic and political elements, many having nothing to do with social media.

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Mexico Relented on Border Long Before Trump's Deal

NEWS ANALYSIS

Self-Made Crisis and a Predictable Hero

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — For nine days, he had his finger on the trigger and threatened to pull. For nine days, he put two countries, entire multinational industries, vast swaths of consumers and workers and even his own advisers and Republican allies on edge, unsure what would happen with billions of dollars at stake.

And then almost as abruptly as it started, it was over. President Trump announced that he was calling off the crippling new tariffs he had vowed to impose on Mexico barely 48 hours before they were to go into effect because he had struck a last-minute immigration agreement — one that mainly just re-affirmed prior agreements.

Nine days in spring offered a case study in Mr. Trump's approach to some of the most daunting issues confronting him and the nation: When the goal seems frustratingly out of reach through traditional means, threaten drastic action, set a deadline, demand concessions, cut a deal — real or imagined — avert the dire outcome and declare victory. If nothing else, he forces attention on the issue at hand. Whether the approach yields sustainable results seem less certain.

These are often dramas of his own making, with him naturally the hero. He stakes out maximalist positions and issues brutal ultimatums to compel action, arguing that extreme problems demand extreme tactics. At times, though, it can seem like little more than smoke and mirrors substituting for serious policymaking, a way of pretending to make progress without actually solving the underlying problem.

"This is a pattern we've seen Continued on Page 10

CHINA WARNING Tech giants are told to defy a U.S. ban on sales to Huawei, or face a penalty. PAGE 16

WEAPONIZING TRADE President Trump has set off economic wars on nearly every front. PAGE 8

Conditions in Pact to Avert Tariffs Were Set Months Ago

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR and MAGGIE HABERMAN

WASHINGTON — The deal to avert tariffs that President Trump announced with great fanfare on Friday night consists largely of actions that Mexico had already promised to take in prior discussions with the United States over the past several months, according to officials from both countries who are familiar with the negotiations.

Friday's joint declaration says Mexico agreed to the "deployment of its National Guard throughout Mexico, giving priority to its southern border." But the Mexican government had already pledged to do that in March during secret talks in Miami between Kirstjen Nielsen, then the secretary of homeland security, and Olga Sanchez, the Mexican secretary of the interior, the officials said.

The centerpiece of Mr. Trump's deal was an expansion of a program to allow asylum-seekers to remain in Mexico while their legal cases proceed. But that arrangement was reached in December in a pair of painstakingly negotiated diplomatic notes that the two countries exchanged. Ms. Nielsen announced the Migrant Protection Protocols during a hearing of the House Judiciary Committee five days before Christmas.

And over the past week, negotiators failed to persuade Mexico to accept a "safe third country" treaty that would have given the United States the legal ability to reject asylum seekers if they had not sought refuge in Mexico first.

Mr. Trump hailed the agreement anyway on Saturday, writing on Twitter: "Everyone very excited about the new deal with Mexico!" He thanked the president of Mexico for "working so long and hard" on a plan to reduce the surge of migration into the United States.

It was unclear whether Mr. Trump believed that the agreement truly represented new and broader concessions, or whether the president understood the limits of the deal but accepted it as a face-saving way to escape from the political and economic consequences. Continued on Page 12

Crisp Battle Lines on Abortion Blur When Surveys Ask Voters

By NATE COHN

Abortion is often cast as a clear, crisp issue in Washington and in state governments, with Republican and Democrats clustered in opposite corners. Joe Biden moved nearer to the rest of his party's presidential contenders on Thursday when he dropped his support of a measure restricting use of federal funds for abortions.

But while the Democratic field now looks more uniform, the public's views are often muddled and complex. They bear little resemblance to those of politicians, or even to those of the activists and ideologically consistent voters who post political content to social media.

Mr. Biden's decision is a reflection of how much the Democratic Party has shifted since the Hyde Amendment was passed in 1976. But even today, a substantial number of both Democrats and Repub-

licans dissent from the consensus of their party, or at least of their party's politicians, about when or if abortion should be legal and accessible.

Over all, 40 percent of Democrats say they oppose legal abortion if the woman wants one for any reason; 29 percent of Republicans say they support legal abortion if the woman wants one for any reason, according to the General Social Survey, a highly regarded survey that has sought Americans' views for decades.

Some Americans might not hold strong, stable views about abortion. Different poll questions yield different, sometimes contradictory answers — even from the same respondents in the same poll. Question wording is always a factor in survey research. But the differences here may also reflect

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Bullied for Being Pregnant

Erica Takato, one of many day care workers in Japan who faced harassment or lost jobs for having babies of their own. Page 14.

NICKY BARNES, 1933-2012

Flamboyant Heroin Kingpin Who Taunted Law Enforcers

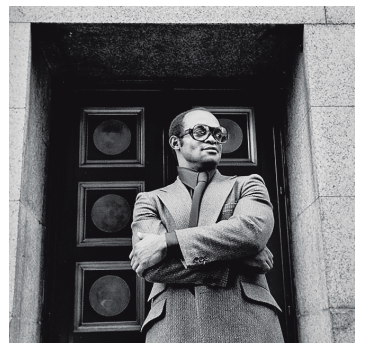
By SAM ROBERTS

"Nicky Barnes is not around anymore," said the balding, limping grandfather in the baggy Lee dungarees.

"Nicky Barnes's lifestyle and his value system is extinct," he went on, speaking of himself in the third person in a restaurant interview with The New York Times in 2007. "I left Nicky Barnes behind."

With that, the man asked the waitress for a doggy bag for his grilled salmon, and left.

He was the antithesis of the old Nicky Barnes, a flamboyant Harlem folk hero who had owned as many as 200 suits, 100 pairs of custom-made shoes, 50 full-length leather coats, a fleet of luxury cars, and multiple homes and apartments financed by the fortune he had amassed in the late 1960s and '70s, first by saturating



TYRONE DUKES/ THE NEW YORK TIMES
Nicky Barnes in 1977. He later entered witness protection, so his death was not disclosed.

black neighborhoods with heroin and later by investing the profits in real estate and other assets.

Moreover, he was in fact no longer Nicky Barnes even by Continued on Page 28

NATIONAL 4, 18-27

Students #AskForBetter

Inspired by #MeToo and by one another on social media, college activists across the country have found a shared cause, and tactics to fight for it. PAGE 18

SUNDAY BUSINESS

The N.B.A.'s Money Whisperer

Joe McLean never quite made it to the pros. But now he's the guy Klay Thompson and other N.B.A. stars trust to manage their wealth. PAGE 1

SPORTSSUNDAY

Newest Queen of Clay in Tennis

Ashleigh Barty, who played pro cricket in 2015, won her first Grand Slam singles title, beating Marketa Vondrousova at the French Open, 6-1, 6-3. PAGE 2

THE MAGAZINE

Madonna at 60

An icon of provocation and perpetual reinvention, the original queen of pop talks about aging, family, inspiration and why she refuses to cede control.

SUNDAY REVIEW

Molly Worthen

PAGE 1



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